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The Problems of an African Mission in a
White-dominated, Multi-racial Society:
The American Zulu Mission in
South Africa 1885-1910

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ABBREVIATIONS

A.C.C.	African Congregational Church
A.B.C.F.M.	American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions
A.Z.M.	American Zulu Mission
A.Z.M. (Inanda)	Mission Archives (unclassified) housed in the Inanda Station library
A.Z.M. (Pmburg.)	Mission correspondence housed in the Pietermaritzburg Depot of the South African Archives
A.Z.M. (Pretoria)	Mission correspondence housed in the Pretoria Archives
B.P.P.	British Parliamentary Papers
E.D.	Department of Education
G.H.	Government House
M.N.A.	Minister of Native Affairs
N.B.B.	Natal Blue Book
N.G.G.	Natal Government Gazette
N.M.C.	Natal Missionary Conference
N.P.P.	Natal Parliamentary Papers
S.N.A.	Secretary for Native Affairs
U.S.N.A.	Undersecretary for Native Affairs
Z.C.C.	Zulu Congregational Church

CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

On February 6, 1835, six missionary couples from the United States arrived in Cape Town, South Africa, after a voyage lasting more than two months. They were appointees of the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions, a society originally formed in 1806 "for the spread of the gospel in heathen lands".¹ The American Board, as it was more popularly known, had matured in the environment of Protestant non-conformist Massachusetts and, while acknowledged as an inter-denominational organization, its earliest and strongest supporter was the Congregational Church.² In 1832 a foreign mission discussion group organized under the American Board's influence at Princeton Theological Seminary, had written a letter to John Philip, superintendent of the London Missionary Society in South Africa, inquiring about the possibility of doing mission work in that area. Philip's reply was enthusiastic and he suggested, among other things, that the Americans consider working in the southeastern corner of the sub-continent among the Zulu, whom he described as "the most warlike and courageous people . . . in Africa in modern times. . . .a noble field for missionary labour".³

Philip's encouragement, coupled "with a desire for a more healthful African climate than was to be found in the

equatorial regions", convinced the American Board to embark on the experiment.⁴ Two doctors and four ministers, with their wives, comprised the pioneer party. The Prudential Committee (the American Board's executive body) decided to split them into two groups, apparently on Philip's advice. He had become convinced through his travels that three large African societies in southeastern Africa were ripe for the Gospel. Philip had already welcomed the Paris Evangelical Missionary Society who were working among the Sotho under Chief Moshweshwe. Daniel Lindley, Dr. Alexander Wilson and Henry Venable were selected for the American Board's Interior Mission to work inland "about 1,000 miles north-east from Capetown" among the Ndebele--a major offshoot of the Zulu people ruled by Chief Mzilikazi. Dr. Newton Adams, Aldin Grout and George Champion constituted the Maritime Mission to labor among the Zulu under Chief Dingane in what is now Natal and Zululand.⁵

The Interior Mission proved to be a short-lived disaster. The missionaries eventually founded a station at Mosega--then near Mzilikazi's royal residence and now northwest of present-day Pretoria--in January 1836. Soon afterwards, however, fever struck and in September of that year Mrs. Wilson died after a short illness. The others had hardly recovered when in January 1837 the Voortrekkers, who had had considerable friction with Mzilikazi, raided Mosega and in the ensuing battle the settlement, together with many of the mission's possessions, was destroyed. Disillusioned at the prospect of continuing to work in an area now virtually uninhabited and

fearful of remaining near Mzilikazi, the missionaries decided to accompany the Boers, who quickly left the scene before Mzilikazi could retaliate and retired to Thaba Nchu (mid-way between what is now Bloemfontein and Maseru). From there the missionaries decided to go around Basutoland to Grahamstown and proceed overland through Kaffraria to join the Maritime Mission. After many hardships, they eventually reached their compatriots in Natal in July 1837.⁶

Meanwhile, the Maritime Mission had also encountered difficulties. For several months the missionaries were delayed in Cape Town and later, after moving to Port Elizabeth by ship, at Bethelsdorp, a nearby village, where they stayed with members of the London Missionary Society. Conflict between the colonists and their African neighbors in the Eastern Cape--the Sixth Frontier War was then in progress--initially prevented the missionaries from reaching Natal. On December 7, 1835, however, they decided to abandon the overland route: the men, leaving their wives behind, boarded a ship and two weeks later arrived at the tiny, mixed community of Port Natal (present-day Durban). With oxen, a wagon and the essential provisions, they set out towards Chief Dingane's capital--beyond the Tugela River, about 160 miles northeast from the port. According to Grout, the country they passed through was totally devoid of human life. In a series of invasions between 1817 and 1820 inspired by Shaka, founder of the Zulu kingdom, most of the African population below the Umvoti River either was slaughtered or apparently

fled the country.⁷

In any event, Shaka's successor Dingane received the missionaries "with kindness, and treated them with respect" but his advisors were more cautious and advised the king against allowing the missionaries to work north of the Tugela River. Dingane agreed and told the Americans they should settle at Port Natal. If their efforts, especially in teaching the Africans to read and write, were successful he would allow them to work among his people north of the Tugela River.⁸

The missionaries returned to Port Natal where Champion was given a grant of land from white traders living there in March 1836. The first American missionary station in Natal was built near the Umlazi River, about 10 miles from the port. Meanwhile, Grout and Adams left for Port Elizabeth only to find Mrs. Grout gravely ill with tuberculosis. She died in February 1836 and the missionaries returned to Natal. Arriving at the port in May 1836, they found that Dingane had changed his mind and again had invited them to his capital. A site for a mission station was selected with his approval north of the Tugela River, but about 80 miles south of the Zulu capital, and named Ginani ("I am with you"). Adams was chosen to work at Umlazi and Champion at Ginani, while Grout was to divide his time between the two stations. The missionaries now began a serious study of the Zulu language. Schools were established and several pamphlets and tracts were translated and printed on a small press at Umlazi, despite

the fact that there was no Zulu orthography, dictionary or grammar.⁹

In July 1837, as noted, the Maritime Mission received the ill-fated members of the Inland Mission who were soon put to work in Natal. Dingane allowed Wilson and Venable to establish a station north of the Tugela River at Hlangezwa, a military 'kraal' about 30 miles from Ginani, while Lindley built a station at Imfume, about 30 miles south of Port Natal on the Illovo River. Thus after 2½ years in South Africa, the missionaries were all working in Zulu country, two stations being above the Tugela River in what was to be called Zululand, and two below the river, in what was to become the British Colony of Natal.

Unfortunately for the Americans, the hoped for conditions of peace and security were rudely shattered once again in a clash between the Zulu and the Voortrekkers who had finally migrated to Natal late in 1837. The events leading to the massacre of Piet Retief, leader of the Voortrekkers, and his men; the decisive battle of Blood River on December 16, 1838; and all the ramifications of these and other conflicts between the Boers, the Zulu and, eventually, the British are too well-known to require even a summary.¹⁰ What was important from the Mission's standpoint was the catastrophic effect of these disturbances on their work in Natal and Zululand. To survive, they were forced to flee the country, abandoning their people and stations. For a while, it looked as if the Maritime Mission would go the way of the Inland

Mission. Grout had already returned to America late in 1837 with the two children whose mothers had died on the field-- his own and Wilson's. Shortly afterwards, Wilson departed for the American Board's mission in West Africa, where he died in 1841. Champion and Venable also returned to America. While Champion yearned to go back to Natal, his health deteriorated and he died of consumption in 1841. Venable quit the mission field altogether and filled various pastorates in the United States until his death in 1878.¹¹

Only Adams and Lindley remained in South Africa, watching the Natal scene from Grahamstown and Bethelsdorp, respectively. Finally, in March 1839 Adams returned overland to Natal and in June Lindley followed him. Grout, having remarried, also came back to Natal in 1840. While Adams reoccupied his former station at Umlazi, Grout resolved to re-establish a mission station in Zululand. Near the present town of Empangeni, Grout made the third and last attempt by the American missionaries to open up a new station north of the Tugela River which was to be called Inkanyezi ("The Star"). Zululand, however, was now under the suzerainty of Dingane's brother, Chief Mpande, who at the time was little more than a vassal of the triumphant Voortrekkers.¹² Mpande, although he allowed Grout to re-establish a station in Zululand, was not well disposed toward the missionary who felt that the people had little respect for the chief.¹³ Mpande may also have been jealous of Grout because, after little more than a year, he had attracted a congregation of 250 and

had built a school with 50 pupils in attendance.¹⁴ In any event, on July 25, 1842, Mpande sent an impi to destroy the station and Grout, with a handful of his people, fled across the Tugela River. He eventually settled near the Umgeni River, about six miles from Port Natal.

Meanwhile, Lindley had formed strong links with the Boers and in 1841 "sought and obtained a temporary release from the Board, in order that he might devote his time to their spiritual improvement".¹⁵ It seems likely that Lindley had abandoned hope of working among the Zulu for in 1840 he had already organized a church and school for the Voortrekkers, near Adams' station at Umlazi, and a year later they asked him to be their minister. Residing in Pietermaritzburg, Lindley was to serve a congregation stretching through what is now Natal, the Orange Free State and the Transvaal for more than seven years.¹⁶

Despite the fact that the Zulu were immigrating or returning to Natal in ever-increasing numbers--so much so that by 1845 there were perhaps 100,000 Africans south of the Tugela River¹⁷--letters offering new evidence of hope for the mission were slow in reaching the American Board. The Prudential Committee found little encouragement in the news that Grout had to flee Zululand, that Lindley had joined the Voortrekkers and that other members of the pioneer party were either dead or had quit the mission. As the American Board viewed matters, there was no tangible proof that the Maritime Mission had been even a qualified success since there were no converts.

Thus in August 1843 the Prudential Committee decided to abandon the field.

Fortunately, those who had survived eight years of trial and tribulation were not to be thwarted so easily. Adams refused to comply with the decision, knowing that he could support himself if necessary. Grout went to Cape Town where Philip and other interested missionaries, ministers and laymen wrote urging the Prudential Committee to reconsider its decision. At the same time, money was raised for the Natal mission and Peregrine Maitland, Governor of the Cape Colony, offered both Adams and Grout appointments as government missionaries. Adams declined but Grout accepted the position. Meanwhile, the Prudential Committee had received the latest news of the mission's labors in Natal together with letters from Philip and a memorial "from all the evangelical ministers at Capetown, pleading for the continuance of the mission".¹⁸ It was a major turning point in the mission's brief history. The Prudential Committee rescinded its order, Grout resigned his government commission and the surviving missionaries were given assurances that the American Board would back them up with more financial aid and re-inforcements. In June 1844 Grout returned to Natal and established a new station on the Umvoti River where many of the congregation from Inkanyezi were living. In December 1844, Adams was ordained in Cape Town and also returned to his station at Umlazi. In October 1847, however, he built a new station at Amanzimtoti, about 22 miles down the coast from present-day Durban.¹⁹ After

more than 10 years in South Africa, the first Zulu convert to Christianity, Mbulasi Makanya, was baptized by Adams on June 26, 1846. The wife of a chief who had been killed and whose chieftdom had been broken up by Shaka, Mbulasi apparently had lived with the Adams family for some time. She was the first fruit of what would eventually become one of the most remarkable Christian communities in Southern Africa.

In many ways, the history of the early years of the American Zulu Mission, as it was to be known throughout the 19th Century, was typical of pioneer mission settlements around the world. For the first decade or so, as we have seen, it was quite literally a struggle for survival and, in consequence, the exploits of the first missionaries often reached heroic dimensions. But for all that has been written about their relations with the Zulu chiefs, Dingane and Mpande, the Voortrekkers and the first British settlers,²⁰ the missionary's primary task was to establish permanent stations as bases for the evangelization of the Zulu. Through trial and error, these roots were sunk deep into the soil. External factors were also favorable. Many of the immigrants from Zululand settled in areas near the coast which was to be the focal point of American Zulu Mission activity. The British finally annexed Natal in 1843 and in 1845 it became a Crown Colony, albeit under the temporary control of the Cape. Unwilling to accept the conditions of British rule most of the Boers had already withdrawn from Natal, crossing the Drakensberg to settle in the interior of the sub-continent. Thus the climate for

survival had improved immeasurably by the end of the first decade.

Between 1846 and 1850 the Mission received 11 missionary families, most of whom established stations "about 20 miles apart" along the coast of Natal below the Tugela River. In 1850 it was estimated that each one was "surrounded by from two to five thousand natives residing near enough to attend worship":²¹

Missionaries	Date of arrival	Station occupied and its geographical position in Natal from Durban
Andrew Abraham	July 16, 1849	<u>Mapumulo</u> --70 miles north of Durban and 25 miles from the sea.
Aldin Grout	pioneer	<u>Umvoti</u> --45 miles northeast of Durban and five miles from the sea.
Josiah Tyler	July 16, 1849	<u>Esidumbini</u> --40 miles north of Durban and 20 miles from the sea.
Jacob Döhne	1850--originally from the Berlin Missionary Society	<u>Table Mountain</u> --40 miles northwest of Durban and 40 miles from the sea.
Lewis Grout	Feb. 15, 1847	<u>Umsunduzi</u> --35 miles northwest of Durban and 15 miles from the sea.
Samuel Marsh	Jan. 20, 1848	<u>Itafamasi</u> --30 miles northwest of Durban and 15 miles from the sea.
Daniel Lindley	pioneer--returned to A.Z.M. in 1847	<u>Inanda</u> --15 miles northwest of Durban and 10 miles from the sea.

Missionaries	Date of arrival	Station occupied and its geographical position in Natal from Durban
Newton Adams	pioneer	<u>Amanzintoti</u> --22 miles southwest of Durban and five miles from the sea.
James Bryant	Aug. 15, 1846	<u>Imfume</u> --Bryant occupied the station until September 1849 when ill health forced him to retire to Inanda where he died in December 1850. Ireland replaced Bryant at Imfume--35 miles southwest of Durban and six miles from the sea.
William Ireland	Feb. 13, 1849	
Silas McKinney	July 31, 1847	<u>Amahlongwa</u> --47 miles southwest of Durban and five miles from the sea.
David Rood	Jan. 20, 1848	<u>Ifafa</u> --65 miles southwest of Durban and five miles from the sea.
Hyman Wilder	July 16, 1849	<u>Umtwalume</u> (or <u>Umtwalumi</u>)--78 miles southwest of Durban and 10 miles from the sea.

*In addition, John Butler, a printer, was sent out with his wife to take charge of the Mission press in 1850, and for a short time he was stationed at Umbilo, about four miles from Durban.

With the exception of Umzumbe, the southernmost station founded in 1861, the Mission by 1850 had occupied the areas where it would work for more than a generation to come. It was in and around these stations--isolated for most of the next 30 years both from each other and from the outside world--that a Christian community segregated from the traditional society would gradually emerge. The pattern of cultural contact, friction, adaptation and, eventually, reformation would, in turn, produce fundamental changes within this

community and create a host of new problems in the next generation.

To understand the milieu out of which an African mission emerged to seek an identity for itself in a white-dominated, multi-racial society, some generalizations must be offered on what happened within the American Zulu Mission community between 1850 and 1885. What did the missionaries think of the people for whom they labored at this time? What kind of vision did they have of their mission in Natal and how did it conform to the reality of station life?

In one sense, the Americans regarded the Zulu as primitive savages at the same level of comprehension as any other 'tribe' in Africa. And in this opinion, as expressed over and over again in their letters, they were no different from their 'European' counterparts elsewhere on the continent. Nevertheless, it must be emphasized that the relationship between these missionaries and the Zulu was a very complex one indeed. There was much more involved here than an elementary clash between a 'superior' and an 'inferior' social system with the inevitable decline of the latter. Even if the missionaries did hold this view, it would be incorrect to assume that this necessarily determined their thoughts and actions towards the people--whether 'Christian' or 'heathen'.

It is both difficult and dangerous to offer an opinion as to what primarily motivated the missionaries to struggle on with a mission among the Zulu--especially during the first decade--when it seemed so utterly futile. It was rare indeed

during the 19th and early 20th centuries for any missionary to be satisfied that the results achieved were commensurate with the efforts expended. One theme, however, emerges again and again in various forms in Mission correspondence between 1885 and 1910 and it is reasonable to suppose that like the 'mustard seed' a grain of this idea was present in the minds of their predecessors.

In the eyes of these Americans, the Zulu were a Chosen People--ordained by God, as it were, to be the spearhead of African Christianity. In articulating this vision, the missionaries rejected the extrinsic trappings of traditional Zulu society but accepted its intrinsic value and adapted it as a classical myth: that through a unique historical and cultural process the Zulu, like the Israelite of old, had been especially prepared to play a leading role in bringing the Light of the World to the Dark Continent.²² Although somewhat blurred in ensuing decades, this vision was never wholly abandoned. When conditions became more favorable, this dream became a reality for a small section of the Christian community--we shall define them as an African Christian elite--who were inspired to forge a new society to redefine the political, social and economic aspirations of the various black peoples living in Southern Africa.

Although there were undoubtedly many other motives involved, this concept is useful. It provides some clues as to what the Americans thought of the Zulu and why they could not abandon the field either in the 1830s and 1840s or, for

example, between 1894 and 1907 when for about 13 years the Mission again went through a period of darkness and despair. More important, however, it gives us an insight into how the missionaries viewed traditional society and why they eventually felt it could no longer give life to the radical Christian experience they believed to be essential if this vision was to become a reality:

"For the Christians among the Zulu . . . worship was not merely an outward ceremony or a ritual. . . . /but/ the presentation of one's whole life as an offering to God. . . . Salvation here was not interpreted. . . . merely as a matter of proselytizing, but as a ministry to the whole man."²³

As the history of Africa's Chosen People, Zulu history could be made meaningful, under missionary tutelage, to the budding Christian community. Above all, there was now a reason for first adapting, then manipulating and eventually destroying traditional culture.

The pattern of cultural change, however, was different in the 1850s from what it would be in the 1860s and early 1870s. And, again, in the 1870s and 1880s the principles evolved in earlier decades were drastically altered in a new effort to define the classical myth. Thus it was a gradual process. At first, the pioneer missionaries did not reject traditional society per se. Rather, it became outmoded in their eyes because as the years went by it no longer fulfilled the more clearly defined needs of the Zulu Christian community. One can imagine the missionaries' dilemma for, in a sense, they regarded themselves as prophets to the Zulu

in the same way as prophets had emerged out of the Hebraic-Christian world of the Bible. The missionaries sought to mold the consciousness of the Zulu people so they would fulfill that destiny which, so the missionaries believed, God had pre-ordained for them.

In the process of trying to communicate this ideal to the Zulu, however, the American Zulu Mission came up against the intricate complexities of traditional culture. Continual frustration with their environment, experiences which did not seem to confirm their earlier hopes and the perennial poverty of finances and personnel weakened by degrees the urgency of making the Zulu responsible for the Christian conquest of Africa. The missionaries gradually came to believe that first a segregated community of Christians had to be created who were cleansed of the customs and taboos of traditional culture.

THE NEED FOR LAND

To establish a Zulu Christian community, perhaps the most important priority was somehow to bring those external conditions which lay essentially outside of the Mission's control into conformity with its policy. The need for land was at the root of this problem and it dominated the missionary's relationship to those Imperial officials responsible for governing Natal and also to the settlers who, in practice, legislated for the colony from 1856.²⁴ The missionaries had to be assured that the land in and around the

stations they occupied was under their control and set apart for the exclusive use of the chiefdoms among whom they were working. To get this assurance they accepted and, indeed, in the 1840s and 1850s played a rather influential role in establishing segregated grants of land where the African population south of the Tugela River was to reside. Most of this land was given to chiefs who had as yet no contact with the missionaries. These areas were to be called Locations--administered and protected by a special colonial agency called the Natal Native Trust. But the missionaries also received official recognition for their efforts. Government land grants amounting virtually to freehold tenure were given to the missionaries where they had built their stations. These areas were to be called Glebes. Land adjacent to the stations was granted to the Mission to administer in trust for the African residents. These areas attached to the stations were to be called Mission Reserves.

Glebes, Reserves, Locations--the centers of American missionary activity for almost two generations. Each Glebe had its mission station and each station was to have at least one church and a school--the cultural headquarters of these proto-Christian communities. As the Mission's activities expanded to the Reserves and Locations, churches and schools on new outstations were to be housed, more often than not, in a single building. In the more remote areas, preaching places were to be formed where one evangelist did the preaching and teaching.²⁵ From the beginning there was to be an intimate

relationship between these two pillars of the Zulu Christian community which would have several important implications in subsequent years. Of more immediate importance, the Americans received certain benefits from the land grants because they were legally protected from possible colonial exploitation by the Imperial Government which encouraged and officially aided the missionaries in their activities. Thus it is not surprising that the Mission chose to concentrate its energies on these areas rather than expand any further into the interior.

CULTURAL CONTACT AND FRICTION BETWEEN MISSIONARY AND ZULU IN THE 1850S

Security, protection and virtually unlimited authority were provided in the Glebes and Reserves enabling the missionaries to make more concerted efforts to establish Zulu Christian communities. In the process, they were faced with the problem of how to convince their congregations-cum-converts and, indeed themselves, that sacrifices were essential in order to attain this goal.

It must be clearly understood that, in one sense, those who served the American Zulu Mission were no different from their counterparts anywhere else in the world. Christianity and Western Civilization, in practice, were closely identified. The use of plows and wagons, the building of upright houses, the weaving of clothes, the acceptance of western medicine, the sending of children to school--these were regarded as the fruits of the Gospel. And, indeed, when the

people complied, they tended to be identified by the missionaries and, more especially, by the colonists as representatives of the Christian community. Thus, in part, every missionary equated the redemption of the Zulu people with conformity to cultural patterns which had evolved in Western Europe. And the same seems to have been true of the Zulu. As Absalom Vilakazi put it: " . . . for the Zulu . . . Christianity and Western secular culture were synonymous".²⁶ Moreover, because this civilization seemingly had been transferred successfully from the Old World to the New, in some respects the Americans made even greater demands upon the people than their European missionary colleagues in Natal.

The first concerted attack on polygamy appeared in the 1850s and a rather extended debate with John William Colenso, the controversial Anglican Bishop of Natal, ensued on the subject.²⁷ Aldin Grout, for example, attempted to revolutionize traditional land tenure on the basis of freehold grants while others were conducting experiments in new farming techniques and encouraging the people to plant cotton, sugar cane, coffee and various other cash crops. The first temperance campaigns were also conducted during this period.²⁸

Initially, these attempts to alter traditional society produced a sharp reaction from the heathens who became more unyielding to missionary demands as the years went by. In the beginning, the Americans ministered to a people whose culture, as we have noted, had already undergone considerable dislocation. It was perhaps not surprising that in such a

situation the pioneer missionaries recorded a striking response to the Gospel message. Adams and Aldin Grout, for example, reported large congregations which at times reached 1,000 while there was similar, and not unrelated, progress among those who were under some form of educational instruction.²⁹ This enthusiasm was on the wane by the 1850s, however, and the large congregations of previous years were no longer recorded:

" . . . 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".³⁰

A rather graphic illustration of the friction generated by interaction between two very different value systems during this period is found in a conversation reputedly reported by Lewis Grout:

"Meeting a company of natives, old and young, one of them addressed him thus, 'Teacher, white man! We black people do not like the news which you bring us. 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 to-day, if you do not cease, we will leave you and all this religion, and go where the Gospel is not known or heard'."

The implications of this conversation are even more significant when coupled with a heathen statement about the life the new Christians were forced to lead:

"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 al-

ways building upright houses, which are cold and uncomfortable".³¹

The following figures reveal the lack of progress made by the Mission in the 1850s:³²

<u>Year</u>	<u>Admissions</u>	<u>Total Church Membership from the Beginning, (i.e., 1846)</u>
1850	45	136
1851	50	?
1852	50	166
1853	8	?
1854	11	?
1855	14	?
1856	10	191
1857	?	200
1858	10	186

From 1846 to 1850 the number of converts rose from one to 136. After 1852, however, the number of converts suddenly dropped. It was not until 1868 that admissions per year exceeded the figure for 1852. For most of the 1850s growth was slow and erratic, with only 50 new members recorded at the end of eight years. Of even greater significance was the fact that the number of admissions each year showed little correlation with the total membership--indicating that many converts either became disillusioned and left the Church or were excommunicated. A similar slowdown was registered in the number of churches. In 1851 there were eight and 12 years later only nine.

BUILDING A CHRISTIAN COMMUNITY IN THE 1860S AND EARLY 1870S

Nevertheless, slowly but surely there was an increase in membership which stood at 300 in 1865 and 448 in 1868. And in the 1860s, admissions each year also rose. In the first half of the decade the number of new converts doubled to about 22 a year and averaged about 35 a year between 1866 and 1872.³³ There was a continual process of adaptation between various traditional customs and taboos and the Western Christian culture being introduced by the missionaries. And with the growth of the Christian community, the lack of uniformity in procedure among the missionaries themselves also became more apparent. In the 1860s strong differences of opinion began to appear--particularly between the surviving pioneers and some of their colleagues who had arrived in the late 1840s and early 1850s--over what standards were necessary for admission into the Church and, through the Church, into the Christian community.³⁴ Some were convinced that only those who rejected traditional culture in its entirety should be admitted into 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 vanities, which have neither place, form nor being; 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."³⁵

But what were these customs? This statement, made in the 1850s, also suggests that the missionaries were unable to



pinpoint exactly what was to be abolished and what methods were to be used in breaking down the 'tribal' system. It took time and experience to assimilate this knowledge and in the interim the missionaries, isolated on their individual stations, experimented to the point where there seem to have been as many ideas on what to preserve and what to reject in traditional culture as there were missionaries.

In the meantime, a distinct Christian community began to emerge in the 1860s and early 1870s and the missionaries were increasingly occupied with the task of putting their ideas into practice in order to give some meaning and stability to this community. More and more of the Mission's activities, for example, were centered around the schools. The missionaries had set up the first schools in their homes, but in the 1850s and 1860s separate primary institutions were built on all of the stations. Interest gradually developed in post-primary education and from 1865 to 1875 four boarding schools were established at Adams (Amanzimtoti), Inanda and Umzumbe.³⁶

In the 1860s enrolment in the churches and schools of the Christian community grew to the point where the Mission's resources were exhausted. The Americans no longer had enough money or manpower to staff and finance these institutions, but they had not yet trained Zulu Christians for positions of responsibility in the community. Furthermore, the missionaries were aware that the new system of values which they were in the process of constructing was simply not being communi-

cated in a satisfactory fashion by the few African 'helpers' who had been recruited. Part of the reason for this may have been the Mission's own lack of unity. Many missionaries now believed that the new value system had to be clarified and perhaps even codified so that it presented a distinct alternative to traditional society. In the 1860s, however, there was too much opposition to altering the status quo. The rather pragmatic approach of cultural adaptation which had been more or less characteristic of the first generation continued for a few more years.

Meanwhile, the missionaries made a concerted effort to train Zulu preachers and teachers for the churches and primary schools, which was the major reason why the boarding schools were established. They also created a variety of institutions for the Zulu Christian community. In the process, the Zulu Christians were woven into a distinct body of believers segregated as far as possible from their heathen kinsmen.

In 1869 one of the American Board secretaries, Nathaniel Clark, called for the ordination of Zulu pastors to control seven churches which would be organized by the Mission.³⁷ On May 29, 1870, the first church was formally established at Umzumbe with seven members.³⁸ The next day Rufus Anderson, whose African name was Mguzana Mngadi,³⁹ was ordained and installed as pastor of the Umzumbe Church. The second man ordained, Msingaphansi Nyuswa, took over as pastor of the Imfume Church two weeks later and Lindley's beloved helper, James Dube, was put in charge of the church at Inanda in

December 1870. Two years later two more men were ordained: Benjamin Hawes at Itafamasi⁴⁰ and Ira Adams Nembula at Amanzimtoti.⁴¹ In 1878 a significant step was taken when Mbuyana Ngidi was ordained as pastor of the church at Noodsberg near Table Mountain, an outstation of about 30 acres established on Location land with a lease from the Natal Native Trust.⁴² The very fact that many of these pastors adopted European names suggests that the Christians were already beginning to construct an identity of their own within the confines of missionary culture. Memorial services commemorating the arrival of the pioneer missionaries, for example, were held on several stations during these years and the custom soon evolved into an annual thanksgiving day for the African Christian community.⁴³

Alongside these ordinations, the Mission was busy setting up other institutions designed for the emerging Christian community. In 1860 the Home Missionary Society was formed. It was apparently the "earliest church responsibility" of the Christian community and originally was composed entirely of Africans who were given a great deal of freedom in the management of the society. They collected money from the churches, employed and paid their own missionaries. In 1869, just prior to the ordinations, there were 12 African 'helpers' on the Mission and at least three of these worked for the Home Missionary Society in various parts of Natal.⁴⁴ Special meetings called "monthly concerts" were organized on Sunday afternoons where the emphasis seems to have been on the

missionary work of the American Zulu Mission and other societies working in Natal and beyond. An offering was taken at each meeting which may have gone to the Home Missionary Society for this purpose.⁴⁵

About 1869 the Mission began holding annual "Preachers' Institutes" north and south of Durban. These were "designed to offer intensive study of scripture as well as spiritual refreshment to men in charge of parishes". At first, the missionaries were in charge of the institutes. They lectured on a variety of topics, some of which were far removed from theology, and examinations were given. Special meetings with the leading African churchmen were also held and eventually the Native Annual Meeting, as it was to be called, became a permanent event on the ecclesiastical calendar, being held each year immediately after the Mission's Annual Meeting.⁴⁶ Millions of pages were being printed on the little Mission press located at Amanzimtoti during these years, moreover, and gradually a body of literature in Zulu was compiled for the Christian community.

We have by no means exhausted the various organizations created by the missionaries for the developing Christian community but the evidence suggests that by the early 1870s a distinct colony of Christians had been formed in and around the various mission stations, the members of which were isolated, in varying degree, both physically and mentally from their heathen brethren. And it is also significant that these Christian communities--which were gaining in wealth as

well as stature during this period--apparently gave generous support to the trained teachers and ecclesiastical leaders who were beginning to emerge from the Church. It is interesting to note, for example, some of the teachers' salaries that have been recorded:⁴⁷

<u>Teacher</u>	<u>Day school</u>	<u>Year</u>	<u>Salary/year paid by Christian community</u>
Benjamin Hawes	Umvoti	1860	£36
"an English colonial"	Umvoti	1863	£75
? (apparently a colonist)	Amanzimtoti	1863	£50 (£45 paid by the Zulu Christians)

These would have been regarded as generous salaries indeed--30 years later! Umtwalume was listed as "self-supporting"--i.e., the Zulu Christians paid all of the teacher's salary--during the 1860s and this may well have been true of other station schools as well. Mrs. Mary Edwards, founder of the boarding school at Inanda, reported in 1888 that the pupils had contributed £900 to the school in the first 20 years of its existence which was "considerably over half the expenditure". Since African financial contributions appear to have declined from the 1880s, it seems reasonable that the students at Inanda Seminary, and probably those at the other boarding schools as well, were relatively generous in their aid to education in the 1860s and early 1870s. The people also gave substantial financial support to the churches. Ireland, writing about 1865, reported that one church of about 70

members collected more than £600 (\$3,000) towards a larger church building while another, with "little more than thirty members", gave about £130 (\$650) in a similar effort. In 1881-1882 the Mission acknowledged that "probably not more than one-half" of the revenue spent on constructing churches, schools and so forth on the Glebes had been obtained from American Board funds. At that time, the total value of buildings owned by the Mission was estimated at £8,238 (\$41,190). In 1885 it was reported that African monetary contributions to the Home Missionary Society alone in the previous 25 years had been almost £2,000 (\$10,000).

It is important to note at this juncture that until the late 1870s the institutions created in the pioneer missionary generation and the people who were trained for positions of responsibility in the Zulu Christian community either emanated from or were securely tied to the Church so that the Christian community and the Church were synonymous. Indeed, the Mission Church played such a fundamental role as an organization in the life of the Christian community that one can scarcely exaggerate its influence.⁴⁸ From birth to death the whole of traditional culture was to be replaced by that of the Church. Since the Church had been made in the Mission's image, moreover, this ultimately inspired the Americans to embark on a campaign which seemed bent on destroying everything constructed in the previous generation.

A DYNAMIC OF CULTURAL CHANGE:

THE PURGE OF THE CHURCH

Gradually the American Zulu missionaries had moved against the intricate complexities of traditional culture. And the further they penetrated this mysterious labyrinth, the more convinced they became that it could not be reconciled with Christian culture. In the late 1870s and 1880s the missionaries launched a massive assault on what they believed to be the roots of traditional belief and behavior still firmly implanted within the Christian community. In the process, everything that had been done in the previous generation was abruptly suspended. The campaign to purge and purify the Christian community was so devastating that its effects were to be felt in every sphere of missionary endeavor in subsequent generations and, as one observer has concluded, "are still with us today".⁴⁹

Unfortunately, no primary research has been done on this period and so the details of this campaign remain unclear. Nevertheless, there is enough evidence to offer some generalizations as to what, in fact, occurred. It will be remembered that one of the causes of discontent among the missionaries was their inability to agree on what standards should be required for admission to the Church. At the same time as the missionaries were training Zulu leaders and creating ecclesiastical and educational institutions for the Christian community, they began to compile a body of legislation for the

infant Church.⁵⁰ As they did so, the differences of opinion began to crystallize into two distinct groups. Some missionaries--and these apparently included Lindley and Aldin Grout--did not regard many traditional practices as being insurmountable barriers to Church membership. Others--and these included many of those who arrived in the late 1840s and 1850s--demanded a total rejection of traditional culture. Edwin Smith in his biography of Lindley reported that the controversy was brought out into the open in 1867 over an attempt to enforce a set of binding regulations on ukulobola and ukulobolisa, a custom in which the bride's family received a gift of cattle from the bridegroom's family as part of the marriage contract.⁵¹

The Zulu Christians, who apparently had accepted the restrictions against polygamy, rebelled against the new rules and they were supported by the pioneer missionaries:

" . . . Aldin Grout declared that all his people supported uku-lobola and he could not conscientiously carry out disciplinary measures against it: he would rather resign from the Mission. Daniel Lindley supported him."⁵²

The problem was so serious that the Mission sent a deputation to the American Board, and the latter was asked to issue a ruling. Secretary Nathaniel Clark's reply is worth noting, for it expressed the attitude of the Mission's parent body in the generation to come:

"The proper work of 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 favor 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 counsel; you will be the spiritual advisers; but you will have no authority."⁵³

There were other customs which also caused friction between the missionaries, but the fundamental problem could not be resolved. Lindley, for example, was well aware of the nature of those who disagreed with him: "We have in our Mission good men, and to me beloved brethren, who are radical purists, whose minds are not satisfied with anything short of perfection."⁵⁴

The prestige of the pioneer missionaries, Lindley and Aldin Grout, coupled with Secretary Clark's warning, silenced for the moment the opposition of the 'radical purists'. Secretary Clark, as we have seen, called for the ordination of Zulu pastors, and Lindley expressed relief at his timely intervention: "For some time before your suggestions 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."⁵⁵ Lindley's jubilation was premature, however. When Aldin Grout retired in 1870 and Lindley followed suit in 1873, there was apparently no one with enough influence and prestige to lead the opposition to those

who demanded what amounted to a reformation within the Church.

The first to go were the pastors. In 1877 Rufus Anderson was charged with what amounted to adultery. He was "tried" and found guilty. Although suspended for a year, apparently he had not reformed and was dropped from the pastor's roll. Benjamin Hawes was temporarily relieved of his duties for "insubordination". Nyuswa and Dube died within a few years after they were ordained and were not replaced. In 1878 there was one ordained African pastor left on the field. In 1883 there was one more ordination--when Ngumba Nyawose became pastor of a newly-established church at Empusheni--but in 21 years between 1872 and 1893 there had been only two ordinations--Ngidi and Nyawose--and both men were placed in frontier churches with relatively few Christians.⁵⁶

There were, of course, several reasons for the failure of the first attempt to create an independent Zulu pastorate. Several pastors had been placed in churches the missionaries had abandoned due to lack of personnel. Thus these men were left, more often than not, on their own. Outside of a brief and rather narrow theological education, none of the pastors had any training in administration, supervision of outstations and lay preachers, Sunday Schools, counseling and all the other duties expected of an ordained minister. Furthermore, these pastors were not young men who offered themselves for the ministry and then served the Church for

life. It was rather the reverse. Those Christians who had served a lifetime as teaching and preaching 'helpers' were rewarded for their services by being ordained. It was more of an honorary title than the commissioning of a new responsibility. Previously, in the congregational manner, each missionary had made his own set of rules and regulations for the 'church' of which he was, in practice, the pastor. This arrangement was perpetuated by the newly-ordained ministers. Neither they nor their congregations really understood the significance of this change in status.⁵⁷

The fact remains, however, that the missionaries refused to ordain any more pastors.⁵⁸ Indeed, in 1878 the Mission went so far as to write and plead for more missionaries to act as pastors. The American Board, however, refused to alter its decision:

"That is the work which belongs to the Natives whom we have educated and raised up for it. . . . You have no educated pastors at present. It is better for the missionary cause to wait two or three years, than for us to load you down with men for pastoral work."⁵⁹

The American Board remained firm on this point but for years the missionaries defied the decision. It is interesting to note how unified the missionaries were on this issue in the 1880s. Stephen Pixley, who arrived on the field in 1855, reported to Secretary Judson Smith in 1887:

"It makes us all sad at heart to find we cannot put trust in natives who have stood faithful and done good work so long a time. You will understand why. . . . we are becoming more and more cautious in ordaining native men for the work of the ministry."⁶⁰

Charles Holbrook, who arrived on the field 28 years later, held the same viewpoint. It is worth quoting because it provides an interesting example of the transference of color consciousness to the Zulu who were educated by this missionary generation:

"It is a sad fact that these black people despise their own color. Also, they have had educated white clergymen as their pastors for half-a-century--and they do not like to forego the luxury considering that so long as they have such a pastor they get him for nothing while if they should have a black one they would be expected to pay him at least part of his support. Here is the root of the difficulty. . . . No man . . . will choose what seems to him to be an inferior article which he has to pay a high price for when he can get a better article for nothing."⁶¹

Thus the American Zulu Mission was left on its own. As the campaign against traditional culture mounted in intensity

" . . . 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."⁶²

In June 1879 the missionaries felt prepared to take a firm stand when they met at Umsunduzi station for their Annual Meeting. A set of rules was drawn up which have remained on the books--some neglected, others rigorously enforced, to this day:

"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 permitted to remain in the same. Remark--Any man living with 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. Remarks--(1) The demanding of cattle, or money, or goods of any kind for a daughter, or sister or female friend, as a condition of marriage, shall be regarded as ukulobolisa. (2) The calling of cattle, or money or goods, by the mother of a girl or anyone standing in the place of the mother shall be regarded as ukulobolisa.
3. In no church connected with the American Zulu Mission shall any 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 to encourage in any way the making of beer drinks. Remark--(1) The calling of a party to drink beer or the attending of 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. (2) Wedding parties are not an exception to the rule.
5. No member of any of the Churches connected with the A.Z.M. shall be allowed to use, as a beverage, any intoxicating drinks whatsoever.
6. No member of any of the churches of the A.Z.M. shall be allowed at any time to smoke the insangu /dagga or wild hemp/.⁶³

The Zulu Christian community was asked to pledge their loyalty to these rules. There was opposition--especially among the men against the second rule--but eventually "with the missionaries exhorting" every regulation was adopted. Since by this time only the Mission would provide a haven for the isolated Zulu Christian community, there was really no other alternative:

"Now began the campaign to wipe out moral lapses. . . . Never before had there been so much argument and never before had the missionaries fought so hard for their points. Some opponents were removed from the church and others were relieved of positions of authority and watched carefully."⁶⁴

By 1885 the first fruits of victory were to be seen on the Mission stations. By 1900 a 20-page pamphlet compiling all the rules passed in the previous generation described in exact detail the duties of the Mission and the Church.⁶⁵ And by this time the enthusiasm of the American missionaries had spread, through agencies like the Natal Missionary Conference and the South African General Missionary Conference,⁶⁶ to other missionary societies, to many influential colonists and even to the government.

THE TEMPERANCE CRUSADE

The reformation within the Church had repercussions outside, as well as inside, the mission stations. The temperance crusade, for example, was the product of the efforts of Mrs. Laura Bridgman who, with her husband Henry, arrived in Africa in 1860 and founded the mission station at Umzumbe-- the first recruits of a most remarkable missionary family.⁶⁷ Mrs. Bridgman recorded that she soon became very concerned about the "drinking problem" at Umzumbe but the position of missionary women at the time was not an exalted one and she had no previous experience in temperance work:⁶⁸

"That a thorough temperance reform was the thing needed to clear the ground and prepare the way for other forms of Christian work was a deep-seated conviction in my mind, yet I do not remember saying much about it, and was waiting for older and more experienced workers to take the lead. Of course there was a great deal of preaching done against drink and drunkenness, but it seemed to hit nowhere and had no apparent effect. . . . I had no idea of the deeply rooted nature of the custom as a national custom, neither had I any adequate

conception of the awful power and bondage of the alcoholic appetite".

Beer (especially a brew called utshwala), for example, was accepted by the African Christians on all the stations, even among the pastors and students at the theological seminary which at that time was located at Umzumbe. In 1878 Mrs. Bridgman made her first convert in Mabuda Cele, a descendant of the royal family, who had just completed his training at the theological seminary and was to become Bridgman's principal 'helper' at Umzumbe. The Zulu War of 1879 intervened, however, and apparently the missionaries left Umzumbe to seek refuge in Durban. Cele, to Mrs. Bridgman's chagrin, went back to beer drinking.

Mrs. Bridgman, however, was a very determined woman and after returning to Umzumbe redoubled her efforts--concentrating on the students, and their wives, who attended the theological school:

"But we had already learned that to do any effective work we must begin with the Native pastors. . . . theological students. . . . Appeals were useless to the amakolwa /Christians/ anywhere so long as those leaders were known by their example to set all argument at naught. With them the struggle must begin."

Eventually three families⁶⁹ decided to abstain from drinking intoxicating beverages, but resistance to her efforts was greater than ever before: "Persecution was rampant, and hostility bitter and we feared the abstainers would be overcome." Reinforcements were needed, and Mrs. Bridgman found them in "the school-house full of children. Could we not

work up a temperance sentiment among them; could we not kindle a flame in their young hearts, which they would take to their homes and start a fire ablaze among the people there and on the station?" If the children agreed to abstain from drinking beer they were given "a little bit of blue ribbon to pin on their dresses". Thus was born what later became the famous Blue Ribbon Army:

"Then we planned a great picnic at the river and the children were to march around with music and flags and banners. This took with them like a charm, and enthusiasm was kindled. Then followed a series of meetings in the chapel, one every two months through the year. The boys and girls learned pieces, recitations and dialogues, the chapel was decorated in finest style with flowers, flags and banners. Much of the dramatics was employed with fine effect. The Natives were found to be fine at drama which served a splendid purpose in showing off the foolishness and the deceitfulness of the drink. The people were amused, captivated and convinced. One by one they came forward to take the ribbon. . . . But all this was not accomplished by meetings alone. Many were the talks and arguments and prayers we had with those men in our little room on every suitable occasion. Those who were the hardest to yield were the strongest and the firmest to stand."

From Umzumbe the Blue Ribbon Army marched to Amanzimtoti where Mrs. Robbins took up the temperance banner. From there they marched to Mrs. Edwards at Inanda and eventually the movement spread throughout the stations. A vigorous publishing campaign was started and the crusade was taken up by other missionary societies as well. The war on drink spread to the colonists, and Mrs. Bridgman became one of the founders of the Women's Christian Temperance Union in Natal and, later on, in South Africa.

The temperance movement also opened up other possibilities: "Now the church members being free from drink . . . they soon began to see the sin of other customs which they had formerly regarded as innocent and had practiced without restraint". A sermon by one of the preachers in 1884 "brought a revelation to the missionaries, and awakened us to the fact that the work in that church was only just begun. The depths of heathenism had hardly been touched. . . . it was finally decided that the whole church should be called together about this business". For months Mrs. Bridgman and other missionaries held meetings with the people at Umzumbe:

"All their heathen customs . . . were thoroughly discussed and laid open to the light, and on each a vote was taken whether it should be practiced or forbidden by the Umzumbe Church. They were then put in the hands of a committee, who reduced them to proper form and made copies, each copy covering three foolscap pages."

The result was the publication in 1884 of the Umzumbe Rules, a more detailed version of those drawn up at Umsunduzi, which became a model for similar 'constitutions' drawn up at other Mission stations as well. By 1885 it would appear that the Mission had firmly established the standards to be used in the purification and subsequent rebuilding of the Church.

THE CHRISTIAN COMMUNITY, THE CHURCH AND THE EMERGENCE OF AN AFRICAN CHRISTIAN ELITE

During the cultural reformation, a clear distinction emerged between the Christian community and the purged Church which became a vexing problem and at times a baffling enigma

to the missionaries, the Africans and, of particular importance, to the colonists. Christianity and Western Civilization, moreover, no longer had the same meaning. Those who wore clothes, built upright houses, went to school and so forth were not automatically classified as members of the Church. About 1895, for example, only 23 per cent (3,692) of the total population residing on the American Glebes and Reserves (16,317) were members of the Church, but 43 per cent (about 7,000) belonged to the "Christian community".⁷⁰ Furthermore, from the 1880s there were definite signs that the Mission was having difficulty in bringing order out of the chaos caused by the cultural revolution. The déclassé roaming the Reserves were a potentially explosive force, isolated as they were both from the Church and their traditional kinsmen.⁷¹

Many who had previously accepted the restrictions imposed by the Mission on the Church now began to leave the fold, taking their supporters with them. One of the earliest examples was Mngadi Ngidi, a pioneer pastor. As we shall see, in the 1880s he successfully established an independent church which included many members of the Christian community who rejected the new cultural standards imposed by the Mission.⁷² In the next generation the influence of Ngidi, and others like him, would have important ramifications both for the Mission and the Church.

Church membership statistics, although inaccurate and incomplete, lend credence to the belief that the reformation

took a heavy toll on the station communities--the principal source of new converts until the 1880s:⁷³

<u>Year</u>	<u>Admissions</u>	<u>Total church membership from the beginning</u>
1868	52	448
1869	8	456
1870	28	493
1871	37	481
1872	49	500
1873	29	556
1874	46	?
1875	18	560
1876	69	?
1877	20	?
1878	18	?
1879	19	610
1880	27	646
1881	32	634
1882	40	645

Between 1858 and 1868 the Church received 262 people. In the 14 years from 1869 to 1882, however, the increase in membership was less than 200 and there were large fluctuations in admissions from year to year. Furthermore, once again there was little correlation between admission figures and the figures for total membership. Between 1880 and 1882, for example, the Church admitted 99 people but total membership actually dropped from 646 to 645. The missionaries themselves later attributed the slow growth of the Church to the emphasis on 'quality' Christians:

"Individual missionaries have questioned the expedience of the stringency of some of its rules . . . but again and again the platform adopted by the mission at Umsunduzi in 1879 has been reaffirmed. Success in the line of large church membership has been sacrificed. Quality, not quantity, has been the only standard by which its success has been sought."⁷⁴

It also appears, however, that the purge of the Church was directed against the power of the wealthier members of the Christian community:

"They have been cut off for various offences. So long as they hoped to be restored or to exercise control over the secular affairs of the church, they continued to contribute, but when it became evident that there could be no restoration without reformation and that they were altogether outsiders . . . then contributions began to decrease and in some cases they have ceased entirely."⁷⁵

African monetary contributions, which totalled £603 in 1881 and £554 in 1882, declined throughout the 1880s:⁷⁶

<u>Year</u>	<u>Admissions</u>	<u>Total Church membership from the beginning</u>	<u>African contribu- tions to churches and schools*</u>
1883	82	729	£463
1884	118	782	£739
1885	67	866	?
1886	129	969	?
1887	108	?	about £300
1888	132	1,097	£285
1889	86	1,155	£230
1890	58	1,146	£293
1894	165	1,806	£403
1895	340	1,947	£835
1896	281	2,105	£637
1897	301	2,406	£856
1898	469	2,869	£856
1899	500	3,256	£923
1900	300	3,330	£702
1901	276	3,555	£702
1902	389	4,298	£702

*Mission estimates exclude African contributions in kind.

From these figures, it can be seen that African monetary contributions dropped to their lowest point in 1889. It was not until 1903, in fact, that revenue from this source (estimated by the Mission at £1,593) reached a level deemed commensurate

with the growth in Church membership. Such relative generosity, moreover, was to be prompted by changes in Mission policy and performance and by the arrival of an official Deputation from the American Board. The Church recovered much more quickly, although here again there were fluctuations in yearly admissions and a continued lack of correlation between these and total membership. In 1886, for example, the Mission reported that the Zulu Christian community was "poor and growing poorer" while the "purifying of the church has increased its numbers and its power". In 1889, African monetary contributions were roughly one-third less than what they had been in 1881 but membership had almost doubled during the same period. In 1895, when revenue from this source was £835 or roughly one-quarter more than it had been in 1881, membership had increased by more than three times during the same period. In 1902 African monetary contributions were scarcely £100 above what they had been 21 years earlier but Church membership had risen almost seven-fold.

Despite the monetary crisis, which in the 1870s and 1880s at least, could be attributed to the cultural reformation,⁷⁷ the standards erected for the Church remained. The Umsunduzi Rules and similar codes were enshrined in the churches as models for Christian behavior. And those who had survived the purges were, if anything, more rigid in their loyalty to and observance of the New Ethic than the missionaries who had sponsored it. Thus, while the campaign against Zulu

custom and taboo was no less pronounced in the 1890s than it had been 20 years earlier, there was a small group of leaders within the purged Church--what we shall now identify as an African Christian elite--who were wholly committed to the new way of life and who were now equipped to initiate changes in Mission policy which their predecessors could scarcely have imagined.

When the missionaries wavered, the elite stood firm. In 1884, for example, the pastors and preachers were asked for advice on the subject of beer drinking:

Madikane--"Why do you ask us? You told us to let it alone and we resisted you and now we see you were right, why do you now ask our advice."

Benjamin Hawes--"This has been a matter of such vexation to us that my reply is let the church be begun on the basis of no drink."

Thomas Hawes--"I also agree. I did not think once there was much harm in it. Had not a snake better be killed when it is small rather than grow and bite people?"⁷⁸

In the 1890s other questions, such as the problem of admitting wives of polygamists into the Church,⁷⁹ were reviewed but the African Christian elite refused to allow any relaxation in the standards. In less than a generation the effects of the cultural revolution were permanently embedded in the lives of the African churches and their leaders. The Mission's General Letter for 1906 set the tone for the whole period:

"The record of admissions, trials, suspensions, expulsions, make sad reading. There were few members down to 1881 who did not sooner or later come under discipline. . . . /Now/ there is no longer any contest over the rules. . . . It is understood everywhere that these are the rules

of all our churches, and that those who violate them are liable to be expelled or suspended from the church. . . . The hopeful thing is that the church can be trusted . . . to discipline a member. Our pastors and preachers can generally be trusted not only to set a right example, but to preach a right doctrine on these questions. There is no question that in number and character the leaders among the natives are in advance of those of 25 years ago."⁸⁰

The African Christian elite: in a real sense they were the final products of two generations of cultural contact--of friction, adaptation and, perhaps inevitably, reformation. There had evolved in the process a genealogy of leadership that in every respect reflected, indeed paralleled, the role of traditional authority. When the Church was purged, splitting the Christian community, the elite were the first and most zealous converts. Those who survived within the Church looked to this group for strength and guidance. It was they who would lead the Chosen People into the new society. And, what is more, they were well aware of their vocation. One of the daughters of William Ireland, for example, recalled that she once visited the home of John Nembula:

" . . . /and/ was much impressed by the loving understanding in the family as John said to his little son. Your great grandmother was the first christian, your grand-father was the first Pastor /sic/ and your Father is the first Doctor. Now what are you going to be?"⁸¹

The classical myth, the old missionary vision, at last had become a reality.

But if the African Christian elite took leading roles in the play which was to open in 1885, they were not the only actors on the stage. If they were molded in the Mission's image, the product of its ultimate inspiration, they were also the source of most of its problems in the next generation. This is essentially why this thesis is entitled "The Problems of an African Mission in a White-dominated, Multi-racial Society". The American Zulu Mission was no longer able to chart the course of the Christian community and it was no longer free to develop in isolation from the rest of the world between 1885 and 1910. The Mission was forced to meet and attempt to resolve a complex set of internal and external problems in a multi-racial society dominated by the whites while at the same time it tried to gain recognition for the new African personality which it had created deus ex machina.

The Mission's actions and reactions during the next generation were partially dictated, of course, by conditions over which it had little control. These should be summarized as they relate to the American Board because in a sense the parent body defined the limits of the Mission's ability to resolve many of the conflicts which arose between 1885 and 1910. The three most important were: (1) Policy and Attitude of the American Board, (2) The shortage of personnel, (3) Financial instability.

(1) Policy and Attitude of the American Board

As the missions of the American Board were organized in various parts of the world, the ultimate goals to be reached in these foreign fields slowly matured. Many of the American Board's missions were located in Asia and between 1850 and 1880 most of the deputations went East to obtain first-hand impressions of how these missions were progressing. It was from these experiences that gradually the American Board formulated a general policy for its foreign missions. In essence, the ultimate goal was to create independent self-supporting, self-propagating, self-governing churches guided by trained 'native' ministers.⁸²

It was outlined by Secretary Rufus Anderson even before the American Civil War. At that time it was a theoretical ideal, however, not a practical policy, and when the American Board finally pressed the issue on the Zulu Mission in the late 1860s it received, as indicated, a negative response. Indeed, the second missionary generation feared the responsibility that had already been transferred to the Christian community. If they were to be reconciled to the American Board's recommendations--and many refused to view these as either acceptable or inevitable at the time--then the Christian community first had to be exorcised of the vestiges of traditional culture. Thus the American Board's attitude was undoubtedly a factor in the reformation of the Church.

In the meantime, however, the missionaries had little to show for their efforts and, as a result, there was little

interest in the activities of the American Zulu Mission. Between 1850 and 1880 the personnel and financial resources of the American Board were strained as never before and thus what was available went to those fields offering the most opportunities for advancement. This meant Asia, which was not only better known than Africa (the Prudential Committee did not send a deputation to the Natal field until 1903) but also had grown much more rapidly and was apparently more amenable to the American Board's wishes.⁸³ It is interesting to note what Turkey, India and Japan--three representative missions in Asia--received from the American Board between 1850 and 1910:⁸⁴

<u>Year</u>	<u>Mission</u>	<u>Grant from Board (in dollars to the near- est 100)</u>
1850	Turkey	75,800
	India (including Ceylon)	62,100
1860	Turkey	151,600
	India	76,100
1870	Turkey (excluding Syria)	139,300
	India	109,400
	Japan	5,600
1880	Turkey	159,400
	India	92,900
	Japan	26,900
1890	Turkey	207,000
	India	118,000
	Japan	121,000
1900	Turkey	191,200
	India	139,500
	Japan	82,700
1910	Turkey	255,000
	India	170,000
	Japan	118,000

Most of the American Board's revenue went to its missions in Asia, and at least part of the reason for this was its disappointment at the failure of the American Zulu Mission to produce any tangible results after almost two generations of activity in Natal. In 1890, for example, George Wilder, son of Hyman Wilder, laid before the Prudential Committee some of the Mission's hopes and grievances. At the time, his account of these interviews supported the belief that the American Board had not been sympathetic to the Mission's cause in the past and was unlikely to alter its opinion in the future:

" . . . the Natal Mission Stock was not 'booming' around the Rooms /the American Board's main offices in Boston, Mass./--to put it mildly. . . . I put myself on the defensive and practically complained of the treatment the Zulu Mission had received on several occasions in the past and of the attitude of the Prudential Committee to the mission at present. . . . I may say that Dr. Smith /Secretary Judson Smith/ finally admitted that he had great difficulty in getting any grant made for the Zulu Mission and he wrote . . . 'I do not at all take it that what has been in regard to the Zulu Mission must always be'. . . . I gather then that Dr. Smith was ready to take a greater interest in our work but that the Prudential Committee were not much inclined to do for us more than they could help."85

Nevertheless, by the 1880s every mission was required to adhere to the American Board's policies as it embarked on a concerted drive to harmonize the interests and needs of the home and foreign agencies of the A.B.C.F.M. In theory, each mission was to channel all personnel and revenue into five departments--evangelism, education, medicine, industrial work and publishing. Detailed accounts of mission activities and future plans were to be sent to the Prudential Committee

to facilitate its fund-raising campaigns among the churches in America. In 1898, for example, those affiliated with the American Board were presented with a "Forward Movement" plan to subsidize missionary families. By the early 1900s most missionaries were being "sponsored" by specific individuals or churches in the Board's struggle to survive as America's oldest and largest Protestant missionary organization.⁸⁶

(2) The shortage of personnel

In 1850 there were 13 American mission families in Natal--"the largest that has ever been reached in the history of the Mission". In 1856 the manpower shortage was such as to arouse the anxieties of the Mission: " . . . we are led to conclude that our mission field has gone down in public esteem and that missionary candidates turn away from it as from a portion of the heathen world where they can hope to do little if any good".⁸⁷ In subsequent years the plea for more missionaries was frequently noted in the minutes of the Mission meetings. After 1865 single women were recruited, in part at least, because of the shortage of male personnel. From 1865 to 1875 two ordained missionaries and four single women were sent to the American Zulu Mission. With few exceptions, however, they were recruited as teachers in the boarding schools.⁸⁸ In 1885 there were 10 ordained missionaries on the field and in 1910 only eight.⁸⁹ A comment made at the 1889 Annual Meeting was typical of the times:

"On Tuesday afternoon closed a meeting truly remarkable and pitiable from the smallness of numbers and the poor health of at least half of the brethren present. . . . Cannot someone come to the rescue of our mission?"⁹⁰

In 1910 the situation, if anything, was even worse:

"It is the unanimous voice of the Mission that the present unprecedented depletion of its force constitutes a climax to the trying situation which has characterized the past decade. We have grimly held on doing our best and praying and hoping for a better day. But we cannot escape the conviction that the crisis is now upon us."⁹¹

There seems little doubt that the American Board deliberately restricted the number of missionaries allotted to the Zulu field because it had little confidence in the future of the Mission.

Moreover, there was an inverse ratio between the manpower shortage and the increase in Mission activity between 1885 and 1910. The committee system provides an excellent illustration of the ever-widening gap between what was needed and what was provided. From about 1870 all Mission work was organized, in theory, on the basis of committees. Missionaries were assigned to various committees, and at the annual meeting reports were submitted which covered the work accomplished during the previous year.⁹² Thus an idea of the expansion of the Mission's activities can be seen in the growing number of committees. Already in 1883 there were 17 committees, but by 1890 there were so many that they had to be divided into "standing", (i.e., permanent) and "special" committees. In that year there were about 31 committees (13 "standing"). In 1895 the "standing" committees remained the same but the

total number of committees rose to about 42. By 1897 there were at least 70 different committees. As one of the missionaries, Herbert Goodenough, reported to Secretary Smith: "The list of committees will give you some idea of the immense amount of work which is put on some of us". In fact, the committee system became so unwieldy that in subsequent years the minutes no longer bothered to list the special committees. Even so, by 1905 there were 31 "standing" committees and in 1910, no longer in possession of the Reserves and having abandoned most of the Glebes, the Mission still recorded 24 permanent committees.⁹³

(3) Financial instability

Throughout the 19th Century the American Board remained an important source of revenue for the Mission. A regular grant was made each year based usually on a compromise between the minimum amount required by the Mission ("provisional estimates") and the maximum the American Board could afford to spend. This yearly stipend was carefully divided between missionary salaries, which amounted to at least two-thirds of the total, and the needs of the Mission.

It is impossible to measure, with any degree of accuracy, the Mission's total capital needs but the following statistics suggest that the Mission's power and influence were hampered severely by the paucity of American Board grants:⁹⁴

American Zulu Mission

<u>Year</u>	<u>Grant from Board (in dollars to the nearest 100)</u>
1850	10,000
1860	12,700
1870	25,200
1880	21,500
1885	24,400
1890	24,400
1895	29,000
1900	34,000
1905	34,300
1910	35,000

After a small rise between 1850 and 1860, the grants more than doubled in the next decade. As we have seen, this was a period of physical expansion and cultural adaptation on the part of the Christian community. From 1870 to 1890, however, the grant dropped, providing strong support for the assumption that the American Board was not in favor of the cultural reformation.⁹⁵ In the 1890s, the grant again rose which corresponded to the phenomenal increase in Church membership.⁹⁶ Between 1900 and 1910, however, the American Board's grant remained virtually stable. Although the Church continued to grow during this period, the Mission incurred the bitter enmity of the Natal government, as well as colonial public opinion, and for a time it seemed that the Mission might be forced to leave the colony.

Thus the Mission's ability to solve the problems it faced was limited by conditions over which it had little or no control. What the American Board willed, moreover, the Zulu Mission somehow had to put into practice between 1885

and 1910. Since the American Board was not in a position to produce, in any meaningful way, the men and money required, the burden grew heavier each year and these factors were often decisive in matters of Mission policy.

NOTES

1. Memorial Volume of the First Fifty Years of the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions, p. 77. Hereafter referred to as Memorial volume.
2. E.g., Smith, E.W. The Life and Times of Daniel Lindley (1801-80): Missionary to the Zulus, Pastor of the Voortrekkers, Ubebe Omhlope, pp. 45-52. Memorial volume, chap. 1. Strong, W.E. The Story of the American Board, pp. 3-16, 309-310.
Both before and after the American Civil War, several denominations formed their own foreign missionary societies: the Presbyterians, for example, separated from the American Board in 1870.
3. Smith, op. cit., p. 51.
4. Memorial volume, p. 240.
5. Smith, op. cit., pp. 54, 64. See also: Jubilee of the American Mission in Natal, 1835-1885, pp. 18-19. Hereafter referred to as Jubilee volume.
6. For the history of the Interior Mission: cf. Kotze, D.J. Die Eerste Amerikaanse Sendelinge onder die Matabeles. Archives Year Book for South African History, 1950, I, pp. 129-318. Smith, op. cit., chaps. 3-4. Jubilee volume, pp. 19, 22-23.
7. Jubilee volume, p. 20. See also: Brookes, E.H. and Webb, C.deB. A History of Natal, pp. 14-15.
8. Jubilee volume, pp. 20-21. See also: Christoferson, A.F. (edited by R. Sales). Adventuring With God, pp. 16-17. Hereafter referred to as Christoferson, Adventuring With God.
9. Jubilee volume, p. 22. See also: Christoferson, Adventuring With God, pp. 18-19.
10. E.g., Brookes and Webb, op. cit., chap. IV. Thompson, L. "Co-operation and Conflict: The Zulu Kingdom and Natal" in Wilson, M. and Thompson, L. (eds.) The Oxford History of South Africa, I, pp. 352-373.

11. For the history of the Maritime Mission: Kotze, D.J. Die Eerste Amerikaanse Sendelinge onder die Zoeloes, 1835-1838. Archives Year Book for South African History, 1958, I.
12. With the help of the Boers who, in exchange for 40,000 cattle and a huge grant of land in Zululand, had recognized Mpande as the new Zulu king, Dingane was defeated and eventually put to death.
13. E.g., Christoferson, Adventuring With God, pp. 21-22.
14. Jubilee volume, p. 25.
15. Ibid.
16. For details, Smith, op. cit., chap. 6.
17. Brookes and Webb, op. cit., p. 58. The population was undoubtedly more than this, since the figure apparently refers to males only.
18. Jubilee volume, pp. 26-27.
19. Several reasons have been given as to why Adams decided to abandon Umlazi and establish a station at Amanzimtoti, which was originally an outstation of Umlazi with a day school set up early in 1847. Ireland reported that Adams left Umlazi because it was too close to the white colonial population which was increasing in and around Port Natal. A large African population already was residing at Amanzimtoti, moreover, and the new British government had carved out an African Location in the area. Furthermore, Adams' congregation apparently was migrating to the region. Adams reported that his parish stretched "from Port Natal to the Umzinkulu and from the sea to a distance of fifty miles inland and inhabited by a population of about twenty thousand". For awhile Amanzimtoti was called Umlazi. The old Umlazi station became an outstation and was renamed Umlazi River but was turned over to the Church of England about 1848. Ireland, W. Historical Sketch of the Zulu Mission in South Africa, p. 18, footnote. Shiels, R. "Newton Adams 1835-1851" (thesis), pp. 25, 31, 47. Christoferson, Adventuring With God, p. 27.
20. In addition to Kotze's theses and other sources already cited, some valuable collections of primary, (i.e., missionary) sources have been published which also contain readable introductions to the period. E.g., Booth, A.R. (ed.) Journal of The Rev. George Champion, American Missionary in Zululand 1835-1839; Kotze, D.J. (ed.)

Letters of the American Missionaries, 1835-1838. Hereafter referred to as Kotze, Letters.

21. Compiled from Ireland, op. cit., pp. 18-19. A.B.C.F.M. report, Zulu Mission, 1850.
22. The term classical myth is a tentative suggestion of what may have been the esoteric element in the pattern of cultural change which eventually transformed a small segment of traditional society into a community of Christians whose leaders saw themselves as the disciples of the Mission's weltanschauung. It is rather like the relationship between Marxism, as Marx saw it, and the late 19th-early 20th century Marxists who regarded themselves as the living embodiment of Marx's theory of history. The Marxists adopted the classical myth--viz. Marx's concept of a proletarian society, the conditions of cultural change and the future millennium--as their own and used it as the model, their existential reality for revolutionary action. The Zulu Christian community accepted the classical myth--i.e., the Mission's explanation of their traditional heritage, the conditions for social change and the predestined leadership role the Christians would inherit--and also adopted it as the cultural imperative for revolutionary action.

The basis for the development of a classical myth emerges in various forms throughout the records of the American Zulu Mission. In their letters, for example, the missionaries would often comment on the relationship between Jewish and Zulu history and culture. Their vision was enhanced as they pondered the role of the military in traditional society, the effect it had on the creation of the Zulu kingdom in southeastern Africa, the acceptance of Zulu as the lingua franca in the area and so forth. This topic has been brought up in discussions with members of the Christian community at Edendale (originally a Wesleyan mission station near Pietermaritzburg), Inanda, Amanzimtoti and Groutville (Umvoti) in Natal. Zulu Christians are aware of a kind of special status conferred on them by their Christian ancestors. More important, this cultural heritage has been the source for what would appear to be a conditioned response to convulsive innovation. This is particularly true of Christians from the independent churches. In effect, it is what Vilakazi calls "something in the nature of a compulsion to change once the new faith . . . has been accepted". E.g., A.Z.M. (Pmburg.), Vol. 2 I/1/7, Annual Meeting, June-July 1902 (recommendations of the Forward Movement committee); Ibid., Vol. 26 V/1/4, General Letter for 1910, pp. 45-46 (tribute to Mvakwendhlu Sivetye, one of the leading pastors and "a Prince in Israel"). Garden Papers, p. 80 "Comparison between

African and Jewish customs" (Pmburg. Archives). A.Z.M. (Inanda), unclassified, Deputation Report (1903), pp. 21-23 ("The Zulu Race"). N.M.C., Proceedings, 1884, pp. 3-4, 11-12 (comparison between Jewish and Zulu customs). Luthuli, A. Let My People Go, pp. 19-21. Vilakazi, A. Zulu Transformations, p. 137. Scutt, J.F. The Man Who Loved The Zulus, chap. 6. Personal information (miscellaneous interviews with members of the Christian communities at Edendale, Inanda, Amanzimtoti and Groutville).

23. Vilakazi, op. cit., p. 99.
24. The following discussion unavoidably anticipates some of the issues dealt with more fully in succeeding chapters.
25. For our purposes, the terms 'station', 'outstation' and 'preaching place' will be defined according to Mission usage as expressed in the 1890s: viz. station--"A place where there is a church and settled native pastor, or resident white missionary"; outstation--"A place occupied by a /African/ preacher--there may or may not be a church there"; preaching place--"Places supplied by catechists /evangelists/ with a good degree of regularity". Cf. A.Z.M. (Pmburg.), Vol. 2 I/1/6, Annual Meeting, June 1895; Annual Meeting, June-July 1897; Ibid., Vol. 22 IV/1/2, Committee on Tabular View for 1896.
26. Vilakazi, op. cit., p. 98. See also: Christoferson, Adventuring With God, p. 56, footnote 2. Ireland, op. cit., pp. 20-21.
27. E.g., An American Missionary (probably Lewis Grout). "An answer to Dr. Colenso's 'letter' on polygamy" (n.d., about 1856). Jubilee volume, p. 34.
28. Shiels, op. cit., p. 28. Kotze, Letters, p. 259, footnote 1.
29. Christoferson, Adventuring With God, p. 29. See also: Ireland, op. cit., p. 17. Jubilee volume, p. 26. Shiels, op. cit., pp. 5, 14-15.
30. Jubilee volume, p. 31. See also: Smith, op. cit., pp. 276-279.
31. Jubilee volume, pp. 31-32 (as quoted).

32. A.Z.M. (Pmburg.), Vol. 7 II/1/6, E.E. Strong to F. Bridgman 11/2/1909 (with enclosure); Ibid., Vol. 29 VI/1/1, Tabular Views for 1851, 1863.

As the Rev. Gideon Sivetye once remarked: "The Americans were bad record keepers." His words are echoed again and again in letters from various government officials and secretaries of the American Board. The Mission's unpublished Tabular Views, for example, were presumably the primary source for most of the data received by these agencies but these figures were notoriously inaccurate. Even in simple addition, the missionaries made mistakes, as I found when consulting these documents. Other problems were noted by Secretary Strong in the letter quoted above which contains a summary of yearly admissions and total membership in the Church from 1847 to 1907: "In several cases it is impossible to tell when the year begins or ends. This causes some discrepancies between the accounts in the A.B.C.F.M. Reports and the Missionary Herald [official magazine of the A.B.C.F.M.]." Strong also noted but could not explain the differences between admissions and total memberships during these years. Of even greater importance was the fact that by the 1890s no missionary was quite sure of how these statistics had been or were to be compiled. There were numerous and sometimes alarming discrepancies in defining Church 'members', 'adherents', the 'Christian community', 'evangelists', 'preachers', 'pastors' and so forth. While most of these terms had been revised and defined more precisely by 1900, for most of the 19th Century the figures provide only an approximate yardstick for measuring the impact of the missionary experience on the life of the Zulu Christian community. Gideon Sivetye interview 22/12/1964. A.Z.M. (Pmburg.), e.g., Vol. 6 II/1,4, Smith to Goodenough 30/8/1890, Smith to Ransom 3/4/1895, E.E. Strong to Kilbon 9/7/1897, E.E. Strong and C.H. Daniels "To the Missionaries of the American Board" (n.d. 1898?); Ibid., Vol. 10 III/1/3, Taylor to Smith 12/5/1905, p. 3; Ibid., Vol. 22 IV/1/2, Committee Report on Examination of Tabular Views for the past 10 years (1897, with addenda) and Committee Report on Statistics for 1898. Appendix IV, p. 577, cf. 'NOTES'. Some of these letters indicate that the general confusion as regards statistics was also present in other missions associated with the American Board--hence the Board's resolutions, as communicated by secretaries Strong and Daniels, on standardizing all data received from its foreign missions.

33. A.Z.M. (Pmburg.), Vol. 7 II/1/6, E.E. Strong to F. Bridgman 11/2/1909 (with enclosure).

34. Christoferson, Adventuring With God, p. 67, footnote 1. See also: Smith, op. cit., pp. 277-279. Shiels, op. cit., pp. 26-28, 53.
35. Jubilee volume, p. 32 (as quoted, author unknown).
36. The male boarding schools will be referred to as Amanzimtoti Seminary and the Theological School at Adams, except in quotations, to avoid confusion. A secondary school for boys at this station actually was started in 1853 but was discontinued less than four years later and transferred first to Umtwalume and then to Esidumbini before being disbanded in 1859. Reopened in 1865, Amanzimtoti Seminary was not officially adopted as the name of the school until 1871. It was often called 'Jubilee' (after the main building, Jubilee Hall, was built in 1885) and Adams (after the pioneer missionary) in subsequent years, however. When a teacher-training institute was established in 1909, Amanzimtoti Seminary gradually became known as Adams College while the Theological School was named officially Adams Theological School. Adams and/or Amanzimtoti, however, also referred to the Glebe and Reserve. Since this was also true of Inanda and Umzumbe, the boarding schools located at these Mission stations will be referred to as Inanda Seminary and Umzumbe Home. Grant, G. Adams College 1853-1951.
37. Smith, op. cit., pp. 396-397.

The missionaries were expected to embark on "aggressive evangelistic tours in the villages".
38. There is some confusion as to when churches were formally organized, but it would seem that the term 'church', while employed before 1870, really meant the congregations of the various missionaries. Churches as formal ecclesiastical structures erected in the Congregational manner with their own pastors or preachers, constitutions, by-laws, memberships and so forth apparently were not established until the 1870s.
39. Rufus Anderson was one of the most influential secretaries in the history of the American Board. During his long tenure (1832-1866) he shaped many of the policies which were to mature after the Civil War and would be adopted, in varying degree, by all of the American Board's missions.
40. Benjamin Hawes, who was also one of the early teachers employed by the A.Z.M., was actually ordained before the church was organized. Hawes had already served for nine years as an evangelist for the Home Missionary Society but no European missionary had resided at

Itafamasi since the death of Marsh in 1853. Christofer-son, Adventuring With God, pp. 49-50.

41. Nembula was the son of the Mission's first convert, Mbulasi Makanya. His son John Nembula was the first Zulu doctor.
42. S.N.A. Vol. 1/1/295 (743/1902), M.N.A. report (n.d.). For details of these early ordinations, cf. Christofer-son, Adventuring With God, pp. 47-50. Jubilee volume, pp. 39-43.
43. Christofer-son, Adventuring With God, pp. 54-55.
" . . . to imitate the European, was a marked feature of the new Christian group". Vilakazi, op. cit., p. 122.
44. Christofer-son, Adventuring With God, p. 59. See also: Smith, op. cit., p. 399, A.Z.M. (Pmburg.), Vol. 17 III/6/2, Robbins to Smith 1/2/1886.
45. Christofer-son, Adventuring With God, pp. 54-55. See also: A.Z.M. (Inanda), unclassified, missionary scrap book, unidentified newspaper clipping (re monthly concerts). Gideon Sivetye interview 22/12/1964.
46. Christofer-son, Adventuring With God, pp. 52-53. See also: Jubilee volume, p. 35.
Hyman Wilder, for example, lectured and conducted experiments in astronomy and chemistry apparently with the aim of demonstrating the compatibility between science and religion.
47. The following information is taken from: Ireland, op. cit., pp. 21-22. Jubilee volume, p. 36. Christofer-son, Adventuring With God, p. 39. A.Z.M. (Inanda), unclassified, missionary scrap book, unidentified newspaper clipping (circa 1858). A.Z.M. (Inanda), unclassified, South African Deputation Papers (1903), Inanda Seminary, p. 50. A.Z.M. (Pmburg.), Vol. 29 VI/1/1, Tabular View for 1881-1882. See below, pp. 275-276, 316-317.
48. N.b. Vilakazi, op. cit., pp. 94, 97-98.
Vilakazi is a particularly relevant source since his observations are based on a study of the Qadi and Nyuswa in the Valley of a Thousand Hills (an African Location that includes what was formerly the Inanda Mission Reserve)--two chiefdoms heavily influenced by the American Zulu Mission.
49. Personal communication (Richard Sales).

50. Christoferson reported that apparently "the first legislation of the Mission as a body for the infant church" was presented in 1862 when the Mission resolved "that persons proposing to be admitted to the church who have been married according to Native law, shall be married according to English law". Christoferson, Adventuring With God, p. 46 (as quoted).
51. Smith, op. cit., pp. 391-393.
52. Ibid., p. 392.
53. Ibid., pp. 392-393 (as quoted).
54. Ibid., p. 393 (as quoted).
55. Ibid., p. 397 (as quoted).
56. Jubilee volume, pp. 40-43. See also: A.Z.M. (Pmburg.), Vol. 25 V/1/2, General Letter for 1878, p. 3.
57. E.g., Christoferson, Adventuring With God, pp. 50, 52.
It is probable that the first ordained pastors grew up in missionary homes and at least three of them were educated for the ministry by the missionaries under whom they served. Nyuswa, James Dube and Benjamin Hawes were trained at Esidumbini when the theological school was located there (1858).
58. Even the missionaries acknowledged, moreover, that there were several worthy candidates. Ireland mentioned two in 1885--Thomas Hawes (apparently no relation to Benjamin) and John Hlonono--who "have for many years been in charge of stations . . . and, so far as I am aware, might with equal propriety have been inducted into the pastoral office". Jubilee volume, p. 43.
59. Christoferson, Adventuring With God, p. 58 (as quoted).
60. A.Z.M. (Pmburg.), Vol. 9 III/1/2, Pixley to Smith 26/12/1887.
61. A.Z.M. (Pmburg.), Vol. 9 III/1/2, Holbrook to Smith 9/3/1889.
This may be contrasted with Shaka's feeling for the beauty of black skin--a color he regarded as being superior to white: "Shaka. . . . said that the first forefathers of the Europeans had bestowed on us many gifts by giving us all the knowledge of arts and manufactures, yet they had kept from us the greatest of all gifts, such as a good black skin. . . . He /Shaka/ well knew that for a black skin we would give all we were

worth in the way of our arts and manufactures." This observation by Henry Francis Fynn is supported by Father Bryant as regards the traditionalists: "The Zulus liken the naked European body to that of a white pig." Stuart, J. & Malcolm, D. McK. The Diary of Henry Francis Fynn, p. 81. Bryant, A.T. The Zulu People, p. 101.

62. Christoferson, Adventuring With God, p. 67, footnote 1.
63. A.Z.M. (Pmburg.), Vol. 1 I/1/5, Annual Meeting, May 1880.
64. Christoferson, Adventuring With God, p. 63.
65. A.Z.M. (Inanda), unclassified, Standing Rules (1900).
66. The Natal Missionary Conference, which embraced most of the white Protestant missionary agencies in Natal, was founded on the initiative of the American Zulu Mission in 1877 primarily because of the need to establish uniform standards for admission to the missionary churches. The Americans were also instrumental in founding the Durban Congregational Missionary Society (1880), the Congregational Union of Natal (1882) and, almost a generation later, the South African General Missionary Conference (1904). Cf. A.Z.M. (Inanda), unclassified, correspondence re Natal Missionary Conference (1877-1884). N.M.C., Proceedings, 1878, pp. 11-16, 21-23, 27-31. Mercury 18/3/1881, 12/6/1882, 20/11/1882, 8/6/1883 passim. A.Z.M. (Pretoria), Microfilm A758, Taylor to Smith 26/8/1904. General Missionary Conference of South Africa, Proceedings, 1904.
67. For about 75 years the Bridgman family played such a major role in the history of the American Zulu Mission that a brief genealogy seems appropriate at this point:

	<u>Arrived</u>	<u>Mission work</u>	<u>Died</u>
Henry Bridgman	1860	36 years	1896
Laura Bridgman	1860	63 years	1923
Dr. Burt Bridgman			
(son)	1892	7 years	1951
Esther Bridgman (wife--			
a nurse)	1893	7 years	1915
George Cowles			
(son-in-law)	1893	36 years	1929
Amy Cowles (wife)	1893	38 years	1948
Frederick Bridgman			
(son)	1897	28 years	1925
Clara Bridgman (wife)	1897	40 years	1956

68. The following account of the temperance movement is taken from: A.Z.M. (Inanda), unclassified, "The Beginnings of the Temperance Movement at Umzumbe Mission Station, Natal, South Africa" (excerpts from the manuscript reminiscences of Mrs. L.B. Bridgman), "Beginnings of the Temperance Movement at Umzumbe" (additional manuscript reminiscences by Mrs. Amy Bridgman Cowles), Umzumbe Church Records 1860-1896. A.Z.M. (Pmburg.), Vol. 25 V/1/2, General Letter for 1884, pp. 9-13.
69. Mabuda Cele came back to the fold and, according to Mrs. Bridgman "he was the first one of the Zulu race to take this stand on total abstinence". Cele was to have considerable influence in the reformation at Umzumbe in subsequent years. One of his closest friends, and one of the "first three" mentioned by Mrs. Bridgman, was a man named "Simungu". This was, in fact, Simungu Shibe, founder of the Zulu Congregational Church, a separatist church launched in 1898. For details, see chap. VII, pp. 383-389, passim.
70. Appendix III. See also: 1902 Lands Commission, Evidence, p. 52 (Kilbon).
71. A.Z.M. (Pmburg.), Vol. 25 V/1/2, General Letters for 1882, pp. 6-9, 1886, p. 2 ("Apostates from the churches are disseminating heresies"), 1888, pp. 3-4.
72. For details, see chap. VII, pp. 374-376.
73. A.Z.M. (Pmburg.), Vol. 7 II/1/6, E.E. Strong to F. Bridgman 11/2/1909 (with enclosure).
74. A.Z.M. (Pretoria), Microfilm A747, General Letter for 1898, pp. 9-10.
75. A.Z.M. (Pmburg.), Vol. 25 V/1/2, General Letter for 1886, p. 3.
76. There are no reliable summaries of African monetary contributions towards the support of the churches, schools and so forth before the 1880s. A.Z.M. (Pmburg.), Vol. 7 II/1/6, E.E. Strong to F. Bridgman 11/2/1909 (with enclosure); Ibid., Vol. 25 V/1/2, General Letter for 1886, pp. 1-2; Ibid., Vol. 29 VI/1/1, Tabular Views, 1881-1895. A.B.C.F.M. reports, Zulu Mission, 1896-1903.
77. Other factors involved in the apparent decline in financial support of Christian institutions by the station communities will be discussed in subsequent chapters. It should be emphasized, moreover, that the Zulu Christians were vulnerable to external condi-

tions affecting Africans as a whole in the colony during this period. Persistent droughts alternated with flash floods and other natural calamities while epidemics of locusts (1893, 1896), rinderpest (1897), east coast fever (1903), and so forth decimated domestic animals and crops. The South African War (1899-1902) compelled the station communities in Natal to feed and house hundreds of refugees and temporarily cut off an important source of capital. Direct and indirect forms of taxation together with innumerable restrictive colonial regulations were also a heavy burden, especially under Responsible Government (1893-1910). E.g., A.Z.M. (Pretoria), Microfilm A747, General Letters for 1898, 1899. Lugg, H.C. Historical Natal & Zululand, p. 73. Native Affairs (Department of) Extant Circulars issued to Magistrates, Natal, 1880-1905. (Pmburg. Archives). 1906-7 Natal Native Affairs Commission, Report, pp. 7, 47-49, 52-54. Marks, S. Reluctant Rebellion: The 1906-8 Disturbances in Natal, pp. 128-132, passim. Hereafter referred to as Marks, Reluctant Rebellion.

78. A.Z.M. (Pmburg.), Vol. 1 I/1/5, Annual Meeting, June 1884.
Again in 1892 utshwala was declared an intoxicating drink because "historical evidence" and the attitude of the African Christian elite indicated that this had not been envisaged in the original Umsunduzi Rules. A.Z.M. (Pmburg.), Vol. 1 I/1/5, Special Meeting, Aug.-Sept. 1892.
79. E.g., A.Z.M. (Pmburg.), Vol. 2 I/1/6, Annual Meeting, June-July 1896.
80. A.Z.M. (Pmburg.), Vol. 26 V/1/4, General Letter for 1906, p. 3.
81. A.Z.M. (Pmburg.), Vol. 18 III/8/1, Lilla Ireland to Mrs. Mary Tyler Gray 18/10/1936.
82. E.g., Strong, op. cit., part II "The Watering, 1850-1880".
83. Ibid., chaps. 9, 13-15, 17.
84. A.B.C.F.M. reports, Turkey, India and Japan, 1850-1910.
85. A.Z.M. (Pmburg.), Vol. 12 III/3/1, G. Wilder to Good-enough 16/5/1891, p. 2.
86. Strong, op. cit., chaps. 17-18, 26.
From about 1890, for example, detailed annual reports were required from the Mission's committees,

stations, boarding schools and so forth to be submitted to the American Board. A.Z.M. (Pmburg.), Vol. 1 I/1/5, Semi-Annual Meeting, Dec.-Jan. 1890-1891.

87. Taylor, J.D. The American Board Mission in South Africa: A Sketch of Seventy-five Years, p. 9 (as quoted). Hereafter referred to as Taylor, Seventy-five Years.
88. Jubilee volume, pp. 43-44.
89. A.B.C.F.M. reports, Zulu Mission, 1885, 1910.
90. A.Z.M. (Pmburg.), Vol. 1 I/1/5, Annual Meeting, June 1889.
91. A.Z.M. (Pmburg.), Vol. 3 I/1/9, Annual Meeting, July 1910.
92. The committee system was apparently first proposed by Secretary Nathaniel Clark in 1869 when he called on the Mission to ordain Zulu pastors. The Mission, he suggested, should be reorganized into four groups "one to supervize native churches and day-schools, one to manage the high-schools, a third to be charged with literary work, and a fourth to direct the evangelism". Smith, op. cit., p. 397.
93. A.Z.M. (Pmburg.), Vol. 1 I/1/5, Annual Meeting, May-June 1883; Annual Meeting, June-July 1890; Ibid., Vol. 2 I/1/6, Annual Meetings, June-July 1895 and June-July 1897; Ibid., Vol. 3 I/1/8, Annual Meeting, June-July 1905; Ibid., Vol. 3 I/1/9, Annual Meeting, July 1910. A.Z.M. (Pretoria), Microfilm A749, Goodenough to Smith 8/8/1896.
94. A.B.C.F.M. reports, Zulu Mission, 1850-1910. American Board grants to the West and East African fields are also of interest:

West Central Africa Mission (founded in 1880)

<u>Year</u>	<u>Grant from Board (in dollars to the nearest 100)</u>
1885	6,000
1890	13,000
1895	17,000
1900	14,000
1905	24,000
1910	20,000

East Central Africa Mission (founded in 1883)

<u>Year</u>	<u>Grant from Board (in dollars to the nearest 100)</u>
1885	7,000
1890	8,000
1895	9,000
1900	10,000
1905	15,000
1910	13,000

Neither field could command the prestige or hope to embrace the work that was done by the American Zulu Mission during this period, but the subsidy they received was much greater in proportion to what the Zulu Mission received. A.B.C.F.M. reports, West Central and East Central Africa Missions, 1885-1910.

95. The American Board, moreover, received two large legacies during these years: the Otis legacy (\$1,000,000) in 1879 and the Swett legacy (nearly \$600,000) in 1884. Apparently, most of the money went to the Asian missions. Strong, op. cit., pp. 315-316, 325-326.
96. Even during the 1890s, however, the American Zulu Mission was urged to economize. In 1897, the missionaries were obliged to reduce their salaries and in 1899 the American Board requested a further reduction. The Mission, however, "respectfully refused". A.Z.M. (Pmburg.), Vol. 2 I/1/6, Annual Meeting, June-July 1897; Annual Meeting, June-July 1899.

CHAPTER II

POLICY AND ADMINISTRATION ON THE MISSION LANDS:

THE GROWTH OF A PROBLEM

The black peoples inhabiting southeastern Africa from the Fish River in the eastern Cape to Swaziland and inland from the Drakensberg mountain range to the sea appear to have had a common origin, expressed primarily in language and custom, and are known collectively as the Nguni. Our inquiry begins with an outline of some aspects of Nguni social structure as it relates to land before the arrival of the Europeans.¹

The core of Nguni society was the lineage comprising "the descendants of a common ancestor in the male line". Several lineages made up "the exogamous group claiming common descent" called a clan, which usually numbered from about 500 to 4000 people. Ordinarily a chiefdom (1,000 to 35,000 members among the Xhosa in the early 19th Century) was established under the leader of the dominant clan in a given area. As regards territorial rights, however, there was considerable fluidity. Unrelated neighbors lived side by side with those of the same lineage. Clans were often divided among various chiefdoms which might also split as often as every generation. The chief's eldest son usually

left the territory to pioneer a new chiefdom while the designated legal heir, normally the senior son of a younger wife, inherited the father's chiefdom. In this way both clans and chiefdoms were kept small, although the population increased and more land was occupied.

Among the Nguni, who were primarily cattle-keepers, there was a clear distinction between lineage-clan and chiefdom. While adherence to the polygamous, patrilineal kinship system, as expressed and reinforced through custom and ritual, was paramount in the lineage-clan, the chiefdom was "a political unit, occupying a defined area under an independent chief". For at least 300 years--from the late 15th Century, when the first written evidence appears of the existence of Nguni, to the late 18th Century--traditional culture was vested in clan lineages. In effect, chiefdoms remained small, autonomous and isolated from each other. Apparently there was little change in the structure of Nguni society during this period: as long as there was enough land to go around, the system survived.

Progressive interaction between proliferating chiefdoms, however, appears to have occurred with the increasing pressure of population and cattle on the land and in the late 18th Century the structure of Nguni society underwent a metamorphosis. It seems to have begun with Dingiswayo, who created the Mthethwa Confederacy among those northern Nguni living between the Tugela and Mfolozi rivers, and with Zwibe, who built a similar Ndwandwe paramountcy from the Mfolozi river north to the Pongola river. Shaka, in

forging a Zulu kingdom that embraced the Mthethwa and Ndwandwe territories, completed the process of consolidation. Through a series of educational and military innovations, traditional ties to a specific area, local chief and kinship group were replaced by a new hierarchy of loyalties directed centrally to the chief of the Zulu kingdom. Traditional custom survived in a modified form but the power of the vassal chiefs decreased significantly. Those clan lineages and chiefdoms unwilling to be absorbed into the Zulu kingdom were destroyed. Under Shaka, the area between the Umzimkulu and Umvoti rivers was virtually depopulated.

It was into this disturbed region that men of European origin intruded in the 1820s and 1830s. North of Port Natal was the newly established, but powerful Zulu kingdom; to the west and the south were scattered remnants of former chiefdoms, many of them in hiding and therefore not in possession of the lands they had traditionally occupied. For these groups, the establishment of European settlement meant two very different things: on the one hand, a measure of protection against the regiments (impis) of the Zulu king; on the other hand, the staking out of white land claims that took no cognizance of the traditional claims of the scattered chiefdoms of the past.

THE SHEPSTONE SYSTEM: SEGREGATION AND SEPARATE DEVELOPMENT

As one of the first white groups to settle among the northern Nguni, the Americans could hardly avoid becoming

involved in those problems relating to the ownership and distribution of land. As we noted, the Maritime Mission's first station at Umlazi was the result of an agreement with the small community of white hunters and traders who had settled at Port Natal. During the Voortrekker interlude, the Mission was given tracts of land by the Volksraad at Amanzimtoti (Umlazi) and Imfume where Adams and Lindley, respectively, founded mission stations. No title deeds were issued, however, and the missionaries did not press the matter.²

Although the idea of having segregated African locations was not new,³ it was only after the establishment of effective British administration in Natal in 1845 (albeit under the temporary control of the Cape), that the proposal was implemented. In 1846 Lieutenant-Governor Martin West appointed a commission for this purpose, and two of its five members--Adams and Lindley--were American missionaries.⁴ Thus from the beginning, the American Zulu Mission helped to establish a system that was to become the foundation of Natal's African policy. Whether or not locations were "inevitable"⁵ for Natal in 1846, they were decisive in determining the disposition of the Mission's activities for almost two generations.

There is no record of what the missionaries actually thought of the Location system. Lindley seems to have doubted the wisdom of the policy, but he presented no alternative plan.⁶ Adams supplied many of the recommendations which were incorporated into the Commission's final report, but apparently he did not speculate on the policy of having

Locations as such.⁷ In fact, the Americans seem to have regarded the system as a fait accompli. They were much more interested in the practical problem of getting Locations established as close as possible to existing mission stations and in this, initially, they were successful. When the first four Locations--Umlazi, Umvoti, Inanda and Zwartkop--were provisionally gazetted in March 1847, Lindley reported that the boundaries were "fixed in accordance with the wishes of the American missionaries".⁸ The Commission also recommended establishing schools and other 'civilising' institutions in these areas but Earl Grey, Secretary of State for the Colonies, declined to act because of the alleged expense involved.⁹ "The Locations had to be merely places where the Africans could live their own lives."¹⁰

Theophilus Shepstone, the most prominent member of this Commission, was, in fact, the architect of the Location system in Natal. As Diplomatic Agent for the Colony (1845-1853) he was responsible for implementing the recommendations of the Commission and in "a piece of unparalleled administrative virtuosity" Shepstone managed to move perhaps 100,000 Africans into these Locations without bloodshed. Shepstone also realized that the chiefs could provide some semblance of control and stability in these areas which, because of the Imperial Government's parsimoniousness, were "without police, without civil servants and without funds".¹¹ Thus chiefs and headmen (where none could be found, Shepstone created them) were appointed to every Location. In effect,

it was a policy of indirect rule. In Shepstone's view, peace and security could be achieved by proclaiming chieftainships on Locations segregated as far as possible from colonial influence. While Roman-Dutch law was adopted in some areas (mainly criminal cases) and the Zulu military regiments were outlawed, traditional Nguni law and custom as interpreted by government-appointed chiefs and headmen was rigidly applied and eventually enshrined in the revised Natal Code of Native Law officially enacted in 1891.¹² As S. O. Samuelson, at one time Undersecretary for Native Affairs and a direct spiritual descendant, expressed it two generations afterwards:

"The secret of success . . . lay in so directing effort through their tribal organisation as to influence, as far as possible, a tribe as a whole, to uphold its social and tribal relationships, to strengthen the hands of those already working in it for good order, stability, and progress. . . . The native social order should be as little as possible interfered with by Government: let evolution under Christianity, education, and necessity do that. The tribal organisation should continue to be used as the vehicle of administration and the machinery of Government."¹³

Although there was much colonial opposition to the personalities and proposals of the 1846 Commission, the Location system remained the cornerstone of Natal's 'native policy'. The 1846 Commission was dissolved in 1848 by Sir Harry Smith, the new Lieutenant Governor, and in 1849 a Lands Commission was appointed which was dominated by white immigrants. Attempts to reduce the size of what few Locations had been allocated, however, were fruitless.¹⁴ The Lands Commission

eventually carved out seven Locations and succeeding governors created more. Locations until by 1864 there were 42 Locations comprising 2,067,057 acres.¹⁵ In that year a new colonial agency called the Natal Native Trust was created to give legal security to the Locations as areas for the exclusive use of the African population. The trustees consisted of the Lieutenant Governor, the Executive Council "and such other person [sic] as may from time to time be appointed".¹⁶ Although much of this land was unsuitable for cultivation, there was more than enough for the Nguni then resident in Natal. Shepstone's improvised system of chiefdoms could function adequately with a minimum of outside interference.

Meanwhile, however, the American Zulu Mission had grown beyond the boundaries of the original Locations. By 1850 there was a string of 11 stations along the coast--a 12th, Umzumbe, was established in 1861--five to 20 miles inland from the sea, and one station in the interior at Table Mountain, near Pietermaritzburg. By 1856 only two were wholly within the Locations proposed by the 1846 Commissioners. Four were completely separate and six were partially surrounded by Locations.¹⁷ More important, the Americans were not legally entitled to the land they occupied, either on the stations or in adjacent areas they soon regarded as their legitimate sphere of influence. Another commission, moreover, appointed in 1852, ^{AND} dominated by colonial farming interests, had threatened to undermine the Location system and ignore the rights of the missionaries. Although its

recommendations, like most of those proposed by the 1848 Lands Commission, were never implemented¹⁸, the urgency of the land problem had been brought home to the Americans:

"It was only a question of time, if reserves had not been granted, when the Crown lands would have been taken up and the natives removed, leaving the Mission station with buildings erected, but with no native population to work among."¹⁹

THE CREATION OF GLEBES AND RESERVES

It was George Grey, the new South African High Commissioner and Governor of the Cape Colony, who provided a solution to the Mission's dilemma. Visiting Natal in 1854, he met several American missionaries who once again asked for legal ownership over the land they occupied.²⁰ Grey agreed to their proposal and drafted a model deed which was endorsed by the Colonial Secretary²¹ and implemented officially as Ordinance No. 5 of 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."²²

Within two months fees had been deposited and accepted for the survey of 500 acres of land--henceforth called Glebes--at each of the 12 stations. In accordance with Grey's promise, Mission Reserves were created in the vicinity of each station. These Glebes and Reserves were issued with titles, beginning with the Glebes in 1860. It took years to survey the Reserves, however, and it was not until 1883 that the last grant was made (Inanda Reserve). They varied

in size from 5,500 acres at Itafamasi to 12,922 acres at Umtwalume. In 1865, nine years after the promise of the 12 Glebes had been made, a smaller Glebe of 104 acres was granted at Umzumbe. The Mission hoped that a Reserve would be allocated for this Glebe also, but this was never done.²³ The remaining 12 Glebes, as finally surveyed, were compact units averaging about 500 acres apiece (from 485 acres at Umtwalume to 624 acres at Imfume), but at Umvoti, Ifafa and Table Mountain the Glebes were split into two halves--part of the Glebe at Table Mountain, for example, being outside the Mission Reserve. The Americans received a substantial share of the total Reserve and Glebe acreage. The 1902 Lands Commission reported that the 12 American Reserves and 13 Glebes totalled 95,575 acres out of the 149,162 acres vested in these areas.²⁴

The Glebes, as finally authorized, were virtually freehold land grants given to the Mission.²⁵ There was no change from the conditions outlined in 1856. As Goodenough reported almost 50 years later:

"The only right reserved by government is the right of making roads for public use. The only restrictions as to the use of the glebes are that the lands may be leased for a period not exceeding twenty-one years, and the rents must be used for the purposes of the Mission in Natal."²⁶

The Reserves were administered by a Trust Board which had been envisaged in 1856 and written into the preambles of the title deeds. Each missionary society in Natal in charge of a Reserve established, with the government, a Trust Board,

in no way connected with the Natal Native Trust which administered the Locations. In theory, Reserve administration was the joint responsibility of both the government and the missions. The American Reserve Trust Board consisted of the Secretary for Native Affairs and the chairman, secretary and treasurer of the American Zulu Mission. In practice, however, the Trust Boards were ineffective. The American Reserve Trust Board did not hold its first meeting until December 12, 1866, and Goodenough later reported that for the first 20 years there was an average of less than one meeting a year.²⁷ The Secretary for Native Affairs, moreover, apparently ceased to attend meetings of the Trust Board in the early 1870s.²⁸ Day-to-day administration was left in the hands of the Trust Board's appointed representatives--the missionary trustees who were also in charge of the stations.²⁹

The Trust Board's apparent indifference to the actions of its appointees was partially offset by several conditions attached to each title deed which were to be the subject of bitter controversy in the next generation. The following summary of the Table Mountain Reserve title deed was duplicated in the other Reserve grants:³⁰

1. The government reserved the usual rights with regard to water, roads, outspan (travellers could turn out their cattle and horses for 24 hours or less on nearly all colonial land--usually a portion of each Reserve or Glebe

was reserved for this purpose), and so forth.

2. Africans living on the Reserves at the time they were demarcated had the right to continue to live there and use the land to cultivate gardens and as pasturage for their cattle. Newcomers, however, had to obtain "the consent in writing of a majority of the Trustees".

3. There was a rather vague clause relating to the sale of Reserve land: " . . . it shall and may be lawful for the Lieutenant-Governor, upon the application of the Trustees, or the majority of them, to allot and transfer to any of the Natives resident . . . such portions thereof as to the Lieutenant-Governor may seem fit, and at such price as he may think fair and equitable, subject to such conditions as the Lieutenant-Governor may impose in such Deed of Transfer". The "purchase price" however, went to the Trust Board "to be expended on the improvement or amelioration of the lands hereby granted, either to the construction of roads, erection of houses, or such other purposes as to the Trustees shall seem fit and proper".

4. The power of members of the Trust Board to remove residents from these areas was also defined in a vague but significant manner: " . . . it shall and may be lawful for the Lieutenant-Governor, at any time, upon the application of the Trustees, or a majority of them, to order, or cause to be removed, any native at present residing, or at any time hereafter lawfully resident upon the lands . . . save and except such natives as may have had portions of land allotted

and transferred to them in freehold".

5. The titles for five of the American Zulu Mission Reserves--Table Mountain, Esidumbini, Umsunduzi, Itafamasi and Inanda--contained a special clause empowering the trustees to "demand and receive such rent as they may determine" from those "who would in future reside on the Reserves" and "to demand and receive compensation in money by way of license or otherwise for the cutting or removing of wood or trees and for the digging or removing of minerals or other natural products . . . whose sale or removal would not be injurious to the Natives lawfully occupying the land". This money could be used "with the consent of the Lieutenant-Governor for the time being . . . in ameliorating the condition of the reserves held around the Mission Stations . . . or in the building and maintenance of School Houses on such Reserves, or upon the Glebe Lands included therein".

6. The Lieutenant-Governor could fill vacancies in the Trust Board and appoint additional trustees "as to him may appear necessary". Future members of the Trust Board were under the same limitations and had the same powers as the original trustees.

In essence, the purpose of these grants seemed simple and acceptable to both the government and the Mission at the time. In the Glebes the missionaries were given inalienable rights to the land on which they had built their stations. They were to have a more or less fixed and permanent number of chiefdoms to work among in adjacent Reserves especially

set aside for mission work. These Reserves were to be held in trust for the African residents.

There were several weaknesses in the trust deeds, however, which were to become apparent in the next generation. The Mission was made responsible for the Reserves, but there was no detailed description of what its responsibilities, in fact, were. The Trust Board held the land 'in trust' for the Reserve residents, but it was left to the missionary appointees to define and implement this trust in practice. Later commissions of inquiry interpreted the Mission's responsibilities in very broad terms indeed. Furthermore, there was nothing to indicate what responsibilities were incumbent on the African tenants--except that it was again assumed they would obey the missionary trustees.

The complement of responsibility is authority, but the power of the missionary trustees was not defined either in executive, judicial or legislative terms. It depended solely on the consent of the Imperial Government--in practice the Lieutenant-Governor--and who could foretell what might happen in Natal's political future? In the 1880s and 1890s, when Reserve administration became difficult, the missionaries often appealed to government for help, but they were almost always overruled.

The trust deeds did not specifically provide for the economic development of these areas. Revenue obtained from the Reserves went to the Trust Board's missionary appointees. When the grants originally were made the Glebes and Reserves

were looked upon as being inseparable--only a legal technicality divided the two areas. And, no doubt, no one imagined that most of the Reserve revenue would be spent on the Glebes and not on the Reserves. In the 1890s, however, allegedly deplorable conditions on the Reserves were blamed on the missionaries who were accused of betraying the original trust deeds because they had not encouraged the development of these areas.

There was an inherent discrepancy between Grey's scheme, as outlined in the Colonial Secretary's letter of 1856, and the trust deeds with regard to the sale of Reserve land. While the Colonial Secretary urged that the Africans be allowed and even encouraged to purchase the land,³¹ the language used in the trust deeds was much less forceful. The sale of Reserve land was not an object, nor even a proposal, but merely a possibility. In addition, power to sell the land rested with the Lieutenant-Governor on application from the missionary trustees. In practice, however, the missionary trustees assumed this power by refusing--when they found they had no control over the occupants once they owned the land--to forward any applications to the Lieutenant-Governor.³²

The missionaries did not at the outset consider the long-term implications of their pact with the government. Indeed, they thought their problems were solved. In September 1857, Lindley reported that boundary lines had been drawn for Inanda Mission Reserve "and it is well understood by

all parties that over this region the Inanda missionary is the Bishop, the Lord Bishop of Natal to the contrary notwithstanding".³³ For the next generation this is apparently what the position was on the Reserves. We are left with the impression that they were administered by the missionaries, for the missionaries and through the missionaries. And what was good for the Mission was considered good for the colonial government, the settlers and, finally, the African residents.

The missionaries were allowed freedom of action in the Glebes and Reserves in the hope that they could do in these areas what the government could not do in the Locations. Furthermore, to a degree the government protected them from the pressure of hostile colonial opinion which became more of a threat when Natal severed its ties with the Cape and became a separate colony in 1856. Although the Imperial Government retained ultimate control over Natal, the colonists acquired a measure of representative government. With their own Legislative Council the settlers now had a platform from which to voice their grievances against the African policy represented by Theophilus Shepstone and his successors.³⁴

While the American missionaries were given a free hand on their Glebes and Reserves and protected from the outside world, together with the other land-holding missionary societies, they were to be the government's principal civilizing agency amongst the Africans. The direction the missionaries would take in the next generation was pre-determined by the system which they had helped to create: build up the stations,

expand to the Reserves and eventually to the Locations, all the while working on land the status of which was legally defined and protected by the government. This rather idyllic arrangement was to last relatively undisturbed until the 1880s.

CIVIL GOVERNMENT ON THE RESERVES

BEFORE THE 1880S

Thus the missionaries became an integral part of the African administrative system in Natal as defined by Theophilus Shepstone. In the generation after 1856, however, the Mission eschewed political involvement in the affairs of the colony. Lindley's relationship with government officials, for example, appears to have been cordial but not intimate as it had been in the 1840s, and there is no reason to doubt that this was true of the other missionaries as well.³⁵ Consequently, the outside world knew very little about what was happening in these areas. The Glebes were small and, in any case, the land was legally the Mission's private property. The Reserves were a different matter, but as one writer has remarked: "From 1856 to 1886 the mission reserves question was wrapped in obscurity."³⁶

When the Reserves were created, boundaries were drawn without regard to the resident African population. The territories of chiefs were split in the process, so that some of their followers found themselves living within the Reserves, others in adjacent Locations or on land owned by the colonists.

In the beginning, moreover, the missionaries were dealing with displaced Nguni refugees governed by chiefs who had not consolidated their domains when the Reserves were formed. In effect, the makeshift matrix of lineages and clans on the landscape was dependent on men who owed their exalted power to the revolution wrought by Shaka and consecrated by Theophilus Shepstone. Thus the problem of administering these areas was complicated by numerous chiefs (six were recorded on three of the Reserves, for example, as late as 1906)³⁷ who continually competed with each other for land and followers.

Civil government was outside the missionary's jurisdiction, much of it being rather precariously delegated to the chiefs on each Reserve. In political terms the chief, even if he resided outside the Reserve, had authority over those followers who lived within its boundaries. The missionaries, however, administered the Reserves because the Trust Board controlled the allotment of land. Heathens, varying proportions of Christians (exempted as well as non-exempted from 'Native Law' by the 1880s)³⁸ and a steady stream of immigrants--all competed for the land. Thus the missionary appointees on the American Reserve Trust Board--who assigned the garden plots, grazing ground and so forth--were in a commanding position. The source of their power dictated the main task and ultimate policy in Reserve administration before the 1880s: to provide for the equitable distribution of the land.

In essence, then, a modus vivendi was effected within the Reserves which lasted for almost a generation. The chiefs tolerated the tiny Christian communities and even acquiesced, however reluctantly, to the minimal efforts made to gain converts among their followers in exchange for political control and, above all, land. For all practical purposes, Reserve administration was reduced to apportioning land between the various chiefs. As long as there was enough land for everyone the system, such as it was, survived. Stephen Pixley, for example, sketched the division of land and life at Inanda as late as 1891:

"On the Inanda Reserve . . . there are some 200 kraals containing 2,500 natives under one native chief, Umquawe, a heathen man, though well disposed toward the Gospel and willing that his people should be instructed. At one end of this Mission Reserve is the Lindley Mission Station with its buildings--the Chapel, the Station school, the Girls Seminary Building and the Mission Dwelling House--all on the Mission Erf /the Glebe/. . . . Adjacent to the Mission Erf but on the Reserve stand the Cottages of those natives who have professed to give up their heathen customs and to accept civilization and christianity. There are over 40 of these Cottages near the Chapel and a few others scattered over the Reserve. This is our immediate field of work and these are our people. From these cottages come the 100 children that form the Station School. On the Reserve, at convenient points separate from each other there are three other day schools for the accommodation of heathen children. At each of these places a Sunday service is always held, while off of the Reserve /presumably on the Location/ there are two out-stations where two of our native helpers have service, and where a day school is conducted part of the year."³⁹

David Rood, an American missionary testifying before the 1881-2 Commission, reported that there was little friction between

the non-Christian and Christian communities. Speaking of the Christians, he said: "They are not Natives who have been expelled from their tribes, but have gradually left the authority of the Chiefs. They preserve a friendly feeling towards their tribes, and visit their relatives and friends in the tribe." Disputes among the people, according to Rood, were generally about "trade matters" which they preferred to settle in court.⁴⁰

While these observations were not really valid by the late 1880s, they did reflect conditions on the Reserves as they appeared to missionaries of the previous generation. Since missionary trustees were usually members of the Reserve Trust Board, the same men who made the rules also had the onerous task of carrying them out. This is one of the reasons why so few regulations were passed by the Trust Board before the 1880s. The Americans soon realized they could hardly contemplate administrative changes unless they were prepared to force a confrontation with the chiefs.⁴¹ The Mission did persuade the government to appoint special "station", (i.e., Christian) indunas for the Christian communities on some of the Reserves, in part to compensate for the shortage of missionary personnel, but they were still subordinate to the authority of the chiefs. In 1891 these Christian indunas were elevated to the status of chiefs⁴² but this only complicated matters by aggravating the competition for land and power in the Reserves. As will be seen, by the late 1890s the Americans were discouraging the appointment of chiefs,

Christian or otherwise, and promoting the construction of rural townships governed by municipal councils. In 1903 the Mission told the South African Native Affairs Commission: "The system /of appointing Christian chiefs/ has failed . . . and should not be perpetuated".⁴³

The one source of revenue specifically allocated to the development of these areas was the Mission Reserve Fund for which we have records dating from about 1874. The 1881-2 Commission recorded that income from the American Reserves in the previous 10 years amounted to £1,985, of which the balance was £320. Virtually the entire amount, however, was derived from the sale of timber and firewood obtained from Table Mountain Reserve. By 1886 at least £2,089 had been received from this source and it was spent by the missionaries on their Glebes.⁴⁴ As confirmed by George Wilder, most of the money went towards the construction of the boarding schools at Amanzimtoti, Inanda and Umzumbe in the 1860s and 1870s.⁴⁵ In these circumstances, there was little money to spend on developing the Reserves. As late as 1904 there were no school buildings at all in four of the Reserves (Ifafa, Imfume, Esidumbini, Umsunduzi) and only one (Itafamasi) had a church building erected on Reserve land.⁴⁶ Economically, it was a period of isolated experiments conducted mostly on the stations and gaining in importance only when these coincided or conflicted with the interests of the white settlers in the rest of the colony.

ECONOMIC ENTERPRISE IN THE GLEBES AND RESERVES

During these years, there was considerable difference of opinion over what should be done to encourage African entrepreneurship on the Glebes and Reserves. Men like Lindley, Adams, Aldin Grout, Hyman Wilder and women like Mary Edwards, for example, personalized the "Gospel of Work" and stressed the importance of economic independence. Being committed to the idea that "African male 'laziness' was the root cause of all the sins in the society", they believed Africans would only become 'civilized' through self-denial, regular work habits and economic individualism.⁴⁷ Living and working alongside their proselytes, knowing most of them by name, they often did bring about, through sheer force of character, striking changes in the traditional economic habits of the people. Edwin Smith commented on Lindley's Christian community at Inanda, for example:

"They were expected, and encouraged, to achieve economic independence. In course of time most of the men came to possess their own wagons and oxen, and made a respectable living by transporting merchandise and produce for the European settlers."⁴⁸

The attitudes and actions of these missionaries, however, were not shared by many of their colleagues. From the 1850s missionaries of the second generation became more rigid and aloof in their approach to the African Reserve residents as they moved gradually from being co-workers to overseers:

"If we were to . . . reduce our personal expenses, wear cheaper clothing, deny ourselves new boots, etc. and work with our hands, with, and like the

natives, we should soon be the laughing stock not only of white people here, but the blacks themselves, and I have serious doubts, if the cause of Christ would be advanced by such a course."⁴⁹

This excerpt is from a letter written by Josiah Tyler who arrived in Natal in 1849. A similar outlook, however, was apparent in others who arrived more than 30 years later:

"It is indeed a pity that we should have to do manual work . . . when we are so much needed for spiritual work. Besides, we cannot do the work as well or so rapidly as skilled bricklayers who would work for lower wages than we can live upon."⁵⁰

The evidence suggests that there were wide discrepancies between what the second missionary generation as a whole preached and practised on the subject. This was a departure from the pioneer experience and it was an important source of discontent to many Zulu Christians in later years:

"The missionaries keep themselves apart from the natives, they no longer mix with the natives to hear their spiritual and bodily needs. The natives only see the missionary now at the Church. . . . The missionaries do nothing to assist the natives in becoming owners of businesses. If a native wishes to have a license or any other thing, he has to try to get it unassisted. . . . This is why the old /pioneer/ missionaries are constantly being referred to by the natives."⁵¹

While personalities inhibited economic development, they were not responsible for its ultimate failure in the Glebes and Reserves. Even the pioneer missionaries could not enforce their ideas on the people when these conflicted with the rights of those who resided on the land. The American missionaries believed, like their counterparts elsewhere around the world, that economic progress could only be

achieved when "the tribal communal pattern of economic organization was . . . destroyed".⁵² Thus they gave priority to land tenure, and an attempt was made to get the African Christians to buy land in freehold. Indeed, it is probable that most of the approximately 4,080 acres held in freehold in the Reserves when the Report of the 1902 Lands Commission was published were granted before 1868. In October of that year, however, the American Reserve Trust Board decided "except in special cases, that the system of leasing to Natives be substituted in lieu of freehold grants: That the amount of rent be fixed in each case according as they are original residents or not".⁵³ This was followed in June 1875 with a resolution from the American Zulu Mission instructing its members on the Trust Board "not to allow alienation of any land of the American Mission Reserves without the consent of at least two-thirds of the Mission".⁵⁴

A generation afterwards, the missionaries advanced several reasons for this change in policy. Some prominent Christian freehold landowners at Umvoti had "relapsed into polygamy" and because they held the land in freehold, the missionaries found that they could not be removed. Others who held title to the land sublet to Indians and white settlers.⁵⁵ The problem was more fundamental than this, however, for it seems certain that in the beginning the missionaries were not aware of the status of land in traditional Nguni society.

When the missionaries first tried to implement freehold or even leasehold tenure they met with severe resistance, both from the Christians and the heathens. Vilakazi reported that families ran away from such mission stations as Inanda and Groutville (Umvoti) because the Americans wanted and perhaps even "forced" the people to buy land.⁵⁶ The concept of private property was not understood even by the Christians in the 1860s. Furthermore, the delicately-balanced distribution of land rights between members of the Christian community and between the Christians and the heathens was threatened, and factional disputes multiplied. In these circumstances, the missionaries declined to issue any more title deeds or levy rents on the proposed leases and for 20 years their African tenants appeared satisfied with this decision.⁵⁷

Missionary efforts to promote the cultivation of sugar cane, however, were more encouraging--even though the Zulu, like all Nguni, were a cattle people. Beginning in the 1850s and early 1860s sugar cane was harvested by members of the tiny Christian communities on many, perhaps most, of the coastal Reserves. The success of this crop aroused the interest of the government and about 1860 funds were provided to erect a sugar mill at Umvoti. In the first year, some £2,000 was lost when frost killed most of the cane, and the colonial manager did not act promptly enough to harvest the crop. The African planters became discouraged, and since

there was no legal agreement binding them to supply the mill with cane, they hesitated to continue with the experiment. There was also friction between the manager of the mill and the resident missionary, Aldin Grout, which led to further disputes, involving the African planters, over the problem of how the profits were to be distributed. In 1878--after 17 years of effort--the project had cost the government £24,000 and had earned only about £12,000. Since new machinery and a new house for the manager were now required, the government decided to drop the project. In 1882 a committee of four or five African planters was allowed to lease the mill for a period of 20 years at £1 a year with the possibility of extension. They repaired the mill and installed a new boiler at their own expense.⁵⁸ Exactly what happened after this is not too clear, but apparently the Africans quarrelled among themselves and eventually the mill was administered by one man. About 1902 James Liege Hulett, a former Minister of Native Affairs, talked the Africans into transferring the mill back to the government. Subsequently it was sold for £1,000 together with the land on which it was erected. By 1904, however, the mill was no longer in use.⁵⁹

There were several other experiments in sugar cane. In 1865 a £100 loan from Reserve funds was granted to an African⁶⁰ at Amanzimtoti to build a small sugar mill that ultimately cost £500 "the first mill owned and worked exclusively by Natives". Hyman Wilder also erected a sugar

mill at Umzumbe around 1874, but neither of these mills were operating in the 1890s. At Imfume Wilder built a sugar mill on the Glebe, which cost more than £1,500. The money was raised from African Christian planters and a loan from the Reserve Fund--probably the largest single loan in its history prior to 1903. The mill failed, however, and was eventually sold for about £169--a severe loss to the African investors.⁶¹ A small sugar mill was also established at Umtwalume, owned by four African Christians who purchased it for £100. The mill apparently broke down, however, and most of the cane was ruined. Cotton and coffee were also planted at Umtwalume and coffee was encouraged at Umsunduzi, and probably on other Reserves as well, but these and other cash crops were not adopted with success.⁶² Even these feeble attempts by the missionaries to foster economic enterprise, moreover, were quashed by the American Board in 1875:

"From a few words of remark by Dr. C. [Nathaniel Clark] . . . I gathered that he had received hints, from some source, of a tendency, to say the least, on the part of some members of your mission, to engage in secular pursuits,--sugar raising etc.--for personal profit, to the injury of their best influence as missionaries, who should be consecrated to the service in single hearted efforts for the evangelization and salvation of the Zulu people. If such a tendency exists among you I trust this allusion to the matter will be sufficient to check it. . . . If you are ever tempted to engage in profitable worldly business, perhaps Christ's warning will apply in the case of persons situated as you are,--'Ye cannot serve God and mammon.' Your calling, in Africa, can hardly be to enter upon secular business for yourselves, even though your desire in doing so, may be to instruct, encourage and elevate the natives."⁶³

There were, of course, a number of very practical problems which militated against the success of these experiments. Traditional methods of cultivation, (i.e., what is known as 'hoe culture') were not suited to cash-crop farming. The Zulu, as already indicated, were primarily cattle-keepers and cattle played an important role in Nguni social structure. As such, however, they were regarded as inadequate for plowing purposes. The Reserves themselves were isolated from each other and even from the outside world throughout most of this period. Therefore the high cost of transport and machinery (especially in the case of sugar cane) used up what little capital the missionaries and Africans possessed. Although the latter were probably aware of the fact that sugar cane, cotton and coffee required special climatic and soil conditions, they had little technical experience or capital to exploit this knowledge effectively. There was no attempt to co-ordinate the production and marketing of cash crops on the Reserves and geographical conditions were such that sugar cane could only be processed in the immediate vicinity of each mill. More often than not these mills were too large for the amount of cane they processed and too expensive to maintain.⁶⁴ In the 1860s these crops were in their infancy in Natal. There was no market in the Reserves, so that even what little the African Christians produced had to be sold to the white settlers. The missionaries as a whole, however, were not in favor of increasing contact with

the colonists, and the Africans, anxious to get as much as they could for their products, were fearful of being exploited. Thus by the 1880s virtually every attempt to develop the Reserves economically had failed.

In the next generation the missionaries restricted their efforts to the needs of the boarding schools on the Glebes at Amanzimtoti, Inanda and Umzumbe. And this would be done mostly in response to the government's demands for industrial training. A committee report on "station industries" in 1896 was characteristic of the Mission's attitude towards economic enterprise in the Reserves and Glebes between 1885 and 1910:

"Your Committee . . . having made inquiry as to industries best suited to our Station natives, conclude that this people are not yet ready to take up any work calling for partnerships among themselves unless under immediate and competent European oversight. Your Committee does not now see how such oversight can be provided unless the Natal Native Trust will interest itself and provide the necessary funds."⁶⁵

But the government refused to back any more projects after the Umvoti sugar mill disaster. In 1892, for example, the Mission tried to get the government to finance "a small central sugar mill on the Iffafa [sic] Mission Reserve for the benefit of the Natives" but the request was rejected:

"The Sugar Mill experiment at the Lower Umvoti was anything but a success and the experience gained by the Government from that experiment is not of such a character as to encourage the hope that a similar experiment elsewhere would prove more successful".⁶⁶

The Natal Native Trust, however, was to play an important role in the history of the Mission Reserves after Responsible

Government. Meanwhile, the African population was increasing and gradually the amount of free land diminished.

THE PRESSURE OF POPULATION ON THE GLEBES AND RESERVES

In reconstructing the population on the American Mission Reserves, it was found that from 1879 to 1882 they carried about 12,000 people. This rose to about 16,000 in 1895, dropped to 15,000 in 1906 and rose again to about 18,500 in 1909.⁶⁷ Without considering the reasons for variations during this period,⁶⁸ it is reasonable to assume that the population as a whole remained more or less static from the early 1890s. Secretary Smith noted the Mission's complaint concerning "the crowded state of the reserves" in 1889 and Charles Kilbon, one of the trustees, reported that the Reserves were "full" in 1895.⁶⁹

The Glebes were still virtually vacant, as Kilbon described them in 1882:

"The missionary's dwelling and outbuildings, and the chapel and school house are on the glebe. In a very few cases native families live on the glebe. . . . The glebe is in the charge of the missionary and he is at liberty to cultivate it as far as his own consumption requires, but he is not expected to use it for personal gain. At Umsunduzi and Mapumulo and one or two other glebes there is a little store that pays a rent of some £5 per annum which goes to some public object such as school or chapel use. . . . The glebes are not cultivated. The missionary has his garden plot and the rest, not occupied by buildings, is pasturage. . . . It would not pay to cultivate it unless a man could make it a business."⁷⁰

Even in 1891, with the exception of Umvoti (Groutville) and Mapumulo, there were "few Natives living on the Glebes".⁷¹ Nevertheless, in the same year the Mission passed a resolution requiring Africans living, cultivating gardens and/or grazing cattle on the Glebes to pay a rent of five shillings a year which was to be spent on 'kraal' schools for non-Christians.⁷² As Goodenough later admitted, African tenants initially withdrew from the Glebes in protest against the rent rule but the Reserves were so overcrowded in the mid-1890s that they were forced to return.⁷³ By 1903 even the small amount of vacant land on the Glebes was occupied and proposals were being made to rationalize the problem by demanding a higher rent that would be collected on a more uniform basis than in the past and channelled not to the schools but to the cities--the new strategic points of Mission activity.⁷⁴ Thus by the late 1880s there was little unoccupied land left on the Reserves and, 10 years later, the same was true of the Glebes.

THE 1886 MISSION RESERVES COMMISSION

As Natal entered the 1880s, and the extensive lands required for white occupation became scarce, colonial agitation for a revision of the Location-Reserve system became more vociferous. Inevitably, the American Zulu Mission was drawn into the controversy. It was a natural target for criticism since it held the bulk of the Reserves. The value of these areas was enhanced from the colonial standpoint as the tempo

of Natal's economic development increased. By the 1880s the coastal region was one of the colony's most important agricultural zones with a cash-crop economy based primarily on sugar but also including coffee, fruit, vegetables and a variety of semi-tropical products. As attempts were gradually made to co-ordinate the economy of this region and the demand for cheap labor increased, pressure was directed against Africans living on the Reserves and Locations as well as those who either owned or resided on what little Crown land remained in the colony.⁷⁵ The Reserves, in particular, were regarded as virtually independent enclaves of free, choice, undeveloped land which could not be expropriated, controlled or exploited. As a report by the resident magistrate of the Division of Alexandra (in which were included the Amahlongwa, Ifafa and Umtwalume Reserves) put it in 1882:

"It appears to me that much land which might be cultivated by white settlers . . . is locked up in the hands of trustees without any adequate benefit to the people for whom the reserves were created."⁷⁶

On September 20, 1884, the Executive Council approved the appointment of a Commission, whose members included some of the more radical white racialists among Natal's stock-farming community, to consider "the extent to which lands granted in reserve for mission purposes have been utilised for the objects with which such grants were originally made". It was the first time in the history of the colony that an attempt was made to assess the condition of each Reserve.⁷⁷

The Commissioners agreed that one of the objects in setting aside these Reserves, which was written into the Trust Deeds, had been "to secure a fixed Native population in the neighbourhood of the several mission stations, among whom the missionaries could carry on their labours without let or hindrance". This object had been attained, since most of the Reserves were "very fairly populated" and "utilised, to some extent, for mission work". Only three of the Reserves--Nonoti, Umlazi (both Church of England) and Table Mountain (American)--were found to have failed this requirement.⁷⁸

Of greater significance for the future, however, was the way in which the Commissioners tried to clarify the generalizations made in the Trust Deeds on the Mission's duties and responsibilities in the Reserves: "It was also contemplated apparently that the Natives should be encouraged, or enabled to obtain individual titles to land on these Reserves." This object had been envisaged by the Colonial Secretary in 1856, but it was by no means clearly inscribed in the Trust Deeds. The Commissioners also pointed out that when the missionaries decided to stop selling the land they had exceeded their powers. Only the Lieutenant-Governor had the right to accept or reject applications for the sale of land, and it was only he who could sanction additional conditions to these sales if such were needed.⁷⁹

Finally, the Commissioners concluded that "the objects aimed at, as intimated in the speech with which Lieutenant-Governor Scott opened the first session of the first Legisla-

tive Council have not been attained".⁸⁰ Scott had several objects in mind with regard to the African population when he made this address:

"But in all our efforts for the elevation of the native race in the scale of mankind, religion and education must ever hold a prominent position. . . . We are fortunate in having amongst us a large number of zealous and high-minded Missionaries. Many of these possess stations, to each of which is attached a grant of land, to be held in trust, with the view of its being granted to the natives in small holdings, and under individual titles. This plan, if rightly carried out, cannot fail to have a highly beneficial effect."

Scott had also contemplated, with co-operation from the missionaries, agricultural and industrial development and the establishment of village communities in these rural areas.

" . . . give him [the African] a fixed home, and a permanent interest in the soil; and by an encouragement . . . of the cultivation of useful products, to wean him from his present idle pastoral pursuits; and teach him the advantages of steady and industrial labor."⁸¹

This had been a more specific program for 'civilising' the Africans of Natal than that contemplated in the Reserve Trust Deeds. In the years after 1886, however, the Mission's fitness to maintain control over these areas would be judged on the basis of these long-neglected objectives of 1857.

THE TABLE MOUNTAIN RESERVE CONTROVERSY

Of immediate concern to the American Zulu Mission was the Commissioners' desire to take over Table Mountain. At first, in a correspondence lasting almost two years, the government tried to persuade the Mission to relinquish control over this

Reserve. Having tried unsuccessfully to give the Glebe and Reserve to the government 15-20 years earlier, however, the missionaries found it difficult to understand why the colonists should now covet the land. As the Mission's chairman, David Rood, wrote to the Secretary for Native Affairs:

"We suppose that if we should consent to give it up . . . it could only revert to the Native Trust and would become part of the native location from which it was taken. . . . If so . . . what possible benefit to the natives could be gained by our giving it up as a Reserve. . . . We have imagined that the eyes of the Legislative Council are centered more upon lands in other parts of the country than upon this reserve. Is it possible that white people would settle in that broken country so difficult of access even if it could be taken from the natives?"⁸²

Table Mountain, however, was close to Pietermaritzburg, the capital and still the largest city in Natal, and it would appear that more and more whites found the area possessed good grazing for their cattle.⁸³ Under white control, moreover, the residents of the Reserve could be more efficiently exploited as a source of labor. In a letter to the American Board, the Mission pointed out the basic external problem it faced in regard to the Reserves and the reason why it was afraid to relinquish Table Mountain:

" . . . the white population has greatly increased and most of the land reserved for them has been taken up. . . . The Native population has also largely increased, so that all the locations are crowded and many of the natives occupy land owned by white people for which they are obliged to pay rent. Many landowners have found that renting land to natives is a profitable investment. . . . there are a class of colonists who feel that some of

the land in locations and Mission Reserves should be obtained for the white people Had we supposed the action would end with the Table Mountain Reserve we should feel less like making a stand against it. . . . But when we believe it is the endeavor to open a way by which they may hope to deprive the natives and missionaries of other Reserves in the future we feel like doing what we can to prevent it."⁸⁴

Pixley admitted to Secretary Smith, however, that "the charge the Colonists bring against us is not entirely without foundation".⁸⁵ Table Mountain had not had a white missionary since Dohne, who had labored about 10 years on the station. In the early 1880s most of the Christian community, accompanied by their preacher, left the Reserve and migrated to Zululand. Several reasons were given for this migration. The Christian community had suffered a series of droughts, their cattle had been destroyed by disease, and they were disillusioned with the Mission because of what they rightly regarded was a lack of interest in their welfare. What little had been done to develop the station in the way of buildings, gardens and so forth soon eroded away so that when the Commissioners arrived to inspect the area in 1884 there was virtually nothing to see after almost a generation of missionary activity.⁸⁶

Thus the Commission's evaluation of conditions at Table Mountain was essentially accurate and the American Board's reply to the Mission was very cautious:

"The uniform kindness and consideration with which our Mission has been treated hitherto by the Colonial Government, and the importance of a continued good understanding with them should lead the

Mission to hesitate before declining to comply with their wishes, and to be very reluctant to appear to stand in the way of their plans."

If everything else failed, the Mission was to arrange to exchange Table Mountain for an equal amount of land elsewhere, preferably at Umzumbe which had no Reserve.⁸⁷

AN ABORTIVE ATTEMPT TO ANNEX

TABLE MOUNTAIN RESERVE

In 1888, two years after the Commission's report was published, the Legislative Council drew up and passed the "Native Lands Resumption Bill".⁸⁸ It stipulated, among other things, that the Governor could "resume possession of the lands granted to such missionary trustees. . . . All lands resumed . . . shall immediately upon resumption vest in the Crown, absolutely discharged from all and every manner of estates and claims". It meant, of course, that Reserve land could be thrown open for white settlement. This would not occur if the missionaries provided proof that "the objects for which these lands were set aside" had been carried out. The 'objects' implied in the granting of Reserve lands for Mission purposes were described in detail. The Mission had to show proof that the lands weren't occupied other than by Africans, that missionary work covered "the whole of the land, that sufficient schools and proper teachers have been provided for the education and training of the Natives there residing," that Reserve revenue was being "properly devoted to the purposes of the trust, and that the

trust is being carried out in the true spirit and intent thereof".⁸⁹

Anticipating this reaction, the Americans had already attacked the government's hypocrisy in condemning the Mission for allegedly not pursuing a policy which the government itself had failed to implement. In a letter to the Secretary for Native Affairs, George Wilder pointed out that little had been done by the Legislative Council of Natal "to second the philanthropic measures" proposed by Scott.⁹⁰ And in another letter to the Commissioners, the Mission had proposed a number of governmental administrative reforms in order to make this civilizing policy more effective.⁹¹ The Americans, together with other missionary societies who had Reserves, sent petitions to the Governor⁹² and Secretary Smith was "pleased to note that the mission has appointed a committee to lay the whole matter of the reserves before the Secretary of State for the Colonies in London".⁹³

The missionaries also found a valuable ally in Theophilus Shepstone who, in fact, led the fight against the Bill. Like his life-long friend, John Bird, and many other civil servants of the previous generation, he was apprehensive about Responsible Government and regarded this Bill as yet another example of the "Forward" party's drive for political power.⁹⁴ In a letter to the Mercury Shepstone emphasized those points in the Bill which would most likely attract the interest of the Imperial Government:

"The Bill . . . makes no reference to the claims of those whose rights would be violated by it, but seems to found the right to commit the act upon the non-carrying out, by a religious body, of certain 'intentions and purposes', which that body never had the opportunity afforded it of carrying out, and which the native population, whose rights are confiscated by the Bill, have had nothing whatever to do with, either for or against.

The original Reserve grants allotted to the missionary societies

" . . . in no way affected the status or rights of the native occupants, except to make them, if possible, more permanent, even as against the trustees themselves . . . for forty years . . . these appropriations have been looked upon . . . as inviolable. . . . A proposal to nullify these sanctions, to extinguish title deeds by legislative enactments, and thereby to shake the foundations of all real property in the country, is a most startling and unprecedented proposal."

The title deeds had not specified the conditions of trusteeship and "the [missionary] trustees had no disciplinary power over either the land or the people". Thus they could not be blamed if, as the Legislative Assembly assumed, these areas were not administered satisfactorily. Finally, by pointing out that the Bill probably presumed the ultimate resumption of all Mission Reserve land, Shepstone brought an otherwise obscure piece of legislation to the notice of the British Government.⁹⁵

Alongside Shepstone's public agitation were misgivings within the civil service. As early as 1886, a Surveyor General's report on Table Mountain, Nonoti and Umlazi Mission Reserves stated that it would be a "manifest injustice" if these areas were made Crown lands.⁹⁶ In 1888, the Attorney-General in a significant report advised the Governor not to

give his assent, since the Bill "contains no clause suspending its operation until it shall have received the Royal assent".⁹⁷ Finally Lord Knutsford, Secretary of State for the Colonies at the time, warned the Governor against signing the Bill, and it was dropped.⁹⁸

It was not a lasting victory. Indeed, colonial antagonism against missionary work remained as strong as ever. Shepstone had stated the problem precisely in a speech before the Natal Missionary Conference in 1886:

"It must be admitted, I think, that Mission operations in Natal have proved to be more uphill work than the apparent facilities for prosecuting it would have led one to expect. There is no hostile or jealous Government to interfere with it, and the guarantees for security of life and property, and for full liberty of conscience are complete; but . . . the work has to encounter a very serious difficulty--an obstruction, nevertheless, which operates constantly and strongly. . . . we who constitute the ruling race . . . do not sufficiently sympathize with the work to afford it our full moral support. . . . I state what I know to be the truth--that there is more or less an antagonism between the two /missionary and colonist/ on the subject of mission work."⁹⁹

As has been seen, moreover, the missionaries themselves were well aware of the mounting burden of administration. Above all, the Americans believed they needed more power if they were to consolidate the goals established in the reformation of the Church.¹⁰⁰ While the Mission defended its Reserve policy against external colonial pressure, the first code of regulations was gradually constructed for the civil administration of these areas.

RESERVE ADMINISTRATION 1880-1893

During the meeting that ratified the Umsunduzi Rules in 1880, the Mission also asked the Trust Board to submit a draft "code of rules" for the civil administration of the Reserves.¹⁰¹

It was clearly a move to usurp the political and territorial rights of the chiefs because the proposed regulations were to apply to all Reserve residents--heathen as well as Christian--and would complement the code of ethics forced on the Christian community:

"We the members of the American Zulu Mission believing it very desirable that there should be some well defined conditions and regulations for the control of the natives living on the American Mission Reserves by which evil practices shall be restrained, and advancement in civilization and Christianity be encouraged; hereby request the Board of Trustees to secure . . . a system of Rules which shall be adapted to these purposes. And if they find it necessary to do so that they apply to the Government to assist in the attainment of this object."

Some of the rules requested by the Mission were very significant in this regard:

- "1. That all residents on the Reserves shall be expected gradually to adopt habits of civilization such as clothing themselves and families, erecting upright houses, the giving up of polygamy, ukulobola etc.; that in future no man who has a wife or wives shall be allowed to take another.
2. That the Sabbath shall be observed as a day of rest, no gatherings for secular purposes shall be allowed. But, on the other hand, it will be expected that the people living on the Reserve will, as a general practice, attend religious services.

3. That all the adult male residents shall be expected to aid in the support of schools, the erection of school buildings and chapels, making and repairing of roads within the Reserve . . . and any other general improvements for the benefit of the Residents on the Reserves"

To ensure co-operation, the Mission asked for "an annual assessment . . . on the male adults resident on the Reserve . . . in money or materials or work". This was, in fact, a call for rents from all Reserve tenants over which the missionaries were to act as landlords:

" . . . the native residents be informed that they have no such rights to lands which they occupy as will permit them to dispose of them to other parties, that if they remove from the Reserve they will . . . forfeit all claims to the land which they have occupied and likewise they will not be allowed to dispose of any houses which they have erected, or demand payment for improvements which they have made without first obtaining permission from the Trustees. This does not of course refer to such persons as hold Title Deeds within the Reserves."

In effect, the missionary's rights as a landlord were to be cancelled only where the African resident had title to his land. Policemen were to be appointed to carry out rules passed by the Trust Board and offenders were to be punished: "The violation of any . . . Rules shall be punished by reprimand or removal from the Reserve by order of the Trustees, or by sending the offending parties to the Magistrate".¹⁰²

Nevertheless, the regulations drafted in 1880 were not implemented. While the missionaries were convinced that the power of the heathen chiefs was declining on the

Reserves,¹⁰³ they hesitated to force a confrontation when the allegiance of the small Christian community was uncertain in the midst of the reformation. Furthermore, missionary appointees to the Trust Board were unsure of their status as Reserve administrators if the Secretary for Native Affairs--in theory, the colonial government's representative on the Trust Board--should decide to intervene. The 1880 regulations provided a guide, however, for the American Trust Board in its attempts to reform the administration of the Reserves in subsequent years.¹⁰⁴

In 1884 the Trust Board transferred all revenue from the Reserve Trust Fund to a single banking account and stipulated that this money could be withdrawn only "by cheques signed by the Secretary for Native Affairs and the Treasurer of this Board under sanction of a resolution of the Board". Thus Reserve revenue was centralized, safeguarded against unauthorized spending, and its accounts were opened to inspection.¹⁰⁵ Regulations regarding the "Jurisdiction of Indunas" (1880), store leases (1884), Reserve boundaries ("beacons"--1885), prospecting on Reserve land (1887), wood and timber (1880, 1891) and gardens (1880, 1885, 1891, 1893) were also passed by the Trust Board during this period.¹⁰⁶ The tenor of the resolutions can be seen in those pertaining to 'Gardens and Buildings':

"The right of lawful residents not holding title deeds to their garden plot or homestead sites is limited to bona fide occupation and use by

themselves, and no one may lease, lend or give to others his garden plot or building site without special permission of agent in charge."

"No native may give, lend, lease, sell, or remove a building erected on the Reserve without first obtaining permission of the agent in charge."

"No Native may remove his kraal from one site to another on the Reserve or break up new ground without the permission of the agent in charge."¹⁰⁷

The most important rules, however, related to the status of the land per se.

RESERVE RENTS

Acting on the Mission's request, in 1880 the Trust Board resolved: "That if the Board find they have sufficient power under the Trust Deed, a sum of Ten Shillings per annum per hut or dwelling house be levied on all Natives living on Mission Stations and Reserves for educational purposes." Apparently neither this nor a more circumscribed resolution adopted in 1881 was enforced, however.¹⁰⁸ It was not until April 1888 that the Trust Board adopted a resolution (No. 227) it felt was within the power of the missionary trustees to carry out. It was the basis for all future Trust Board actions with regard to the question of rent: "That all Natives requesting in future to build on American Mission Reserves . . . be required to pay an annual rental of Ten Shillings per hut in advance and their children be required to attend the mission schools".¹⁰⁹

Thus the purpose of the rent was tied irrevocably to the Mission's educational policy. In 1889 the missionary-

in-charge of each Reserve was empowered to collect this rent,¹¹⁰ and subsequently the Trust Board employed the rent rule to encompass an ever-increasing percentage of the Reserve residents. These included "new entrants coming on the Reserve after April 15, 1888. . . . Any Native who has obtained a plot of land in Freehold on the Reserve and afterwards wishes for himself or his sons another place on the unalienated part of the Reserve".¹¹¹ In 1891 it was resolved: "Any persons who have moved off the Reserve can only be allowed to return under the conditions imposed by Resolution 227."¹¹² By 1899 all who were absent over six months from the Reserves or who moved from one part of their Reserve to another or from one Reserve to another were liable for rent. As William Wilcox, one of the missionaries, observed: "The object of this rule was to gradually bring all the native occupants of the reserves to pay rents."¹¹³

In practice, missionary members of the Trust Board ignored the fact that in the original title deeds only five Reserves contained the special clause which allowed the Trust Board to levy and collect rents. Reserve rents were collected from 1888 on all the Reserves and enforced from 1890 despite opposition from the African tenants, both new and old: " . . . these newcomers were in most cases close friends and relatives of those who had married into families of the residents and had come in by their invitation".¹¹⁴ In 1891 the secretary of the Trust Board was "empowered in

all cases where rents are not paid to take the necessary steps to recover the same and if necessary eject the defaulters".¹¹⁵ The payment of rent became the condition of residence: "That receipts for rents shall include a statement that the person paying them has permission to reside on the Reserve for the year for which the Rent was paid."¹¹⁶ When the missionaries found they were having difficulty in collecting rents, despite the rules, they divorced themselves from personal responsibility. A colonial collection agent was hired and given a five per cent commission on the rents collected.¹¹⁷

INDIVIDUAL LAND TENURE PROPOSALS FOR THE RESERVES BEFORE 1893

By the 1880s the climate of opinion within the African Christian community on the question of individual land tenure had changed dramatically from what it had been 20 years earlier.¹¹⁸ George Wilder and Holbrook, secretary of the Trust Board, reported that the Christians at Ifafa¹¹⁹ and Mapumulo¹²⁰, for example, wanted to buy land on these Reserves and be granted title deeds with inalienable rights. While the Mission approved, it favored conditional freehold and in 1886 the Trust Board agreed on eight conditions pursuant to issuing individual title deeds. The most important stipulated that no African could receive title to the land unless he was "exempted from the operation of Native law".

This would have severed, in the eyes of the Mission, the last legal link with traditional society but it was a condition almost impossible to fulfill in colonial Natal. Others specified that Reserve and Glebe land was to be sold by auction and that title deeds would not be given "until the payment of the last installment and unless one acre of the land has been planted with trees and three acres put under cultivation". These conditions were not presented to the government until almost two years later, however, and approval could not be obtained. The Trust Board, according to the government, had no power to restrict the sale of land to exempted Africans only and the refusal to issue title deeds unless the "planting condition" was carried out could not be enforced.¹²¹

The Trust Board was obliged to draw up a new set of conditions--omitting the exemption and planting clauses--which the Mission approved in November 1888. This time there were nine conditions. Reserve and Glebe land, as before, was to be sold by auction. Not less than five or more than 25 acres could be sold at an upset price of five shillings an acre to be paid in installments over three years. Only Africans living on the Reserves or Glebes were allowed to bid and only after the full price was paid would a title deed be issued. A clause was inserted stating that the holder "shall not dispose of or alienate the land without the permission of the Governor of the Colony".¹²²

The Governor finally approved these conditions for sale in May 1889,¹²³ and these were printed and distributed among the African tenants: "Applications were received on several reserves and survey fees deposited". Again, however, the Americans hesitated. According to Goodenough, "enforcement" of the auction rule had caused dissension among the Reserve inhabitants, a heathen chief had complained to the government and the Secretary for Native Affairs had asked the Mission "to reconsider the whole matter".¹²⁴ Whatever the reason, the Trust Board chose to debate the issue of freehold tenure for three more years¹²⁵ before agreeing to an African-sponsored proposal "that if the land were offered at a fixed price, giving the present occupiers the first chance to purchase, there would be little or no friction". The auction rule was dropped, and a rule was inserted providing that the land was to "be offered to present occupiers at a fixed price" of £2 an acre at Umvoti; 15 shillings an acre in the Mapumulo, Esidumbini, Umsunduzi and Amahlongwa Reserves; and £1 an acre on all other Reserves. Another important amendment widened the powers of the Governor: " . . . that the Grantee shall not lease, dispose of or otherwise alienate, the Land to any other than a Native, and then only with the permission of the Governor of the Colony". By September 1892 the Trust Board apparently was ready to proceed with conditional freehold tenure.¹²⁶ Shortly afterwards, the "Rules and Regulations of the Trustees of the American Mission Reserves"

were also summarized and printed copies were distributed to the residents.¹²⁷ Both documents apparently were submitted to colonial officials for approval in 1893.¹²⁸

THE MISSION'S LAND PROBLEM ON THE EVE OF RESPONSIBLE GOVERNMENT

By the early 1890s it was clear the Americans had failed to provide an effective administrative policy that would preserve missionary control over the Reserves. Lacking personnel or a clearly defined strategy, the American Zulu Mission had no effective answers to such problems as (a) population pressure (b) discord and friction between Christian and heathen (c) land ownership and utilization. Many missionaries had made efforts to encourage private ownership and individual entrepreneurship, but they had failed and their failure, if anything, had confirmed the views of second generation colleagues that freehold tenure was undesirable. Beginning in 1880, there was an attempt to reform Reserve administration but it was a tactical maneuver rather than a full-scale assault on the primary issues at stake. While regulations were passed on the control of Reserve revenue, garden and grazing rights and so forth, the Trust Board avoided such fundamental problems as land-utilization under conditions of full population and, above all, the demand of the Reserve residents for individual tenure.

Attempts to alter the power structure on the Reserves, moreover, clashed with the colonists. The 1886 Commission,

the attempt to force the Mission to give up Table Mountain Reserve and the abortive Reserve Bill of 1888 succeeded in exposing the weaknesses of missionary supervision and unquestionably accelerated what attempts were made to reform the administration of these areas before 1893. To counteract colonial pressure, the missionaries also tried to re-occupy those Reserves 'abandoned' to the care of African pastors and preachers. Once again, Imfume, Esidumbini, Ifafa, Umsunduzi, Amahlongwa, Table Mountain and probably other Reserves were supervised by resident missionaries appointed by the Trust Board. As Pixley said of Esidumbini: "The Colonial Government cannot any longer censure us for not fully occupying that Reserve and can have no pretense for taking it away from us as has been feared."¹²⁹ Ultimately, the scheme failed, however, because there were simply not enough missionaries to go around and, as we shall see in the case of Table Mountain, because it conflicted with the demands of the Zulu Christian community.¹³⁰ The government, moreover, now appeared reluctant to render support. The Secretary for Native Affairs archives, for example, contain dozens of requests from American missionaries in the 1880s and 1890s for authority to enforce various resolutions of the Trust Board but either they were overruled or, in effect, ignored.¹³¹

NOTES

1. The following summary is based largely on Wilson, M. "The Nguni People" in Wilson and Thompson, op. cit., I, pp. 75-95, 107-130. Wilson, M. "Co-operation and Conflict: The Eastern Cape Frontier" in Wilson and Thompson, op. cit., I, pp. 253-254. Thompson, L. "Co-operation and Conflict: The Zulu Kingdom and Natal" in Wilson and Thompson, op. cit., I, pp. 334-390. Gluckman, M. "The Kingdom of the Zulu" in Fortes, M. and Evans-Pritchard, E.E. (eds.) African Political Systems. Goodfellow, D.M. Principles of Economic Sociology, chaps. 5 (section 3), 11 (section 4), 12. Krige, E.J. The Social System of the Zulus, chaps. VIII, IX.
2. Smith, op. cit., pp. 215-216. See also: Shiels, op. cit., p. 12. Agar-Hamilton, J.A.I. The Native Policy of the Voortrekkers, p. 120.
3. It was considered by the Volksraad and in 1843 Henry Cloete, at that time the Crown's Special Commissioner to Natal, proposed a similar plan. Young, L. The Native Policy of Benjamin Pine in Natal 1850-1855. Archives Year Book for South African History, 1951, II, pp. 216-218. Van Zyl, M.C. Luitenant-Goewerneur Martin West en die Natalse Voortrekkers, 1845-1849. Archives Year Book for South African History, 1955, II, p. 129.
4. For details, see Brookes, E.H. The History of Native Policy in South Africa from 1830 to the Present Day, chap. 2. Hereafter referred to as Brookes, Native Policy.
5. Brookes and Webb, op. cit., p. 59.
6. Smith, op. cit., p. 253.
7. Shiels, op. cit., chap. 4.
 Grout suggested that land in Umvoti Location be given over to individual tenure, but this was not acceptable to the Commissioners. Smith, op. cit., pp. 245, 255.

8. Smith, op. cit., p. 256.
9. Brookes, Native Policy, p. 29.
Adams thought the Africans could be taxed to pay for their own schools. Shiels, op. cit., pp. 39-40.
10. Brookes and Webb, op. cit., p. 59.
11. Ibid.
12. 'Native Law' in Natal was first codified in 1878. Thompson, L. "Co-operation and Conflict: The Zulu Kingdom and Natal" in Wilson and Thompson, op. cit., I, pp. 376-377, 385. See also: Marks, Reluctant Rebellion, pp. 35-40, passim.
For the Shepstone 'system' cf. Sullivan, J.R. The Native Policy of Sir Theophilus Shepstone, chap. 4. Wolfson, F. "Some Aspects of the Native Administration in Natal under Theophilus Shepstone" (thesis). Gordon, R.E. "The Shepstones in South Africa" (thesis), part II.
13. 1906-7 Natal Native Affairs Commission, Evidence, p. 17 (S.O. Samuelson).
14. Brookes and Webb, op. cit., p. 60.
The government was under strong pressure from the missionaries not to reduce the size of the Locations. Shiels, op. cit., p. 44.
15. Brookes, E.H. and Hurwitz, N. The Native Reserves of Natal. Natal Regional Survey, Vol. 7, p. 11.
16. N.G.G., Vol. 16 (1864), Government Notice No. 57 of 1864, p. 253.
17. A.Z.M. (Inanda), unclassified, South African Deputation Papers (1903), Mission Lands: Glebes and Reserves, p. 81.
18. For details, see Brookes, Native Policy, chap. 3.
19. A.Z.M. (Inanda), unclassified, South African Deputation Papers (1903), Mission Lands: Glebes and Reserves, p. 81. See also: Emanuelson, O.E. "A History of Native Education in Natal between 1835 and 1927" (thesis), p. 28.
20. Smith, op. cit., pp. 305-309.
Lindley and Aldin Grout had asked the government in 1850 and 1852 for title deeds to the stations, but

their pleas were rejected because the American missionaries were not British subjects. Ibid., pp. 264-265, 308.

21. 1902 Lands Commission, Evidence, pp. 465-466 (Colonial Secretary to A.Z.M. May 1856).
22. N.G.G., Vol. 8 (1856), Ordinance No. 5.
23. Appendix I.
In 1880 and 1882, for example, the Mission attempted to get a Reserve for Umzumbe station but failed. A.Z.M. (Pmburg.), Vol. 1 I/1/5, Semi-Annual Meeting, December 1880, Annual Meeting, May 1882.
24. Appendix I (nearest acre).
Six other missionary societies held one Reserve apiece.
25. 1902 Lands Commission, Report, e.g., pp. 53-54 (certified copy of Ifafa Glebe), 57-58 (preamble to Table Mountain Glebe).
26. A.Z.M. (Inanda), unclassified, South African Deputation Papers (1903), Mission Lands: Glebes and Reserves, p. 31.
27. Ibid., pp. 83-84.
28. In January 1872, the Trust Board passed the following resolution: "Meetings to be held even if the S.N.A. cannot attend, but resolutions passed in his absence to be submitted to him, and if he disapprove of any, such resolutions to stand over till he can be present and state his views." This left in doubt, however, whether or not the missionary trustees could overrule the Secretary for Native Affairs--an important question after 1893. A.Z.M. (Pmburg.), Vol. 30 VII/3/1, "By-Laws, Standing Rules & Regulations of the Trustees of the American Mission Reserves," Resolution No. 58. Hereafter referred to as 'By-Laws'. This document is a copy of the most important regulations relating to the administration of the Reserves passed at various meetings of the Trust Board between 1866 and 1891.
29. From the government's standpoint, there was a clear distinction between the Trust Board and its missionary appointees. In practice, however, American missionary agents of the Trust Board were usually members of the Trust Board. In the case of one missionary society, the Trust Board and the missionary representative were one

- and the same. A.Z.M. (Inanda), unclassified, Minutes of meeting 17/12/1894 (Wesleyan Reserve).
30. 1902 Lands Commission, Report, pp. 57-61.
 31. " . . . within its [Reserve] limits Grants of allotments will from time to time be made . . . to Natives who may desire to have title to lands. Nor will these allotments . . . be laid out with any reference to regularity, or by actual survey, the expense of measurement being a serious obstacle to the possession of grant by a Native. . . . the site of the Grant . . . may, subject to the approval of the Trustees, be selected by any Native desirous to cultivate it: it must be defined by durable beacons and conveyed to him by title, but without the power to dispose of or alienate the ground so granted, except with the concurrence of the Lieut.-Governor". 1902 Lands Commission, Evidence, pp. 465-466 (Colonial Secretary to A.Z.M., May 1856).
 32. The original Reserve grants did not specify what authority the Lieutenant-Governor had if an African, given freehold title to his land, decided to sell, lease or mortgage it to someone else, especially a non-African. In 1876, for example, the Attorney-General ruled that "there are no conditions in the deeds themselves [title deeds issued to African Reserve residents] which prevent the owners from dealing with the property and disposing of or alienating the same. The phrase 'with the approbation of Government' is one to be found in all the earlier deeds of grant, but does not reserve to the Government any discretion in the matter". In this case the African owner (at Umvoti) was mortgaging two pieces of land to a settler. The point was raised again in the 1890s. S.N.A. Vol. 1/1/27 (53/1876), Attorney-General's Report 28/3/1876.
 33. Smith, op. cit., pp. 309-310 (as quoted).
 34. For details, see Brookes and Webb, op. cit., chap. VIII. The text of the Charter granting representative government is recorded in Eybers, G.W. Select Constitutional Documents Illustrating South African History 1795-1910, pp. 188-194.
 35. Smith, op. cit., pp. 375-376. N.M.C., Proceedings, 1895, Goodenough's paper, p. 11.
 36. Kannemeyer, H.D. "The New Bantu Society in Natal--Its Civilisation and Culture 1810-1842" (thesis), p. 213.

37. Mapumulo, Ifafa and Umvoti. Imfume had four chiefs and three were recorded on each of the other Reserves except Table Mountain which had one in 1906. N.B.B., Vol. 91 (1906); Minister for Native Affairs, pp. 91-93.

38. In theory, individual Africans could apply for citizenship, as it were, in the settler community but few could satisfy the requirements for exemption from 'Native Law' originally defined in 1864-1865. No Africans were exempted before 1876 and, while 149 exemptions were recorded between 1876 and 1880, only three had the franchise in 1905. Brookes and Webb, op. cit., pp. 76-77.

39. A.Z.M. (Pmburg.), Vol. 25 V/1/1, Inanda station report for 1891.

40. 1881-2 Natal Native Commission, Evidence, pp. 267-272 (Rood).
 Rood was chairman of the A.Z.M. for about 15 years in the 1870s and 1880s.

41. Unfortunately, the Minutes of the Trust Board meetings are missing. The Minutes of the Mission, which usually recorded decisions made by the Trust Board, rarely referred to Reserve matters, except when external pressure was exerted, before the 1880s. "The subject of Reserves about the stations where native missionaries are labouring . . ." directed the Mission's attention in 1869, for example, to the need for speeding up the surveying and granting of Reserve title deeds. In 1876, "A Bill to provide for a more general occupation and improvement of the lands alienated from the waste crown lands of the Colony" merited a brief paragraph, but the Mission seems to have been advised that there was no cause for concern and the matter was dropped. The only persistent problem was, significantly enough, Table Mountain--the first Reserve to lose its resident missionary. As early as the 1860s the Mission tried to get other missionary societies to take over this responsibility but was unsuccessful. Even the government, in contrast to its later attitude, apparently refused to consider the proposition. At the Annual Meeting in 1870 the Mission voted to "resign to Government all claims upon both the reserve and glebe connected with Table Mountain Station and that the Secretary be instructed to inform the Government of this action". But the Reserve and Glebe remained under Mission control. Goodenough reported that two-thirds of the meetings of the Trust Board between 1866 and 1903 were held after 1890. A.Z.M. (Inanda), unclassified, "Notes

from the Minutes of the A.Z.M. on Mission Reserve matters," pp. 1-3 (compiled by Frederick Bunker from the Mission Minutes 1847-1915); Ibid., South African Deputation Papers (1903), Mission Lands: Glebes and Reserves, pp. 83-84.

42. N.G.G., Vol. 43 (1891), Law No. 19 of 1891, pp. 1179-1189 (clauses 8,9).
43. A.Z.M. (Inanda), unclassified, Replies of the American Zulu Mission to the "South African Native Affairs Commission" (1903-5). See below, Chap. III, pp. 151-160.
 Exactly how many Christian indunas were appointed during these years is unknown, but it would appear that at least half of the Reserves had chiefs for the Christian community in 1910. Five Christian chiefs were recorded on the Reserves of the American Zulu Mission in 1906 and, despite opposition, two more were added in 1908. N.B.B., Vol. 91 (1906), Minister for Native Affairs, pp. 91-93. A.Z.M. (Pmburg.), Vol. 26 V/1/4, General Letter for 1908, pp. 20, 22. See also: N.M.C., Proceedings, 1895, pp. 14-15.
44. Appendix II.
 Presumably, revenue from the sale of land before 1870 also was spent on the Glebes. The Mission admitted that up to 1886 only £25 received from the sale of Table Mountain timber and firewood actually was used for the benefit of this Reserve. 1886 Native Mission Reserves Commission Report, p. 6.
45. S.N.A. Vol. 1/1/102 (842/1887), Wilder's statement 6/12/1886 (forwarded by Pixley to the S.N.A. 13/9/1887).
46. A.Z.M. (Inanda), unclassified, S.N.A. Vol. 1/1/308 (162/1904).
47. Vilakazi, op. cit., pp. 118-122.
 Vilakazi suggests that only African Christians have exhibited those personal characteristics associated with western entrepreneurship.
48. Smith, op. cit., pp. 282, 380.
 Daniel Lindley encouraged his children to mix freely with the Zulu and learn the language but colleagues like Lewis Grout were repelled by this idea. Aldin Grout (no relation), the pioneer missionary at Umvoti, knew every African Christian by name, taught them by example how to lead oxen, how to plow and so forth. Smith, op. cit., pp. 290-291. Ilange Lase

Natal 20/3/1908 (leading article translated by R.R.R. Dhlomo, former editor of this newspaper).

49. A.Z.M. (Pmburg.), Vol. 12 III/3/1, Tyler to Ireland 19/12/1887.
50. A.Z.M. (Pmburg.), Vol. 9 III/1/2, Holbrook to Smith 14/1/1889.
51. Ilanga Lase Natal 20/3/1908.
52. Vilakazi, op. cit., p. 121.
53. A.Z.M. (Pmburg.), Vol. 30 VII/3/1, 'By-Laws', Resolution No. 37.
 About 3,000 acres were allotted to Africans in freehold at Umvoti (up to 15 acres a grant) about the same time as the Reserve was demarcated. The other 1,000-odd acres apparently were sold in the late 1860s. According to the 1902 Lands Commission, there were 751 acres in freehold at Amanzimtoti, 227 at Imfume and 100 at Ifafa. In 1886 George Wilder reported that 200 "individual titles to lots on Mission Reserve Lands have been issued to Natives residing on the Reserves". 1902 Lands Commission, Report, pp. 27-28 (clauses 179, 180, 185, 186, 187, 188). S.N.A. Vol. 1/1/102 (842/1887), Wilder's statement 6/12/1886 (forwarded by Pixley to S.N.A. 13/9/1887). Appendix I.
54. A.Z.M. (Pmburg.), Vol. 1 I/1/5, Annual Meeting, June 1875.
55. 1902 Lands Commission, Report, pp. 27-28 (clauses 182, 183, 184, 185, 188, 190) and W. Wilcox to C. Bird 2/5/1896, pp. 67-68 (clause 189); Ibid., Evidence, pp. 1-9 (Surveyor-General).
56. Vilakazi, op. cit., p. 115.
57. Cf. A.Z.M. (Pmburg.), Vol. 30 VII/3/1, 'By-Laws', Resolutions Nos. 53, 54, 55, 183. In 1872 the lease rule of 1868 was reaffirmed with certain conditions.
58. Kannemeyer, op. cit., pp. 116-122.
59. " . . . the net total loss to the Government by the Umvoti Sugar Mill experiment was £12,252.18.1". South African Native Affairs Commission 1903-1905, Evidence, Vol. III, pp. 166-168, 186-187 (Hulett). See also: A.Z.M. (Inanda), unclassified, S.N.A. 306/1892, S.N.A. to G. Wilder 23/3/1892.

This sugar mill and a trade school built at Zwartkop near Pietermaritzburg in the 1880s were undoubtedly the most expensive African industrial enterprises financed by the Natal government before 1910. Hulett was of the opinion that the mill failed because of inefficient management and the government was as much to blame for this as the Africans. In 1904 a railway siding was built but, as indicated, the mill was no longer in working order. Thus Umvoti cane was crushed and marketed elsewhere, by Europeans.

60. His name was Nembula--probably Ira Nembula, one of the early ordained pastors of the American Zulu Mission.

61. Kannemeyer, op. cit., pp. 121-122.

The Trust Board allowed £600 from the sale of Table Mountain Reserve firewood, which was part of the Reserve Fund, to go toward the erection of this sugar mill. 1902 Lands Commission, Evidence, p. 56.

62. Kannemeyer, op. cit., pp. 123-124.

Emanuelson quotes a Secretary for Native Affairs report in 1862: "The Government has succeeded in accomplishing two points with regard to the cultivation of cotton. It has overcome the prejudices of the Natives against the cultivation of any new product which is not an article of food; and it has shown that the plant succeeds very well in this Colony. So long, however, as mealies [maize] command so high a price, it is not likely that the Natives will enter very largely into the cultivation of cotton." Adams, however, apparently could not get the Africans at this time "to become cotton planters even on a small scale" and Kannemeyer arrives at the same conclusion:

" . . . Natives cultivated cotton solely because they had been requested to do so, and not because of any sense of the benefits they might acquire from its cultivation. And thus with a 'resolute politeness' the chiefs . . . declined to cultivate cotton". Emanuelson, op. cit., pp. 77-78 (as quoted). Shiels, op. cit., pp. 31-32. Kannemeyer, op. cit., pp. 123-124.

Seth Stone tried an experiment with chicken farming at Ifafa but failed. Hyman Wilder and his son George tried groundnuts and silkworms at Umtwalume but these also failed. Hyman Wilder, however, founded an industrial school at this station that for a time attracted the attention of the government. In 1864-1865 the school provided instruction in brickmaking, building, carpentry, wagonmaking, shoemaking, tailoring and "driving a small steam engine". In 1865 there were five indentured and 36 other Africans being

trained in industrial work at this institution. Three acres were devoted to coffee as an experiment. Expenses for that year totalled £126 and income £66. In 1882, however, Rood reported that there were no industrial schools sponsored by the Mission. Personal information (re chicken farming at Ifafa, groundnuts and silkworms at Umtwalume). N.B.B., Vols. 15 (1864) and 16 (1865), Department of Education, pp. T 11-12. 1881-2 Natal Native Commission, Evidence, p. 268 (Rood).

63. A.Z.M. (Pmburg.), Vol. 5 II/1/2, J.R. Worcesten (a secretary of the Board) to Wilder 6/1/1875.
64. Kannemeyer, op. cit., pp. 120, 123-124. Goodfellow, op. cit., pp. 210-232.
65. A.Z.M. (Pmburg.), Vol. 22 IV/1/2. Report on Station Industries (1896).
66. A.Z.M. (Inanda), unclassified, S.N.A. 306/1892, S.N.A. to G. Wilder 23/3/1892.
67. Appendix III.
68. Until 1904, Natal's African population figures were based on an estimate of the number of persons per hut and the number of huts per kraal. It is extremely difficult to get even a rough figure for the population on the Reserves per se, however, because "all kraals whether on Location or Mission Reserve, are placed under their respective Chiefs". This, in turn, assumes that even when an estimate is made only of the Reserve population the number of Africans per hut, the number of huts per kraal and the magisterial divisions within which these areas were located remained the same from year to year. Unfortunately, they did not. N.B.B. Vol. 12 (1896), Secretary for Native Affairs, p. 138 (Magistrate for Mapumulo Division).
69. A.Z.M. (Pmburg.), Vol. 6 II/1/3, Smith to Holbrook 17/1/1889; Ibid., Vol. 17 III/7/1, Kilbon to H. Bale 4/5/1895, Kilbon to J. Ireland 15/5/1895. See also: Mercury 9/10/1888 (article on Mission Reserves by Theophilus Shepstone).
Some Reserves, (e.g., Umvoti), moreover, were more densely populated than others and, in fact, were a problem long before 1895. One must be cautious, however, in accepting the missionary view without qualification. Using the figures of the Under-Secretary for Native Affairs in 1906, there was an average of 27.43 acres available per hut in the American Reserves and 38.9 acres per hut in the Locations. Adopting

a rough estimate of about four persons per hut in 1904-1905, there were 6.84 acres available per person in the American Reserves and 9.7 acres in the Locations in 1906. It has been estimated, however, that three arable acres per person would be sufficient for living in the Reserves and Locations using traditional methods of agriculture. Therefore, it would be more accurate to say that the population had increased to the point where the Mission could no longer supervise the Reserves unless drastic administrative reforms were introduced. Appendix III. N.B.B., Vol. 91 (1906), Secretary for Native Affairs, pp. 90-93. Yudelman, M. "South African Native Reserve Policy with Special Emphasis on Considerations of Welfare" (thesis), pp. 131-133.

70. A.Z.M. (Pmburg.), Vol. 9 III/1/2, Kilbon to Means 14/3/1882.
71. A.Z.M. (Pmburg.), Vol. 9 III/1/2, Goodenough to Smith 7/4/1891.
72. A.Z.M. (Pmburg.), Vol. 9 III/1/2, Goodenough to Smith 8/1/1891, 7/4/1891.
73. A.Z.M. (Inanda), unclassified, South African Deputation Papers (1903), Mission Lands: Glebes and Reserves, p. 82.
74. Ibid.
75. By the 1880s the settlers had expropriated virtually all the arable land in Natal and were increasingly vociferous in demanding the break up of African Locations and Reserves to relieve what they regarded as a white land shortage. A particularly sensitive area was the relatively intensified and diversified agricultural zone along the coast within which was the port and communications center of Durban. "Such favourably situated land was beginning to give rise to economic rent and helped to influence the formation of zones of production." The sugar industry was centered in this area which was also where most of the American Mission Reserves were located. E.g., Konczacka, J. "Economic Factors Leading to the Granting of Responsible Government 1888-1893" (thesis), pp. 1-3, 6-11, 16-30. Kanne-meyer, op. cit., chap. 4. Brookes and Hurwitz, op. cit., pp. 8-18, 20-21, 36-41, 104-105. 1902 Lands Commission, Evidence, pp. 214-224 (colonial farmers--Inanda Agricultural Association). Marks, Reluctant Rebellion, pp. 120-128, passim.

76. N.B.B., Vol. 5 (1882), Secretary for Native Affairs, p. 220 (Magistrate for Alexandra Division).
77. 1886 Native Mission Reserves Commission, Report, p. 1. Unfortunately, the Commission's Evidence is missing. Members of the Commission were W.D. Wheelright (chairman), G.C. Cato, J. Kirkman and H.E. Stainbank.
78. Ibid., pp. 7, 10-11.
79. Ibid., p. 10.
80. Ibid., p. 11.
81. N.P.P., Votes and Proceedings, Vol. 1 (1857), First Session of First Legislative Council, pp. 8-9. (Lieutenant-Governor Scott's speech).
82. A.Z.M. (Inanda), unclassified, Rood to S.N.A. 4/1/1887. See above, footnote 41.
83. Between 1880 and 1882 the Christian community complained to the Mission that they were not being protected from whites who used their land to graze cattle indiscriminately in communal areas and cultivated garden plots. A.Z.M. (Inanda), unclassified, Rood to S.N.A. 4/1/1887. 1886 Native Mission Reserves Commission, Report, p. 6. See also: Brookes and Webb, op. cit., p. 158.
84. A.Z.M. (Inanda), unclassified, letter to Secretary Smith re Table Mountain controversy, n.d. (circa 1887), n.n. (undoubtedly David Rood).
85. A.Z.M. (Pmburg.), Vol. 9 III/1/2, Pixley to Smith 3/4/1887.
86. A.Z.M. (Inanda), unclassified, Rood to S.N.A. 4/1/1887.
This may well have been the first separatist church movement within the A.Z.M. Rood reported that the preacher, Daniel Njaleki, "followed them hoping that our mission might consent to still regard him as belonging to us and would aid in his support". Early in 1884 he returned, however, and the Mission allowed him to go back to Table Mountain. There were nine Christian families on the Reserve in 1886. S.N.A. Vol. 1/1/102 (842/1887), Wilder's statement 6/12/1886 (forwarded by Pixley to the S.N.A. 13/9/1887).
87. A.Z.M. (Pmburg.), Vol. 6 II/1/3, Smith to Pixley 1/6/1887, with enclosure--Report of Committee on African Missions (American Board) 31/5/1887. See also:

- A.Z.M. (Inanda), unclassified, Rood to S.N.A. 1/9/1887, 28/7/1887.
88. N.G.G., Bill No. 42 of 1888 "To provide for the Resumption in Certain Cases of Lands granted or reserved for the Purposes of Native Missions", Second Reading (Aug. 14, 1888), pp. 733-734.
 89. Ibid., Third Reading (Oct. 2, 1888), p. 1065.
 90. S.N.A. Vol. 1/1/102 (842/1887), Wilder's statement 6/12/1886 (forwarded by Pixley to the S.N.A. 13/9/1887).
 91. A.Z.M. (Pmburg.), Vol. 9 III/1/1, Ireland to Commissioners, n.d. (circa 1886).
 In December 1886 the Americans had already recorded their protest against "the proposal of government to cancel the title deeds of lands held by the Mission in trust for the A.B.C.F.M." A.Z.M. (Pmburg.), Vol. 1 I/1/6, Semi-Annual Meeting, December 1886.
 92. E.g., G.H., Despatches Received, Petitions, Vol. 1169, pp. 81-92 (petitions of the Norwegians at Hermannsburg and the Berlin Missionary Society).
 93. A.Z.M. (Pmburg.), Vol. 6 II/1/3, Smith to Holbrook 17/1/1889.
 94. The "Forward" party was a political pressure group made up of colonists who were united in their demand for Responsible Government at all costs.
 95. Mercury 9/10/1888. See also: N.P.P., Vol. 647, No. 29, presented 11/9/1888 (Theophilus Shepstone's petition).
 96. S.M.A. Vol. 1/1/94 (907/1886), Surveyor-General to Colonial Secretary 10/11/1886.
 97. S.N.A. Vol. 1/1/110 (1024/1888), Attorney-General's Report 10/10/1888.
 98. N.P.P., Sessional Papers, 5th Session, 12th Council, 1889, pp. 29-30. Knutsford to Havelock 7/2/1889; Ibid., Votes and Proceedings (1889), Message No. 13, p. 104 (Knutsford 10/5/1889).
 The colonists contributed to the Bill's demise by demanding that "unoccupied Mission Reserves" be given to whites. At one point in the Legislative Council debates the Secretary for Native Affairs had to intervene with a warning: " . . . I think it would be

hardly fair to take them [Table Mountain and Umlazi] away from the Native Locations [sic] and give them to the Crown in order to give them to European settlers." Ibid., Legislative Council Debates, 1st Session, 12th Council, Vol. IX, p. 258.

99. N.M.C., Proceedings, 1886, pp. 5-6.

100. See chap. I, pp. 28-35, passim.

101. A.Z.M. (Pmburg.), Vol. 1 I/1/5, Annual Meeting, May 1880.

102. A.Z.M. (Inanda), unclassified, Draft of Rules proposed for Mission Reserves made by David Rood, chairman of the Mission and a member of the Trust Board, 1880 (my underline).

The Mission also proposed to divide the Reserves into school districts, with at least one school in each district, and every child resident in these areas "shall be expected to attend school . . . at least six months during each year". There were several regulations with regard to behavior: "That no nuisances shall be allowed in the village, such as filth or shouting or loud singing or dancing or performance of heathen ceremonies on marriage occasions, or assembling together for drinking beer". Residents were to be encouraged to "be relieved from native law and come under the English laws of the Colony". Indunas were requested for all Christian communities on the Reserves and "over such kraal-men . . . as may prefer to be under him instead of remaining under their heathen chiefs".

103. E.g., 1881-2 Natal Native Commission, Evidence, pp. 267-272 (Rood).

104. The following resolutions are taken from A.Z.M. (Pmburg.), Vol. 30 VII/3/1, 'By-Laws' and "Rules and Regulations of the Trustees of the American Mission Reserves." Hereafter referred to as 'Rules'. The 'Rules' are a compilation and summary of the 'By-Laws' in seven chapters.

105. A.Z.M. (Pmburg.), Vol. 30 VII/3/1, 'By-Laws', Resolution No. 69.

Until 1891 funds collected from the Reserves were spent where the Mission felt they were most needed. In theory, from 1892 money was to be spent only on "the Reserve from which they have been collected". Ibid., Resolution Nos. 356, 357, 371.

106. Ibid., Resolution Nos. 117, 134, 135, 152, 247, 269,

- 163, 211, 113, 229, 321, 123, 352, 118, 173, 286-288, 309.
107. A.Z.M. (Pmburg.), Vol. 30 VII/3/1, 'Rules', chap. V (Gardens and Buildings), sections 4-6.
 108. A.Z.M. (Pmburg.), Vol. 30 VII/3/1, 'By-Laws', Resolution Nos. 121, 122.
 109. A.Z.M. (Pmburg.), Vol. 30 VII/3/1, 'By-Laws', Resolution No. 227.
 110. Ibid., Resolution No. 252.
 111. A.Z.M. (Inanda), unclassified, Goodenough's "Memoranda" (1902), p. 2 (a set of questions on rent and individual tenure, based on resolutions passed by the Trust Board, which was submitted to the Attorney-General for perusal).
Goodenough reported to Frederick Moor, Minister of Native Affairs in 1894, that only 38 tenants had come onto the American Reserves officially in the previous six years. He admitted, however, that the missionaries did not really know how many people were actually moving into these areas. S.N.A. Vol. 1/1/183 (342/1894), Goodenough to Moor 14/5/1894 (with enclosure).
 112. A.Z.M. (Pmburg.), Vol. 30 VII/3/1, 'By-Laws', Resolution No. 337.
 113. A.Z.M. (Pretoria), Microfilm A748, Wilcox's paper on the management of the Mission Reserves, April 1899.
 114. A.Z.M. (Inanda), unclassified, "The Question of Receiving Reserve Rents" (paper written by Wilcox for a conference between the missionaries and African pastors at Umzumbe in 1906), p. 3.
 115. A.Z.M. (Pmburg.), Vol. 30 VII/3/1, 'By-Laws', Resolution No. 305.
 116. Ibid., Resolution No. 327.
 117. Ibid., Resolution No. 326.
 118. The evidence of the American missionaries before the 1881-2 Commission, for example, suggests that a good deal of confusion existed about freehold tenure. Rood testified: "I know of only a few wild Natives buying land." 1881-2 Natal Native Commission, Evidence, pp. 267-272 (Rood), cf. pp. 363-364 (Ireland).

119. A.Z.M. (Pmburg.), Vol. 1 I/1/6, Jubilee Meeting, December 1885.
120. S.N.A. Vol. 1/1/122 (96/1890), Holbrook to S.N.A. 16/1/1890.
121. S.N.A. Vol. 1/1/108 (667/1888), Pixley to S.N.A. 11/8/1888 (with enclosure), J. Masson to Surveyor-General 20/8/1888, S.N.A. to Governor 23/8/1888.
122. S.N.A. Vol. 1/1/111 (1103/1888), Holbrook to S.N.A. 6/12/1888.
123. Ibid., 4/5/1889 (Havelock). On appeal from the Mission, the Attorney-General ruled that exempted Africans were not barred from owning freehold land. S.N.A. Vol. 1/1/122 (96/1890), Holbrook to S.N.A. 16/1/1890, Attorney-General's report 6/2/1890.
124. S.N.A. Vol. 1/1/290 (2195/1900), Goodenough to S.N.A. 29/9/1892 (enclosed in Minute Paper 1074/1892). See also: A.Z.M. (Inanda), unclassified, "Reply of the American Mission Reserve Trustees to Lands Commission Report, Mis-statements Exposed" by H.D. Goodenough, n.d. (1902), p. 3. Hereafter referred to as Goodenough's Reply.
125. The Minutes of Mission meetings during this period reveal how undecided the Americans really were on the question of selling or even leasing Reserve land to the African residents. E.g., A.Z.M. (Pmburg.), Vol. 1 I/1/6, Annual Meeting, June 1890; Semi-Annual Meeting, January 1891; Annual Meeting, June 1891; Special Meeting, September 1892.
126. S.N.A. Vol. 1/1/290 (2195/1900), Goodenough to S.N.A. 29/9/1892 (enclosed in Minute Paper 1074/1892).
127. A.Z.M. (Pmburg.), Vol. 1 I/1/6, Semi-Annual Meeting, February 1893; Ibid., Vol. 22 IV/1/1, Trustee Committee report for 1893.
128. From the government's standpoint, the major problem with regard to freehold tenure in the Reserves concerned the power to control the residents once the land had been sold. Henrique Shepstone, Secretary for Native Affairs in 1890, told the Americans that the selling of Reserve land was "a mistake, and that if we do sell the land in any quantity to the Natives we will lose all control over them". Indeed, the Governor's authority in controlling land transactions involving Africans

had been curbed considerably during these years. We have already noted that land owned by an African could be transferred to a European without the Governor's permission. Subsequently, Africans were allowed to transfer freehold land to polygamists, a severe blow to the Mission. Finally, in 1891 the Natal Supreme Court ruled that the Governor's approval was mandatory only when the land was first transferred, but any further transaction could be effected without his consent. Thus while approving the Mission's conditions for selling Reserve land, the Secretary for Native Affairs in 1892 warned the Governor that the sine qua non of freehold tenure should be a legally binding restriction "preventing the alienation of the land to any other than a Native and then only with the permission of the governor". Technically, of course, this was the government's position when the Reserves were originally demarcated. S.N.A. Vol. 1/1/124 (459/1890), H. Shepstone to Secretary, American Trust Board 13/4/1890; Ibid., Vol. 1/1/133 (1306/1890), S.N.A. report 17/11/1890 (re African-owned land could be sold to a polygamist), H. Shepstone to Governor 20/11/1890 and Attorney-General to S.N.A. 7/8/1891; Ibid., Vol. 1/1/290 (2195/1900), S.N.A. to Governor 10/10/1892 (enclosed in Minute Paper 1074/1892). Natal Law Reports, Vol. 12, 1891, pp. 227-228 (Nyambana--Makuza). See also: Chap. I, pp. 89-90 and Chap. II, footnotes 32, 123.

129. A.Z.M. (Pretoria), Microfilm A751, Pixley to Smith 11/3/1890.

The Mission looked to Natal for personnel and, in fact, placed several colonists in charge of Reserves as well as schools and outstations. David Harris, a Scottish immigrant who subsequently was appointed a missionary with the American Zulu Mission, and James Christie, a minister-evangelist with the Natal Congregational Union, were probably the two most influential colonial recruits in the 1880s and early 1890s.

130. See chap. VIII, pp. 383-404.

131. In a few cases exceptions were made, but these involved a series of legal maneuvers requiring an expenditure in time and money which the Mission could not afford. The problems referred to the Secretary for Native Affairs invariably involved squabbles over the question of land rights--the building of huts on communal grazing areas, ploughing land without permission, the boundaries of chiefdoms within the Reserve, mineral rights, and so forth. Cf. S.N.A. Vol. 1/1/175 (537/1884), Vol. 1/1/98 (358/1887), Vol. 1/1/103 (1112/1887), Vol. 1/1/104 (24/1888), passim.

CHAPTER III

COLONIST VS. MISSIONARY: CRISIS OVER CONTROL,
POLICY AND ADMINISTRATION IN THE MISSION RESERVES

On the eve of Responsible Government the American missionaries, like many other individuals and organizations in the colony, were rather anxious and apprehensive about their status under the new regime:

"We ourselves hardly know where we are except that we are on the eve of changes. For the present we are trustees of a dozen native reserves, comparable in some respects to the larger reserves of the American Indians. . . . Our position is uncertain because of the position of the Colony. . . . The importance to us of this political move is seen from the fact that the main check to the adoption of 'home rule' springs from the native question. . . . At present the natives seem secure in their reservations, but there is a constant pressure--naturally--to break up these reservations. A few mistakes in carrying out the original terms of the grant may open the way for government to seize a reservation and throw it open to white settlers. A reservation system could not probably secure permanently the best interests of the people themselves. What shall be done? . . . Is it best for the trustees to sell or lease these reservation lands to natives? How could the lands and the mission stations be protected in such case from . . . polygamy? These are questions confronting us at every meeting."¹

As Goodenough, the Mission's principal spokesman on Reserve administration between 1890 and 1903, put it in 1893:

"The new Constitution will give to the white people of the Colony control over the native population, which it is bound to affect profoundly for

good or ill, and it is difficult to forecast the future, and tell which will predominate."²

Responsible Government, which gave the white settlers control over the colony's internal affairs, was conferred on July 4, 1893. Meanwhile, American Reserve rents fell due on July 1st and, as usual, several African residents defaulted. Eight months later Goodenough wrote to Frederick Moor, the new Minister, (i.e., secretary) of Native Affairs, and asked for the power of attorney to collect the defaulted rents. Moor immediately wrote to H. Escombe, the new Attorney-General:

"The views I may hold of my duty as Trustee may not be in accordance with the views and interests of my three Missionary Colleagues, in which case I should be in a helpless minority. My colleagues have signed the power in favour of Messrs. Balc and Greene /the colonial law firm empowered by the Trust Board to collect Reserve rents/ without my knowledge or asking my advice."

Escombe, in reply, advised Moor not to grant the power of attorney to Goodenough and condemned the rent policy of the American Zulu Mission: "The Trustees are Trustees and not traffickers in Native rents. . . . You cannot be in a hopeless minority, as your co-trustees cannot bind you. If you object, the thing objected to cannot be done."³

Goodenough then sought to ascertain what, in fact, were the powers of the missionary trustees under the new colonial regime with regard to removing African tenants who disobeyed the newly published 'Rules' of the Trust Board. Escombe's opinion must have been rather a shock to the Mission:

"The power of removing a native reserved to the Governor in the deed of grant is a power which cannot be exercised except through a court of justice. . . . The deed of grant is not equal to a law, and if the Governor were to direct a Magistrate or police officer to remove Ulanda /an offending African mentioned in Goodenough's letter/ from the land, the direction so given, and everything done in pursuance of it, would be illegal."

The Governor, he vaguely declared, could only sanction removal through a "competent tribunal". Goodenough replied that the Attorney-General's opinion differed from the practice of the Trust Board for nearly 30 years. Despite the severe difficulties involved, missionary trustees had been successful, for example, in legally removing two tenants since 1891. If, however, Escombe was correct, "I should be glad if you would suggest what steps are necessary In what Court is the case to be brought, by whom, on what charge, and under what law?"⁴ The answer to these and many other questions was soon forthcoming.

THE 1895 ACT: ANOTHER ABORTIVE ATTEMPT TO TAKE OVER THE MISSION RESERVES

In December 1894, the Attorney-General called together all the missionary societies in control of Reserves in Natal to consider the problems of administering these areas. At this meeting, Escombe pointed out the difficulty of the Minister of Native Affairs who was a "political officer" after 1893 but who still held an administrative post as a member of most of the missionary Trust Boards. Alluding to

the American Zulu Mission, he stated that it was "in practice, very inconvenient for a political officer to be mixed up with matters of Trusteeship in land". Escombe emphasized the deficiencies of the original trust deeds and in this context he used as his prime example the regulations of the American Reserve Trust Board. These 'Rules' had revealed, according to Escombe, the weaknesses of the original title deeds but "the draft submitted to the government contains provisions outside of those contained in the Deed of Grant" and could not be made binding "without a Special Act of Parliament". Significantly, the Attorney-General found that the original title deeds which did not contain the special clause made "no provision for renting the land" while "the granting of individual tenure" had been envisaged for all the Reserves.

"I find a very small proportion indeed of the lands have been alienated in the form of individual titles to natives, but I understand that a comparatively large proportion of the land has been appropriated by the Trustees to tenants in exchange for rent. I am not saying whether it is right that those who go on to the land should be charged rent, or whether it is wrong, but I may remark that I find nothing to justify this charge against such natives, and it will be apparent that, if rent has been charged, such rent should belong to the Trustees, as distinguished from belonging to the Missionaries. . . . that money should belong to the land and be spent thereon for the benefit of the people resident there, as distinguished from being spent with what I may call the Mission Fund."⁵

The Attorney-General also revealed a new official interpretation of the original title deeds which, according to

Escombe, provided "for the holding of the lands for natives generally, and not for natives belonging to any particular sect or creed" as found in the American Zulu Mission's 'Rules'. Finally, the title deeds made "no provision for ejecting natives unless under exceptional circumstances, and in a particular way". Later on in the discussions, the Attorney-General said that "objectionable" residents might "be removed but even the Governor cannot turn such men off". In effect, nobody could be forced to leave the Reserves which meant that none of the contenders for power in these areas actually had any power at all. Speaking of the heathen chiefs, Escombe made this point the basis for the talks:

"It was never intended that Chiefs should exercise power over the Reserve lands. . . . The Chiefs should not rule on these lands because at present no one has authority to rule there. The missionary has no authority to turn men off the land because he has no control over it. The Government has no control over the Reserves. There is no control over these Reserves and that is an anomaly which must be removed."⁶

Escombe proposed a Bill which would uphold "the underlying principle of the original Deeds of Trust" but this would be more clearly defined and the powers of the Trust Board increased in "the terms and conditions which are to bind the residents on the Mission Reserve Lands". Escombe promised that the missionaries would have the opportunity to see the Bill before it was made public and offer amendments, if desired. Individual titles, however, were not to be granted until the proper "terms and conditions" were "de-

fined by law". If possible, heathen chiefs would be barred from exercising any authority on the Reserves. Above all, one Trust Board was envisaged for all the Reserves. The Attorney-General preferred the Natal Native Trust which, unlike the various Reserve Trust Boards, was responsible to Parliament. Escombe would not insist on this body, however, if the missionaries were against it.⁷

It is strange that at this meeting only Pixley and Kilbon represented the American Zulu Mission, and only Pixley--with a failing memory and in poor health--ventured to say anything at all during the talks.⁸ Nevertheless, Kilbon later reported: "The Trustees agreed to the increase in powers, were in doubt about the wisdom of one board, though not clearly opposed, but were opposed to that Board being the Natal Native Trust."⁹ The last point, however, was the cornerstone of government policy for the Mission Reserves. This was what Escombe had implied in his letter to Moor and had carefully outlined in his discussions with the missionaries. The government wanted to end dual trusteeship once and for all.

Kilbon's comment was not, of course, unjustified. The Natal Native Trust was even less effective than the Mission Reserve Trust Boards had been in fulfilling the policies outlined by Lieutenant-Governor Scott a generation earlier. The Natal Native Trust, however, had been controlled by those Imperial civil servants who were responsible for the adminis-

tration of the colony. This was why the Locations had played a rather significant role in the demand for Responsible Government.¹⁰ After 1893 the colony was administered by an executive which consisted exclusively of politicians enjoying the temporary confidence of the majority in the Legislative Assembly. Since the colonists controlled the Legislature, they controlled the Natal Native Trust. The only effective check against colonial exploitation was the Governor.¹¹ Unrecognized at the time was the possibility that the Governor himself might side with those colonists who preferred a radical solution to the 'native problem'--in their own interests.

The Bill received its first reading in April 1895.¹² At the second reading in May the Attorney-General summed up the various reasons why the government thought it necessary "to bring under proper control the Natives who occupy . . . Mission Reserves".¹³ It was one of the most important statements ever made on the significance of these areas by a settler under Responsible Government. Escombe began by reassuring the missionaries that the original purpose of the title deeds would be kept inviolate. The government had abandoned any idea of turning the Reserves into Crown lands: "There is no intention on the part of the Government in any shape or form to interfere with that trust. The land set apart for that trust will always, so far as this Government is concerned, be used for the purposes of that trust".¹⁴

To fulfill the principles outlined in the title deeds, however, the missionaries had encountered a number of problems which Escombe enumerated. Of interest was Escombe's rather ominous recognition of the impact of Christianity on traditional culture in the Reserves and, increasingly, on the Locations. In the Locations the government had carefully rebuilt, strengthened and given legal protection to traditional authority. Now African evangelists and teachers from the Reserves were coming into conflict with the vested interests of the chiefs, some of whom apparently complained to the government. Escombe foresaw that the Christians would accelerate the process of cultural change and he was determined that the settlers should exercise greater control over these areas.¹⁵

The Attorney-General dealt at length with the question of individual tenure. Not only did he support the scheme with apparent enthusiasm, but he saw it as one of two primary purposes in the granting of Mission Reserves "for the benefit of the Natives": " . . . to the intent that the missionaries shall have a fixed population whereon to work; and the deed of trust also contemplates a transfer of portions of the land . . . to Natives who may be thought worthy of individual titles". He even went so far as to stress it was Parliament's duty to see that this purpose was put into effect:

"I am aware there is some room for doubt as to the general question of individual title, but, as far

as this land itself is concerned, there can be no room for doubt, because the trust deed itself expressly provides that individual titles may be given to individual Natives, and if that be the case then this Assembly and this Parliament will never consent to a breach of trust involved in a refusal to carry out the provision placed in the Bill."

Escombe also agreed, however, to the principle of Reserve rents and apparently saw no conflict between this and individual land tenure:

" . . . these Mission Reserves . . . have got to be dealt with differently from the existing Native locations. If people go on to these Reserves, as it were out of a location, they have got to pay rent for the land, which they do not pay in the locations. That is the first penalty they pay in their upward progress. . . . And the rent derived from that trust. . . . will be spent on the people, or on the land on which they are located."¹⁶

Above all, there was the question of control. Escombe proposed a Bill with the object of bringing "those particular areas of Mission Lands . . . under such control that the people who live on those lands shall be as much in hand as the ordinary tenants of an ordinary estate. And that is not the case now". Government, moreover, must be the sole trustee: " . . . if the Government are to exercise large powers with respect to these lands there must be no interference on the part of the Trustees with the Government with respect to the property. There can be no divided responsibility". For the white settlers this was essential because, as Escombe had pointed out in his talks with the missionaries, in the past neither the government nor the mission-

aries had sufficient authority on the Reserves. The American 'Rules', he re-emphasized, were an "illegal" attempt at trying to eliminate this problem. Escombe again assured the missionaries, however, that nothing would be done without their consent:

"We have told the missionaries then that if we are to make any disturbance in the trust we shall only do it with your approval. We do not mean to override the trustees, who, so far as we know, have endeavoured to discharge their duty faithfully in the past. This Government does not use force. . . . But we will use reasoning and argument; and if we find that a better Board can be constituted than the Natal Native Trust, we shall be glad to give our consideration to the constitution of that Board."

" . . . as regards the existing trustees the Government will certainly not make any change in a trust unless it be with the general concurrence of the reverend gentlemen themselves."¹⁷

One week before the Bill was published in the Government Gazette a copy was given to the Mission. There was no time to get the members of the various Trust Boards together for consideration of their views, as the Attorney-General had promised. In fact, the swiftness and determination which Escombe displayed in getting the Bill through Parliament caught the American missionaries off balance, and they did not even consult the Prudential Committee as they should have done. Later, they realized some of the implications of the government's policy:

"We were allowed freely interviews with the Attorney-General but were impressed with the fact that Government could not agree with us in anything important, that we did not agree with them in. What we aimed at mainly was to keep the

Trusteeship in our hands where the original deed distinctly placed it, and to have the Government make the regulations it proposed for the better civil government of the residents. . . . as we look back on the course of events and of the apparent courtesy of Government, we are impressed with the relentless purpose of Government to override us which seemed to increase as time went on".¹⁸

The missionaries sat back and listened to the Parliamentary debates "shocked" at the vehemence of anti-Mission speeches. They sent an official protest to the Attorney-General which expressed their growing apprehension: "We fear that the existence of our Mission will, in the event of an unsympathetic Government taking office, be imperilled should the Bill become law".¹⁹ Strenuous efforts were made to enlighten the other missionary societies through the Natal Missionary Conference, and the latter sent a memorial to the Governor asking him to withhold his signature from the Bill.²⁰ All efforts were in vain, however, and the Governor assented to the Bill on August 9, 1895.²¹

And yet, the efforts of the Mission had not been entirely in vain, for a very important amendment had been secured in several clauses of the Bill. Earlier, Escombe had written to Goodenough: "You object to part with the powers which you think you have as trustees. . . . The Government want to work with and not against the missionaries and it seems to me therefore that the only course is to make the Bill permissive".²² And many of the Act's clauses were permissive in character. The Governor-in-Council may "make, alter, and amend rules to regulate

the . . . Mission Reserves"; he may "appoint and remove trustees"; he may appoint the Natal Native Trust as trustees who may have certain powers in the Reserves; "Natives. . . may acquire land . . . and may be given title".²³

The two most important positive statements in the Act related to the termination of dual trusteeship and the control of revenue derived from these areas. The Minister of Native Affairs would no longer be a member of the Trust Board of any missionary Reserve, and this was carried into effect.²⁴ Although the Act did not transfer the Reserves directly to the Natal Native Trust, it was quite adamant on what was to be done with revenue collected from these areas:

"All monies, other than Government taxes and fees, raised from the occupants of a Mission Reserve, shall be collected by the Natal Native Trust, and shall be used in repaying advances made by the Trust, and thereafter for the benefit of such occupants."²⁵

This was a rather strange resolution in view of the permissive character of the Act in general and the assurances already given to the missionaries. The Americans complained that nothing was offered in the Act to compensate the missionaries for what they had spent in these areas: Goodenough estimated the American Zulu Mission alone had spent (mostly in salaries) about £160,000.²⁶ What was perhaps most interesting of all was that, although the rent clause was also made permissive,²⁷ neither the government nor the Mission

emphasized the importance of the revenue obtained from the Reserves. Goodenough even deprecated, in public, the money the Mission received from these areas.²⁸ Resolutions relating to rents, however, had comprized a large part of the 1893 "Rules and Regulations of the Trustees of the American Mission Reserves"²⁹ and the 1895 Act itself had come about at least partially because of pressure exerted by the Mission on the government to enforce the collection of rents. We shall return to this point again. At this juncture, it is sufficient to state that under the 1895 Act the American missionaries, in particular, would have been deprived of a major source of revenue.

Additional reasons for opposing the Act were, of course, considered by the missionaries. But it is significant that they focused their attention on the ramifications which a change in trusteeship to the Natal Native Trust would have on the Mission:

"Under the Bill as finally passed the original Trustees remain in name trustees, but are not so in fact. . . . control . . . will have gone . . . into the hands of the Natal Native Trust. . . . a quasi-political board, and . . . a fluctuating board it would change "with every change of Ministry", two characteristics that make it an unsuitable body to administer a trust in which mission interests are largely involved Political considerations will most naturally enter into the decision of reserve questions. . . . The Bill itself furnishes the opportunity . . . to impair, or subvert, the influence of missionary operations on the reserves."³⁰

Thus not only did the Act threaten a major source of Mission revenue, but it also envisaged a situation in which political,

(i.e., colonial) interests would dominate over religious considerations in the Reserves. The government, of course, expected the missionaries to co-operate and their 'rights' were written into the Act itself: "Nothing in this Act contained shall in any way lessen the rights as missionaries of any ministers of the religious denomination mentioned or referred to in the original grant of the Mission Reserve." Despite Escombe's assurances, however, a provision in the bill whereby a change in trusteeship could only be enacted with the consent of a majority of the missionary trustees was struck out of the Act as passed.³¹ Furthermore, there was nothing in the Act stating that conditions relating to the African residents as set forth in the original deeds would be respected. In theory, missionary appointees of the Trust Board could be replaced by fiat without providing any clause stipulating that these areas would be kept solely for the use of the African population.³²

The Americans were in a dilemma. What attitude should they take to the new Act? The Mission as well as the government knew that co-operation was essential if regulations for the Reserves were to be implemented as provided for under the Act. It was, after all, the Americans who held the bulk of the Reserves and in the past had made the most vigorous attempts to administer them efficiently. Since the Act left in doubt who was actually in control, neither the government nor the other missionary societies could hope to draw up and enforce an administrative code without the approval of the

Americans.

At first, the American Zulu Mission remained aloof.³³ A meeting called by the Minister of Native Affairs in October 1895 to consider proposals for the framing of Reserve regulations was not attended by the Mission since, in Kilbon's opinion, it "will be naturally construed as countenancing certain features of the Act . . . to which the Trustees . . . cannot consent".³⁴ Goodenough later remarked that the Mission's refusal was a "conscientious protest".³⁵ For almost a year nothing was done until finally the Mission decided, by a narrow majority, to take part in the meetings.³⁶ At a conference called for in July 1896, the Mission formally abandoned its earlier position and promised to work towards fulfilling the provisions of the Act.³⁷ Initially, at least, the government's response to this gesture was cordial, although Goodenough's reaction to subsequent meetings with colonial officials was, as usual, realistic:

"Our wishes and opinions were treated with the utmost deference, and there was an evident desire to meet us, and win our confidence in carrying out the law. . . . It is not so much that I have the utmost confidence in the friendly feelings of Government towards us and our work, as that I think they are bound to consult us and win our cooperation in order to make a success of the Law."³⁸

Temporarily the government, which had not yet selected anyone to assume control over the Reserves, appointed the old missionary Trust Boards to take charge once again. They would regulate the admission of new entrants, fix

rental fees, and so forth. The American Reserve Trust Board tried to fulfill its obligations. The names of missionary trustees nominally in charge of the Reserves, together with the name of the missionary who collected the rents, were submitted to the Minister of Native Affairs and apparently approved.³⁹ In reality, however, Goodenough, assisted by Frederick Bridgman,⁴⁰ was responsible for administering the Reserves. In 1896 the government finally allowed the missionary trustees to define the boundary lines of chiefdoms within each Reserve "when political necessity demanded it," and in October 1897 Goodenough toured these areas, collected the rents and prepared a list of those who were delinquent. But he still had no authority to remove anyone from the Reserves.⁴¹

The government, however, also asked that the rents be increased and a single supervisor for the Reserves be appointed as soon as a suitable person could be found. In 1897 the Trust Board increased rents for new Reserve residents to £1 "per head", (i.e., African male adult).⁴² Members of the American Reserve Trust Board were asked to nominate a superintendent, but the three nominees suggested to the government in 1896 and 1897 were rejected. While the Mission turned down a suggestion that Goodenough be the government-appointed supervisor, in practice he still performed this role while the American Trust Board continued to be responsible for administering the Reserves.⁴³ Act No. 25

of 1895, in fact, was never enforced.⁴⁴

In 1902, with the Report of the Lands Commission, the government and the Mission bitterly accused each other of being responsible for the failure of the Act. The Commissioners reported:

"Act No. 25 of 1895 . . . has been allowed to remain a dead letter, apparently because of the opposition offered by the American missionaries. . . . Commissioners cannot too strongly express their regret that the American Missionaries alone should have stood out against the framing of the Rules under the Act, by refusing to attend meetings called by Government in the interests of all concerned. . . . The other Missionaries appear to have assisted the Government in every possible way."⁴⁵

The American Zulu Mission replied that, with one exception (the October 1895 meeting), missionary trustees had attended every meeting called by the government to discuss the formation of rules under the Act. On the important issue of a Reserve superintendent, Goodenough stated that after the Mission's choices for the post were rejected, he was "given to understand that Government would appoint its own nominee".⁴⁶

The Commissioners also wondered and regretted that the ministry of the day had done nothing.⁴⁷ Despite opposition from the Mission, it was indeed evident that the government, so determined to get control of the Reserves, had failed to act just when it seemed to be in a decisive position to do so. Several reasons for this inconsistent behavior were put forward at the time by the Mission:

"A Parliamentary election was coming on, which took up the thought and attention of Ministers and when the election was over, they found themselves out in the cold. . . . A new Secretary for Native Affairs came into office, and it took him time to get acquainted with its duties. The needs of the Mission Reserves had to wait."⁴⁸

The government also had to face more urgent political problems. The Indian 'riots' and the Transvaal issue, in the critical year of 1897, contributed to the fall of two ministries.⁴⁹ Perhaps the more important reason lay in the nature of the Act itself, however. In November 1896 the Attorney General advised the Minister of Native Affairs:

"If it is your wish that the Natal Native Trust shall be trustees with the other Trustees this can be done. If you wish the Natal Native Trust to be sole trustee, recourse must be had to legislation."

In January 1897 the Minister of Native Affairs then wrote to the Colonial Secretary:

"Since the meeting of Missionaries . . . in July 1896, no practical progress has been made to carry into effect the provisions of Act 25-1895. . . . I am of opinion that dual authority on the Reserves is impracticable, and I am unable to recommend that any action be taken by the Natal Native Trust on this matter or that it should assume any responsibilities with regard to Mission Reserves, unless the Trust and the Government have full control."

This report was seconded by the Attorney-General in another letter to the Colonial Secretary:

"This change is of course of a radical character and has to be well considered before it is decided on."⁵⁰

It seems probable that the self-governing colonists did not enforce the Act because, once again, they were afraid this

kind of move into the contentious arena of African affairs would trigger such opposition from the missionaries and African residents that the Imperial Government might be forced to intervene. Finally, all matters relating to Mission Reserves were left in abeyance during the South African War.⁵¹

EXPERIMENTS IN CIVIL GOVERNMENT AND ADMINISTRATION IN THE RESERVES 1896-1902

The government refused to act. The missionaries were allowed to continue being de-facto trustees but left on their own. Relations with the colonists were so tenuous during these years that the Americans were not sure who controlled the Reserves. In 1897 Goodenough had to ask S. O. Samuelson, the permanent Undersecretary for Native Affairs, whether the 1895 Act had been sanctioned by the Imperial Government. But not even Samuelson knew this, two years after the Governor signed the Act! As Goodenough remarked to Secretary Smith: "For . . . nearly three years--we have 'let things slide' on account of the doubt as to what Government intended to do. It has been demoralizing, and the Natives have got the idea that we had lost all power on the Reserves".⁵²

At the same time, however, the missionaries believed there was still a chance the government might accept an American-sponsored code for the Mission Reserves based on the 1893 'Rules' if these were re-defined to accommodate

the views of the Christian community and had the consent of the heathen residents. With their backing, the government might sanction a solution that could satisfy everyone concerned. Furthermore, the Binns' Ministry (Oct. 1897-June 1899) apparently was more favorable to Mission control than its predecessors, as Ransom remarked to Secretary Smith in 1898:

"I rejoice that the present ministry of Natal has a different attitude toward the question than the determined one which Mr. Escombe took. At the same time in practically saying to us--'go ahead and manage the Reserves' they put upon us a heavy responsibility not to be measured by the responsibility of the past."⁵³

Thus the Mission made one last concerted attempt to find a solution to the Reserve problem. As the Trust Board expressed it: "We have the task before us of producing something that will satisfy the Law, the Government, the Natives and ourselves and not interfere with but promote the interests of the Kingdom of God which only we serve."⁵⁴ A radical reorientation of African community life on the Glebes and Reserves once again was offered--with model township schemes and municipal constitutions founded on individual tenure.

Proposals apparently were put forward by African Christians from various Mission Reserves and Glebes during this period but only one survives in detail. Nevertheless, this document is possibly unique because it is the only evidence discovered prior to the passing of the 1903 Mission Reserves Act describing an attempt to resolve the land tenure

problem in which every vested interest group--missionaries, colonial officials, Zulu heathen and Christians--participated in the discussions. In July 1896 Mvakwendhlu Sivetye, the pastor at Esidumbini, together with 48 of the leading Christian tenants from the Reserve, petitioned the government and a meeting was held in October to discuss the possibilities of developing this area.⁵⁵

Samuelson reported that the Africans, apparently both Christian and non-Christian

" . . . desired strongly to come under regulations which would regulate the erection of buildings in proper places, the use of lands for cultivation and pasturage, the restriction of polygamy and beer drinking, the manner of dealing with young men and others who may by their conduct and behaviour influence for evil the girls and women on the Station".

They also wanted the land to be divided and titles issued on the basis of individual tenure, although they did not insist on freehold rights:

"They said that lands should be possessed on specified conditions and by those only who agreed to conform with and be bound by the rules of the community, and that contraventions should ipso facto determine the title and deprive the offender of his right."⁵⁶

Samuelson explained the intricacies of local boards and municipal councils, the system of elections, ward representatives and so forth. After much discussion, a detailed plan for a municipal council system was put forward by the Christian community. This model "Constitution of the Village Community" had as its "main object" the desire "to

provide areas of land in which natives with a tendency to free themselves from Location life and the control of Chiefs may settle".⁵⁷

Following this introduction was a detailed list of what would be prohibited in the new community:

"No heathen custom rite or ceremony or any other custom rite or ceremony in conflict with the principles of Christianity shall be practised within the community. No person shall be hindered or prevented in the practise, preaching or teaching of the Christian religion."

As Samuelson recognized, the Africans were planning virtually a theocratic state:

"They did not discriminate between lay and spiritual control, nor between congregational and political management."

After a list of taboo customs, the structure of self-governing municipal councils was outlined in detail:

"There shall be a village council appointed by the adult male villagers in number not less than three nor more than five and such council in conjunction with the Foreman shall regulate and control all village questions. . . . The Foreman of the community shall be appointed by the votes of the adult male villagers and shall hold Office whilst supported therein by the votes of a majority of the villagers".

But these councils were to be denied civil and criminal jurisdiction over the village communities. Samuelson even vetoed a proposal from the petitioners to allow the councils some judicial power.⁵⁸

One interesting difference of opinion arose between African proselytes and white missionaries over how to handle

the chiefs and heathen living on the Reserves. Although the African Christians seemed strongly opposed to the authority of the chiefs, they did not want to deprive non-Christians of their rights:

" . . . they wish to show them the advantages of an improved mode of life and cultivation, they wish to have rules which will prevent the many disputes they have now with the kraal natives . . . and they feel confident that the kraal natives will ultimately join them of their own accord and that the whole Reserve will quietly come under the regulations".

The missionaries, however, wanted the heathen chiefs to be stripped of whatever power they still held in the Reserve and all the tenants to be subject to the new regulations. The chiefs apparently supported the African Christians--especially with regard to the land:

"The 'Amakolwa' /Christians/ have learned to appreciate the value of property in land and they would like individual holdings where practicable in preference to communal holdings. Kraal natives in many cases . . . would like to have a better hold on the lands they occupy."⁵⁹

Although Samuelson agreed in general with the petitioners--"I think this is a very good case to be taken in hand under the Mission Reserves Act and the prayer of these Natives should be granted if possible"--he destroyed the very basis of the municipal constitution by excluding the possibility of individual tenure on this Reserve because it was not economically feasible:

"The Esidumbini lands are in most parts so rugged and broken as to be well nigh incapable of such subdivision as will admit of a complete farm being

allotted to each individual . . . nor is the proportion of arable land to the population such as to admit of minute individual holdings".⁶⁰

The Christian residents of Esidumbini had proposed the plan, however, mainly because it would ensure private ownership of the land, not because it would necessarily resolve their economic problems. Furthermore, if the constitution had been accepted, the Mission undoubtedly would have used it as a model for the other Reserves.

In March 1899 the Mission met with representatives of the African churches at Inanda. For perhaps the first time in the history of the American Zulu Mission, a frank and open discussion was held with those who had borne and would continue to bear the brunt of Mission and government decisions on Reserve policy. They were invited to state their opinions, and the Africans responded with a specific program that would meet their needs and desires:

1. The missionaries should not give up the trusteeship.
2. The reserves should not be turned over to the Governor.
3. The reserves should not be placed in charge of a white supervisor.
4. The trustees should teach the natives to help them in the management of the Reserves.
5. Allotments of land should be made to the people."⁶¹

It seems clear that the Inanda decision was motivated not so much by a love for the missionaries as trustees (especially since the meeting was convened at the height of the separatist church crisis)⁶² as it was from fear that the

missionaries would eventually give in and return the Reserves to the government before the tenants obtained title deeds to the land. By the 1890s this had become almost an obsession with the African Christians.⁶³

Shortly after the Inanda meeting, Goodenough presented a new summary of rules passed by the Trust Board. The "Constitution for the Management and Government of the American Mission Reserves" seems to have been the Mission's final attempt to establish a civil code for the administration of these areas. Like every scheme sponsored by the Mission and/or the African Christian community since 1880, it envisaged the total destruction of traditional custom and authority on the Reserves in favor of a Christian theocracy which would not have been out of context among the radical Protestant experiments in Europe during the Reformation. There were eight "General Principles":

- "1. These Reserves shall be regarded as a means and sphere for promoting Christian civilization among the Natives.
2. These Reserves shall be held for exclusive occupation of Natives, and shall be allotted by title to suitable applicants, being Natives, on terms and conditions that may be fixed by the Governor of Natal.
3. These Reserves shall not be exchanged for other lands without the consent of the A.B.C.F.M. in Natal.
4. No Native Chief shall be given any jurisdiction over the land nor have power to bring Natives upon, or remove them from the Reserves, nor have power to assign garden plots or building sites, nor have any jurisdiction whatever over questions relating to the land.
5. These Reserves shall be so managed as to discourage and ultimately eliminate therefrom

all Native Customs, and heathen rites and ceremonies inconsistent with the Christian Religion.

6. These Reserves shall be so managed as to bring all Natives living on them out from under the control of Native Chiefs as soon as possible.

7. These Reserves shall be so managed as to promote the education of the young, general intelligence, industry and thrift among the people on the Reserves.

8. These Reserves shall be held, in terms of the original deed of grant, 'in order that the said A.B.C.F.M. in Natal may have a fixed population to labour among as missionaries without let or hindrance;' and nothing obstructing the free and sole control of Missionary and Christian work by the said Board of Missions on the Reserves shall be allowed."⁶⁴

In the "General Principles" individual land tenure was made a priority but nothing was said about rent. In the detailed regulations accompanying these 'Principles', however, Goodenough inserted a clause whereby "All Native Male adults" would pay a "yearly contribution towards the expenses of conducting the Reserves" of 10/- for one wife, 20/- for two or more wives and 5/- for those who were unmarried. The "yearly contribution" was, in fact, a kind of property tax which would take the place of rents.⁶⁵

Goodenough proposed to divide each Reserve into two parts--a "Special" and a "General" Reserve. A "Special Reserve" would be set up essentially for the Christian community and "all lawful residents" would be allotted "individual holdings" with title deeds. Land would be divided into three classes--i.e., village, suburban and 'kraal' lots--with conditions for residence attached in each case.

A model township scheme was outlined and Africans in the "Special Reserve" were to have municipal franchise rights. An elected "Council of 5 one of whom shall be the Headman" would be responsible for governing these areas. In essence, the duties and privileges of the residents in the "Special Reserve" approximated those advocated by the Christians at Esidumbini. In fact, most of the regulations either had been envisaged by Rood in 1880 or were already summarized in the abortive 1893 'Rules'. It was clearly Goodenough's intention to increase gradually the amount of "Special Reserve" land until it reached the boundaries of the original Reserves. Before this could be done, however, those who were heathens and/or polygamists, (i.e., some of the latter were excommunicated Christians) would be allowed to reside on the "General Reserve" and be governed by a "Committee of Natives". It is significant that chiefs would only have authority in matters of civil law over those residing in the "General Reserve": "No Native Chief shall have jurisdiction over any question relating to the land of a Reserve, and no jurisdiction whatever on the Special Reserves."⁶⁶

As a concession to the government, the Reserves as a whole were to be governed by one or more white supervisors who "shall have jurisdiction over all land questions, such as the allotment of gardens and building sites, the settlement of garden disputes, and all other questions relating to the land of the Reserve" except where the supervisor

delegated this power to the "Council" in the "Special Reserves" or the "Committee of Natives" in the "General Reserves". Detailed registration lists were required from all Reserve residents and there were numerous regulations for admission to and removal from these areas. Rules relating to roads, communal grazing ground, water, wood, "health and decency", "maintenance of order" and so forth were also inserted into the document.⁶⁷ Goodenough then presented a draft of the "Constitution" to S. O. Samuelson for the government's perusal. Goodenough hoped that the relatively sympathetic ministry of Binns would favor such a plan: "This is for your criticisms and suggestions. . . . We are conscious that this first draft is very imperfect but we hope it may prove a practical basis for agreement". In April 1899, however, Samuelson informed Goodenough that the "draft rules" had been turned down as they were "in many respects beyond the scope of the 1895 Act".⁶⁸

In June 1899 Albert Hime formed a new ministry which lasted until August 1903. While the government's attention was focussed on the South African War, the Mission continued in its efforts to resolve the Reserve problem. At long last the Americans abandoned any further attempt at producing a new administrative code for these areas and focussed their attentions on the proposals outlined by the African tenants at Inanda in March 1899. African committees, for

example, were organized on several Reserves but again the absence of authority crippled the efforts of the administrators. In 1900 Ransom put the entire responsibility for governing Ifafa Reserve into the hands of an African committee appointed by the Christian community. While the problems this committee encountered, according to Ransom, were not very different from those faced by the missionaries, they had only "the law of moral influence" to enforce their decisions. It was not enough. Taylor dourly reported that the "only good [African] reserve committee" he had observed was at Esidumbini which was virtually ruled by the Christian community under Sivetye. As the Trust Board put it: " . . . the Trustees have so little power in terms of the trust to back up these committees. Where we have no power ourselves we can confer none".⁶⁹

The missionaries again made an effort to produce a set of conditions acceptable to the government which would give the African tenants title to the land on which they resided. In October 1899 the missionaries held another meeting with representatives from the various Reserves, both Christian and non-Christian. A revised plan for cutting up and selling the land in these areas to Africans was drawn up and the conditions agreed upon by both the African delegates and the missionaries. At a special meeting in November, the Trust Board formally approved of the scheme:

" . . . the Trustees are only waiting for the confusing war excitement to settle before presenting the same to the Government to obtain its sanction if possible. . . . There is a sense of relief in having found a general plan on which the Trustees and natives concerned agree".⁷⁰

S. O. Samuelson was asked privately whether or not he approved of the conditions for selling the land: "There appears to be nothing objectionable, the only question being whether the scheme can receive authority under the Mission Reserves Act [of 1895] or under your deeds of trust."⁷¹ In August 1900 the scheme, essentially a summary of the various individual land tenure plans that had been introduced since 1888, was put forward in a formal petition addressed to the Governor:

- "a. That the land purchased by any native under the regulations may not be alienated without the consent of the Governor and then only to a native.
- "b. That any land . . . shall be capable of being leased and hired out by the original grantee or his heirs only to natives, and not to Europeans, Indians, or others of foreign nationality.
- "c. That the granting of any such lands to any natives as aforesaid shall not prejudice or affect the right of the American Zulu Mission in Natal . . . to freely and without let or hindrance carry on their work as missionaries anywhere within the limits of the original Deed of Grant. . . . that the Natal Native Trust may be allowed to undertake the survey and allotment of the Reserves . . . under conditions . . . agreed upon between your petitioners and the Natal Native Trust."

The Africans were to get from 15 to 30 acres apiece, and those residing on the land would have the "first right" to buy their plot. The proposal envisaged the establishment of self-contained village communities similar to the Esidumbini and 1899 "Constitution" plans. A detailed repayment system

was drawn up and specific requirements were made on how the purchaser was to "beneficially occupy his plot". In addition, the Mission made an important concession in regard to polygamists, accepting the government's contention that they had a right to private ownership of Reserve land.⁷²

Meanwhile, the Africans themselves were also actively engaged in bringing pressure to bear on the government. In 1901 a petition was circulated among the Mission Reserve residents asking "for the transfer in freehold of individual holdings to Natives resident thereon". The petition, with 766 signatures, was presented to the Minister of Native Affairs by two of the most articulate members of the Christian community, Martin Lutuli and Mtinkulu Makanya. The minister rejected the petition, however, mainly because it wasn't "sufficiently explicit in its terms". In his opinion, moreover, "there were great disadvantages in individual holdings".⁷³

On March 31, 1902, a delegation of African Christians from the Reserves met in Durban to consider the minister's reply and drafted a new petition which was virtually a duplicate of the Mission Trust Board petition of August 1900. A decision on the final conditions with regard to individual land tenure would be left to the government. Individual tenure with title deeds, however, was the sine qua non of African demands: " . . . nothing will be satisfactory which does not provide for allotments so that

each man will know his own land". Like the missionaries, the African petition also allowed that "provisions might be made with reference to the obligations or privileges of any polygamist". Only one clause was probably inserted against the Mission's advice, since it stipulated "that on the death of the Grantee of any plot of land, the wife, sons and unmarried daughters be equally heirs to the land". This 'supplementary' petition was signed by 30 additional Reserve residents. Again, however, the Minister of Native Affairs refused to reveal what the government intended to do.⁷⁴

In fact, none of these petitions was ever answered satisfactorily. At the time the missionary trustees presented their petition (August 1900) Goodenough, exhausted by the Reserve and separatist church problems, had been on furlough. When he returned, he wrote to the Minister of Native Affairs "asking what action had been taken on the proposed rules". The minister told Goodenough what he had already told the Africans. No decision could be made until the papers containing these various petitions and proposals had been considered by a new commission of inquiry into Natal's land problems.⁷⁵

THE 'INTOLERABLE BURDEN' OF
RESERVE ADMINISTRATION

This was the situation, then, on the eve of the Mission Reserves Act. In the critical decade between the granting of Responsible Government in 1893 and the end of the South African War in 1902 each of the contenders for power expressed what appeared in their eyes to be the essential conditions for peace and prosperity in the Reserves. In retrospect, the positions of the white settlers and African tenants seem pretty clear. The colonists wanted the Reserves to ensure political control over the developing African Christian community and to provide a cheap and potentially productive supply of labor for the white urban and farming areas. Despite Mission fears, only a radical minority appears to have advocated outright expropriation of the Reserves for white settlement. The African tenants pointed to the original trust deeds and said, in effect, that they could no longer survive in these areas unless they were offered a permanent stake in the land. They urged the Mission to do what it had failed to accomplish in the 1860s but still, in theory, advocated: cut up the Glebes and Reserves and distribute the land among the residents on the basis of freehold tenure. They asked for title deeds to legalize this transaction, the establishment of village committees and a municipal franchise with the right of self-government.

Neither side really possessed the power to carry out their designs, however. Every plan sponsored by the settlers dissolved before it could be implemented because, in essence, they did not believe they had the authority to overrule the missionary trustees. In the 1880s and 1890s the American Zulu Mission demonstrated over and over again that without their co-operation the settlers' hold on the Reserves would be ineffective and, as we have noted, this was confirmed by the 1902 Lands Commission. On the other hand, the African tenants depended on the missionaries to be their spokesmen before the colonists on the land question. They did not pursue an independent course of action on an issue which affected their vital interests.

The missionaries as trustees found the land problem to be far more complex than either the colonists or the Africans imagined it to be. As they had argued ad nauseam, their main concern--and the primary object of the original trust deeds--was that the Reserves "may be occupied and inhabited by Natives in order that the said A.B.C.F.M. in Natal may have a fixed population to labor among as missionaries without let or hindrance".⁷⁶ Beyond this, however, the Americans floundered in a bewildering maze of peripheral considerations which obscured the primary goals to be pursued if the Mission was to present a coherent Reserve policy acceptable to the African tenants as well as the colonists. By 1902, moreover, it was clear even to the missionaries that

the white settlers could not be put off much longer.

What was not made clear was the value of the revenue the Mission received from the Reserves during these years. After the experiments in freehold tenure were abandoned in the 1860s, the missionaries had found a veritable treasure in the seemingly endless amount of timber and firewood from Table Mountain Reserve.⁷⁷ By the mid-1880s, however, the sale of wood and timber suddenly dropped. As the 1886 Mission Reserve Commissioners observed, there was virtually no wood left--£194 being collected from Table Mountain between 1881 and 1900. Thus the Mission had to find another source of revenue, and so the tenants were forced to pay rent on the land they occupied. Rents were levied on the Reserves from 1888 and on the Glebes from about 1890. By 1900 rents totalled £1,450 out of the £2,550 collected from the Reserves alone since 1881. Revenue from the sale of land, however, was only £74 during the same period. Thus rents from the late 1880s took the place that Table Mountain Reserve firewood had previously occupied.⁷⁸

Between 1881 and 1900 about £1,270 was spent on 'buildings'--which meant either schools or churches used as schoolhouses during the week. When the amount spent on 'buildings' from 1881 to 1900 is added to the balance as of 1900, the total is equal to almost 80 per cent of the revenue collected during that period. The evidence clearly indicates that revenue from the Mission Reserves was spent almost exclusively on education--on the Glebes where most

of the schools were. It was estimated in 1895 that in the previous 25 years income from the Reserves had averaged £130 a year and Goodenough reported in 1903 that these areas had yielded about £5,000 since the Mission Reserves Fund had been established.⁷⁹

To all outward appearances, however, the American Zulu Mission continued to advocate individual tenure, albeit with conditions, for their Reserve tenants. At the same Inanda meeting in 1899 where the Africans had asked the Mission to retain control over the Reserves until the tenants could buy the land, the missionaries met privately for their Semi-Annual Meeting. After a long discussion, they resolved to relinquish "all responsibility for land questions connected with the Reserves" and allow the government to assume control "provided that the sale of the lands to the natives under suitable conditions is guaranteed, and provided that the rights and privileges [missionary] of the original Trust are secured".⁸⁰ On the list of Mission priorities, however, there was never any doubt as to which of these resolutions was most important: " . . . it is still the judgment of the Trustees that they should get rid of the administration of the Reserves . . . as fast, as prudence dictates".⁸¹

While Goodenough was given the responsibility for administering the Reserves and allowed free reign in trying to come up with a viable solution to the problem, many--perhaps a majority--of the missionaries would not accept

the schemes he put forward. When he asked for a vote of confidence on his 1899 "Constitution", for example, Dorward and Bunker advised him to scrap the whole thing. The African's plea that the missionaries continue as trustees, as expressed at the Inanda meeting, was unacceptable:

" . . . for many years they have been clamouring against it, and that one instance will hardly weigh against all we have experienced in the past. Besides the missionaries . . . declared quite as emphatically for an opposite course /1899 Semi-Annual Meeting/. . . . I am not prepared to say how much confidence I have in this new attitude of the natives. . . . I am not sure that the Trustees will be able to enforce these rules /Goodenough's "Constitution"/ any better than past rules, which were given to the people as law. . . . these responsibilities should be relegated to the Government".⁸²

Goodenough also inherited the historical dilemma of the Mission's conservative wing--from David Rood, author of the 1880 code, to Charles Kilbon, nominal chairman of the Trust Board throughout most of the period--who desired a feudal theocratic state established on the Glebes and Reserves but were afraid of becoming involved in undefined 'secular' pursuits. Indeed, such was the dissension within the Mission that Goodenough once wrote in exasperation: " . . . my place as Trustee is open to anyone who will take it".⁸³ Suffice to say, nobody wanted the job. But every missionary scheme proposed during the decade preceding the 1903 Mission Reserves Act was weakened from the outset by the Americans' desire to be relieved of what they now felt was a crippling burden. Even Goodenough eventually gave up and his descrip-

tion of the problem during these years reflected the futility of missionary supervision:

"The administration of the reserves grew increasingly perplexing and exacting. They became more and more crowded. It was difficult to find sites and gardens for the sons of the old residents, or for newcomers. Unoccupied garden spots were 'jumped' by near residents, leading to endless disputes, which required the decision of the missionary in charge. The administration of the reserves became a burden too great to be borne by missionaries whose hands were already full of other work. To most of the missionaries this work was exceedingly distasteful, and all would have been glad to be freed from the burden."⁸⁴

The question remains, however. If the missionaries would not continue to administer the Reserves under any circumstances, what was the alternative? It is the author's contention that the Mission until 1903 still had the final say as to what price would be exacted in payment for colonial control over these areas and it was still essentially a choice between the acceptance of a perpetual rent and individual tenure for the African residents.

NOTES

1. A.Z.M. (Pmburg.), Vol. 25 V/1/2, General Letter for 1892, pp. 1-4.
2. A.Z.M. (Inanda), unclassified, missionary scrap book (unidentified American newspaper clipping).
Goodenough was secretary of the Mission and the Reserve Trust Board during this period.
3. S.N.A. Vol. 1/1/183 (342/1894), Goodenough to Moor 16/3/1894; Moor to Escombe 27/3/1894; Escombe to Moor 30/3/1894. See also: A.Z.M. (Pmburg.), Vol. 30 VII/3/1, 'By-Laws', Resolution No. 305.
4. S.N.A. Vol. 1/1/183 (345/1894), Attorney-General to M.N.A. 6/4/1894, Goodenough to M.N.A. 17/4/1894.
5. A.Z.M. (Inanda), unclassified, Minutes of meeting 17/12/1894, pp. 3-6, 8-10.
By 'Mission Fund' Escombe meant the Mission's subsidy from the American Board. The Americans, of course, denied that any of the money collected from their Reserves had been spent on the Mission per se, but it seems that this was not true of one or two other societies (apparently German missionaries) who held Reserves. N.M.C., Proceedings, 1895, Kilbon's paper, p. 16. A.Z.M. (Pmburg.), Vol. 22 VI/1/1, Trustee committee report for 1895, p. 4.
6. A.Z.M. (Inanda), unclassified, Minutes of meeting 17/12/1894, pp. 4-5, 26-27, 32, 38.
7. Ibid., pp. 33-35, 61-63.
8. Ibid., pp. 29-32. Pixley, for example, thought the Americans had 11 Reserves!
9. A.Z.M. (Pmburg.), Vol. 17 III/7/1, Kilbon to Smith 22/8/1895, p. 5.
10. Konczacka, op. cit., p. 18. The "complete collapse" of the Natal Native Trust, according to Kannemeyer, coincided with the colonial drive for Responsible

Government (1885-1894). Kannemeyer, op. cit., pp. 208-213.

11. Eybers, op. cit., pp. 213-214.
 In April 1893, the Secretary of State wrote to Gov. Charles Mitchell saying that he had decided to take no action with regard to the Natal Native Trust: "Power to add members to the Trust is at present reserved to the Crown and this appears to be a sufficient safeguard against the possibility of any future Executive Council proving disposed to misuse the Native Trust lands in the interests of Europeans, a proceeding which I do not at all anticipate." G.H., Letters Received, Private Confidential, Vol. 291, pp. 157-158, Secretary of State to Gov. Mitchell 4/4/1893; Ibid., cf. Vol. 290, pp. 162-163, Colonial Secretary to Governor 11/8/1892. For correspondence, re Natal Native Trust, see Vol. 290, pp. 125-136, 143-166.
12. N.G.G., Vol. 47 (April 9, 1895), Bill "To Regulate the use of Mission Reserves," pp. 329-330.
13. N.P.P., Sessional Papers, 3rd Session, 1st Parliament (1895), Attorney-General's speech on the second reading of the Mission Reserves Bill (14/5/1895), p. 5.
14. Ibid.
15. Ibid., pp. 10-12.
16. Ibid., pp. 9, 13-15.
 Escombe added: " . . . the 150,000 acres of land /in Reserve/ never can be lessened in quantity without a breach of trust, otherwise than by giving individual titles to natives". With regard to rent, he insisted that this revenue "will not fall into the general revenues of the Colony". Ibid., pp. 11, 15.
17. Ibid., pp. 8-10, 15-16.
 Escombe said that the Glebe "belongs to the mission station, and the missionaries can deal with that 500 acres of land as they please". Ibid., p. 15.
18. A.Z.M. (Pmburg.), Vol. 17 III/7/1, Kilbon to Smith 22/8/1895, pp. 5-6. See also: N.M.C., Proceedings, 1895, Kilbon's paper, p. 15.
19. A.Z.M. (Pmburg.), Vol. 17 III/7/1, Kilbon to Smith 22/8/1895, p. 7; Ibid., Vol. 22 VI/1/1, Trustee committee report for 1895, pp. 8-9.

20. N.M.C., Proceedings, 1895, Kilbon's paper, p. 20; Ibid., 1896, pp. 9-10.
 The Governor stated that he had not received the memorial until after he had assented to the Bill. G.H., Private Organisations, Vol. 1143, pp. 173-182. N.M.C. Memorial to Governor (n.d.), Governor's reply 10/8/1895.
21. The Mission was reluctant to split openly with the government. Kilbon wrote to Secretary Smith after the Bill was passed: "You will want to know what we now intend doing. Nothing. We can do nothing. . . . As it is we feel now that we have a certain vantage ground morally. We have earnestly entreated but courteously yielded when we had to thus giving the Government reason to hold us in respect. We have done nothing to offend those in high quarters." Earlier, Henry Bale (M.L.A.), the Mission's principal colonial adviser on Reserve administration, had warned: "I think it would be a great misfortune if the Bill were thrown out because I am afraid that many people would be glad to see the lands resumed /given to the whites/." A.Z.M. (Pmburg.), Vol. 17 III/7/1, Kilbon to Smith 22/8/1895, pp. 7-8. A.Z.M. (Inanda), unclassified, H. Bale to Goodenough 20/5/1895.
22. A.Z.M. (Inanda), unclassified, Escombe to Goodenough 12/3/1895. See also: N.M.C., Proceedings, 1895, Kilbon's paper, p. 17.
23. N.G.G., Vol. 47, Act No. 25 of 1895 (August 13, 1895), "To Regulate the use of Mission Reserves," pp. 1168-1169, clauses 2, 5, 6, 7, 13 passim. (my underline).
24. Ibid., clause 4.
25. Ibid., clause 8.
26. N.M.C., Proceedings, 1895, Goodenough's paper, p. 14; Ibid., Kilbon's paper, p. 20.
27. N.G.G., Vol. 47, Act No. 25 of 1895 (August 13, 1895), p. 1168, clause 26.
28. N.M.C., Proceedings, 1895, Goodenough's paper, p. 14.
29. A.Z.M. (Pmburg.), Vol. 30 VII/3/1, 'Rules', cf. chap. 2, sections 7-9; chap. 3, sections 3 (b and c), 4-7. See also: South African Native Affairs Commission 1903-5, Evidence, Vol. IV, pp. 849-850 (Goodenough).

30. N.M.C., Proceedings, 1895, Kilbon's paper, p. 19.
31. N.G.G., Vol. 47, Act No. 25 of 1895 (August 13, 1895), p. 1169, clause 14; Ibid., p. 329, clause 6 (first reading).
32. S.N.A. Vol. 1/1/290 (2194/1900), Burt Bridgman (a missionary trustee at this time) to C. Bird 10/10/1895. See also: A.Z.M. (Pmburg.), Vol. 22 IV/1/1, Trustee committee report for 1895, pp. 6-7.
33. A.Z.M. (Pmburg.), Vol. 22 IV/1/2, Trustee committee report for 1896.
34. S.N.A. Vol. 1/1/290 (2194/1900), Kilbon to C. Bird 9/10/1895.
35. A.Z.M. (Inanda), unclassified, Goodenough's Reply, p. 1.
36. A.Z.M. (Pmburg.), Vol. 2 I/1/6, Annual Meeting, July 1896.
37. A.Z.M. (Inanda), unclassified, Goodenough's Reply, p. 1.
38. A.Z.M. (Pretoria), Microfilm A749, Goodenough to Smith 1/8/1896, p. 3.
39. S.N.A. Vol. 1/1/207 (1010/1895), Pixley to M.N.A. 20/8/1895; Attorney-General to M.N.A. 28/8/1895.
40. Frederick Bridgman's comment after being appointed a trustee: " . . . had I been at all well informed about this mill-stone which at times threatens the Mission with destruction, I should probably have never come to this field". A.Z.M. (Pretoria), Microfilm A748, F. Bridgman to Smith 16/8/1899.
41. N.G.G., Vol. 48, Act No. 40 of 1896 (Sept. 1, 1896), "To amend the Code of Native Law," p. 1404, cf. sections 5, 7. See also: A.Z.M. (Inanda), unclassified, Goodenough's Reply, p. 2. A.Z.M. (Pretoria), Microfilm A749, Goodenough to Smith 7/10/1897, 14/4/1899 "A Year's Itinerary", pp. 6-7. S.N.A. Vol. 1/1/233 (1947/1896), M.N.A. to Attorney-General 20/11/1896. 1902 Lands Commission, Evidence, pp. 10-14, 460-462 (S.O. Samuelson).
42. A.Z.M. (Inanda), unclassified, "Memoranda," Resolution dated 17/9/1897.

This resolution was for all the Reserves, not just those which contained the special clause. Newcomers had to pay one year in advance before they could build in these areas.

43. A.Z.M. (Pmburg.), Vol. 2 I/1/6, Semi-Annual Meeting, January 1897; Ibid., Vol. 22 IV/1/2, Trustee committee report for 1897. See also: A.Z.M. (Inanda), unclassified, Goodenough's Reply, p. 2.
44. But the increase in rent was not withdrawn. The money continued to go to the Mission's Trust Board rather than to the Natal Native Trust, (i.e., the government) as the 1895 Act had intended.
45. 1902 Lands Commission, Report, pp. 30-31 (clause 206).
46. A.Z.M. (Inanda), unclassified, Goodenough's Reply, p. 2.
47. 1902 Lands Commission, Report, pp. 30-33 (clauses 206, 207).
48. A.Z.M. (Inanda), unclassified, Goodenough's Reply, p. 2. This was confirmed by Moor. S.N.A. Vol. 1/1/300 (723/1903), M.N.A. conference with missionary trustees 12/2/1903, p. 2.
49. Brookes and Webb, op. cit., chaps. 18-19.
50. S.N.A. Vol. 1/1/233 (1947/1896), Attorney-General to M.N.A. 26/11/1896, M.N.A. to Colonial Secretary 28/1/1897, Attorney-General to Colonial Secretary 26/2/1897.
51. A.Z.M. (Inanda), unclassified, Goodenough's Reply, p. 2.
52. S.N.A. Vol. 1/1/250 (1454/1897), Goodenough to S.O. Samuelson 30/7/1897; Ibid., (1733/1897), S.O. Samuelson to Crown Solicitor 26/8/1897. See also: A.Z.M. (Pretoria), Microfilm A749, Goodenough to Smith 7/10/1897.
 The Colonial Secretary, in fact, accepted the Act. Vol. 1/1/250 (1733/1897), Crown Solicitor to S.N.A. 30/8/1897.
53. A.Z.M. (Pretoria), Microfilm A751, Ransom to Smith, n.d. (about September 1898).

54. A.Z.M. (Pmburg.), Vol. 23 IV/1/3, Trustee committee report for 1899.
55. A.Z.M. (Inanda), unclassified, "Papers S.N.A. 1181/1896" and enclosure "Constitution of the Village Community."
56. Ibid.
57. Ibid.
58. Ibid.
59. Ibid.
60. Ibid.
61. A.Z.M. (Pmburg.), Vol. 23 IV/1/3, Trustee committee report for 1899.
62. For details, see chap. VII, pp. 376-389, passim.
63. Mission archives at Inanda, for example, contain one request after another from Glebe and Reserve tenants for permission to buy land. A.Z.M. (Inanda), unclassified, Holbrook (for 19 heads of families) to Trustees of Mapumulo Mission Reserve, n.d.; Louis Mngadi (for himself and 10 other heads of families from Imfume mission station) to S.O. Samuelson 14/8/1899 (cf. Samuelson to Goodenough 18/8/1899); Petition from 12 (?) heads of families to the Trustee of Umvoti Reserve and Glebe 1899 (in Zulu), Langa M. Ngcobo to Goodenough 24/1/1899, three Africans (one of whom was Martin Lutuli) to Umvoti missionary 25/1/1899 (in Zulu--partly illegible), passim. (several documents referring to freehold land tenure in Zulu--translator, Richard Sales). Other petitions relating to land tenure can be found in Mission correspondence at the Pietermaritzburg Archives.
64. A.Z.M. (Inanda), unclassified, "Constitution for the American Mission Reserves," "General Principles", n.d. (March 1899?)
65. Ibid., "General Plan", chap. II, section B "Yearly Contribution."
66. Ibid., "General Plan" and "General Plan for Dividing up American Mission Reserves" with annexures. It is presumed that all of these documents--the "General Principles", "General Plan" and so forth--formed parts

of the 1899 'Constitution'. They are contained in a folder marked "Mission Reserves 1899" at Inanda.

67. Ibid.
68. A.Z.M. (Inanda), unclassified, Goodenough to S.O. Samuelson 22/3/1899, S.O. Samuelson to Goodenough 19/4/1899. There were no reasons given as to why or where they exceeded the 1895 Act.
69. A.Z.M. (Pmburg.), Vol. 23 IV/1/4, Statement by Trustees, 1900; Ibid., Vol. 26 V/1/3, Station report of North Coast Department (Taylor) for 1901, pp. 14-15; Ifafa station report for 1900, p. 3.
70. A.Z.M. (Pmburg.), Vol. 23 IV/1/4, Memorandum of Trustee Business, 1900.
71. A.Z.M. (Pmburg.), Vol. 23 IV/1/4, Statement by Trustees, 1900.
72. A.Z.M. (Inanda), unclassified, Petition to Gov. Walter Hely-Hutchinson 14/8/1900.
73. S.N.A. Vol. 1/1/295 (834/1902), M.N.A. Memorandum 7/3/1902, Petition (766 signatures) received 6/3/1902.
74. S.N.A. Vol. 1/1/295 (834/1902), Petition (30 signatures) received 1/4/1902, Goodenough to M.N.A. 2/4/1902, M.N.A. to Goodenough 11/4/1902, M.N.A. to M. Lutuli 11/4/1902.
75. A.Z.M. (Inanda), unclassified, Goodenough's Reply, p. 2.
76. A.Z.M. (Inanda), unclassified, "Some Conclusions from Studying the Trust Deed of the American Mission Reserves" by C.W. Kilbon 9/4/1892.
77. See chap. II, p. 86.
78. Appendix II. See also: 1886 Native Mission Reserves Commission, Report, p. 6.
The £74 received from the 'sale of land' at Imfume and Umvoti apparently referred to payments for title deeds originally granted before 1880, since there is no mention of land sales to African tenants in Mission correspondence after this date.
79. Appendix II. See also: S.N.A. Vol. 1/1/290 (2194/1900), "Schedule of Returns sent in by Missionaries . . . " 31/10/1895. A.Z.M. (Inanda), unclassified,

South African Deputation Papers (1903), Mission Lands: Glebes and Reserves, p. 84.

80. A.Z.M. (Pmburg.), Vol. 2 I/1/6, Semi-Annual Meeting, January 1899.
81. A.Z.M. (Pmburg.), Vol. 24 IV/1/5, Trustee committee report for 1902, pp. 8-9, 12.
82. A.Z.M. (Inanda), unclassified, Doward to Goodenough 27/3/1899, 29/3/1899; Ibid., cf. Kilbon to Goodenough 27/2/1899.

Frederick Bridgman wrote in 1902: "One thing I know, these promises of the old missionaries are a nuisance. I wonder just how much they did promise and how much is concocted by the native to suit his turn." A.Z.M. (Pmburg.), Vol. 14 III/3/4, F. Bridgman to Goodenough 28/11/1902.

83. A.Z.M. (Pretoria), Microfilm A749, Goodenough to Smith 14/4/1899, "A Year's Itinerary," p. 8. See also: A.Z.M. (Inanda), unclassified, Kilbon to Pixley 9/4/1892 (re Goodenough's methods).

Rood was typical of the second missionary generation. In 1878 he told the Natal Missionary Conference that civil matters were outside the Mission's jurisdiction: "It would not be wise or proper for him to have it. He does not wish it; it would be going outside of his sphere of duty." In 1895 the Trust Board denied it wanted "civil power" on the Reserves. N.M.C., Proceedings, 1878, p. 6. S.N.A. Vol. 1/1/290 (2194/1900), Trustees, American Mission Reserves, to Members of the Ministry 12/10/1895.

84. A.Z.M. (Inanda), unclassified, South African Deputation Papers (1903), Mission Lands: Glebes and Reserves, p. 84; Ibid., cf. Goodenough to G. Hulett 3/2/1899, Kilbon statement "Mission Lands" 21/2/1901, p. 11.

CHAPTER IV

THE GOVERNMENT VICTORY: COLONIST AND
MISSIONARY INTERESTS AND THE AFRICAN REACTION

While the missionaries and their tenants were drafting one plan after another in an attempt to resolve the Reserve problem, the government, expecting a quick end to the war and anticipating a flood of new immigrants, once again cast about for 'free' land.¹ On the basis of a petition presented in 1899 to the Legislative Assembly and signed by 51 colonists, a Lands Commission was appointed in 1902 to report on absentee landowners, denomination land grants and "the acquisition by the Government of suitable lands . . . for the settlement thereon of persons who will beneficially occupy and improve the lands so acquired".² Thus, in theory, the scope of this inquiry was broader than that provided for in the 1886 Mission Reserves Commission. In fact, however, it was only when recommendations were made on the first two questions that the third question could be answered. Once again, it was the Reserves that particularly fascinated the Commissioners, especially the American Reserves.

THE 1902 LANDS COMMISSION

In January 1901 the Americans were interviewed by the Commissioners and the report of the Trust Board was

cautiously optimistic: " . . . it is to be presumed on good evidence, that some vagueness and misconceptions in the minds of our questioners themselves were cleared up during the conference".³ When the Report of the Lands Commission was published in February 1902, however, it was anything but favorable. The Mission was held responsible for allegedly "deplorable conditions" in the Reserves which were said to be in a state of virtual anarchy:

"At present, Natives can practically do as they like. . . . 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."⁴

Several were said to be undeveloped:

"For a number of years the Mission Reserves have been regarded as a stumbling block to the progress of the country, but the Commissioners think this should be taken to apply only to those Reserves on the Coast, as for instance Umvoti, Umlazi, Amanzimtoti, Imfume and Ifafa, or parts thereof, which, if not locked up, would in common with lands on the Coast have been utilised for European occupation, and participated in the general progress of that part of the country."⁵

These areas comprized some of the choicest farm land in the sugar cane belt. With one possible exception (the Mission's pioneer station at Umlazi, now controlled by the Church of England), these were also the Reserves where freehold tenure had been granted. It was a source of irritation to the colonists: "The granting of a freehold plot of Reserve land to a Mission Native will probably be harmful to him as enabling him to live in idleness."⁶ Except for Amanzimtoti

and Inanda, the Commissioners' "visits to American Stations impress one with failure, and desertion". With Amanzimtoti and Inanda undoubtedly in mind, however, they emphasized the need to train Africans for industry in the schools and concluded: "The so-called 'Industrial Training' at present undertaken is a farce."⁷

Surprisingly enough, the Commissioners were "not able to find justification on the part of the Government for the resumption of these Reserve lands" based on what legal rights the government might have in the original title deeds "unless it could be found that such resumption was necessary in the interests of the Colony".⁸ This, of course, was almost certainly the whole purpose behind the 1902 Lands Commission--to prove that it was in the colony's interest to gain political control over the Reserves. Although the Reserve grants were made out to missionary societies, according to the Commissioners these missionaries were not regarded as having any rights to respect in the event the government resumed control. Likewise, the African tenants did not have any obligations to fulfill and even the fundamental right to reside in these areas was questioned: "It may be necessary to remove Natives from portions of the Reserves, in the interests of the country." In essence, the Commissioners urged that the Natal Native Trust should assume control and Act No. 25 of 1895 should be enforced:

" . . . that all Missionary Trustees of Reserves should be removed, and that the Natal Native Trust,

or the Government, should be created the sole Trustee of all Mission Reserves, and exercise absolute control thereon. . . . Commissioners are convinced that these Natives must be under one controlling power, and that power should be the Government".⁹

The missionaries, naturally enough, were shocked when they read the report. They felt they had gone out of their way to accommodate the Commissioners, supplying them with more detailed information than was required and giving them every opportunity, through personal observation, to study conditions on the Reserves.¹⁰ The Mission Trust Board condemned the Report in no uncertain terms:

"Such disregard for truth, such ignoring of evidence known to abound in the hands of the Commission, such a resort to assumptions, such a degrading of a good cause and of honest men, was more worthy of scheming lawyers than of gentlemen of integrity. . . . They doubtless reckon on the strong sentiment in the colony, opposed to the Reserves, bringing a powerful pressure to bear on Government and on Parliament to supplant natives by Europeans on these lands, and we may be sure that if their recommendations are adopted, greed will win, and natives will have to give way to Europeans. The work of the American Board will be crushed out. It will be practically stranded on these insignificant glebes. . . . The property will be worth whatever the new settlers are willing to offer for it."¹¹

As Goodenough later remarked: "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."¹² The missionary trustees realized that when Parliament considered the Commissioners' recommendations there would be little opposition "unless we in some way create it", and this they set out to do.¹³

THE MISSION RESERVES ACT OF 1903

"There is a feeling in the air that forces are arraying themselves for a contest. We as Trustees are considering what we can do to enlighten the ignorance of the public--to awaken the consciences of Christians, to enlist on our side the activities of men who love justice and righteousness."¹⁴

The Mission launched its campaign by printing a "Reply" to the allegations made in the Lands Commission Report and publishing it in all four of Natal's daily (white) newspapers. The Trust Board then put forward a detailed plan of action:

"We propose to put our Reply pamphlet in the hands of all the members of Parliament . . . to call a meeting of all Trustees of Mission Reserves; to obtain a hearing before the ministers of Maritzburg and Durban; to bring the matter before the Natal Missionary Conference . . . and at the coming Congregational Union meeting".

The Trust Board refused to admit any "newcomers" into the Reserves in 1902-3 "to prevent additional complications and difficulties" and in the hopes that the government might still grant individual land tenure, with conditions, to eligible residents while accepting the necessity for some form of residence tax--i.e., rents.¹⁵ With this in mind, Goodenough had presented a memorandum in May 1902 to the Attorney-General on the question of rents and individual tenure. Although most of the questions, surprisingly enough, were answered in favor of the Mission, the Attorney-General emphasized that the 1895 Act had the potential power to change anything previously enacted or officially determined in respect to the Reserves:

"I have so far dealt with the matter as governed by the deeds of grant, and the common law. . . . But Act 25, 1895 gives power to the Governor in Council, to supersede the trusts in several respects, and to remove and change the trustees, and pending the enforcement of the Act, and the regulations which may be framed thereunder, I do not advise the trustees to complicate matters by attempting to create any new rights in and to the occupation of the land. . . . Any conflict between the Trustees and the Executive Government is to be deprecated."¹⁶

More ominous, Henry McCallum, the new Governor who had assumed office in May 1901, was a vigorous champion of the Natal colonists as well as a radical white supremacist. The American missionary trustees' first interview with him was anything but optimistic:

"His Excellency impressed them as a man of pronounced character, not without his prejudices, and as one, to be on the wrong side of whom it would be unfortunate. . . . He had a distinct distrust of Christian natives, both in Natal and elsewhere".

McCallum was of the opinion that the Royal Instructions issued to the Governor on the granting of Responsible Government in 1893 had revoked all earlier correspondence with regard to mission work among Africans in the colony and warned the Americans that "great lives in the American Mission in Natal belonged to the past. The Mission had deteriorated".¹⁷

If the government assumed control of the Reserves on the basis of the Commissioners' recommendations, the Trust Board proposed "to ask the American Board to undertake resistance through diplomatic channels". As the missionary trustees rather hopefully observed: "We have a strong vantage

in being Americans." Meanwhile, they went to Pietermaritzburg and Durban, received a sympathetic hearing from their fellow ministers, and took the matter before the Natal Missionary Conference. The Natal Congregational Union offered its assistance and one of the Mission's staunchest colonial friends, Henry Bale, circulated the Mission's "Reply" among members of the Legislative Assembly.¹⁸

In February 1903 Frederick Moor, once again Minister of Native Affairs, arranged a conference with all Mission Reserve Trust Boards to discuss the recommendations of the Lands Commission. Moor's attitude was much more conciliatory than that of the Lands Commissioners, which probably indicated the American Zulu Mission's efforts to publicize their case had not been entirely in vain. The early part of the conference was taken up with the old problem of defining the powers of the missionary trustees. Moor echoed Escombe's belief that, in fact, nobody had any power on the Reserves except, in an indirect and cumbersome way, the Governor. But if the Reserves were returned to the government, the authority to remove undesirable residents "would be given to the Magistrates" who would have full power to act immediately. Only the American Zulu Mission queried Moor's statement. Goodenough replied that the Americans, in fact, had received

"... high legal opinion and have contested cases in the Court and find that we have a good deal of power. If anyone comes on to the reserve

without the consent in writing of the trustees he is a trespasser, and by going to Court we can get him ejected. We can make the conditions as to the terms on which the Natives shall come on to the Reserves. The Natives have rights over their holdings /presumably those who held freehold land/ -- outside of that they have no power".

Moor, however, stood firm:

" . . . the Trust with its vague undefined powers has been the means of doing away with the political control of these Natives which belongs to the Government, and if this matter is brought to a crisis the country will stand by the Government. This is all I ask-- 'Render unto Caesar, etc.' carrying your own work and insisting on having your rights, but don't let us have any of this divided authority /missionary-government/ in the future, because it means endless trouble. . . . We don't want to fight. . . . /but/ It was never intended that the control should be outside the Government. The country is determined that it shall not be so and I say that the control of these reserves should be with the Magistrates or, in other words, the Government".¹⁹

Goodenough then abruptly countered with a "plan" emphasizing Reserve revenue which he believed would satisfy both the government and the missionaries:

"I would propose a plan. The rights of the natives are to occupy the lands. Our rights are the rights to labour without hindrance amongst this population as missionaries. There is also a further right of the revenue derived from the reserves in or upon these lands in the erection of buildings and so forth. My proposal would be that the present Trustees remain in their position and that they lease the reserves in perpetuity to the Natal Native Trust under such terms as would keep them for the occupation of Natives and which would enable us to work without hindrance among them."

Goodneough suggested that this revenue, which the Africans would pay in "the form of rent", should go to "educational work", particularly in the boarding schools built on the

Glebes. Moor disagreed with the "extraordinary" proposal of a "perpetual lease" and felt it was unwise to specialize in "higher" education, but he was intrigued with the proposition regarding Reserve revenue: "All I ask for is the control. I am willing to concede to you all your rights as regards Missionary work, and I am prepared to concede to you one-half of the revenue of these reserves".²⁰

The only consideration given to individual tenure at this meeting was a "fixity of tenure" proposal by Kilbon, but the argument was vitiated by his rejection of freehold rights: "I have no definite plan as to the tenure, but the longer I live among the Natives the less I am inclined to say freehold." This, of course, was just what Moor wanted to hear:

"The condition of the Native to-day is such that I think he should be autocratically governed. . . . but if you once confer a grant of land you cannot govern that native autocratically. He becomes master of his own house. . . . Natives have never yet held land in freehold. /sic!/ It has always been the communal whole and I believe that is the best for themselves and it is certainly in our interests while we have got to govern them autocratically."

If any scheme was carried out, it must be based on leasehold tenure with conditions:

"I do not see why a Native should not, given certain conditions, have a tenure which is going to give him a fixity there so long as he behaves himself, but directly he does not conform to those conditions, there should be a power to say, 'you are not doing your duty here, and the land must go to somebody else'." ²¹

Moor then asked the missionaries to put forward the proposals they felt should be the basis for Parliamentary action. Once again, it was a set of amended resolutions proposed by Goodenough that proved to be acceptable to the government:

"That we, 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 Mission Society named in the Deed of Grant.

(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 turned over to the Mission Society named in the Deed of Grant for Native education in accordance with the rules framed by the Education Department."²²

These resolutions were then forwarded to the Governor as the basis for a new Mission Reserves Bill. Matters were delayed when the Hime Ministry (of which Moor was Minister of Native Affairs) fell in August 1903 and George Sutton became Prime Minister. Before this occurred, however, Goodenough had persuaded Moor to accept several important revisions in the 'revenue' clauses of the preliminary draft of the Bill which offer further proof of the Mission's real motives in ultimately accepting the Act.

The crucial amendment related to section 10 which, as passed at the first reading, (i.e., while the Hime Ministry was still in office), had stated:

"One half of all rents and other moneys collected under this Act from the Natives living on any reserve shall be paid by the Natal Native Trust to the missionary body named in the deed of grant of the reserve; and such moneys shall be applied to the purposes of Native education upon the reserve . . . as may be prescribed by . . . the Department of Education".²³

Goodenough proposed the following amendments:

"The section as framed limits the revenue to be paid to the missionary body to the moneys collected 'under this Act', and from 'Natives living on any Reserve.' Resolution 3 passed at our conference with you . . . states that it was to be one half of 'all the revenue derived from the reserves.' Other revenue than that derived from natives would be for store sites and from the development of minerals. The other points of amendment under this section, are to allow us to use the revenue which comes into our hands, for education upon the Glebes where most of our educational institutions are situated, and also to use the moneys derived from several reserves on some central institution for the benefit of the people of the several reserves."

The changes Goodenough suggested envisaged the legal extension of the special clause in five of the Reserve title deeds to allow rent revenue to be spent on the other Reserves and Glebes. With a few exceptions, Moor agreed to Goodenough's amendments and section 10 was revised accordingly. One-half of all revenue derived from the Reserves (one-quarter of the mineral value) was to go to education (including industrial training) and, in theory, the money could be spent on the salaries of teachers working on the Glebes, where most of the schools were located. The crafty Goodenough even suggested that the government might eventually take over African education in the Reserves. There-

fore, he asked for an amendment to another section so that the government would also have the right to establish schools on the Reserves. This would relieve the Mission of a responsibility which it had rarely, in fact, fulfilled. The Glebes, of course, would remain inviolate. Goodenough revised other related sections which also were incorporated into the Bill. The Sutton Ministry did not change these amendments and the Bill was passed and signed by the Governor on December 25, 1903. . . . a missionary-colonial Christmas present for the African residents.²⁴

Significantly enough, Act No. 49 of 1903 was entitled "To make better provision for the control and use of Mission Reserves". The permissive 1895 Act was repealed and the language used in the 1903 Act was made obligatory upon all concerned:

"The Natal Native Trust shall be the Trustees of all the Mission Reserves . . . and all appointments of Trustees made by or pursuant to the deeds of grant of such Mission Reserves shall, from the date of the commencement of this Act, be revoked."²⁵

Missionary rights, as prescribed in the 1895 Act, were preserved²⁶ and even reinforced:

"No person, society, or body, other than the ecclesiastical or missionary body named in the deed of grant, shall be allowed to establish any mission or undertake religious or educational work, or have any right to use or be upon any such Reserve, saving, however, the right of occupation by Natives".²⁷

This section was inserted, as we shall see, to keep African separatist churches from establishing congregations on the

Reserves.²⁸ One other section would also prove to be very valuable to the missionaries in upholding their rights in these areas:

" . . . in the exercise of the powers conferred by this Act, and in interpreting the terms of the deeds of grants of the Reserves, just and impartial consideration shall be given to any representations which may be made on behalf of the missionary bodies".²⁹

Above all, the powers of the Natal Native Trust were described in no uncertain terms: " . . . the Natal Native Trust shall have full and complete control of the Reserves, and may remove therefrom . . . any Natives or other persons who have come upon the lands unlawfully, or whose residence there is . . . prejudicial to the interests of the Reserve".³⁰ The power of the chiefs over Reserve inhabitants was reserved to the Governor: "The Governor may decide what powers, if any, are to be exercised by Native Chiefs in Mission Reserves."³¹

In addition to Section 10, which fulfilled Goodenough's third resolution, the 1903 Act also provided for the other resolutions passed at the February 1903 conference. The first one was incorporated virtually in toto in the 1903 Act:

"Suitable sites for churches and schools for Natives, and other premises proper to be attached thereto, may be leased to or placed at the disposal of the Missionary bodies named in the deeds of grant upon a merely nominal rent. Any such leases shall not continue for more than twenty-one years, but may be renewed from time to time."³²

Finally, the African tenants were guaranteed the right of perpetual occupation:

"The Mission Reserves shall be kept for occupation solely by Natives . . . and the Reserves shall be administered for the benefit of the Natives living thereon according to the intention of the several deeds by which the Reserves have been granted".³³

In the long run, the most significant sections of the Act related to rents and individual tenure. Although the rent clause was permissive in character, there was no limit as to how much rent might be required: "The Natal Native Trust may charge the Natives resident upon the Reserves such rent as they may determine, and may make charges for the supply and use of water . . . or of any other conveniences which may be provided by them". The section in the 1895 Act which permitted the sale of Reserve land to the Africans was dropped, moreover, in favor of a vague statement with regard to the Christians:

"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. . . . Any rules . . . may be made specially or exclusively applicable to portions of a Reserve set apart under this section, and such special rules may also prohibit all Native customs and heathen rites and ceremonies . . . and may give to such Natives such a measure of local management of the affairs of the Special Reserve as may be suited to their circumstances."

This was, of course, the "Special Reserve" idea suggested by the Americans in their 1899 "Constitution". The only possibility of African residents having any right to land was that embodied in an obscure section which provided the "Governor in Council" might consider rules for the "lease and hire of land and the conditions to be imposed with regard thereto".³⁴

AFRICAN REACTIONS TO THE
MISSION RESERVES ACT OF 1903

The hardening of the African tenant's attitude on freehold tenure dates from the compromise made by the Mission in 1903. The arrival of an official deputation from the American Board--sent to Natal largely because of the Reserve problem--only served to widen the breach between the Mission and its tenants. As the deputation reported: "To this bill the natives, both Christian and non-Christian were strongly opposed. . . . our conferences . . . were dominated largely by this topic". The Zulu pastors, leaders of the Christian elite, were particularly incensed by what they regarded as a betrayal on the part of the Mission:

"The discussions brought to light wide differences of opinion as to what had been done, and had not been done, particularly by the trustees of the reserves. They were especially blamed for assenting to the proposed bill, inasmuch as it did not authorize the sale of lots on the reserves to the natives, but only their lease. . . . Doubts were expressed as to the attitude of the government, as well as concerning the efforts of the trustees to secure what the natives desired."³⁵

The deputation, having arrived while the Bill was still before Parliament, suggested a joint delegation³⁶ to petition the Minister of Native Affairs to insert a freehold tenure clause into the Bill before it was passed. The pastors agreed and a meeting was arranged. In view of the fact that few, if any, of the American missionaries themselves were really in favor of freehold tenure, it would seem that the interview was requested to 'demonstrate' to the African Christians that the Mission was not to blame on this issue.

The result of the meeting was a foregone conclusion:

"But he declared emphatically that the government would not give its consent to our petition . . . affirming that it was contrary to the policy of government, and that a sale under conditions /which was what the Mission really wanted/ was practically the same as the lease on long terms which it proposed to give."³⁷

The deputation was relieved a decision had been made that took the problem out of its hands:

"This interview seemed to end the matter so far as we were concerned. . . . Not altogether, but in large degree, will our missionaries be relieved from a burden which had pressed upon them for years, and very heavily. Secular matters will not demand so large a share of time and thought, and their desire and purpose to be spiritual helpers of the people will not be so liable to be misunderstood."³⁸

The Mission echoed the same sentiments in its General Letter to the Prudential Committee:

"The Mission is thus rid of a heavy responsibility which has in the past required a large amount of time and work, for which we have received but little thanks from native, from colonial or from Government, and which has never added to our spiritual influence with the people among whom we labor."³⁹

Unlike the 1895 Act, it seems that the 1903 Mission Reserves Act was never offered to the Imperial Government for approval. The African Christians, who wanted to send a delegation to King Edward VII to protest the Bill, were informed by the Mission that "the Reserves Bill, contrary to their belief, is not to be referred to the Crown".⁴⁰ The tenants, however, never forgot what they regarded as a breach of faith on the part of the Mission. The 1903 Act

is still a source of controversy among the older members of the Church.⁴¹ At times, the memory has been bitter. Thus, for example, a prominent member of the Church recalled these events at a conference in 1953:

"In 1903 . . . the Missionaries . . . decided to hand over the Mission Reserves' trusteeship to the Natal Native Affairs Department on the condition that half the tax levied would go to their coffers . . . this hasty decision was arrived at without consultation with the African citizens who could not ensure the safeguard of their interests under the new arrangements. . . . This . . . caused the sad change of attitude of the converts towards their erstwhile guardians; the people had hoped that in due course these areas would be surveyed into freehold lots with deeds of grant. . . . Thereafter these Mission Reserves were administered as ordinary locations The influence of the Church began to decline in the Mission Reserves and the religious element became almost nil".⁴²

RESERVE REGULATIONS AND THE

IMPOSITION OF A £3 RENT

The government swiftly drew up the regulations provided for in the 1903 Act--doubtless remembering that failure to adopt regulations had been the principal weakness of the 1895 Act. The "Magistrate of the Division" was "on behalf of the Natal Native Trust" to administer the Reserves. He was to be helped by "one or more" supervisors who would actually exercise civil authority over these areas. Most of the regulations dealt, naturally enough, with the duties and powers of the supervisor. In almost every respect, often "word for word", they copied the old 1893 'Rules',

the 1899 'Constitution' and similar codes and resolutions compiled by the American Reserve Trust Board. Among other things, 'Special Reserves' for the Christian tenants again were envisaged and a long list of rules on 'morality' and 'civilized' behavior were adopted in addition to regulations relating more directly to civil law and administration. Nothing, however, was said about individual tenure and, indeed, nothing was said about the rights of those who already had freehold tenure. There was virtually no appeal for the African tenant and in practice there was no one to redress his grievances beyond the supervisor. The overall theme of the regulations was that of control as conditioned by the interests of the white settlers.⁴³

Once again, the most important regulations were those concerned with revenue. Grazing fees ("6d. per head per month for cattle, horses, and other large stock, and 3d. per head per month for sheep and goats"), entrance fees (20s. per male) and so forth were established but the most explosive was a rent of £3 a year. It was to be paid by every tenant, male or female, regardless of whether they held the land in freehold or not.

" . . . in respect of every hut or dwelling situate in any Mission Reserve. . . . Any Native or other person failing to pay rent within three (3) months of its falling due shall be guilty of a contravention of these Regulations. . . . Any Native or other person failing to pay his rent within six (6) months shall be liable to be removed from the Mission Reserve. . . . All rents and fees shall be payable in advance."⁴⁴

Several protest letters were sent to George Leuchars, the new Minister of Native Affairs, which apparently were not answered.⁴⁵ In October 1904 the Mission sent a deputation to interview Leuchars consisting of Frederick Bridgman and James Dexter Taylor, the newly-elected (1903) chairman and secretary, respectively, of the American Zulu Mission. Taylor's report to Secretary Smith, however, was not optimistic:

"While the preamble to the Act stipulates that the Reserves shall be administered in accordance with the intent of the Deed of Grant, this rent will violate that Deed in two particulars: It will hinder our work by destroying our system of self-support. . . . it will depopulate the Reserves, the natives moving off to farms or locations."⁴⁶

In trying to get information on rents paid by African tenants elsewhere, the Mission corresponded with virtually every missionary agency in Natal and Zululand, as well as with farmers and magistrates adjacent to the Mission Reserves. Taylor reported in 1904 that African tenants on white-owned land in the vicinity of the Mission Reserves paid between £1.10.0 and £2 a year, "the average of which is not over thirty shillings". Where other missionary societies required rents, they were much lower.⁴⁷

In December 1904, the Minister of Native Affairs informed the Mission that the £3 rent would not be lowered,⁴⁸ and on July 1, 1905, the regulations drawn up under the 1903 Act officially went into effect. Frederick Bridgman wrote to Secretary E.E. Strong in alarm: "I fear it could spell

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ruin to the self-support undertaken by the Churches." Indeed, he suggested that this was the government's real motive in levying the £3 rent:

"We expect Mr. Goodenough down any day and the ex-trustees will have to enter another campaign. . . . The Government could hardly do anything better calculated to upset all our work, and I am not at all sure but that is what they are aiming at. The Government has absolutely no use for our present policy".⁴⁹

In retrospect, it would appear that the fears of both Taylor and Bridgman were not without justification. Government's actions were directed in part against the Mission's policy, now being rigorously implemented, of a self-supporting, self-governing, self-propagating church.⁵⁰ As the Minister of Native Affairs had told the Americans when they first approached him about the £3 rent in 1904: "As to our principle of self-support he stated that he did not believe in it and thought it very injurious as it meant self-control."⁵¹

An effective way to limit self-government was to break down the African's capacity for self-support through excessive taxation. And in the early 1900s nothing was better calculated to undermine the Mission's churches and schools. As we shall see, by this time the Americans were heavily dependent on African capital. Almost every church was now completely self-supporting and African contributions also played a significant role in education.⁵² Thus the American reaction to the £3 rent was understandable. As Taylor put it: "No such important matter has come upon us for years,

nor one which so threatens our entire work."⁵³ While the missionaries complied with the 1903 Act principally because of the revenue they received, they could not accept a rent which would be paid only at the sacrifice of maintaining the churches (with their pastors, preachers and evangelists) and those schools which were being maintained solely on African contributions. The £3 rent would have defeated the American Board's whole program. The Africans would have been forced to rely on the Mission which, because it didn't have the resources, would have become virtually a government agency. And this, of course, was exactly what the colonists wanted.

AFRICAN REACTIONS TO THE £3 RENT

If the Mission had underestimated the African Christian community in the past, the imposition of the £3 rent dispelled any further illusions. As Frederick Bridgman reported to Secretary Smith in 1905:

"The feeling of the natives is both deep and intense. I doubt if they carry out their threat of leaving the Reserves in any great number just now. But our whole church work will be very seriously affected none the less. The people frankly and positively say that they will not be able to give to the support of the pastors, to the building and repair of the churches or to the home missionary work. Even though they were able to give they are in such a mood that I have no idea that they will give. . . . at certain points this threat is already being carried out."⁵⁴

The churches had already formed a committee headed by Martin Lutuli, the prominent layman and landowner from Umvoti, to

look into the £3 rental clause. Claiming to represent the attitude of all the residents, this committee refused to accept the principle of Reserve rent. They were equally obstinate in refusing to help the Mission in its efforts to get the rent reduced. It was freehold rights or nothing:

"They express it this way,--let the Government shoot them down like dogs, if it will. But they will not be shot by their own consent. For them to yield to the rent paying principle, even though it were only one shilling a year instead of the sixty shillings, would be for them to sign their own death warrant. . . . They stand for the sale of the land."⁵⁵

Many of the missionaries, of course, privately agreed with the tenants' grievances, but few would openly support their demands. One who did was William Wilcox. Despite a nature bordering on the eccentric and a career filled with contradictions (as his colleagues continually pointed out in letters to the American Board), Wilcox was one of the few missionaries who ever expressed in detail the real motives behind the rent and individual land tenure policies. In a long letter to Secretary Smith in 1904, he condemned the whole concept of rents and alleged that most of the administrative problems in the Reserves stemmed from this source: "'It is not the labor of it, but the odium of it.' It is because when we go around among our people, we are called tax gatherers, extortionists and robbers." Wilcox pinpointed the source of the Mission's dilemma: "We would like to get free from these responsibilities, but we can not let go of the revenue. That is the difficult problem

with which we have been struggling these years." And because the Mission needed this capital, it was deaf to the objections of the Africans. Wilcox regarded the 1903 Act as a deplorable breach of faith with the African tenants. He accused the Mission of dropping the idea of freehold tenure "because it did not promise to bring any money into our hands from the natives". The Mission "handed over" the Reserves to the government, Wilcox declared, "so they could maintain and even improve their source of income from this source without having to face the problems involved in collecting the money".⁵⁶

Wilcox's statements--made, as they usually were, to the American Board--put the Mission in an embarrassing position because in 1904 and 1905 the government took over the collection of reserve rents and gave the Mission its share of the fees.⁵⁷ By the beginning of 1906 these amounted to more than £3,400 with an additional £1,500 in arrears. As Taylor reported to Secretary Smith:

"By the law the use of the funds is limited to educational purposes which does not include anything of a general evangelistic character. Even with this limitation the funds could probably be used to meet the salaries of missionaries engaged in teaching and other expenses connected with the Board's educational work. But should such a use of the funds be made . . . we should never be able to convince the natives that we are not robbing them for our own personal benefit, and so our work would be ruined. The case would be different were this fund a voluntary tax for educational purposes but it is a tax bitterly resented even though it is to be used for the natives' own benefit and if

either the missionaries or the Board benefit directly from these funds our name will be anathema."⁵⁸

There is no doubt that most of the missionaries were in favor of using their share of the Reserve revenue. Indeed, as the quotation suggests, but for the attitude of the Africans they would have used the money to help pay the Mission's expenses. At the Semi-Annual Meeting in January 1906 they decided to consult the pastors as to whether the money should be used or returned to the government "so as to avoid as far as possible the suspicion of using them for our personal benefit".⁵⁹

At Umzumbe in April 1906 a meeting was arranged between the missionaries and the African pastors. In theory, the missionaries were there to 'consult' their colleagues in order to reach a joint decision on what to do with the rent revenue. In fact, they were there to convince the pastors that the revenue should be kept and used as soon as possible. Before the missionaries had a chance to discuss the issue, however, Wilcox rose and read a paper which ended any illusions anyone might have had that the pastors would accept the proposal. Wilcox's condemnation of the Mission's Reserve policy before the African pastors was based on arguments similar to those he had used when writing to Secretary Smith:

" . . . the natives have distinct property rights in these lands . . . when we began to charge rents and sell wood /re Table Mountain Reserve/ without the consent of the natives and to use the money so

obtained without instructions from them or even reporting to them we were exceeding our rights".

He castigated the missionaries for allegedly abandoning the "principles of Congregationalism" and dishonoring their democratic heritage: "The very foundation of our liberty is the will of the people as the highest law, and no taxation without representation." Wilcox also reminded his colleagues that at the Inanda meeting in 1899 the African Christians had asked the missionaries to continue as Reserve Trustees until such time as the residents controlled the land, but they had been overruled.

"Now if we had no right to begin to collect rents from the newcomers without the consent of the residents of the Reserves and use the money without any instruction from them then we had even less right to turn the lands over to the government for all the people to be taxed against the protest of the people."

Above all, the Mission had not trusted the elite whom it had created. Speaking to the pastors, Wilcox said:

"And have you no judgement of what is right and wrong? Why have you been ordained to the high office of the ministry to teach others, if your judgement of what is right and wrong is not to have any weight with us?"⁶⁰

Naturally enough, the pastors unanimously supported Wilcox "and gave a very dark view of the feeling toward the missionaries on account of the tax and the probable use of the money". The Mission was told to give the money back to the government.⁶¹

The Mission contacted several influential colonists--including David Hunter (general manager of the Natal Govern-

ment Railways), F.F. Churchill (member of the Legislative Assembly) and Marshall Campbell (member of the Legislative Council)--and sought their advice. The Americans were told to keep the funds and lobby for a reduction in the rent. Churchill and Campbell agreed to meet with the African pastors and, much to the relief of the missionaries, the legislators eventually persuaded them to support the proposition:

"After being assured by these gentlemen that it was not at all probable that the tax could be altogether removed the native pastors withdrew from their former position and agreed that if the rent is made a reasonable one there will probably be no feeling against the missionaries using half of it for native education."⁶²

THE £3 RENT IS REDUCED

A petition protesting the £3 rent and advocating individual land tenure was presented by Churchill to the Legislative Assembly in 1906. It called, among other things, for a "Special Committee to investigate the whole treatment of the Reserve question".⁶³ A "Statement" on the rent and individual land tenure questions was also prepared by the Mission for private circulation among members of the Legislative Assembly. In this document the Mission again brought out the fact that the £3 rent "coupled with the refusal to permit individual tenure" was enough "to shake the confidence of the native residents in the integrity of Government". The Americans recommended that the "conception of a rent" be abandoned in favor of a "per capita contribution

from adult male natives" which had been envisaged in the 1895 Act and had long been advocated by the Mission:

"The removal of the conception of 'rent' will do away with the feeling that the lands have been confiscated and are being dealt with as though they were private property. It will cause that the tax be paid by those upon whom the burden should rightly rest, namely adult males. . . . This tax should be explained to the natives, not as a poll-tax, which term translated into Zulu is not comprehensible to them, but as a personal contribution to the expenses of administration and of education."⁶⁴

About the same time, another "Statement regarding the Obstructive Policy of the Natal Government toward Christian Work Amongst Natives" was prepared by Frederick Bridgman and distributed to ex-members of other missionary Trust Boards and sympathetic colonists. Among other things, he warned the government that the Reserve tenants would not tolerate the rent:

"Perhaps most serious of all, this action has put our people in a very bad humour. Many maintain that the Mission has sold them to the Government. Again they feel that the Government has broken faith with them and is not to be trusted. Here are seeds of future trouble."⁶⁵

In a way that Frederick Bridgman could scarcely have imagined, his words presaged the tragedy that was to shake Natal in the so-called Zulu Rebellion of 1906. The Christian community's role in the 'rebellion' will be considered in a later chapter⁶⁶ and it is sufficient at this point to remark that the armed disturbances forced the government to capitulate on the matter of Reserve rent. In 1906 the

American Board sent an official letter to the Governor complaining of the "excessiveness" of the £3 rent and in reply the government promised that "as soon as the present unsettled state of the native population in the Colony abates" the rent would be reduced.⁶⁷ This decision was implemented, in fact, even before the fighting ended--the government "evidently not caring to await the advice of the Commission" which was appointed in September 1906 to inquire into the causes of the disturbances.⁶⁸ In July 1906 the rent was lowered to £1.10s. per hut, but the government refused to consider a 'voluntary' tax in lieu of rent. In 1912 the rent again was reduced to £1 per hut.⁶⁹

The Mission felt that at long last the Reserves' problem was ended and in a belated gesture of goodwill, the Americans included African residents in a committee to supervise the allotment of the Mission's half-share of the rent revenue:

" . . . the Mission will now proceed to use the Reserve Educational Fund having as we believe accomplished all that can be accomplished by delaying its use. . . . for the sake of mutual understanding . . . and cooperation of the natives . . . it is wise to take them into our full confidence, not only as to the use of funds after they are expended but as to our plans for their use. The pastors present at the Pastors' Conference . . . proposed that two natives should be chosen, not by the rentpayers but by the Mission itself as the responsible body to set with three missionaries as an advisory committee, the plans for the fund to pass through this committee to the Mission meeting".⁷⁰

In the end, this was about as close as the tenants ever came to controlling the funds obtained under the Mission Reserves

Act. To some extent, they could influence the future course of education on the Glebes and Reserves by being represented on the school fund advisory committee.

LAND TENURE PROPOSALS IN THE TWILIGHT OF COLONIAL GOVERNMENT

The Report of the 1906-07 Natal Native Affairs Commission briefly renewed hopes that the government might still have plans for the development of the Reserves. The Commissioners called for "the better utilisation of Mission Reserves and the establishment of Village Settlements, under an inceptive form of self-government (including local taxation)". They recommended that conditional titles be granted but, significantly enough, "concurrently with an attempt to secure the surrender or purchase of the practically free titles already granted for portions of such lands". Finally, the Commissioners requested the "rectification" of various specific grievances, among which was the "application of rents collected from Natives on Mission Reserves".⁷¹ Frederick Bridgman, now the Mission's spokesman in Reserve matters, noted that although conditional titles were preferable to the vagueness of the 1903 Act "it does not meet . . . the intense desire of the natives, for the allotment of the lands in freehold". As to what the Commissioners meant by the "rectification of the application of rents collected," he had "no idea whatsoever".⁷²

An answer was soon forthcoming. In November 1906 Moor resumed the portfolio of 'native affairs' and also became Premier of the colony while in 1907 Matthew Nathan succeeded McCallum as Governor. The new government immediately took steps to reopen the land tenure issue. Moor announced that he had accepted the Commissioners' recommendations on "surveying Mission Reserve lands and granting individual holdings with conditional titles". Frederick Bridgman was cautious, however. He suggested that Moor take the African tenants into his "full confidence from the first" and reported to Secretary Barton:

"This decision of Mr. Moor's reopens a tremendous question . . . about which there has been so much controversy . . . during the last twenty years. . . . In the past the natives' one unyielding contention has been the granting of free-hold tenure. If they are now convinced that there is no hope of this they may accept these conditional titles as the next best thing. . . . if this rental could be applied on the purchase price, and after a term of years be reduced to a mere quit-rent, then I believe the cooperation of our natives can be secured."⁷³

Moor's enthusiasm seemed genuine. In an interview with Goodenough and Frederick Bridgman he expressed the hope that individual title deeds might be issued as soon as possible and made it clear "that all residents including polygamists within the Reserves have equal rights to the land". In return, he agreed that rents collected since the 1903 Act and rents to be collected "for a term of years to come" would go towards the purchase price of the proposed allotments. Again Bridgman was cautious, however:

"The great question now awaiting decision is . . . the amount of the quit-rent that shall be stipulated in the titles. This is the point which eclipses all others in the native mind; it is practically impossible to get them to discuss any other phase of the question."⁷⁴

In several meetings held with the Reserve residents, Frederick Bridgman reported that all but a few of the non-Christians (who apparently could not believe they were eligible for individual allotments of land) were in favor of Moor's proposal.⁷⁵ At a conference called by Moor in February 1908, Goodenough and Bridgman, together with 40 African delegates (both Christian and heathen) from the American Reserves, were given a full hearing on their views concerning the conditions to be inserted into the title deeds. On the controversial question of quitrent, the Africans agreed, much to Bridgman's surprise, to pay 10/- a year. The Africans appointed a team composed of two representatives from the Reserves (Martin Lutuli and Posselt Gumedé) and one missionary (Frederick Bridgman) to evaluate the effectiveness of the quitrent system and other features of the Glen Grey Act in the Transkei before making any binding decisions.⁷⁶

While the deputation was in the Transkei, however, Moor decided to draft legislation designed to fulfill the changes in African administration for the colony as a whole as recommended by the 1906-07 Commission. In June 1908 Moor summoned a second conference, ostensibly to consider the Transkei report and to discuss the proposed legislation. This time "about 125 representative natives from all parts

of the Colony" attended the meeting together with several missionaries.⁷⁷ The Transkei deputation's report unanimously endorsed both the method of land tenure and the system of government in the territory⁷⁸ but the conference itself was a failure. Moor presented three bills. The 'Land Settlements' Bill, which embodied the government's proposals on land tenure, was combined with a 'Franchise' Bill and a 'Native Administration' Bill which the Africans unanimously opposed.⁷⁹ As Frederick Bridgman put it:

"The consideration of three distinct legislative measures . . . and the fact that our Reserve delegates were greatly outnumbered by those from other parts /of the colony/ confused the issue . . . with the result that further progress . . . seems to be effectually blocked".

Although African representatives, apparently from the American Zulu Mission, were willing to consider the merits of the 'Land Settlements' Bill, albeit with reservations, in the end all of the African delegates rejected the bills in toto, declaring that they would rather continue under existing conditions than compromise:

"They took their stand on two principles--(1) The right of franchise on the same terms as the whites; (2) The freehold tenure of land. They contended that these two principles were fundamental to any real solution to the racial question".⁸⁰

Moor tried to indicate the futility of this approach "in the face of Colonial opinion" but the Africans remained firm. Apparently they suspected that Moor's 'liberal' attitude was simulated, since they had carefully followed his public statements in the pro-Union press:

"They seem to believe that in these negotiations towards the union of South Africa he has betrayed their interests. Again they are not sure, any more than some whites, but that he may be playing to the gallery in England in introducing these native bills. The unwillingness of the natives . . . to compromise was largely due to this lack of confidence".⁸¹

Moor then indicated that he would withdraw the 'Franchise' and 'Native Administration' Bills and also the 'Land Settlements' Bill "so far as it affected the Locations but that he still hoped he might carry it through, with the help of the missionaries, as regards the Reserves".⁸² The Africans' suspicions proved prophetic. When these bills were presented to Parliament, Moor inexplicably withdrew the 'Land Settlements' and 'Franchise' Bills and secured passage of the 'Native Administration' Bill--the key measure which the Africans had unanimously condemned. As Frederick Bridgman somewhat caustically concluded: "The sincerity of the Natal Government in its declared purpose to reform its native policy is not yet apparent."⁸³

Nevertheless, the June 1908 meeting was a noteworthy event. First, it is one of the few records we have of the African Christian elite in Natal (apparently there were few, if any, non-Christians at the meeting) acting in concert under Responsible Government. Second, these delegates came from a variety of missionary societies and were the products of probably the most concentrated Christian evangelistic effort on the continent. In these circumstances, their unanimity on the main issues is remarkable. Third, the

discussions provided an ideal platform not only for the expression of common grievances but also for the articulation of a single acceptable policy concerning their future status in the colony. For the African Christian elite, land tenure and franchise were interrelated, and the success of both depended on the establishment of an integrated society. These discussions were a sobering experience for the missionaries, if not the colonists:

" . . . the perfectly courteous and dignified but unwavering manner in which the natives adhered to principles which they considered vital commanded our admiration. It was another object lesson as to the stuff these Zulus are made of".⁸⁴

The government continued "to dabble with the Reserves". Despite the abandonment of the 'Land Settlements' Bill, Moor expressed the desire to proceed with quitrent tenure in which the American Reserve residents, at least, had expressed an interest. A title deed based on "perpetual leasehold tenure" was drawn up and approved by the Governor-in-Council and the Natal Native Trust as an experiment to be implemented on a few selected Reserves. Incredibly, however, these title deeds were endorsed without the approval of either the American missionaries or the Reserve residents, both of whom refused to accept the conditions without amendments. When in 1909 the government submitted a copy of the deed to the Mission, it was rejected: "While we give the Government credit for good intentions in this last move, yet we think it weak and incompetent and narrow."⁸⁵

In 1909 the whole question of land tenure was referred to the Council for Native Affairs which had been created under the Native Administration Act to advise the government on matters relating to the African population.⁸⁶ Moor's plan to introduce leasehold tenure on an experimental basis was accepted by the Council, but its resolution to this effect was predicated once again on the assumption that the Natal Native Trust would pressure those residents who held freehold title deeds "to agree to the conversion of such titles to ones of perpetual leasehold so as to ensure their not passing out of the Native population". In August 1910 the Council sent a "full minute" to the government advocating "conditional title" to provide an incentive for the African Reserve tenants to develop "along natural lines" as agriculturalists.⁸⁷ Such euphemistic resolutions as these were passed after Union, however, and any hope that the government would act ended when the Native Administration Act was abolished in 1912 and replaced by the 1913 Land Act which established the fundamental law of geographical apartheid for South Africa.

COLONIAL ADMINISTRATION OF THE

MISSION RESERVES 1903-1910

In the administration of the Reserves, the Natal Native Trust was a total failure. Despite the many promises made to the missionaries and the detailed regulations passed after the 1903 Act which, in theory, provided some hope for politi-

cal, social and economic progress in these areas, virtually nothing was done in the six and one-half years before Union. The Reserves were left to stagnate.

Reserve administration until 1908 was in the hands of supervisors who did little but enforce those regulations relating to the maintenance of government control and the collection of rents. Frederick Bridgman reported in alarm that "since we were removed as trustees, the Reserves appear to have been absolutely adrift".⁸⁸ One searches in vain for a constructive approach to Reserve administration in the evidence given before the 1906-07 Commission. Herbert A. G. Varty, for example, was one of the original government supervisors appointed after the promulgation of the 1903 Act. He was a colonist and had formerly been employed "in a store in Maritzburg [sic]". He was not fluent in Zulu and could not prove he was, in fact, a government official since he had never received a letter of appointment. Thus the Africans were forced to accept a 'landlord' whose only claim to being a government representative was his word--in poor Zulu.⁸⁹

Varty testified that in two years he collected £4,000 in rent which was given to the magistrates of the divisions in which the Reserves were located. None of it had been spent, either by the government or the Mission. The Africans, of course, were not told what happened to the rent money. Neither the magistrates nor officials from the Native Affairs

Department ever checked his rent accounts and they rarely, if ever, visited the Reserves. Apparently Varty's responsibility as a supervisor was restricted to the collection of rents.⁹⁰ It is not surprising that an African "messenger" was kept on each Reserve to help him and the magistrates demanded that "Supervisor Varty's authority must be upheld at every cost, otherwise his appointment will prove useless".⁹¹ In 1908 the Auditor-General commented that since the enforcement of the 1903 Act "expenditure on Mission Reserves has been entirely confined to fencing and a few minor services".⁹²

Despite the "sorry tale of miserable incompetency exhibited by Government in its administration of the Reserves"⁹³ the Mission, whose record wasn't much better, abandoned all attempts at influencing the future course of events. The supervisors were replaced by four equally ineffective district commissioners ostensibly appointed to improve 'native administration' under the foredoomed 1909 Act. But as the Auditor-General observed: "This step will be the means of curtailing Expenditure by some £600 per annum."⁹⁴ In practice, local magistrates were responsible for overseeing the Mission Reserves in their areas, and from time to time they sought to embroil the Americans once again in Reserve administration.⁹⁵ The Mission, however, refused to cooperate and never again made any serious attempt to reopen the question of freehold tenure for its former tenants.

THE LAND PROBLEM IN PERSPECTIVE

The history of the Glebes and Reserves between 1856 and 1910 is a study in the failure to implement a viable economic policy for the African Christian community based on freehold tenure. No other region in the colony in the 19th Century afforded such a unique opportunity for creating that kind of Christian society embracing the secular rewards of the western way of life which the missionaries hoped to achieve:

"The Reserves support more inhabitants per square mile than any other lands in the colony outside the townships. The amakolwa [Christians] add more to the revenue of the colony than heathen in spending more money per head for civilised clothing, furniture, implements and food."⁹⁶

George Wilder wrote in 1892 from Umtwalume: "In material things, the station people are advancing slowly. When the land tenure is wisely settled, there will probably develop very rapidly a coffee-raising industry, which already assumes noticeable proportions".⁹⁷ Goodenough attributed the relatively advanced stage of development at Umvoti to the fact that a high proportion of its residents held an average of 15 acres apiece in freehold.⁹⁸ Missionary correspondence is supported by African Reserve residents. Appearing before the 1906-07 Commission, for example, they attributed economic progress in the Reserves--from building brick houses to cultivating cash crops--almost exclusively to private landowners⁹⁹ and, as we have noted, the colonists themselves commented favorably on the development potential of these areas.¹⁰⁰

Mission personnel, however, were not encouraged to promote economic enterprise among their converts. Industrial and agricultural skills did not play a dominant role in the Mission's value system as communicated to the Africans after the pioneer generation. In effect, economic development was abandoned after the failure of the sugar schemes in the 1860s and 1870s. There were only a few instances of entrepreneurial activity on the Glebes and Reserves after 1885 and these would be limited to experiments in industrial training in response to government demands. The Mission's interests, moreover, now lay elsewhere. Between 1895 and 1910 the Americans gradually moved from the restricted geographical and intellectual environment of the rural stations to an urban milieu where the needs and aspirations of the inhabitants could not be understood or appreciated either by the rural African tenant or the traditional station missionary. Long before 1910 the Mission had abandoned not only the Reserves but also the Glebes, except those where major educational facilities had been erected.

Land reform--the key to economic progress in the rural areas--was not a cause vigorously espoused by the missionaries despite the fact that the Zulu Christians whole-heartedly supported individual tenure from the 1880s and to an increasing extent communicated this desire to their non-Christian neighbors as well. The missionaries were liberal in their promises mainly to appease the African Christian elite whose

co-operation was essential, as we shall see, for the survival of the Church. In performance, however, there is not a single example of Glebe or Reserve land sold to a tenant on any terms whatsoever after 1880.¹⁰¹

Secure on the Glebes and Reserves and, as Escombe had observed, a challenge to traditional authority in the Locations (especially after the final collapse of the Zulu monarchy in 1879), the tiny African Christian communities were also regarded as a potential threat to white hegemony in Natal. An opportunity to intervene was provided by the American missionaries themselves when they tried to extend the principles of the religious reformation to the sphere of civil law. When, in essence, they sought to perpetuate a feudal system based on rents and rebuilt on the foundations of a theocracy, the government was encouraged to step in, 're-establish' white control and curb the 'illegal' assumption of power by the Mission's Trust Board.

The Americans were most vulnerable on the question of rent and the colonists were able to take advantage of this weakness after 1893. At the government's insistence, the missionaries raised the rents to £1 in 1897. When the Reserves were finally expropriated in 1903, the rents were raised to £3 for all residents. Only after much agitation from a variety of sources and, above all, the shock of the 1906 'Rebellion', did the government agree to lower the rent to 30 shillings and, eventually, back to £1. In retrospect,

however, it didn't make any difference to the whites how much the rent was because they were not interested in the revenue per se. Indeed, this money had to be spent on the Reserves anyway and, in fact, most of the government's half share of the rent between 1903 and 1910 was held in balance from year to year.¹⁰² In essence, from the government's standpoint rents were used as a tool to control and manipulate the Reserve tenants as the 1902 Lands Commission had envisioned . . . in the colony's interest.

Glebe and Reserve rents were vital to the Mission's future, however, because the Americans could now concentrate their resources in the urban areas while rents were used to subsidize rural activities, especially the schools. In five years between 1904 and 1908 the government collected more than £17,400 from the 19 Mission Reserves--and it would have been more since there was a sizeable minority who had not paid the rents. From 1904 to 1906 the American Zulu Mission obtained £3,860 from its half-share of the rent revenue. Even when the rent was reduced from £3 to 30 shillings, the amount received from this source alone was far greater than the total amount of revenue derived from the Reserves annually before the 1903 Act was passed. In 1906-07 the American Zulu Mission's share was £1,260, in 1907-08 about £1,000 and in 1908-09 about £1,100--with a substantial amount still in arrears.¹⁰³

Thus there is an aura of unreality about the various development schemes proposed by the missionaries and their African tenants between 1896 and 1902 and by Moor between 1907 and 1910. The missionaries could not relinquish the rent revenue and the government never had any intention of accepting these proposals because all were rooted in the concept of individual land tenure. Moor's attempts to secure even leasehold tenure in the closing years before Union were contaminated, if not conditioned, by the request that those who already had freehold tenure should give up their title deeds. Henceforth, the Reserves would 'develop' at the same rate as the Locations.

Colonial pressure for political control was challenged by the demands of the African tenants for individual ownership of the land in the Reserves. By opting for rents rather than freehold tenure as the price for allowing the settlers to annex these areas, the Mission helped deprive the African Christian community in Natal of its only real opportunity to achieve some small measure of independence in a multi-racial society dominated by the whites.

NOTES

1. "Now that the war is over the native question will come to the front. With the white man the only problem is how to make the black man more serviceable and exploitable to himself." A.Z.M. (Pmburg.), Vol. 26 V/1/4, General Letter for 1902, p. 19.
2. 1902 Lands Commission, Report, pp. 1-3 (Petition No. 20, 1899).
3. A.Z.M. (Pmburg.), Vol. 23 IV/1/4, Trustee committee report for 1901.
4. 1902 Lands Commission, Report, pp. 31-32 (clauses 211-212).
5. Ibid., p. 28 (clause 192).
6. Ibid., p. 27 (clauses 177-178).
As far as the Glebes were concerned: " . . . 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". 1902 Lands Commission, Report, p. 30 (clause 204).
7. Ibid., p. 29 (clauses 196, 198).
8. Ibid., p. 30 (clause 205).
9. Ibid., p. 31 (clauses 207, 211).
10. A.Z.M. (Inanda), unclassified, Goodenough's Reply, p. 1. See also: A.Z.M. (Pmburg.), Vol. 23 IV/1/4, Trustee committee reports for 1901 (two reports--one presented at the Semi-Annual Meeting and one at the Annual Meeting).
11. A.Z.M. (Pmburg.), Vol. 24 IV/1/5, Trustee committee report for 1902, pp. 2, 4.
12. A.Z.M. (Inanda), unclassified, Goodenough's Reply, p. 1.

13. A.Z.M. (Pmburg.), Vol. 24 IV/1/5, Trustee committee report for 1902, p. 5.
14. Ibid., p. 8.
15. Ibid., pp. 8-9, 11-12.
16. A.Z.M. (Inanda), unclassified, "Memoranda", Parts A & B and Attorney-General's reply 10/5/1902.
17. A.Z.M. (Pmburg.), Vol. 24 IV/1/5, Trustee committee report for 1902, pp. 13-14. See also: G.H., Vol. 1547, pp. 154-155, McCallum to M.N.A. 11/7/1905.
18. A.Z.M. (Pmburg.), Vol. 24 IV/1/5, Trustee committee report for 1902, pp. 13-14.
19. S.N.A. Vol. 1/1/300 (723/1903), Conference 12/2/1903, pp. 2-4, 4-6, 8-9.
20. Ibid., pp. 9-11 (my underline), 21-23, 26.
21. Ibid., pp. 16-19.
Africans of course, were buying land in freehold elsewhere in Natal during these years, e.g., Plant, The Zulu in Three Tenses, pp. 91-97. Vilakazi, op. cit., pp. 119-120. Marks, Reluctant Rebellion, pp. 123-125, 408-409 (map).
22. S.N.A. Vol. 1/1/300 (723/1903), Conference 12/2/1903, pp. 26-27.
23. N.G.G., Vol. 55 (May 13, 1903) Bill "To make better provision for the control and use of Mission Reserves," pp. 629-630, section 10.
24. N.G.G., Vol. 56, Act No. 49 of 1903 (December 29, 1903), "To make better provision for the control and use of Mission Reserves", pp. 1179-1180, section 10.
Goodenough's handiwork can be seen in comparing the second and third readings of the Bill. N.G.G., Vol. 55, Bill No. 42 of 1903 (May 13, 1903), second reading, pp. 629-630, sections 5, 6, 10, 15 (h); Ibid., Vol. 56 (Sept. 22, 1903), third reading, pp. 1406-1407, sections 5 (Goodenough's proposal that the Bill be changed to "allow the granting of store sites to Europeans . . . /to/ allow the working of minerals"), 6, 10, 15 (h).
25. N.G.G., Vol. 56, Act No. 49 of 1903 (December 29, 1903), section 4 (my underline).

26. Ibid., section 17.

27. Ibid., section 6.

The second half of section 6 related to Goodenough's amendment 'allowing' the government to provide for "Native education and industrial training" on the Reserves.

28. See chap. VII, p. 399.

29. N.G.G., Vol. 56, Act No. 49 of 1903 (December 29, 1903), section 11.

30. Ibid.

31. Ibid., section 13.

In regulations passed after the 1903 Act, the chiefs were stripped of all power over Reserve land: "No Native Chief or Headman shall have authority or jurisdiction with regard to any question relating to land on a Mission Reserve." The "Governor in Council", moreover, could redefine and alter the boundaries of Mission Reserves as well as the boundaries of chiefdoms within each Reserve. The effect of this regulation was to blur Reserve and chiefdom boundaries where these touched on Location land. Today an African tenant rarely knows where the Reserve boundary ends and the Location begins and many claim this has blunted the quality of Christian culture in the Reserves. N.G.G., Vol. 56, Act No. 49 of 1903 (December 29, 1903), section 16; Ibid., Vol. 58, Government Notice No. 574, 1904 (Regulations under the Mission Reserves Act, 1903), p. 1294, section 29. 1902 Lands Commission, Evidence, p. 11 (S.O. Samuelson). Personal information based on discussions between the author and older members of the Church at Inanda and Groutville (Umvoti).

32. N.G.G., Vol. 56, Act No. 49 of 1903 (December 29, 1903), section 8.

33. Ibid., section 5.

34. Ibid., sections 9, 12, 15b.

35. A.Z.M. (Inanda), unclassified, Deputation Report (1903), pp. 7, 14.

36. Ibid., p. 27.

The delegation consisted of three American Board deputation members, three African Christians, one missionary and one member of the Mission Reserve Trust Board.

37. Ibid.
38. Ibid.
39. A.Z.M. (Pmburg.), Vol. 26 V/1/4, General Letter for 1904, p. 3. See also: A.Z.M. (Pretoria), Microfilm A757. Goodenough to Smith 18/10/1903, pp. 1-2 (a summary of the advantages the Mission would enjoy under the Act).
40. A.Z.M. (Pmburg.), Vol. 24 IV/1/5, Native Agency committee report (1904), p. 4.
41. Observation based on discussions between the author and older members of the Church at Inanda and Groutville (Umvoti).
42. A.Z.M. (Inanda), unclassified, speech given by G.G. Nxaba at a Mission council meeting held at Adams 4/7/1953.
43. N.G.G., Vol. 58, Government Notice No. 574, 1904 (Regulations under the Mission Reserves Act, 1903), pp. 1292-1294. See also: A.Z.M. (Pmburg.), Vol. 10 III/1/3, Taylor to Smith 16/9/1904; Ibid., Vol. 26 V/1/4, General Letter for 1904, p. 3.
44. N.G.G., Vol. 58, Government Notice No. 574, 1904 (Regulations under the Mission Reserves Act, 1903), pp. 1294, sections 41, 42, 43, 44, 46.
 There was one exception to the rent rule. Unmarried males and females above 16 years of age were to occupy separate huts but they were not required to pay the £3 rent.
45. E.g., A.Z.M. (Inanda), unclassified, F. Bridgman to M.N.A. 29/7/1904, Goodenough to M.N.A. (n.d.).
 The preliminary regulations issued to the Mission had not contained the £3 rent clause but rather "a tax of 10/- per adult male and 5/- per unmarried male above a certain age". The Sutton Ministry (August 1903-May 1905) instituted the £3 rent but it may have been suggested to the Governor by the new Minister of Native Affairs (Leuchars), whom F. Bridgman reported "is much more stiff-necked than Mr. Moor". A.Z.M. (Pmburg.), Vol. 10 III/1/3, Taylor to Smith 2/2/1906. A.Z.M. (Pretoria), Microfilm A756, F. Bridgman to E.E. Strong 15/9/1904, p. 2.
46. A.Z.M. (Pmburg.), Vol. 10 III/1/3, Taylor to Smith 4/11/1904.

47. Ibid.
Correspondence in the Inanda Archives alone between October 1904 and June 1905 on this question totals 23 replies. It appears, however, that only the Americans challenged the colonists on the £3 rent. A.Z.M. (Pmburg.) Vol. 10 III/1/3, Taylor to Smith 7/10/1904, 27/4/1906, p. 2; "A Circular Letter to the Former Trustees of Mission Reserves" 21/11/1904.
48. A.Z.M. (Inanda), unclassified, M.N.A. to F. Bridgman 3/12/1904.
49. A.Z.M. (Pretoria), Microfilm A756, F. Bridgman to E.E. Strong 8/8/1904, p. 3, 15/9/1904, p. 2.
50. For details, cf. chap. VII, pp. 356-369, passim.
51. A.Z.M. (Pmburg.), Vol. 10 III/1/3, Taylor to Smith 4/11/1904.
52. For details, cf. chaps. V, pp. 275-277; chap. VIII, pp. 426-427.
53. A.Z.M. (Pmburg.), Vol. 10 III/1/3, Taylor to Smith 4/11/1904.
Magistrates within whose jurisdiction the Mission Reserves were located favored the rent, although they found collection difficult. S.O. Samuelson said the rent burden was exaggerated: "There is no foundation in fact for such a plea, as the quality of the arable land in the majority of the Reserves is good." N.B.B., Vol. 30 (1905), Minister of Native Affairs, cf. pp. 14, 19 (reports of magistrates for Umlazi and Alexandra Divisions); Ibid., Vol. 24 (1904), p. vii (report of the Under-Secretary for Native Affairs). See also: A.Z.M. (Pmburg.), Vol. 10 III/1/3, Taylor to Smith 16/9/1904.
54. A.Z.M. (Pretoria), Microfilm A756, F. Bridgman to Smith 6/1/1905, pp. 3-4. See also: S.N.A. Vol. 1/1/314 (2426/1904), translated extract from Ilanga Lase Natal 11/11/1904.
55. A.Z.M. (Pretoria), Microfilm A756, F. Bridgman to Smith 6/1/1905, p. 3.
56. A.Z.M. (Pretoria), Microfilm A748, W. Wilcox's "Paper on the management of the Reserves of the A.Z.M." 21/4/1899, pp. 8, 13; Ibid., Microfilm A759 Wilcox to Smith 9/10/1904, pp. 4-7.

57. African disillusionment with the Mission was intensified, for example, by a misunderstanding between residents of Esidumbini Reserve led by Pastor Sivetye and the Reserve supervisor. The latter allegedly had told the tenants that the Mission was responsible for the £3 rent. What, in fact, had happened was that the £3 rent did not officially go into effect, as we have noted, until July 1, 1905. The supervisors began demanding payment of the fees in 1904, however, and Varty told the Africans he was collecting Mission rents. Thus the tenants assumed the increase in rent had been sponsored by the Mission. The Americans moved swiftly to amend the mistake, but the damage had already been done. These rents were collected, of course, without the Mission's consent. A.Z.M. (Pmburg.), Vol. 10 III/1/3, Taylor to Varty 31/3/1905, 4/4/1905, 13/5/1905; Taylor to Sivetye 4/4/1905.
58. A.Z.M. (Pmburg.), Vol. 10 III/1/3, Taylor to Smith 2/2/1906.
59. A.Z.M. (Pmburg.), Vol. 3 I/1/8, Semi-Annual Meeting, January 1906; Ibid., Vol. 10 III/1/3, Taylor to Smith 2/2/1906, cf. 27/4/1906, p. 2.
60. A.Z.M. (Inanda), unclassified, "The Question of Receiving the Reserve Rents" by W. Wilcox (Umzumbe meeting 18-24/4/1906).
61. A.Z.M. (Pmburg.), Vol. 10 III/1/3, Taylor to Smith 27/4/1906, pp. 3, 5.
 An official "vote of censure" was passed against Wilcox but as infuriated as they were with him, the missionaries had to acknowledge that he had indeed voiced the will of the people: "... he expresses the extreme native view and secures the full accord at least of those present [at the Umzumbe meeting] and probably of a majority of the natives".
62. A.Z.M. (Pmburg.), Vol. 10 III/1/3, Taylor to Smith 4/5/1906.
63. A.Z.M. (Inanda), unclassified, "A Statement on the Question of the Administration of the American Mission Reserves, with Special Reference to Taxation and Individual Tenure," prepared for members of the Legislative Assembly, n.d. (circa 1905), p. 4.
64. Ibid., pp. 5-6.

65. A.Z.M. (Inanda), unclassified, F. Bridgman's "A Statement regarding the Obstructive Policy of the Natal Government toward Christian Work Amongst Natives," p. 8.
66. For details, see chap. VIII, pp. 443-454, passim.
67. A.Z.M. (Inanda), unclassified, American Board to McCallum 4/5/1906, McCallum to American Board 11/7/1906.
68. A.Z.M. (Pmburg.), Vol. 10 III/1/3, Taylor to Enoch Bell (an American Board secretary) 7/9/1906.
69. N.G.G., Vol. 62, Government Notice No. 488, 1906, p. 1391; Ibid., N.G.G., Vol. 67, Government Notice No. 337, 1909, p. 603. Union Statutes, Regulations framed under section 15 of Act No. 49 of 1903 (Natal), as amended by Act. No. 1 of 1912, section 22 (a).
The £1 per hut rent is still in effect on the Reserves.
70. A.Z.M. (Pmburg.), Vol. 3 I/1/8, Semi-Annual Meeting, January 1907; Ibid., Vol. 10 III/1/3, Taylor to Bell 14/2/1907, pp. 4-5.
John Dube and a leading layman from Umtwalume, Mzangedwa Sishi, were the first two Africans appointed to this committee along with Goodenough, LeRoy and Taylor, A.Z.M. (Pmburg.), Vol. 10 III/1/3, Taylor to Dube 1/5/1907.
71. 1906-07 Natal Native Affairs Commission, Report, pp. 17, 19-21, 52, 54.
72. A.Z.M. (Pmburg.), Vol. 10 III/1/3, F. Bridgman to Barton 31/8/1907.
73. A.Z.M. (Pmburg.), Vol. 10 III/1/3, F. Bridgman to Barton 10/10/1907, F. Bridgman to S.O. Samuelson 15/10/1907.
74. A.Z.M. (Pmburg.), Vol. 10 III/1/3, F. Bridgman to Barton 2/11/1907. See also: S.N.A. Vol. 1/1/376 (2513/1907), S.O. Samuelson to M.N.A. 5/1/1908, p. 7: "I find no power under the 'Mission Reserves Act 1903' for the imposition of quit rent."
75. A.Z.M. (Pmburg.), Vol. 10 III/1/3, F. Bridgman to S.O. Samuelson 28/11/1907, 30/12/1907.
76. A.Z.M. (Pmburg.), Vol. 10 III/1/3, F. Bridgman to Bell 8/2/1908, F. Bridgman to Barton 13/6/1908. See also: S.N.A. Vol. 1/1/376 (2513/1907), Conference report

- 5-7/2/1908 (with enclosure: "Resolutions passed . . . on the subject of individual tenure on Mission Reserves"), pp. 1-2 (list of African delegates and resolutions passed at conference).
77. A.Z.M. (Pmburg.), Vol. 10 III/1/3, F. Bridgman to Barton 13/6/1908.
78. N.G.G., Vol. 66, Government Notice No. 420 (July 21, 1908), Report of Deputation commissioned by the Department for Native Affairs to observe the operation of the Glen Grey Act as applied to the Transkeian Territories, pp. 626-629.
79. N.G.G., Vol. 65, Government Notice No. 232 (April 21, 1908), pp. 298-308.
1. Bill "To increase the number of Members of the Legislative Council"--from 13 to 17. These four additional members (white) would be selected from the colony divided into four districts for this purpose: "It shall be the special duty of the four members . . . to represent . . . the Native population".
 2. Bill "To provide for the better Administration of Native Affairs". Four district native commissioners, the administrative counterpart of the legislative representatives, would be responsible for African affairs in Natal. A new chain of command was established: the Secretary for Native Affairs was to be a permanent civil service appointment once again; a Council for Native Affairs was to be created to advise the government on all matters affecting Africans and so forth. All these officials, of course, were white.
 3. Bill "For the creation and administration of Native Land Settlements". This provided for the implementation of the Glen Grey Act in Natal. The land in Locations and Reserves was to be allotted to the Africans with title deeds on the basis of perpetual quitrent tenure--subject to certain conditions. Municipal government was to be established with the creation of Settlement Boards and District Councils--largely under African control--with the power to levy rates. By proclamation, the Governor would select an area for settlement based on quitrent tenure which "shall from that time vest in the Crown . . . freed from all trusts and conditions contained in the previously existing deeds of grant". It is interesting to note that those who owned land, (i.e., in freehold) "his title shall not be affected by this Act" but the land would be

subject to rates for "public purposes of the Settlement or district in which it lies" as would be those allotments held under quitrent tenure. The Mission would have been protected. If a settlement was taken from a Mission Reserve, a "block of land equal in extent to one allotment" and located in a "central and convenient position" would be "reserved in perpetuity" to the "missionary body named in the deed of grant . . . for the purpose of schools, churches, residence of missionaries and teachers, cemeteries and other purposes in connection with missionary undertakings". Model transfer and conditional title deeds were appended to this Bill.

80. A.Z.M. (Pmburg.), Vol. 10 III/1/3, F. Bridgman to Barton 13/6/1908, 29/8/1908.

81. A.Z.M. (Pmburg.), Vol. 10 III/1/3, F. Bridgman to Barton 13/6/1908.

82. Ibid.

83. A.Z.M. (Pmburg.), Vol. 10 III/1/3, F. Bridgman to Barton 11/7/1908, 18/9/1908.

Moor said he dropped the 'Land Settlements' Bill-- which the Mission favored with some amendments--because of African opposition but as F. Bridgman told Barton this "will hardly hold water" in view of what Moor had said at the conference. It is probable that both the 'Land Settlements' and 'Franchise' Bills were dropped because of colonial opposition. Kannemeyer suggested that "Closer Union legislation, the 'very precarious' position of the Government, opposition in Parliament, and the antagonism of the Natives themselves" contributed to the demise of these Bills.

A.Z.M. (Pmburg.), Vol. 10 III/1/3, F. Bridgman to Moor 12/6/1908, 31/8/1908 (re Mission views on the 'Land Settlements' Bill). Kannemeyer, op. cit., p. 301, footnote 1b. See also: S.N.A. Vol. 1/1/376 (2513/1907), Nathan to Earl of Crewe 30/10/1908 (this Minute Paper contains a summary of the 1907-8 individual land tenure negotiations from the government's point of view).

84. A.Z.M. (Pmburg.), Vol. 10 III/1/3, F. Bridgman to Barton 13/6/1908.

85. A.Z.M. (Pmburg.), Vol. 10 III/1/3, F. Bridgman to Bell 5/3/1909, 24/4/1909.

Amahlongwa, Inanda, Amanzimtoti and Umvoti had been among those Reserves mentioned for the 'experiment' in land tenure. E.g., A.Z.M. (Pmburg.), Vol. 10

- III/1/3, F. Bridgman to S.O. Samuelson 28/11/1907, 6/2/1909, 25/2/1909; F. Bridgman to M.N.A. 3/5/1909.
86. A.Z.M. (Pmburg.), Vol. 10 III/1/3, F. Bridgman to Barton 3/9/1909.
 87. S.N.A. 6/1/1, Minutes of meetings of the Council for Native Affairs 8/6/1910, 3/8/1910, p. 5, 4/8/1910, pp. 4-5.
 88. A.Z.M. (Pretoria), Microfilm A756, F. Bridgman to Smith 6/5/1904, pp. 3-4.
 Three supervisors were appointed originally but this was increased to five about 1906. E.g., S.N.A. Vols. 1/1/300 (723/1903), 1/1/370 (1685/1907), passim.
 89. 1906-7 Natal Native Affairs Commission, Evidence, pp. 457-459 (Herbert A.G. Varty).
 Indeed, even some government officials regarded the efforts of these supervisors as pathetic: "I look upon some of the Officers in question as practically useless men and unless they take a little more interest in their work I shall be compelled to recommend that they be discharged". S.N.A. Vol. 1/1/370 (1685/1907), Chief Inspector of Locations and Mission Reserves (E. Fitzgerald) to S.O. Samuelson 14/6/1907.
 90. 1906-7 Natal Native Affairs Commission, Evidence, pp. 457-459 (Herbert A.G. Varty).
 91. The African messenger apparently was allowed to carry a "knobkerrie" for "ornament". When Varty and other supervisors began collecting rents, an armed policeman was detailed to be with them at all times for protection. When Goodenough had asked for the same protection in 1890, for example, he was refused. S.N.A. Vol. 1/1/316 (33/1905), M.N.A. to office 12/1/1905, S.O. Samuelson to Umlazi Magistrate 2/5/1905; Ibid., Vol. 1/1/320 (1110/1905), Colenbrander (Pinetown Magistrate) to S.O. Samuelson 19/4/1905; Ibid., Vol. 1/1/322 (1598/1905), S.O. Samuelson to M.N.A. 29/6/1905, M.N.A. to Minister of Justice 29/6/1905; Ibid., Vol. 1/1/131 (1149/1890), Goodenough to H. Shepstone (S.N.A.) 24/9/1890, H. Shepstone to Lower Tugela Magistrate 1/10/1890.
 92. N.B.B. (unnumbered volume, 1908), Auditor-General, p. 63.
 93. A.Z.M. (Pmburg.), Vol. 10 III/1/3, F. Bridgman to Bell 14/11/1908.

94. N.B.B. (unnumbered volume, 1909), Auditor-general, p. 132.
95. In 1908, for example, the government tried to pressure the Mission into collecting rents and "undertake the making out of rent rolls and lists of defaulters on Mission Reserves". The Mission, of course, rejected these demands. A.Z.M. (Pmburg.), Vol. 10 III/1/3, F. Bridgman to Barton 18/9/1908; F. Bridgman to Bell 14/11/1908; F. Bridgman to S.O. Samuelson 13/11/1908.
96. A.Z.M. (Inanda), unclassified, missionary scarp book, unidentified newspaper clipping.
97. A.Z.M. (Pretoria), Microfilm A746, Umtwalume station report for 1892.
98. A.Z.M. (Pmburg.), Vol. 25 V/1/1, Umtvoti station report for 1892, p. 1. See also: South African Native Affairs Commission 1903-5, Vol. IV, Evidence, pp. 849-850 (Goodenough).
99. 1906-7 Natal Native Affairs Commission, Evidence (section III), e.g., Posselt Johannes Gumede (evangelist and teacher from Inanda), p. 899; Martin Lutuli, pp. 903-904; Mvakwendhlu Sivetye, p. 905.
100. Besides the various commissions, magistrates' reports and comments by government officials already cited, cf. S.N.A. Vol. 1/1/319 (871/1905), Supervisor A.C. Varty's detailed survey of the Reserves made in 1904. A.Z.M. (Pmburg.), Vol. 11 III/2/1, George Hulett (colonial lawyer and a principal adviser to the Mission or Reserve matters) to Mission (April?) 1898.
101. 1902 Lands Commission, Evidence, pp. 63-65 (Ndaba Mfeka, teacher at Imfume). 1906-7 Natal Native Affairs Commission, Evidence, p. 65 (Goodenough). See above, p. 126; chap. III, footnote 77.
102. Appendix II, n.b. 'NOTES' 1907-1909.
103. Appendix II, n.b. 'NOTES' 1904-1906. See also: S.N.A. Vol. 1/1/300 (723/1903), Statement on Mission Reserve accounts (1906). A.Z.M. (Pmburg.), Vol. 10 III/1/3, Taylor to Bell 14/2/1907.
 Frederick Bridgman did not "know of the eviction of any delinquent rent payer" between 1903 and 1908. Taylor estimated in 1935 the Mission was getting about £2,000 of the £4,000 collected from American Reserve rents at that time. A.Z.M. (Pmburg.), Vol. 10

III/1/3, F. Bridgman to S.O. Samuelson 3/7/1908,
21/7/1908. Taylor, J.D. One-Hundred Years of the
American Board Mission in South Africa, 1835-1935,
p. 14. Hereafter referred to as Taylor, One-Hundred
Years. S.N.A. Vol. 1/1/442 (2896/1909), "Ejectment
from Mission Reserves of defaulters in arrear with their
rents" 15/3/1910 (in theory, the Natal Native Trust
resolved in March 1910 to remove from the Reserves
tenants who failed to pay rent).

CHAPTER V

STRUCTURE OF MISSIONARY EDUCATION: EVANGELISM, THE
ROLE OF GOVERNMENT, INDUSTRIAL AND TEACHER TRAINING,
AFRICAN REACTIONS AND RESPONSE

In so far as the Americans had a secondary objective to their principal roles as Christian missionaries, it was not the creation of a disciplined peasantry bent on individual enterprise, but the education of an African elite imbued with certain intellectual, moral and emotional qualities deemed essential for the preservation and expansion of the Church. The Mission's schools performed a fundamental task in this process.¹ Pioneer missionary wives established classes in their homes soon after arriving in Natal. When the boarding schools were opened in the 1860s, single women were brought out to teach in these institutions and by the 1880s most of the male missionaries were similarly occupied. When the American Board Deputation arrived in Natal in 1903, they noted that 25 of the 31 missionaries then in the field were "engaged in educational work".² By the 1870s, most of the Mission's capital resources went to this source. Since education demanded and received the bulk of the missionary's time and money, it inevitably played a critical role in Mission policy.³

GOVERNMENT GRANTS AND MISSION EDUCATION:

1856-1893

Education as an end in itself was only gradually recognized after 1900. Throughout the nineteenth century it was tied irrevocably to the concept of an evangelical African Christian society with roots firmly planted in the Church. As such, the schools were to be the training ground for full-time Christian workers. And, once again, initially these efforts were encouraged by the Natal government.

In 1856, when Natal was granted representative government under a Royal Charter, one of its clauses stipulated that £5,000 a year was to be appropriated "for Native purposes" outside the control of the newly-established Legislative Council.⁴ The government never spent the full amount set aside for the Africans, however. Year after year a sizeable percentage of this account was held over and what was actually done with the money remains a mystery.⁵ Nevertheless, the remainder was used mainly on African education:

" . . . 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 Government Aid."⁶

From then on the Natal government began distributing grants-in-aid to African schools on a regular basis. The American Board, however, was extremely reluctant to allow its missionaries to receive support from any outside source, especially

from a government agency. It was not until 1864 that the Zulu Mission, apparently after an appeal from Daniel Lindley, was allowed to accept school grants. Rufus Anderson, foreign secretary of the American Board and an implacable foe of state subsidies, retired in 1866 to be replaced by Nathaniel Clark, a "modern-minded man of broad outlook", who accepted the need for government aid.⁷ Few conditions, moreover, were attached to these grants until the 1880s. In effect, there was a modus operandi between the government and the Mission in African education just as there had been in land.⁸ Furthermore, financial aid from the government, small as it was, attracted even more of the Mission's available resources towards the schools and away from other vital problems such as Reserve administration and economic development. After 1864, government grants played an ever-increasing role in the growth of the Mission's school system. Roughly one-fourth to one-third of the total amount allotted each year from 1864 to 1893 by the government to African schools in Natal went to the American Zulu Mission:⁹

Year	Government Grant	Mission Grant
1864	£1,738	£416
1865	£1,909	£540
1877	£1,938	£728
1880	£2,312	£879
1885	£3,866	£953
1891	£3,998	£1,009

The availability of a small but stable capital resource was certainly a factor in the growth of the primary schools which were still in an embryonic stage of development after a generation of relying mainly on the American Board's subsidy. But government grants played a more important role in the decision to build secondary or, as we shall call them, boarding schools. Discussions in 1864 with Robert Mann, Superintendent of Education, resulted in a grant of £100 towards the construction of a permanent building at Adams (Amanzimtoti) to house a new school for boys to be called Amanzimtoti Seminary. By 1877 the grant was £200 a year and in 1887 this was raised to £300, the largest government grant for any African school in the colony. A similar trend was discernible at Inanda and Umzumbe stations where government aid was also a factor in the decision to build the two girls boarding schools--Inanda Seminary and Umzumbe Home. Once the boarding schools were constructed, the missionaries began to concentrate their resources at these institutions--so much so, in fact, that by the 1880s little, if any, of the American Board's subsidy was being spent on the primary schools. In 1880, for example, 11 of 14 American missionaries in Natal were assigned to work at Amanzimtoti, Inanda and Umzumbe and in that year the Mission did not request any American Board funds for the primary schools because most of these were receiving government grants.¹⁰

Thus the missionaries were officially encouraged to concentrate their energies on education. Pretensions at providing a 'civilised' environment for the Africans would be partly fulfilled at little cost in money and manpower, and the missionaries could continue to regard the schools primarily as religious institutions. In the exclusive, segregated environment of the Glebes, they were able to mold their schools largely unhampered by outside influence or control.

THE 'GREAT AWAKENING': EVANGELISM AND THE BOARDING SCHOOLS 1880-1910

After more than 40 years of mission work, however, the Zulu Christian community was still relatively small. Furthermore, the missionaries of the 1870s seemed even less prepared than the pioneers to transfer their responsibilities to the Zulu Christians. Above all, the American Board was convinced of the necessity for geographical expansion, and continual pressure was brought to bear on the Mission to evangelize the 'regions beyond' Natal. By the 1870s the American Board's exhortations had become demands. If the Zulu Mission felt unprepared or unequipped for expansion into the interior, little support would be forthcoming for the work in Natal. This was one of the reasons why the missionaries felt compelled to reform the churches--to prepare their African converts for the task of evangelizing Africa.

It would also seem that the purge of the Church had repercussions in the field of education--especially in the boarding schools which trained small but select groups of boys and girls whose parents were usually members of the Christian community. When Amanzimtoti Seminary was established in 1865, for example, its students were the sons of Christian parents and "the best that were then obtainable from the American mission stations". In 1882, however, there was no boy connected with the school who was regarded as a Christian. In 1885 there were nine "professing Christians" and in 1888 there were 21 church members, 21 probationers and 22 who apparently were traditionalists. There were other factors which explain the decline in the percentage of station community Christians attending Mission schools,¹¹ but during this period--the late '70s and '80s--the pervasive intrusion of the ecclesiastical reformation into the field of education cannot be ignored.¹²

These events, moreover, affected the American Board's relationship to the Mission, for in the late 1870s the missionaries could not prove that the purge of the churches and schools was a necessary step towards fulfilling the hopes of the Prudential Committee.¹³ With virtually every member of the Christian community under suspension it looked to the American Board that the Mission had failed with the Zulu in Natal. This was undoubtedly a factor in the Prudential Committee's obvious reluctance to render more than the

minimum in aid to this field. It also influenced the committee to look elsewhere for a new African mission and an inquiry was made into the possibility of reopening West Africa. The project was outlined in 1878 and in 1881 the first missionaries arrived at Bihe, about 250 miles inland from Benguella in what is now the Portuguese Province of Angola. The American Board's West Central Africa Mission, as it was called, was permanently established by 1886.¹⁴

One can appreciate the effect that these events must have had on the American Zulu Mission. From the 1880s the 'regions beyond' became an obsession.¹⁵ Beginning in 1879-1880 the American missionaries together with a group of largely unnamed and unnumbered Zulu Christians embarked on a series of expeditions beyond the borders of Natal which by 1910 had expanded the horizons of the Mission to include much of south-central and southeastern Africa.¹⁶

Portuguese East Africa	Inhambane (1883) Beira (1895, 1905)
Rhodesia	Mt. Silinda (1893) Chikore (1895) Melsetter (1902)
Transvaal	Johannesburg (1893-- other centers founded in subsequent years)

At the same time, the stations were transformed through a succession of cathartic revivals (the 'Great Revivals' as they are still known among older Zulu Christians today) which, among other things, produced a fervently aggressive

community of believers who appear to have had a profound effect on traditional society in Natal. From the late 1880s, there were literally hundreds of Zulu pastors, preachers, evangelists and teachers working among the heathen in Zululand and Tsongaland and in the Reserves and Locations, with the tenants and agricultural laborers on white farms and in the burgeoning towns of the colony.¹⁷

In a plan presented to the American Board in 1892, for example, the Mission pleaded for 12 new missionary families and about £8,000 (\$40,000) to finance a string of Mission stations throughout southern Africa, east-central Africa and the "Mountains of the Moon", north of Lake Tanganyika, and asked that at least £20,000 (\$100,000) be spent on African missions each year:

"The Zulu Mission surely has not existed these many years merely for the circumscribed territory in which it is located, nor for this single branch of the Zulu speaking race. . . . Why should we lay up so much treasure here, institute these churches, prepare these preachers, this Zulu literature, except thereby to be in readiness to benefit kindred people in regions beyond when the time should come. . . . The time has come. . . . our young people are going out from us, settling on lands they have purchased in Natal . . . Johannesburg, Pretoria, Barberton and Kimberley. . . . Zululand, Swaziland, Tongoland. . . . They are among unsympathizing white people. They call for preachers and teachers. . . . We can resist the call no longer. . . . We are called the Zulu Mission. If we are worthy of our name we shall comprise within our purpose the Zulu speaking people wherever found, not content until all from Cape Colony to Ruwenzori are invited".¹⁸

It was, of course, unrealistic to expect the American Board to favor such a request, but it indicated how militant American missionaries and Zulu Christians had become on the subject of evangelism.

The schools, which for more than 40 years had been directed towards such an eventuality, were in the vanguard of the new movement:

" . . . the primary period of the mission is past. The second stage has come when our chief work is to reach the people through trained leaders. Churches have been established and are being formed. But from the higher schools of the Mission must be gained . . . the men who are to mould the church life and discipline in Natal, and the men who are to evangelize the cities and sow the seed along a thousand African roads".¹⁹

Although this was the viewpoint in 1900, it was only an extension of the policy envisaged by the pioneers, and it was reaffirmed by virtually every missionary concerned with education during this period. When the missionaries finally decided to move into what is now Rhodesia, for example, Secretary Smith encouraged them to train the Zulu Christian community for this task:

"The fact that promising men in the Zulu churches will be ready to volunteer for work in Mashonaland . . . and that thus the Zulu Mission may take more distinctly the place of a great Seminary for the training of native missionaries for the work in the regions beyond . . . greatly interests the Prudential Committee and commends to them the thought of the new enterprise".²⁰

As the Mission's General Letter writer expressed it in 1907:

"It is only by means of Christian education and training that

the Zulu people can be fitted for the great work of evangelizing the kindred tribes of all South Africa."²¹

The schools--especially the boarding schools--were to produce an African Christian elite which, in turn, would serve the needs of an evangelical, missionary-oriented Church. Thus the policy of Amanzimtoti Seminary was outlined in 1894:

"The object of the school is not so much to produce scholarship as Christian manhood. It aims to send forth those who will be leaders and teachers; and who will be living epistles wherein all may read the transforming power of the Gospel. . . . In order to do this the boys' lives, as far as we are able to control them, are hedged about by an atmosphere of prayer, Bible instruction, and moral training. . . . The whole aim of this school is to fit men for usefulness in Christ's service. There is no attempt to make them intellectually acute."²²

What was true for the boys at Amanzimtoti Seminary was also true for the girls at Inanda Seminary: "It is our desire that this institution should be the centre for the development of true, strong Christian womanhood rather than a seat of much learning." And in Umzumbe Home "the one supreme end we ever aim at" was "the salvation of souls and the building up of Christian character".²³

At the same time, however, as recruits were being gathered from the schools to serve as teachers, preachers and evangelists in Natal and in the great missionary migrations to the interior, the government began to interfere in African education in a way that it had never done previously. Although

the existing relationship between the government and the missionaries was not disrupted to any extent in the last decade before Responsible Government, several regulations were implemented which held grave portents for the future.

GOVERNMENT ATTEMPTS TO CONTROL AFRICAN EDUCATION

1884-1893:

Focus on Industrial Training

We have emphasized that in many respects the 1880s were a transitional period in the history of Natal as government officials recognized that sooner or later the colonists would be given self-government. In education, as in land, during these years the Executive Council tried to accommodate the desires of the white settlers for control over the emerging African Christian communities.

In Law No. 1 of 1884, for example, the Council of Education (created in 1877 to give the colonists control over white education) was given executive responsibility for African education in Natal--a function previously performed only by the Governor. In theory, the Council could 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, and so forth. It was a bold attempt to get the colonists involved in African education, but it failed to achieve any-

thing significant in this regard. The Council's 'Committee for Native Education' apparently was split into several irreconcilable factions from the beginning. Very few directives were issued and even these were rarely enforced. External political pressure from more rabid anti-black radicals also restricted the committee's efforts and, in the end, the Council of Education strengthened rather than weakened colonial hostility to Imperial control, much to the detriment of African education.²⁴

The Council did manage to introduce the concept of industrial training for Africans, however, which had been a major source of conflict between the government and the settlers for years,²⁵ and was destined to play a crucial role in African educational policy after 1893. Law No. 1 of 1884 had, among other things, outlined a course of instruction which made "Elements of industrial training" a condition for government aid to African schools. As usual, no thought was given as to how these regulations should be implemented. In 1885, however, provision was made (under Law No. 13), for the still undefined regulations concerning African industrial training to be relaxed at the discretion of the Council. Grants would still be given to those schools in operation before 1884 (Law No. 1) without industrial training but newly-established schools apparently had to satisfy this requirement before they received government aid. No doubt this modification was made because the colonists themselves

were against training Africans in skilled trades and the missionaries could hardly create industrial departments at every school they operated.²⁶ Nevertheless; these regulations were, in fact, a blatant attempt to discourage academic training for Africans, which was to be the special forte of the American Zulu Mission.

'Industrial training' was a phrase which could mean almost anything, and in 1887 a deputation from the Natal Missionary Conference urged the Council to amend further this restriction. Their draft bill to this effect is of interest because it indicates that the missionaries themselves were desirous of a more positive government role in African education and had definite ideas as to what direction this interest should take:

- "1. The Council of Education shall be empowered to aid in establishing and supporting Infant or Kraal schools for the Natives, in which the elements of education only are taught.
2. In every such school, Reading in the Native Language, Writing and simple Rules of Arithmetic shall be taught.
3. The Council of Education shall have power to make provision for the inspection of such schools; to fix the amount of Grants, and generally to do all such things as may be necessary to give effect to the provisions of this law."

In essence, the missionaries wanted government to set up uniform standards and recognize the need to aid those schools whose main purpose was to provide the rudiments of literacy in Zulu. It is significant that industrial training is not even mentioned, for elsewhere the missionaries

made it clear that they were not in favor of specialized industrial training if it was to be at the expense of an academic education.²⁷

In 1888 (Law No. 38) the government added "manual" to the "Elements of industrial training" so that schools could be aided even if they taught no trades or handicrafts. Aided schools were divided into three classes based on the industrial or manual training done at each school, so that those missionary societies who could afford to build relatively sophisticated industrial departments would be encouraged to do so, but those who could not would still receive a proportionate amount of aid. First class schools were those having fully-fledged industrial departments with facilities for training apprentices in recognized trades or handicrafts. Second class schools were those where unskilled "manual or field labor" was done regularly and third class schools were those where "no regular instruction is given in trades or handicrafts, or in manual or field labour". The significant point here was that the Council of Education now officially recognized the different types of institutions that had been developed by the missionaries but tried to force them to pattern the future development of all schools to fit the requirements established for manual labor or industrial training. First class schools corresponded to the Mission's boarding schools. Second class schools corresponded to the Mission's station or primary schools for day scholars from the

station communities. Third class schools were the infant or kindergarten, 'kraal' and evening schools established mainly for illiterate heathens by the Zulu Christian community. These were the elementary schools whose existence was first acknowledged by the government in 1885 (Law No. 13).²⁸

Although some missionaries undoubtedly felt these regulations conflicted with the Mission's educational policy, in reality they were still very vague and loosely enforced. Furthermore, some of the missionary recruits of the 1880s--men like Wilcox, George Wilder and Goodenough--felt that the Mission should renew efforts to develop the economic potential of the Glazes and Reserves and saw the government's concern for manual and industrial training as a favorable opportunity. Above all, the American Board began to stress the need for industrial training in its foreign mission schools during these years as an effective tool of evangelism.²⁹ Thus it is not surprising that the missionaries responded to the Council's regulations by establishing elaborate industrial departments in the boarding schools in the 1880s.

Amanzimtoti Seminary is perhaps the most interesting example. Goodenough, who replaced Ireland in 1881 as principal, had been especially selected to devote his full time to this institution in the hope that it might become the top secondary school for African boys in Natal. Goodenough realized that this goal could only be achieved when the

school received more government aid and the only way to get this was to satisfy the industrial requirements. The construction of Jubilee Hall in 1884-5 "the most ambitious building scheme undertaken by the Mission up to that date" provided the opportunity. The boys were now adequately housed in a building they had constructed largely by themselves. Goodenough recognized how useful this training could be for the Mission as a whole. It would also provide a healthy counterbalance to the school's traditional emphasis on academic course work and it would satisfy the Council of Education that the Mission was not unaware of the value of industrial training.³⁰

In 1884 an industrial department was established under the leadership of Hugh Russell, a sympathetic colonial and a trained carpenter who supervised the construction of Jubilee Hall. For about 10 years Russell guided the fortunes of the industrial department to the point where it played a significant role in the life of the school. Although carpentry remained the most important subject, other trades were also taught. Once again, the printing press was put to 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. Important monographs in English, Zulu and even Tsonga, for use in the churches and schools, were printed at Amanzimtoti Seminary during these years. In 1887 the Mission's General Letter writer commented:

"A lathe, forge and blacksmith's tools, shoemaker's tools and leather have been added to the industrial plant. . . . there is little doubt that the increased numbers of students are due in part to the fact of our having such industries."³¹

Bee-keeping, bricklaying, book-binding, bookkeeping, cartography (the latter two apparently were unique in the colony at the time) and possibly other subjects were also introduced. Financial problems, however, continued to threaten the enterprise. Although the Mission was able to secure £100 from the government in 1887 for industrial training at Amanzimtoti Seminary, it was not enough. The problem was whether one could train artisans, pay Russell's salary and not get into debt in the process. As Russell pointed out:

" . . . the work has not been remunerative, because of the plan which we adopted of making it a training school for the pupils in the afternoon. This was an admirable plan, but it was an expensive one . . . so that it has been my 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 the manufacture of sashes, boxes, etc. which command a ready sale in Durban."³²

Russell suggested that "in the interests of the Industrial School and for its success, the financial management of it should be handed to me". In effect, he requested that the department be turned into a competitive business proposition under his personal control, and the Mission agreed. At its annual meeting in 1888 Russell was authorized to sell the products of the industrial department on the open market, keep up to £150 for himself in lieu of salary and divide the rest of the profits ~~between~~ the industrial department

and Amanzimtoti Seminary proper. By 1892 there were 21 people in the industrial department, of whom 10 were fully-fledged apprentices.³³

For the Mission, it was an ideal arrangement, and it was duplicated in the girls' boarding schools as well. At Inanda Seminary the industrial department was in charge of Mrs. Mary K. "Ma" Edwards, founder of the school and one of the most remarkable missionary entrepreneurs of that generation.³⁴ Although she arrived in Natal in 1868, the industrial department at Inanda Seminary was a product of the 1880s and was stimulated, at least in part, by the rules and regulations of the Council of Education. By 1887 Mrs. Edwards had created

" . . . a beautiful little farm comprising some 15 acres or more enclosed by wire fencing . . . turned over with the plow. . . . Mrs. Edwards expects to raise this season, all the corn, pumpkins, beans, and potatoes that will be required for the year's consumption. . . . Last year more than a thousand trees were planted, and this year that number will be more than doubled."

By the late 1890s she had succeeded in planting enough trees to serve the needs of Inanda Seminary, other primary and elementary schools in the area and was selling a sizeable surplus of wood on the open market. A poultry farm was also started which soon provided capital for the growing needs of the school. About 1899 it was reported that the agricultural department supplied almost all of Inanda Seminary's food requirements and was worth £241 (£165 from the farm which was now about 50 acres, £25 from the

sale of wood and £51 from the poultry). By 1910 the farm alone covered 75 carefully cultivated acres, providing enough food for Inanda Seminary and partially fulfilling the needs of the station and Reserve residents as well.³⁵

One of the more interesting businesses which prospered under her care was the laundry, established as a means of meeting the requirements of the Council of Education in the matter of 'manual or field labor'.³⁶ In 1888 one of Lindley's married daughters who had stayed in Natal decided to start a laundry among women at Inanda station but gave up after six months. Mrs. Edwards, who was 60 at the time, offered her services:

"I proposed to take over the whole affair, remove the two iron buildings to the school premises, employ the six best workers at one shilling for 8 hours work, overtime to be paid for. I would assume for the school all further responsibility and pay profits, if any, into the school funds, and by so doing give a number of girls the benefit of a thorough training in the laundry business. Six of our best Christian women find a means of earning a little and if we are able to work it up to two or three times our present number of customers it will be a paying business."

She reported in 1890: "Three men and their wives have set up for themselves, after learning in the laundry." Mrs. Edwards directed the project so that it could compete with white-owned businesses, and very soon most of her customers were colonists, coming from as far away as Durban, about 15 miles from Inanda. In 1890 Mrs. Edwards decided that prices had to be raised, and the burden would have to be borne by the customers. They would also have to bear the

expense of taking their laundry baskets to and from the local railway station "which will save 12 to 15 dollars per month". The whites not only agreed to these changes, but business apparently increased. The laundry, of which little more was hoped than that it would "pay the board of the girls who work on it", was now bringing in surplus revenue and creating new economic opportunities for the station community. By 1895, the laundry business at Inanda Seminary alone brought in £266 and the value of the buildings and machinery was about £426. Seven years earlier "Edwards Hall", an industrial training building, had been opened with aid from the government. Here the girls made all their own clothes and took classes in needlework. Thus they were instructed in those activities that would be practiced on a smaller scale in the primary and elementary schools where many would be teachers in subsequent years.

Although Amanzimtoti Seminary and Inanda Seminary tended to steal the limelight during these years, there was also progress at Umzumbe Home. Because the hills encircling Umzumbe Glebe received most of the moisture, the boarding school was perennially faced with drought until an irrigation system was devised in 1906. The soil was good, however, and with intensive cultivation and a steady supply of free student labor, the school was able to meet its minimum food requirements for most of the period. Although never as productive as Inanda Seminary, Umzumbe Home created a small farm which was gradually enlarged to about 40 acres

planted mainly with mealies (maize) and beans in 1905-6. By 1910 the farm had been reduced to 20 acres but harvests were larger and additional acreage was planted in fruit and gum trees (for firewood). The influence of "Ma" Edwards could be seen during the 1890s in a small laundry, needle-work classes and related enterprises.³⁷

Such was the Mission's response to the industrial training regulations introduced by the Council of Education. In establishing these departments, the missionaries believed they were fulfilling the demands of the colonists in the sphere of industrial education: "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".³⁸ As the Mission concluded in 1887: " . . . unless we can show that instruction is given in industrial pursuits, we are liable to lose the Government grant".³⁹ Trade courses, moreover, were now regarded as valuable training for the Africans:

"If the Zulus are ever to occupy any worthy status in this colony they must be educated in every kind of labor. Missionaries are looking with more and more favor upon the industrial training of the natives as a valuable feature of missionary work."⁴⁰

When preparations were being made for the Rhodesian expedition in 1892, for example, African Christians trained in "industrial work" were deemed essential to the success of the new mission.⁴¹ It would appear, moreover, that the Americans adopted most of the Council's directives without

sacrificing their emphasis on academic training or compromising the religious orientation of the schools.

In these circumstances, it is rather ironic that many colonists regarded the Council of Education--made up of their colleagues who were allowed to control and manipulate African schools in any way they desired--as a threat to the privileged social and economic position of the white settlers in Natal. The center of controversy was industrial training and after years of long and acrimonious debate, in March 1893 the Council capitulated to the radical extremists and passed an amended and more detailed classification of all aided African schools, tying government grants to carefully prescribed conditions emphasizing, in effect, unskilled labor.⁴²

All aided African schools were divided, as before, into three sections. Government grants were to be allotted in proportion to the number of hours spent on industrial training, [*i.e.*, apprenticeship courses producing skilled artisans in recognized trades] and/or manual labor, [*i.e.*, gardening, repair and maintenance of school buildings, farm work and other forms of unskilled labor] in each section. Instead of the previous policy of having fixed yearly grants, however, each school was to receive so much per pupil based on the average attendance each quarter and further limited by age requirements.⁴³ Secondary schools, moreover, could not receive more than £250 a year, primary schools £75 or

£150 a year and elementary schools £40 a year. An African syllabus similar to the white schools in Natal which had been revised in 1889 and comprised eight standards (grades), was drastically curtailed when all regulations relating to the last three standards were withdrawn.⁴⁴ Pupils would no longer receive government aid beyond standard V unless they were studying to be primary school teachers. Secondary schools (class 1) would now be aided only when six hours a day were spent on industrial training and/or manual labor as opposed to 90 minutes a day on ordinary academic subjects. Although several trades were recognized for teaching purposes, grants per pupil would not be sufficient to continue these courses. In effect, the new regulations were designed to destroy skilled industrial training. Primary schools (class 2) were divided into two sections. Requirements in the upper section (receiving the maximum of £150 a year) were virtually the same as those for secondary schools except the standard of performance was not so high, but requirements for the lower section put a premium on manual labor for the boys and sewing and plain needlework for the girls. Basic literacy was the main concern in the primary schools--i.e., reading, writing (English and Zulu) and arithmetic. Elementary schools (class 3) were the evening, infant and 'kraal' schools which continued to be exempt from manual labor requirements if established before the passing of Law No. 13/1885. Most elementary schools were built

after 1885, however, and apparently they had to conform to primary school regulations to receive a government grant.⁴⁵

The Natal Missionary Conference grasped the significance of these regulations which were implemented, significantly enough, with Responsible Government in July 1893.

"Having given long and careful consideration to the new classification of Native schools 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 literary [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."⁴⁶

In these and other resolutions the missionaries made it clear that class I and class III schools--i.e., the highest and lowest strata--would be crippled by the new regulations and that, in general, the whole system of African education which had been built up, at great cost, by the missionaries would suffer as a result. It was the end of a decade of hopeful co-operation with the government in the mistaken belief that the Council's activities were sanctioned by colonial public opinion. It was also the end of a generation and more of myths perpetuated by missionaries as well as by government officials as to the latter's 'enlightened' interest in African education.

The new classification of government-aided African schools was the principle legacy of the Council of Education. A recipe was offered which, in effect, phased out academic training and replaced it with 'industrial training', a euphemism for unskilled labor. As the Mission observed 10 years later: " . . . unskilled labor is what is wanted from the native and trades unions and farmers' conferences are at one in opposing the teaching of trades to natives".⁴⁷

AFRICAN EDUCATION UNDER RESPONSIBLE GOVERNMENT

(a) Colonial policy and the system of Financial grants⁴⁸

With the granting of Responsible Government in 1893, the colonists quickly moved to strengthen their control over African education. In 1894 the Council of Education was abolished and policy-making concentrated in the hands of one man--the Minister of Education--a political appointee. A single chain of command was established between the Minister of Education, the Superintendent of Education, the Inspector of Schools and, finally, the missionaries. Furthermore, in practice the implementation of colonial policy became the responsibility of the superintendent and the inspector--two positions held by men who served for long periods of time. There were three superintendents under Responsible Government: Robert Russell (1878-1902), P. A. Barnett (1902-1904) and C. J. Mudie (1904-1917). Robert Plant became the Inspector

of Native Education in 1888 and did not relinquish this post until 1910.⁴⁹

The evidence suggests that these men generally agreed on the basic principles to be followed in African education. Instead of isolating the African from European influence, they urged that it was in the material interests of the colony to give the African every opportunity of entering the white labor market. They rejected de facto missionary control because, as they correctly pointed out, it inevitably led to an educated elite divorced from the realities of colonial life. Africans could not enter white society--because of the taboos against integration and miscegenation--and they were regarded as a danger to the vast majority of traditionalists. Above all, the settler had no control. Therefore colonial policy favored primary as opposed to secondary education. As Russell expressed it in 1895:

"The object of the Government in making grants to the 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 contentment and happiness in the future."⁵⁰

In essence, it was a policy of educating as many Africans as it was possible for the whites to control to the minimum standard that would make them cheap but relatively productive laborers in an increasingly sophisticated economy. What was needed, as Barnett told the South African Native Affairs

Commission in 1904, was a policy which would "get the best out of the Native and make the 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".⁵¹ The colonial ideal was perhaps best expressed in a special report submitted by the Committee for Native Education to the Council of Education in 1892:

"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 the 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 in the case of Natives who are being trained to teach. We agree with witnesses who are of the opinion that it is much better to raise the whole mass to a low standard than to raise a few to a high one."⁵²

Similar sentiments were expressed by virtually every colonial official and commission of inquiry dealing with African education under Responsible Government.

In pursuance of this policy, the Natal government in 1893 doubled the grant set aside for Africans from £5,000 to £10,000 a year. Most of the money went towards education, just as it had after 1856.⁵³

Aided African Schools

Year	Average Attendance	Total Enrolment	Government Grant	Grant per Pupil
1891	2,777	4,026	£3,998	£1.8.10
1895	6,056	6,790	£4,826	.16.0
1900	7,940	10,618	£5,570	.14.0
1905	7,985	10,150	£6,355	.15.11
1909	12,484	15,335	£8,914	.17.9

Once again, however, school grants never even approached the amount set aside for the Africans each year. Furthermore, the biggest increase came in the last three years before Union--i.e., after the 'Rebellion' scare of 1906. We must also remember that the area of the colony was almost doubled when Zululand was ceded to Natal (1897) and the Northern Districts annexed (1903). The African population rose by almost one-third so that much of the increase in government education grants after 1897 could be attributed to the number of schools outside the old boundaries of Natal. At the same time, there was a spectacular increase in the number of pupils in these schools. Thus, even though education grants more than doubled under Responsible Government, the amount of aid per pupil was drastically reduced.⁵⁴

From 1893 to 1910 the Mission's share of government aid to African education in Natal was roughly between 1/5 and 1/3 of the total.⁵⁵

Year	Mission Grant
1895	£1,522
1900	£1,319
1905	£1,416
1909	£2,626

This was slightly less than the Mission's relative share under representative government from 1856 to 1893. Before 1893, however, government aid to Mission schools appears to have been pretty evenly distributed between the primary and boarding schools. The elementary schools also benefitted for most of the period since, in practice, they were not distinguished from the primary schools for aid purposes until 1885.

After 1893, however, government grants to the boarding schools were severely curtailed:

	1894-5	1897	1899-1902	1906	1907	1908	1909
Amanzimtoti Seminary	£150 (£53 in 1893-4)	£39	---	£85	£92	£126	£276
Inanda Seminary	£240	£104	£174 a year	£188	£187	£212	£227
Umzumbe Home	£120	£43	£80 a year average	£116	£102	£83	£111

From 1887 to 1892, Amanzimtoti Seminary had received £300 a year in government aid while the girls boarding schools also enjoyed relatively generous subsidies. Indeed, just before the Council of Education was abolished in 1893,

Inanda Seminary was given £342, apparently the largest single government grant ever received by a missionary-run African school in Natal before 1910. Such magnanimity was simply not forthcoming under Responsible Government. While Umzumbe Home did obtain a record grant of £120 between 1894 and 1896, it was not sustained in succeeding years and did not reflect the government's extreme reluctance to support African 'higher education' in Natal.⁵⁶

Hereafter, government aid was to be conditioned by a carefully manipulated system of per capita grants which were to be spent only on teachers' salaries and given only to specified schools supervised by whites--"one of the most important rules of the Education Department".⁵⁷ For this reason few, if any, elementary schools received government grants after 1893. They simply were not under white supervision. New African schools had to be built and maintained for a trial period by the missionaries: " . . . 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".⁵⁸ In practice, government aid was biased in favor of the primary schools because these best satisfied colonial economic goals and were the most amenable to white control. These schools provided the rudiments of an education and at the same time served to make the pupils aware of the demands of 'European

civilisation'. As Barnett put it: "We are satisfied that . . . they can rise only to a lower level of intelligence."⁵⁹ Government aid to missionary schools after 1893 was designed to ensure that in the primary institutions the African would 'rise' to this level and thereby serve colonial needs as an unskilled but relatively disciplined and obedient labor force.

The settlers, however, were unwilling and probably unable to take over the administration of African education, and in practice they continued to rely on the missionaries.⁶⁰ Since the threat of expropriation was not feasible--as it had been with the Reserves--control over the schools was sought through the conditions attached to the grants. Colonial regulations were essentially tactical manoeuvres probing various points along the perimeter of the Mission's school system. When pressure from the missionaries or other vested interest groups threatened to backfire, the offending rule would be withdrawn and another one inserted somewhere else. This is the basic reason for the confusing and often contradictory pattern of legislation in the field of African education during this period.

The missionaries deplored "the absence of a definite policy on the part of government" and condemned "the inadequacy of the grants, the method of distributing these, and the conditions on which the grant is earned".⁶¹ They could not, however, ignore the government's subsidy because there

were few alternative sources of capital. Funds allotted to Mission schools by the American Board during this period were totally inadequate, even though this money was channelled almost exclusively to the boarding schools:⁶²

	1880	1885	1890	1895	1899
<u>American Board</u>					
Amanzimtoti Seminary	£50 (£75)	£125 (£75)	£180 (£180)	£60 (£246)	£200 (£250)
<u>Women's Board</u>					
Inanda Seminary	£75 (£75)	£160 (£100)	£100 (£100)	£50 (£50)	£250 (£250)
Umzumbe Home	£100 (£100)	£210 (£190)	£50 (£50)	£75 (£75)	£150 (£150)
	1903	1905	1906	1909	1910
<u>American Board</u>					
Amanzimtoti Seminary	£145 (£250)	£185 (£225)	£170 (£325)	£205 (£275)	£205 (£375)
<u>Women's Board</u>					
Inanda Seminary	£260 (£330)	£375 (£400)	£375 (£375)	£330 (£495)	£300 (£300)
Umzumbe Home	£200 (£260)	£250 (£300)	£250 (£314)	£250 (£430)	£325 (£325)

* () Mission's minimum estimated requirements. 'Contingent' estimates were often attached but rarely, if ever, granted after 1885.

Each boarding school received a small subsidy which varied considerably from year to year. The girls' schools received more generous grants and it was a well-known fact that the Women's Board--theoretically under the control of the American Board but in practice independent in recruiting and supporting its staff--met the needs of Inanda Seminary and Umzumbe Home more consistently than the American Board did for Amanzimtoti Seminary. Government regulations, the

South African War (which brought an influx of missionaries from the Transvaal, temporarily relieving the shortage of teachers in the boarding schools),⁶³ and the 1903 Deputation (which, as we shall see, endorsed a new set of Mission priorities in higher education)⁶⁴ were the principal factors in the general increase in American Board funds after 1899. The needs of the schools, however, grew even faster. Furthermore, the Mission's estimates of the American Board grants that were needed represented only an attempt to meet the minimum requirements to ensure survival of the boarding schools. In 1901 the American Board was warned that Amanzimtoti Seminary might have to be closed.⁶⁵ In 1902 the Mission seriously considered removing the Amanzimtoti Seminary buildings to Ifafa and the facilities at Umzumbe Home to Untwalume for the purpose of re-establishing them as primary schools.⁶⁶ While these threats were not carried out, they indicated the seriousness of the situation:

"We need men and we need money . . . but we can get neither. The answer to our many cries is 'Retrench'. But where? By closing our Seminaries? /boarding schools/. . . . Retrench! We are retrenching all the time. Doors are opening on every hand, but we cannot enter them. . . . While our salaries are continued we can keep up a certain amount of evangelistic work without further aid, but not so the Seminaries. They must be supported by adequate grants, or close. We insist on the absolute necessity for these schools. They are a very large factor in the evangelization of this race."⁶⁷

AFRICAN EDUCATION UNDER RESPONSIBLE GOVERNMENT

(b) Industrial Training

As emphasized, the distribution of government grants under the new classification of schools in 1893 discriminated against secondary education. The situation was particularly grave at Amanzimtoti Seminary where per capita grants were a disadvantage because enrolment was still low. At first, the school received £5 a year for each student who worked six hours a day--in theory on "some trade"---and £2 a year for those who didn't. George Cowles, principal at the time, couldn't keep the industrial department going on this basis. The African students, moreover, balked at having to work six hours a day, even at a trade, if it was to be enforced at the expense of academic course work. The principal agreed and refused to enforce the regulations. Russell was dropped, the apprentices were released, the equipment was sold and the industrial department virtually collapsed. With a debt of £140 Amanzimtoti Seminary had to shut its doors for six months in 1894. When the school reopened in 1895, Cowles commented: " . . . we intend to go our own way without being disturbed by the shifting, vacillating attitude of the Government".⁶⁸

The new classification of schools did not hit the girls' boarding establishments as hard as Amanzimtoti Seminary--mainly because dress-making, sewing, needlework, cooking and so forth were classified as skilled ^{du} industrial training.

Furthermore, by the 1890s there were far more girls at boarding school level than boys so the system of per capita grants was more favorable. In 1895, however, a regulation was passed which prohibited grants to any aided African school selling goods made by African scholars which would "compete with general trade".⁶⁹ It was a severe blow to the industrial departments of the girls' boarding schools since they also relied heavily on revenue received from the sale of their products.

The 1895 restrictions were suddenly lifted in 1902 and replaced in June of that year by a new set of industrial training regulations, whose contents were made known one month before being implemented. Each school was to receive a flat per capita grant (as before, however, the total grant would not exceed the salaries paid to African teachers in each school) for those who worked six hours a day at "some trade", were between 12 and 15 years of age but not above standard IV.⁷⁰ The regulation was quietly dropped in December 1902, after American-sponsored protests from the Natal Missionary Conference,⁷¹ and replaced, as we shall see, by an equally unrealistic set of regulations concerned with teacher training.⁷²

Other attempts were made to reinforce industrial training before Union, but the grants were already so low they did not stimulate any improvement in the situation. In the case of Amanzimtoti Seminary, there is no doubt that the

industrial department in 1910 was of a far lower standard than it had been in 1890. Farming at Inanda Seminary prospered independent of government aid under the guidance of Mrs. Edwards, but other industrial activities such as the laundry and dress-making declined after 1894. Umzumbe Home apparently dropped all industrial experiments and the students concentrated on sewing and farming for their own needs.⁷³

The elementary schools, particularly those established after 1885, which were in the majority, apparently received no aid at all after 1893 unless they managed to satisfy the manual labor requirements applicable to the primary schools. There is little information on the extent to which the elementary and primary schools fulfilled these requirements but, as the missionaries put it, "industrial training" at this level "has reduced itself to a requirement that manual labour shall be done . . . since anything like industrial training is impossible. . . . The girls are . . . taught plain sewing but the boys get only gardening of the plainest kind".⁷⁴

AFRICAN EDUCATION UNDER RESPONSIBLE GOVERNMENT

(c) Teacher Training

Industrial training regulations were one method of molding African education to fit colonial needs, but they were largely negative in effect. They weakened but did not

destroy those institutions which were considered a threat to the whites, and in the end, they did not necessarily promote the control over and improvement of those schools--i.e., the primary schools--which could best serve colonial interests. Thus the Education Department switched tactics and gradually began to link government grants with an ever-increasing number of regulations concerned with teacher training.

Although teachers were certificated by the government and the first examinations were held from the late 1880s, compulsory legislation was not enacted until 1898. In that year grants were denied to those pupils who were more than 16 years of age or above standard IV unless they signed a document pledging to teach for at least two years in primary school at £2 a month after they finished training.⁷⁵ The students at Amanzimtoti Seminary again rebelled and the principal was obliged to drop government aid until 1902 when it was reluctantly decided that any grant was better than none at all: "Sixty-two signed the agreement, but . . . only twenty-eight are eligible for the grant, twenty-two having passed an examination in Standard Four; the other six being under sixteen years of age".⁷⁶ In the same year the first compulsory teachers' examinations were held for those employed in government-aided schools. Every teacher had to pass a standard IV examination by January 1903, a standard V examination by January 1904 and a standard VI examination by January 1905 to be eligible for appointment

as head or sole teacher of an African primary school. Thus regulations pertaining to industrial training were dropped and, within a few months, government grants were given only to those schools which had qualified teachers. The others lost their government grant.⁷⁷

In theory, this proposal was a step towards elevating the status of the African teaching profession, but in practice, it helped to reduce the number of teachers and aided schools in the last decade of Responsible Government.⁷⁸

Year	African Teachers	Aided Schools at end of each year
1901	278	196
1902	258	191
1903	209	156
1904	226	139
*1905	244	158
1907	242	162
1908	277	166
1909	291	166

*Bonuses were paid to the highest certificated teachers from 1905.

The number of African teachers employed in government-aided schools did not exceed the 1901 figure until 1909. Even the increase in aided schools after 1904 was possible only because old schools received their grants back again. There were few, if any, new aided schools until after 1912. Thus these regulations had the immediate effect of reducing the number of recognized schools and teachers to the point where they could be more easily controlled by the colonists.

As we have seen, however, there was a rapid increase in attendance even in aided schools during this period. Consequently, there was a deterioration in the teacher-pupil ratio which must have offset, to some extent at least, any improvement made in teaching standards. The regulations also eliminated virtually all remaining aid to the elementary and lower primary schools for heathens. These institutions could not hope to attract qualified teachers when material benefits were relatively greater at the Mission's station schools.⁷⁹

While government grants between 1893 and 1910 were limited mainly to those schools which adhered to the manual labor and teacher training requirements, there were other restrictions which also affected the relative value of colonial aid to African education. In 1896, for example, grants to the boarding schools seem to have been reduced even further--ostensibly to bolster primary education--and in 1897 the education department ruled that henceforth the per capita grants would be "based on the average quarterly attendance of the previous year" for each school. If, in each succeeding year, school attendance dropped below this figure the grant was withdrawn and the missionary apparently was "left personally responsible for the salary of the teacher".⁸⁰

In 1901 the missionaries were required to visit each school at least once a month instead of once a quarter as previously, and they had to be present when the inspector

toured these institutions. For the missionaries such demands created severe problems. In 1902, for example, Taylor was in charge of eight churches, 15 aided schools and three Reserves north of Durban (excluding Inanda). He calculated that to inspect each school once a month he would have had to travel about 10 miles a day just to reach the schools in his district without considering the time spent in reviewing these institutions or in being present when the government inspector was on tour. Taylor, of course, would have been unable to oversee the increasing number of unaided schools, much less the churches and the Reserves. The missionaries protested and the regulation was withdrawn.⁸¹ About 1904 the colonists tried to enforce a rule requiring schools in the Reserves and Locations to be housed in buildings used strictly for school purposes. It was an obvious attempt to include education in the government's campaign against 'independent' African churches since most elementary and lower primary schools were run by African evangelists who used the same building for church as well as school purposes. On the American Zulu Mission Reserves in 1907, for example, there were 27 school buildings, of which 20 were also used as churches.⁸² Missionary letters during this period indicate that this rule virtually halted the growth of schools in the Locations until after Union.⁸³

We have by no means exhausted the number of regulations passed under Responsible Government but it is apparent that,

on the whole, the missionaries were unable to fulfill colonial demands without radically reducing the number of teachers and schools and compromising their own policies in the field of African education. To some extent, missionary pressure was sufficient to force government to rescind the most damaging regulations but, in the final analysis, they had no influence over colonial policy nor could they alter the system of grants: "In reality the government admits no responsibility for the education of the native; it simply condescends to help missionary efforts."⁸⁴

AFRICAN REACTIONS AND RESPONSE TO MISSIONARY EDUCATION

Despite the ruinous effects of colonial policy, there is evidence of an interest in and demand for education within traditional society from the 1880s which apparently corresponded not only to a decline in the power and prestige of the chiefs but also to a gradual change in attitude towards mission work. In 1882, for example, the Mission reported:

" . . . There has of late years appeared a desire, and in not a few cases a decided eagerness /among the heathen/ to learn to read, and especially to have their children taught, and some have even built school houses, and boarded the teachers; besides we have seen a willingness . . . and often have had a request to hold services at the Chiefs and other kraals. . . . suggestive of the possibility of more permanent /facilities/ among the kraals without encouraging the heathen to leave their homes, to live on the Mission Stations. . . . This marked call for education and Missionary instruction is highly important, as indicating the doors are thrown wide open, which have for these many years been only ajar."⁸⁵

By the end of the century, the promise had been fulfilled:

" . . . there is a decided turn in the direction of a desire for an education on the part of the heathen people, and a willingness to pay for it. Chiefs are becoming more favorable to their people being taught. . . . Heathen boys going to the towns to work are growing more anxious to learn to read and write. . . . Opportunities for educating the natives are crowding upon us more rapidly than we can realize."⁸⁶

The missionaries (especially the women) had opened the first schools beyond the fringes of the stations in the 1860s and 1870s.⁸⁷ By the 1880s, the Zulu Christian community was largely responsible for 'kraal school' work and it was an integral part of their evangelical activities.⁸⁸ By the late 1890s, an unrecorded but apparently significant number of illiterate converts were being sent to the Mission's boarding schools in Natal from the newly-opened stations in the interior.⁸⁹ Missionary schools--created and maintained primarily to satisfy the needs of the small Christian communities on the Glebes and Reserves--were overwhelmed by these migrations. The resulting crisis had even more important ramifications for Natal's African schools than the adverse effects of colonial administration.

While the Mission's attention was directed mainly to the plight of the boarding schools, the spectacular increase in the number of schools and scholars actually occurred at the elementary and lower primary level:⁹⁰

Mission schools*	1877	1880	1885	1890- 1	1895	1900	1905	1909
a. aided	16(3)	20(3)	23(3)	23(3)	33(3)	36(2)	37(3)	41(3)
b. un- aided	11(1)	9(1)	22(1)	12(1)	22(2)	24(3)	39(1)	35(--)
c. total pupils	865	937	1,865	1,653	2,682	2,921	3,175	4,012

*() Boarding schools.

This table suggests that unaided Mission schools--i.e., African schools not recognized by the colonial government--were already a significant factor in the 1870s. The effects of colonial legislation can be seen in the number of aided schools which did not increase between 1885 and 1890-1 while the total number of schools and pupils apparently dropped in the same period. A brief addition to the number of aided schools occurred between 1891 and 1893-4 but under Responsible Government there was no appreciable increase. On the other hand, there was a significant number of unaided schools throughout this period and in 1905, for example, they were in the majority.⁹¹ There was also a marked increase in enrolment after 1890-1 and it would appear that a large percentage of these pupils was being educated in unaided schools.⁹² The Mission, moreover, was not always aware of all the educational activities undertaken under its auspices and there may well have been even more unaided schools and pupils than are recorded in these statistics. With no permanent buildings, little equipment and small, loosely

organized classes, these schools were flexible, mobile . . . and often anonymous.

Illiterate Christians and heathens swamped the elementary and primary schools and overflowed into the boarding schools. The Mission was forced to lower its educational standards until by the mid-1890s the boarding schools were virtually at the primary level and the primary schools were merging with the elementary schools. Another 'kraal' boarding school--Ireland Home⁹³--was opened, 'pupil' teachers were used in newly-established primary departments for illiterates in the boarding schools and in the elementary and primary schools, and more and more churches were converted into schools during the week.

These immigrants posed an enormous dilemma for their Zulu Christian benefactors because they threatened the fragile status and identity of the Natal station communities. As we shall see, this was an important factor in the latter's demand for higher and more rigid standards in Mission-aided schools during these years.⁹⁴ While the African Christian community appears to have been largely responsible for recruiting teachers and subsidizing unaided schools,⁹⁵ they apparently sought to protect and enhance their own interests by restricting aid to those institutions supported by the colonists and the missionaries. There seems to have been a causal relationship between the increase in the percentage of illiterates in aided Mission schools, especially the boarding schools, and the decline in revenue received from the station

communities. Zulu Christians who had been willing and, indeed, had expected to pay for missionary education in the past now were reluctant to do so. The missionaries, for example, had difficulty in collecting tuition fees from children in the station communities:

"At some of the older stations it has been only by stringent measures, such as threatening to close the school, that the people have been brought to the proper payment of the fee."⁹⁶

Several students went overseas to America and Britain while others attended African secondary schools at Lovedale in the Cape Province, Edendale (Wesleyan), Impolweni (Scottish Free Church) and Umpumulo (Lutheran) in Natal. The only boarding school founded by an African in the colony--Ohlange Institute--was built by John Dube, a son of the Mission, near Inanda Seminary in 1899.⁹⁷ African monetary contributions to the Mission's aided schools as a whole appear to have lagged behind government and American Board grants between 1880 and 1900. According to the Department of Education, revenue from this source never reached £300 a year during this period.⁹⁸

As we shall see, however, after 1903 fundamental changes were made in Mission educational policy and administration and there was a predictable alteration in response from the Zulu Christian community.⁹⁹ According to the Education Department, in 1905 African monetary contributions to Mission schools as a whole were £744 (about half the government grant) and in 1909 this doubled to £1,503 (almost 60 per cent

of the government grant). In the boarding schools, the response was even more spectacular. Support for Amanzimtoti Seminary apparently fluctuated widely--from £40 to £160 a year--between 1880 and 1900, but from 1905 to 1909 the Zulu Christian community contributed an average of £246 a year--the school's biggest source of revenue. At Inanda Seminary funds from the Zulu Christian community averaged £302 a year between 1905 and 1909 while in previous years the most the school had received from this source was £130--and that was in 1880. In 1909 the contribution was £392, the largest amount ever received by this school from any agency before Union. On a smaller scale, the same pattern was recorded for Umzumbe Home.¹⁰⁰

Such a dramatic change in the pattern of African financial support of Mission-aided schools seems all the more surprising when it is remembered that this occurred with the passing of the 1903 Mission Reserves Act which forced a land impost on the inhabitants of these areas. The missionaries had helped to sponsor this legislation because one-half of the money received was given to them for African schools in the Glebes and Reserves. Thus the tenants not only complied with an involuntary land tax but also increased voluntary contributions to Mission-aided schools while maintaining their support of non-aided schools. Such was the African's faith in the power of a European education.

NOTES

1. " . . . Christianity and education which always went together have, beyond doubt, been the most conspicuous factors of change". Vilakazi, op. cit., p. 136.
2. A.Z.M. (Inanda), unclassified, Deputation Report (1903), p. 28.
3. See chap. I, p. 22.
4. Eybers, op. cit., pp. 188-194, cf. section 51.
5. B.J. Leverton, head of the Natal Provincial Archives in Pietermaritzburg, believes this was a balance on paper only. Interview 23/10/1967.
6. Emanuelson, op. cit., p. 59.
7. Smith, op. cit., pp. 241, 388-389.
8. For descriptions of the government's role in African education and colonial reactions during this period, cf. Emanuelson, op. cit., chaps. 2-3; Kannemeyer, op. cit., pp. 23-30, 74-91, 146-239.
9. Appendix IV.
 In 1850 there were 15 Mission schools, according to the Tabular View (eight, according to the official report of the A.B.C.F.M. for 1850). Three were day schools with 89 pupils and 12 were "family" schools--one "at each station taught by the missionaries"--with 185 students, of whom one-third were girls. In 1863, (i.e., just before the government began aiding Mission schools officially) there were 11 day schools (apparently no "family" schools) with about 306 pupils. By 1865 enrolment had almost doubled to 607 (including adults in the primary schools), of which 505 were in government-aided schools. Males continued to dominate enrolment. In 1868, for example, there were 448 boys and 334 girls in the Mission's schools. A.Z.M. (Pmburg.), Vol. 29 VI/1/1, Tabular Views for 1850, 1863, 1865, 1868. A.B.C.F.M. report, Zulu Mission, 1850. See also: Kannemeyer, op. cit., p. 179, footnote b.

10. Appendix IV. N.B.B., Education Department statistics for 1887. See also: Brookes, E.H. Unpublished ms. on "Adams College", chap. IV. Hereafter referred to as Brookes, "Adams College". A.Z.M. (Pmburg.), Vol. 1 I/1/4a, Annual Meeting, July 1879.
If the salaries of those missionaries residing at these schools are included, the Mission in 1880 was spending, directly or indirectly, about £2,210 out of the £3,321 American Board grant for that year on the boarding schools at Amanzimtoti (Adams), Inanda and Umzumbe. A.Z.M. (Pmburg.), Vol. 6 II/1/3, Clark to Kilbon 4/11/1879.
11. See below, pp. 275-276.
12. A.Z.M. (Inanda), unclassified, South African Deputation Papers (1903), Amanzimtoti Seminary, p. 40; Ibid., missionary scrap book, William Ireland to editor, Mercury 11/6/1883; clipping from the Natalian 5/5/1888. See also: A.Z.M. (Pmburg.), Vol. 25 V/1/2, General Letters for 1882, pp. 4-13; 1883; 1884, pp. 20-26; 1885, pp. 8-19; 1886, pp. 1-2; 1887, pp. 4-6.
13. For details, see chap. I, pp. 46-49, passim.
14. Groves, C.P. The Planting of Christianity in Africa, Vol. III 1878-1914, pp. 125-128.
The American Board's only surviving mission in West Africa had been along the Gaboon River (Gabon), and it was transferred to the Presbyterians in 1870.
15. Thus Holbrook justified an expedition into the interior in 1888: " . . . it seemed that we could never get anyone to come to the Zulu Mission but that if a new mission were started, some would probably offer themselves for that field and also greater interest in the whole African work would be excited thus bringing us re-inforcements also". A.Z.M. (Pmburg.), Vol. 9 III/1/2, Holbrook to Smith 22/9/1888.
16. The Americans generally acknowledged, moreover, that the success of these missions outside Natal was due largely to the work of the Zulu missionaries. E.g., Christoferson, Adventuring With God, pp. 116-122. A.Z.M. (Inanda), unclassified, missionary scrap book (eulogies and short biographies of Yvonne /Yona/ and Mchithwa /Umcitwa/ Kunene, pioneer Zulu missionaries to the Ndebele under the London Missionary Society); Ibid., Deputation Report (1903), pp. 49-50 (Rhodesia). A.Z.M. (Pmburg.), Vol. 6 II/1/4, Smith to Goodenough 15/2/1893 (Rhodesia). See also chap. IX, pp. 499-500 (Portuguese East Africa).

17. Mission correspondence and Zulu oral testimony offer convincing evidence of the profound effects that these revivals had on African missionary activity inside, as well as outside, Natal. The Mission's general letters, for example, are particularly useful in tracing the pattern and scope of the revivals which lasted with varying degrees of intensity for more than 20 years (ca. 1879-early 1900s). One result was a phenomenal increase in Zulu missionary outreach. In 1900 the Mission claimed the number of "volunteer", (i.e., unpaid) Zulu preacher-evangelists exceeded those of any other society "regardless of size" associated with the A.B.C.F.M. A.Z.M. (Pretoria), Microfilm A754, General Letter for 1900-1901, pp. 7-8. Personal information (miscellaneous interviews with Zulu Christians at Groutville, Inanda and Amanzimtoti). See also: chap. VII, pp. 367-369, chap. VIII, pp. 428, 460.
18. A.Z.M. (Pmburg.), Vol. 1 I/1/5, Semi-Annual Meeting, Dec.-Jan. 1891-1892; Ibid., Vol. 25 V/1/2, General Letter for 1893, pp. 35-37.
19. A.Z.M. (Pretoria), Microfilm A758, Ransom to Smith 14/7/1900.
20. A.Z.M. (Pmburg.), Vol. 6 II/1/4, Smith to Goodenough 13/5/1891.
21. A.Z.M. (Pmburg.), Vol. 26 V/1/4, General Letter for 1907, p. 6½.
22. A.Z.M. (Inanda), unclassified, Amanzimtoti Seminary principal's report for 1894. See also: A.Z.M. (Pretoria), Microfilm A747, General Letter for 1898 (re Amanzimtoti Seminary).
23. A.Z.M. (Pmburg.), Vol. 26 V/1/3, Inanda Seminary station report for 1900. See also: A.Z.M. (Inanda), unclassified, The American Zulu Mission Annual for 1900-1901, p. 14 (re Umzumbe Home).
24. N.G.G., Law No. 1 of 1884 (April 22, 1884), "For the promotion of Elementary Education among the Children of the Native Population," pp. 175-176. See also: N.G.G., Law No. 17 of 1884 (November 4, 1884), "To alter and amend in certain respects Law No. 1, 1884," p. 1173. Law No. 1 was amended so that no member of the Council had to "be acquainted with the Zulu language".

It is not clear what vested interest groups were present within the Council and what the divisions of

colonial opinion actually were. Nor has any useful assessment been made on how much power the Council really had over African education in the colony. The Minutes and Letter Books of the Council of Education provide little information of value as regards African school policy. Indeed, it is quite evident from the Minutes that African education occupied a very minor part of the proceedings. E.g., Kannemeyer, op. cit., pp. 200-203, 256-281.

25. Reference to industrial training for Africans can be found in the Commissions of 1847, 1853, Ordinance No. 2 of 1856, passim, but they were undefined and ineffective. Dodd, A.D. Native Vocational Training, A Study of Conditions in South Africa, 1652-1936, chap. 3.
26. E.D. 1/1/1, Minutes of the Council of Education, Native Education Committee Report 9/10/1885, pp. 3-5. N.G.G., Law No. 13 of 1885 (October 20, 1885), "To further amend The Native Primary Education Law of 1883," p. 1013, sections 1, 2. See also: N.M.C., Proceedings, 1884, pp. 5, 14-18; 1885, pp. 16-17; 1886, pp. 2-3.
 The 1881-2 Commission recommended that industrial trades be encouraged, and this undoubtedly influenced subsequent legislation. Law No. 13 also extended the age limit, from 15 to 17 years, of boys receiving government aid in schools which provided industrial training. After 1893, however, the age limit again was set at 15 years. Of 42 schools listed in 1885 "in regard to which the provision as to Industrial Training might be relaxed" 23 were American. 1881-2 Natal Native Commission, Report, section 11.
27. N.M.C., Proceedings, 1887, p. 3; 1890, p. 31. See also: A.Z.M. (Inanda), unclassified, A.Z.M. Replies to the South African Native Affairs Commission (1903).
28. N.G.G., Law No. 38 of 1888 (December 18, 1888), "To amend Law No. 1 of 1884," p. 1412, sections 1, 2, 4. See also: Kannemeyer, op. cit., pp. 228-229.
29. Strong, op. cit., pp. 327-329.
30. A.Z.M. (Inanda), unclassified, missionary scrap book, Mercury 11/6/1883 (William Ireland to editor), December 1885 (Goodenough's speech at the opening of Jubilee Hall). See also: Brookes, "Adams College", chap. IV. A.Z.M. (Pmburg.), Vol. 25 V/1/2, General Letters for 1888, pp. 7-8; 1889, pp. 13-14.
31. A.Z.M. (Pmburg.), Vol. 25 V/1/2, General Letter for 1887, p. 4. See also: Brookes, "Adams College", chap. IV.

- E.D. 5/2/2, Education Reports (Native and Indian Schools), Inspector of Native Education report for 1887.
32. A.Z.M. (Pmburg.), Vol. 12 III/3/1, Russell to the Mission 15/6/1888. See also: E.D. 5/2/2, Education Reports (Native and Indian Schools), Inspector of Native Education reports for 1887, 1889.
 33. A.Z.M. (Pmburg.), Vol. 1 I/1/5, Annual Meeting, June-July 1888; Special Meeting, March 1889 (Russell's request to spend some time on evangelistic work was approved and his salary increased to £200 a year); Ibid., Vol. 25 V/1/2, General Letters for 1888, pp. 7-8; 1890, pp. 21-22; 1892, p. 12.
 34. Mrs. Edwards is remembered in many a Zulu home even today. "Ma" Edwards--the first missionary recruited and supported by the Women's Board of the A.B.C.F.M.--arrived in Natal at the age of 40 and died at Inanda in 1927 at the age of 98. In almost 60 years of service she apparently took only one furlough overseas. Mrs. Edwards, who "always had a course of study beside her work in the days she was a teacher," studied and/or taught ancient art, architecture (she helped design many of the buildings at Inanda), geology and botany (her herbarium was reputedly the largest private collection ever donated to the Durban Botanical Gardens). In 1900 Miss Fidelia Phelps, then principal of Inanda Seminary, wrote that Mrs. Edwards at 71 "is out nearly all the day, six days in the week . . . in the field" supervizing farm work. Mrs. Edwards took up the study of nursing at the age of 80 for the benefit of Zulu mothers. Oddly enough, she rarely entertained comments on the theological progress of her pupils, but it is recorded that she personally quelled faction fights on Inanda Reserve and appeared before magistrates on behalf of the 'kraal' girls in a life-long emotional and intellectual commitment to the Zulu. E.g., A.Z.M. (Pmburg.), Vol. 18 III/8/1, memorials by Mary Tyler Gray and Amy Bridgman Cowles (circa 1927), excerpt from The Missionary Herald (n.d.), unidentified newspaper clippings in Zulu and English (ca. 1927-1928, n.b. John Dube's funeral eulogy, Richard Sales, translator). A.Z.M. (Pretoria), Microfilm A751, Pixley to Smith 12/1/1894; Ibid., Microfilm A758, Phelps to Smith 4/5/1900.
 35. A.Z.M. (Pmburg.), Vol. 18 III/8/1, Ireland to Smith 1887 (copy of partial letter contained in folder dated 1937); Ibid., Vol. 25 V/1/2, General Letter for 1893,

- pp. 28-29; Ibid., Vol. 26 V/1/4, General Letter for 1902, p. 15. See also: 1902 Lands Commission, Evidence, pp. 236-237 (Mrs. Edwards). A.Z.M. (Inanda), unclassified, South African Deputation Papers (1903), Inanda Seminary, pp. 50-51. Mercury 29/9/1910.
36. The following information is taken from: A.Z.M. (Pretoria), Microfilm A749, Edwards to Smith 30/12/1889, 16/9/1890, 21/10/1890, 23/10/1893. See also: A.Z.M. (Pmburg.), Vol. 2 I/1/6, Annual Meeting, June-July 1895.
 37. A.Z.M. (Inanda), unclassified, missionary scrap book, unidentified newspaper clipping (re Umzumbe Home); Ibid., The American Zulu Mission Annual, June 1905-June 1906, p. 12. Taylor, Seventy-Five Years, pp. 40, 73.
 38. A.Z.M. (Pretoria), Microfilm A751, Ransom to Smith 11/11/1890, 8/8/1893.
 39. A.Z.M. (Pmburg.), Vol. 25 V/1/2, General Letter for 1887, pp. 8-9.
 40. A.Z.M. (Pmburg.), Vol. 25 V/1/2, General Letter for 1889, pp. 4-5.
 41. A.Z.M. (Pmburg.), Vol. 1 I/1/5, Special Meeting, November 1892.
 42. It is of interest to note that in the long debate preceding the new classification rules in 1893, the African schools' committee concluded: "On the whole we think that they do not compare unfavourably with Aided European Schools." E.D. 5/5/2, Education Reports (Native and Indian Schools), Report of the Special Native Committee of the Council of Education, Appointed to Consider the Question of Native Education, p. 9. Hereafter referred to as Native Committee Report (1892).
 43. Annual government grants to African schools apparently were distributed on a monthly basis until 1886 and quarterly thereafter. Emanuelson, op. cit., p. 132.
 44. See above, footnote 26. Emanuelson, op. cit., pp. 134-139.
 45. E.D. 1/1/3, Minutes of the Council of Education 26/5/1892-30/3/1893. See also: Kannemeyer, op. cit., pp. 229-239. Emanuelson, op. cit., pp. 143-148. Dodd, op. cit., pp. 63-64.

46. Kannemeyer, op. cit., pp. 233-234 (as quoted).
47. A.Z.M. (Inanda), unclassified, South African Deputation Papers (1903), Attitude of Natal Colonists and the Government towards Missionary Work among the Natives, pp. 91-92.
48. Department of Education records for Natal under Responsible Government are almost entirely missing. The only available source is the Letter Books of the Inspector of Native Education for the years 1887 to 1898, but these contain little of value for our purposes. For government policy and legislation and its effect on African education between 1893 and 1910 I have relied mainly on Natal Blue Books, the reports and evidence of various commissions during these years where African education was discussed and missionary correspondence. The latter are particularly useful because they not only give the Mission's reactions to government policy but also furnish information on regulations issued by the Education Department that cannot be found anywhere else. Finally, theses by Kannemeyer and Emanuelson provide a disjointed but reliable outline of government activity in this field.
49. The first Inspector of Native Schools was appointed in 1885 under the Council of Education. Although African schools were divided into various districts after 1893 and assistants were added to the department, Plant remained in control. His power was enormous, because he determined which schools conformed to colonial policy and, consequently, which schools received government grants. As the Mission put it: " . . . his approval of a school is quite essential to the continuance of the Government grant". A.Z.M. (Pmburg.), Vol. 25 V/1/2, General Letter for 1885, p. 11. See also: Kannemeyer, op. cit., pp. 172-173.
50. N.G.G., Government Notice No. 237 of 1895 (May 21, 1895), p. 520 (Russell's report on African education).
51. South African Native Affairs Commission 1903-1905, Vol. III (Natal), Evidence, pp. 234-244 (Barnett).
52. E.D. 5/2/2, Education Reports (Native and Indian Schools), Native Committee Report (1892), pp. 10-11 (my underline). See also: N.P.P., Natal Education Commission 24/8/1909, Report, pp. 10-12.
53. Appendix IV. N.B.B., Education Department statistics for 1890-1, 1895, 1900, 1905, 1909.

54. The government grant was £4.9s.5d per white pupil in 1890-1 and 15s.1d per Indian pupil in 1890. In 1909 the whites received £6.8s.2d per pupil, Indians £1.17s.3d. and Coloureds £4.4s.11d. Thus while the grant per African pupil declined under Responsible Government, it rose for the three other racial groups in Natal. According to the Natal Missionary Conference, a minimum of £5 per pupil per year was required to maintain existing African schools in 1905. N.B.B., Education Department statistics for 1890, 1890-1, 1909. N.M.C., Proceedings, 1905, p. 20.
55. Appendix IV.
56. Appendix IV. N.B.B., Education Department statistics 1887-1889.
57. A.Z.M. (Inanda), unclassified, South African Deputation Papers (1903), Primary Schools, p. 63. See also: Kannemeyer, op. cit., pp. 338-340.
58. N.M.C., Proceedings, 1905, pp. 19-21.
59. South African Native Affairs Commission 1903-1905, Vol. III (Natal), Evidence, pp. 234-244 (Barnett). See also: Emanuelson, op. cit., p. 219.
60. The one attempt to build and maintain a government school under representative government (1856-1893) was the disaster at Zwartkop (1886-1892) near Pietermaritzburg. No government school for Africans was built under Responsible Government. For details, re Zwartkop cf. E.D. 5/2/2, Education Reports (Native and Indian Schools), Native Committee Report (1892), pp. 6-9. Kannemeyer, op. cit., pp. 239-246. Emanuelson, op. cit., pp. 121-133, 193-194. Dodd, op. cit., pp. 62-63. 1906-7 Natal Native Affairs Commission, Evidence, p. 552 (Plant).
61. 1906-7 Natal Native Affairs Commission, Evidence, pp. 67-68 (LeRoy), 186-188 (Taylor and N.M.C.). See also: N.M.C., Proceedings, 1905, p. 19.
62. A.Z.M. (Pmburg.), Vols. I-III, Minutes of Mission meetings 1879-1909 (statistics).
63. At least nine of these were employed by the Mission. A.Z.M. (Pmburg.), Vol. 2 I/1/7, Annual Meeting, June-July 1900.
64. For details, see chap. VI, pp. 317-318.

65. See above, chap. I, p. 51; see below, p. 265.
66. A.Z.M. (Pmburg.), Vol. 2 I/1/7, Semi-Annual Meeting, Jan.-Feb. 1901; Annual Meeting, June-July 1902.
67. A.Z.M. (Pmburg.), Vol. 25 V/1/2, General Letter for 1899-1900, pp. 11-17.
68. A.Z.M. (Pmburg.), Vol. 22 IV/1/1, Amanzimtoti Seminary committee reports for 1893, 1894; Ibid., Vol. 25 V/1/1, Amanzimtoti Seminary principal's report for 1895; Ibid., Vol. 26 V/1/3, General Letter for 1899, pp. 2-3. See also: A.Z.M. (Pretoria), Microfilm A749, Cowles to Smith 11/7/1893, 14/2/1894. A.Z.M. (Inanda), unclassified, Amanzimtoti Seminary principal's report for 1894.
69. N.G.G., Government Notice No. 237 of 1895. (May 21, 1895), p. 520.
Government aid was also withdrawn from any school "in any way responsible for, or associated with, the printing and publishing of any Native newspaper".
70. A.Z.M. (Pmburg.), Vol. 26 V/1/3, Taylor's report of Mission work on the North Coast for 1901-2, pp. 5-6. See also: A.Z.M. (Inanda), South African Deputation Papers (1903), Primary Schools, p. 60.
71. A.Z.M. (Pmburg.), Vol. 1 I/1/8, Semi-Annual Meeting, Jan.-Feb. 1903.
72. See below, pp. 267-270.
73. E.g., A.Z.M. (Pmburg.), Vol. 2 I/1/7, Annual Meeting, June-July 1902; Ibid., Vol. 3 I/1/8, Semi-Annual Meeting, Jan.-Feb. 1903; Ibid., Vol. 23 IV/1/4, Report of the Committee on Government School Regulations for 1903. See also: Emanuelson, op. cit., pp. 179-180, 215-216.
Inanda Seminary's laundry profits, for example, dropped from £266 in 1895 to about £70 in 1902. A.Z.M. (Inanda), unclassified, South African Deputation Papers (1903), Inanda Seminary, p. 51.
74. A.Z.M. (Inanda), unclassified, The American Zulu Mission Annual 1900-1901, p. 16. See also: N.B.B., Education Department statistics, 1893-1909.
75. Emanuelson, op. cit., pp. 139-143, 180, 191, 211.
It's not clear whether or not the 1893 restrictions on aid beyond standard V had been rescinded or were simply not enforced. It would appear, however, that

the rule was still in effect at Amanzimtoti Seminary. A.Z.M. (Pmburg.), Vol. 25 V/1/1, Amanzimtoti Seminary principal's report for 1895.

76. A.Z.M. (Pmburg.), Vol. 26 V/1/3, Amanzimtoti Seminary principal's report for 1902. See also: A.Z.M. (Inanda), unclassified, Amanzimtoti Seminary principal's report for 1899.
77. Emanuelson, op. cit., pp. 180-187, 207.
 The Mission's reaction was predictable: "The boys are now required to give their whole time in school to study, but the girls are still to be taught sewing. . . . We welcome the stimulus given by this requirement to further study in our boarding schools, but fear that for a time at least, the problem of securing teachers enough to supply our schools, always a difficult one, will be harder than ever." A.Z.M. (Pmburg.), Vol. 26 V/1/4, General Letter for 1902, pp. 17-18.
78. N.B.B., Education Department statistics, 1901-1909. Figure for 1906 omitted because of the Zulu Rebellion.
79. See above, p. 259. Emanuelson, op. cit., pp. 181, 220.
80. Emanuelson, op. cit., pp. 190-191. See also: A.Z.M. (Pmburg.), Vol. 22 IV/1/2, Report of the committee on the reduction of government grants for 1898; Ibid., Vol. 26 V/1/3, Taylor's report on Mission work in the North Coast for 1901-1902, pp. 6-7.
81. A.Z.M. (Pmburg.), Vol. 26 V/1/3, Report on government regulations for 1900 and Taylor's report on Mission work in the North Coast for 1901-1902, pp. 6-7.
82. Emanuelson, op. cit., pp. 192-193. See also: A.Z.M. (Pmburg.), Vol. 3 I/1/9, Annual Meeting, July 1908; Ibid., Vol. 26 V/1/4, General Letters for 1907, pp. 8-9; 1908, p. 39.
83. For details, see chap. VIII, p. 458.
84. A.Z.M. (Pretoria), Microfilm A754, General Letter for 1901, p. 14.
85. A.Z.M. (Pmburg.), Vol. 25 V/1/2, General Letter for 1882, pp. 3-6.
86. A.Z.M. (Pmburg.), Vol. 25 V/1/1, Amanzimtoti Seminary principal's report for 1896; Ibid., Vol. 26 V/1/3, General Letter for 1899-1900, pp. 15-17. See also: Emanuelson, op. cit., pp. 174-175, 205. Kannemeyer, op. cit., pp. 336-337, footnote 2a.

Led by the American Zulu Mission, the Natal Missionary Conference petitioned the government in 1893 to allow heathen females the freedom to attend churches and schools without permission from their chiefs. The Native High Court ruled against the missionaries in a test case (8/8/1895) but they won on appeal to the Natal Supreme Court (26/11/1895). N.M.C., Proceedings, 1896, pp. 5-9. Native Law Reports, 1895, Vol. XVI, p. 239 (re chief, Polela District).

87. E.g., A.Z.M. (Pmburg.), Vol. 26 V/1/4, General Letter for 1906, p. 3 (quote from Kilbon letter dated 1881). Jubilee volume, p. 39. Carlyle, J.E. South Africa and its Mission Fields, p. 232. Tyler, J. Forty Years among the Zulus, pp. 257-258.
88. E.g., A.Z.M. (Pmburg.), Vol. 25 V/1/2, General Letters for 1880, p. 21; 1881 (III "Our Schools"); 1882, pp. 4-5, 12-13; 1883 (re "primary schools"); 1884, pp. 13-14, 20-21; 1885, pp. 10-12; 1888, pp. 15-16; 1890, pp. 10-11; 1894, pp. 3-8; 1897, pp. 2-5; Ibid., Vol. 26 V/1/3, General Letter for 1899-1900, pp. 6-7, 9, 13-14; Ibid., Vol. 26 V/1/4, General Letters for 1905, pp. 8, 18; 1907, p. 18. Christoferson, A.F. unpublished ms. on "The First One Hundred Years of The American Board Mission in South Africa 1835-1935", pp. 47-48. Hereafter referred to as Christoferson, "American Board Mission".
89. E.g., A.Z.M. (Inanda), unclassified, Amanzimtoti Seminary principal's reports for 1900 ('nine tribes or races besides the Zulu nation'), 1903 ('seven different tribes'); missionary scrap book, unidentified newspaper clipping (re Umzumbe Home). A.Z.M. (Pmburg.), Vol. 25 V/1/1, Amanzimtoti Seminary principal's report for 1896 (school divided into three sections, one of which was for those boys from outside Natal).
90. Appendix IV.
91. Other missionary societies in Natal also had a number of unaided schools. James Scott (Scottish Free Church), for example, admitted to Plant "that out of ten schools under his supervision the Government only controlled one". 1906-7 Natal Native Affairs Commission, Evidence, p. 550 (Plant).
92. Taylor estimated in 1910 that about 37 per cent of the primary enrolment was subsidized entirely by the Zulu Christian community. Taylor, Seventy-Five Years, p. 43. See also: A.Z.M. (Pmburg.), Vol. 26 V/1/3, General Letter for 1899, pp. 13-14. A.Z.M. (Pretoria), Microfilm A754, General Letter for 1900-1901 (re outstation schools).

93. The short-lived Ireland Home received a government grant for four years: 1896--£20; 1897--£24; 1898--£27; 1899--£30. The Women's Board moreover, gave relatively liberal grants to the school; e.g., £100 in 1899. N.B.B., Education Department statistics, 1896-1899. A.Z.M. (Pmburg.), Vol. 6 II/1/4, Smith to Goodenough 8/12/1898.
94. This was also true of the new churches in the cities. For details, see chap. VI, pp. 294-295, 303-305, 325 passim.
95. Missionaries and government officials rarely, if ever, distinguished between school contributions made by heathen, newly-converted Christians and older Christians living in Natal's station communities. In the absence of evidence to the contrary, however, it is presumed that Christians from the station communities were primarily responsible for African monetary contributions to aided as well as unaided schools. Oral evidence from station Christians support this conclusion. E.g., Gideon Sivetye interview 13/7/1966 (Sivetye was a student and later a teacher at Amanzimtoti Seminary in the early 1900s).
96. A.Z.M. (Pmburg.), Vol. 26 V/1/3, General Letter for 1899-1900; p. 15. See also: A.Z.M. (Pretoria), Microfilm A754, General Letter for 1900-1901 (re primary schools). A.Z.M. (Inanda), unclassified, South African Deputation Papers (1903), Primary Schools, p. 63.
97. N.b. Appendix IV, footnote (j). Gideon Sivetye interview 13/7/1966.
98. Appendix IV.
99. For details, see chap. VI, pp. 320, 325-335, passim.
100. Appendix IV.

CHAPTER VI

INTERNAL DYNAMICS OF MISSIONARY EDUCATION:

REGRESSION AND REFORM TOWARDS A

SECULAR SOCIETY

MISSION BOARDING SCHOOLS

(1) Amanzimtoti Seminary and the
Theological School

The Mission's boarding schools, especially Amanzimtoti Seminary and the Theological School at Adams, were regarded from the beginning as the final stage in the training program for full-time African Christian workers. Indeed, the missionaries were so concerned about this matter that when Amanzimtoti Seminary was opened in 1865, it was considered unwise to create a separate theological institution. Instead, a theological department with a student enrolment of two or three married men was attached to the Seminary and the younger students were encouraged to take part in its activities. It was not until 1875 that Elijah Robbins succeeded after some controversy in establishing a distinct theological school.

This did not mean a change in policy, however. The 1870s were critical years for the small but vital African Christian community, and the schools, as has been indicated, were subject to the same pressures as the churches. Even

though, in theory, the 'secular' and 'theological' spheres of education were now separate at Adams, both institutions were motivated towards the same goals. Amanzimtoti Seminary was to provide Christian teachers for the primary schools and act as a feeder to the Theological School which, in turn, was to supply preachers and evangelists for the churches in the station communities and, subsequently, in the evangelization of the interior.¹

To prepare the students for their pre-ordained vocations, the Americans concentrated on a potentially sophisticated program of academic studies. Even under Goodenough, industrial training was in a subordinate position so that when it collapsed after 1893, the effect on the development of the school was not as great as it might otherwise have been. The problem was not whether the school should concentrate on academic or industrial training but what kind of academic courses should be offered and what standards should be imposed on the students.

For more than a generation there was no uniformity on either of these points. Those responsible for the school taught what they liked, issued what textbooks and notes they thought were required, and set their own standards of achievement. The courses taught at Amanzimtoti Seminary during these years included Greek, Latin, algebra, geometry, chemistry, physics, biology, zoology, anatomy, astronomy, moral philosophy, world history and the history of

Christianity.² English was favored for teaching purposes from the beginning. In 1876 it was made "the principal language of instruction" and within a decade or so penalties were attached to anyone using Zulu even in conversation while at the school. These formative years were of fundamental importance for the future development of Amanzimtoti Seminary:

"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."³

Despite an advanced academic curriculum, the missionaries were not interested in the content of these courses per se. They were used because the missionary believed that this training would prepare the field, as it were, for the Gospel seed. Thus Goodenough told the Natal Missionary Conference that an "intellectual" education was best for the African for the following reasons:

"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 learned, or how much is remembered, or whether any direct use is made of the knowledge acquired. It is what the 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 upright, to sit upon chairs and not on the ground, and these new wants mean more work to supply them."⁴

Although examinations were held, they were never considered the criterion of success or failure. There was not even a

formal graduating class from Amanzimtoti Seminary until 1894.⁵ The object was to keep the students in the proper environment for as long as possible so that when they left they would be effective Christian witnesses whose aspirations and desires stemmed from the protestant non-conformist tradition that had evolved in the West or, more accurately, in Puritan America:

"An intelligent faith in the truth of God's word through personal knowledge and understanding rather than an acceptance of any rites or forms of truth is the foremost object which we have in all our work. . . . To accomplish this our whole endeavor is practically an educational work."⁶

Therefore, it is not surprising that the missionaries were not interested in adapting their boarding schools to the needs of a 'secular' society--whether this was African or colonial. Demands for a more practical curriculum, uniformity of standards, higher teaching qualifications and so forth were irrelevant to the fundamental issue. The missionaries were bent on remolding the African consciousness to a new set of values, a new way of life. They often used the word 'character' to convey what they were trying to accomplish in education, but they would certainly have agreed with Robert Plant, himself an ex-missionary, when he wrote:

"The special work of the missionary has been to create a conscience. . . . The development of a conscience is the key to the elevation of the Zulu in the scale of life."⁷

Between 1885 and 1910, however, it became more and more difficult to meet the needs of the station Christians, who

like their 'tribal' kinsmen were under increasing pressure from the white settlers, without altering educational methods and policies hallowed by almost two generations of missionary tradition. Even when Goodenough was principal (1881-1887) and Amanzimtoti Seminary was regarded by the government as the leading secondary school for African boys in Natal,⁸ the factors which would soon lead to its demise were already evident.

One of the functions of the Seminary, as has been indicated, was to provide Christian primary school teachers, and in the beginning the Zulu Christian community apparently favored this policy. In 1865 the minimum entrance requirement was standard III. Twelve of the 16 boys (between the ages of 13 and 17) enrolled, completed the 'course' of study, remaining an average of three years eight months. Seven years later the average pupil was spending more than four years at the school. During this period it was estimated that 76 per cent of the students were employed as teachers in the station (primary) schools. From the 1870s, however, there seems to have been a decline both in the length of time pupils spent at the school and in the number who took up teaching as a career. Mission estimates on the percentage of students who became teachers during these years are particularly revealing. From 1881 to 1893 about 35 per cent of those enrolled took up teaching. Between 1893 and 1901, less than 15 per cent were attracted to the profession and this dropped to less than one per cent in 1906.⁹

Amanzimtoti Seminary was also supposed to act as a feeder to the Theological School. About 1902, however, it was estimated that of all those who had enrolled at the Seminary, less than 2 1/5 per cent had entered the Theological School. Although 122 students had enrolled for theological training since the Theological School had become a separate institution at Adams in 1875, only 23 or less than 19 per cent, had been to Amanzimtoti Seminary or an equivalent institution. Between 1875 and about 1902 only 54 of the theological students, or about 41 per cent, actually 'graduated' and only nine of these were ordained as pastors.¹⁰

Part of the problem, of course, was the perennial lack of personnel and financial resources. When Goodenough abruptly resigned as principal of Amanzimtoti Seminary in 1887, there was no one who could take his place. In the next five years, the school had four principals. Furthermore, many of the older missionaries who had known the school and its traditions died or left the Mission during these years so that when George Cowles took over in June 1893, there was virtually no one left at Adams who could offer constructive advice and encouragement.¹¹ In nine years as principal, moreover, Cowles never had more than one or two missionaries to help him. It is no wonder that his health suffered as a result. When Albert LeRoy arrived in 1901, one of his "first impressions" was that the teaching staffs of the boarding schools were out of proportion. While Inanda Seminary had eight white teachers (two were

on furlough in 1900-1901) and Umzumbe Home had four,¹²

"Amanzimtoti struggled along with Mr. Cowles and Miss Hattie Clark--the former on the verge of a breakdown and the latter in a Durban hospital".¹³

Enrolment at Amanzimtoti Seminary, however, increased at a steady pace. In the first five years the student body rose from 16 to 42. In the 1870s the student body remained more or less stable (44 pupils in 1880), but in the next 20 years enrolment more than doubled. Average attendance, however, remained low and fluctuated considerably along with total enrolment during this period.¹⁴

Amanzimtoti Seminary	1885	1891	1894	1898	1902
Total enrolment	47	69	47	71	118
Average attendance	33	50	39	53	86

The school's uneven growth rate was reflected in a decline in the quality of the students and instruction. By the late 1890s most of the pupils were at or below the minimum entrance standard set when the school opened in 1865. In 1896-1897 the school, in fact, was divided into two departments--a primary section abolishing all entrance requirements which included most of the student body, and a small 'higher' department beginning about standard III for the few who persisted in their attempts to secure a better education. Such efforts were largely futile, however. Many teachers at Amanzimtoti Seminary in the late

1880s and 1890s were simply not capable of directing the rather esoteric academic studies so long in vogue. New courses were introduced and old ones dropped until by 1903 the curriculum consisted of "very basic instruction in English grammar, arithmetic, Natal history, English history, elementary science"--apparently without textbooks. Literacy courses in Zulu were added for the benefit of the primary department.¹⁵

The shortage of teachers was so acute that Cowles decided to use those students in the 'higher' section as 'pupil' teachers in the primary department and the station schools--a tactic employed at Inanda Seminary and Umzumbe Home as well. To improve the quality of these teachers, Cowles even attempted, apparently without success, a course in "school methods, both theory and practice" in 1896. A further complication was the steady increase in the pupils' ages. By about 1900 the average age in the primary department was $19 \frac{3}{5}$, while in the 'higher' department the pupils averaged about 17 years of age--a situation which contributed to the tensions and upheavals within the school. In the nine years Cowles was principal of Amanzimtoti Seminary, only 18 students finished what was regarded as the "entire course".¹⁶

Cowles, to his credit, doggedly persevered in the face of every obstacle. School fees--in theory, levied since Amanzimtoti Seminary's rebirth in 1865--were enforced. If

the students were unable to pay any fees at all--which applied especially to those from the 'kraals'--they worked six hours a day. If they paid half the fee, they worked three hours a day. In 1895, for example, there were 17 who paid fees (£4.10s a year in 1895) and 29 who did not out of an average attendance of 51. Cowles also decided to emulate the girls' boarding schools and concentrate on building up a farm--using the boys as laborers to meet the food requirements of the school. Unfortunately, it was not a success: "This amount of labor ought to yield returns sufficient to cover the cost of feeding these 29 boys, but the painful truth is that it does not and can not." It wasn't for lack of effort on Cowles' part. He experimented with bananas, sugar cane, pineapples, mealies (maize), sweet potatoes, pumpkins and a variety of fruit trees as well, but most of the crops failed. The soil was tested by a government chemist and found to be deficient in those minerals needed for intensive crop farming, but the mission could not afford the fertilizers needed to rehabilitate the land. Apparently the only success Cowles ever had was with the fruit trees and he is chiefly remembered today for this contribution. The 1890s were, without doubt, the lowest point in the school's history. As one distinguished ex-principal once remarked: "When LeRoy took over in 1902, it would be difficult to affirm that Adams Amanzimtoti Seminary was noticeably better off than it had been in 1888."¹⁷ The problems at Amanzimtoti Seminary, however, were symptomatic of conditions to be found

throughout the Mission's school system.

Conditions in the Theological School were even worse. That the Mission should be most concerned with this institution can be appreciated when it is remembered that theological training was the final goal for those who responded to the Mission's educational policy. As Charles Kilbon, principal of the school from 1889 to 1904, remarked: "Our Work stands related to the whole Mission and to all the churches as none other in the Mission does."¹⁸ And yet, no institution established by the Mission suffered more from the poverty of finances, personnel and a policy irrelevant to the churches' needs than the Theological School--nor was any other so bitterly rejected by the Zulu Christian community.

Financially, the school was entirely dependent on irregular grants from the American Board since theological training was not aided by the government. Apparently no fees were required from the students--undoubtedly because most of them were married and had children. In theory, each student was subsidized to the extent of his needs but in practice the American Board was even more parsimonious towards theological training than it was with the other Mission schools.

Theological School	1885	1890	1895	1900	1903
American Board grant	£60	£75	--	£60	£75

The Theological School grant was the same in 1900 as it had been in 1835 and, in addition, it varied considerably from year to year. In 1890 the school was in such financial difficulty that several missionaries advocated abandoning separate theological training altogether. In 1895 the school did not receive a grant and, with Kilbon in poor health, the Mission was forced to close it down for six months in 1896.¹⁹

Perhaps even more discouraging, however, was the inability of those responsible for theological training to make it relevant to the changing needs of the Church. Indeed, one gets the impression that the missionaries who taught in the Theological School during these years--and Kilbon rarely had more than one part-time assistant--were the eccentrics, the least qualified and apparently the most antagonistic towards changes in educational methods in the Mission.²⁰ Kilbon, for example, could and often did comment on the need for better standards, but his methods are revealed in his own summary of what was required for one who aspired to teach in the school:

"It does not require great talents or extensive learning . . . but it is necessary that a teacher in this school should possess spiritual discernment . . . for our main work is to transform character in these men--we let Hebrew and Greek alone . . . and even systematic theology, and depend on a careful analytical study of God's work together, always with the distinct purpose to form character--this is all important . . ."²¹

In a letter to Secretary Smith, Kilbon described the policy of the Theological School in similar terms:

"The importance of the Theological School consists in its power to infuse into the community Gospel influences. . . . You must not think of the Theological School as corresponding with American institutions. The name itself is perhaps misleading. Bible training school . . . might be a better term. We have few pastorates in the Mission and many of them are filled so we cannot think of our work as the training of pastors only, or even principally. . . . It has from the first been of the highest importance that true spiritual men be drilled at close hand, in Gospel truth, as applied to all the walks and relations of life, and be sent to these communities . . . to be examples in everyday life."²²

As commendable as this policy might have been in the 1860s and 1870s, it was an anachronism by the 1890s. Goodenough, with characteristic bluntness, pinpointed the basic dilemma of the Theological School during this period:

"The thought has been not that the men in many cases would become pastors, but that they would be better to become lay preachers and Sunday School teachers; but the men themselves have had no such humble roles in mind when they have taken a theological course and graduated. They have expected to be employed, to have charge of churches, and not being . . . sufficiently well equipped for such a position, they have not been a success."²³

The curriculum followed during these years reflected this policy. Kilbon's predecessor "left three sets of papers--courses of lectures--in Zulu which every man who comes into the class laboriously copies in a book for his own private use". These lectures, together with the Bible, constituted the 'textbooks' of the school. When Kilbon took over, he re-organized the classes into two sections. In the morning the students worked on an historical survey of the Bible, from Genesis to Revelation, and 'comparative religion': "The

special aim in the historical course is to show the conflict between God's will and man's, between sin and grace, in the world". In the afternoon, the students concentrated on a more detailed exegesis of one book, usually from the New Testament.²⁴ The curriculum also suggested that the Theological School, like all the boarding schools, was used to alleviate some of the Mission's more practical burdens. Kilbon, who was editor-in-chief for revising the Zulu Bible in the 1890s, indicated that the course of study was dictated, at least in part, by this need. He stated in 1892 that the Theological School "demonstrated the fact more clearly than ever that foreign missionaries alone are not fitted to make a good and safe translation of the Scriptures". Furthermore, all 'kraal' and outstation work at Adams was in the charge of the theological students--a not inconsiderable missionary burden in the past.²⁵

Kilbon also apparently did not favor the 'traditional' link between Amanzimtoti Seminary and the Theological School: "As a rule . . . the boys from Jubilee Hall are too immature for immediate entrance into the Theological School. It is better for them to have an interval of actual teaching or other work first."²⁶ Kilbon once tried to establish an entrance requirement of standard VI for those who transferred directly from Amanzimtoti Seminary but it was unrealistic and, consequently, ineffective. There was almost no attempt to encourage the students, who ranged in age from 18 to more

than 50 (in 1894), to graduate--virtually a requirement for those aspiring to be pastors: "The ordinary course for men who have had previous high school training is three years; for others it varies according to the discretion of the teachers."²⁷ In fact, there was no division at all between classes at the school during Kilbon's tenure as principal:

"All classes are lumped together so that a third year man sat with first year men who often could barely read. Many potentially good students were lost because they would not be lumped together in this manner."²⁸

As a result, the Theological School--in theory, the ultimate goal in missionary education--was the weakest link in the Mission's school system:

"It is a Bible school fitted for the most part with men who have had little more than the rudiments of an education and who are unfitted for the leadership of the churches in Natal or for responsibility of much of the foreign work."²⁹

The reaction of the Zulu Christian community was not unpredictable. The churches, for example, consistently refused to support the school:

"We have no evidence . . . that the churches of the Mission recognize any responsibility for the maintenance and success of the school. We know of no prayers offered, no donations made, no men furnished. . . . The churches . . . do not yet understand their relation to the Theological School, nor feel any manifest interest in it."³⁰

While Theological School enrolment remained relatively high in the turbulent 1880s, during Kilbon's 15-year tenure as principal it remained static, "about a dozen from term to term".³¹

1881	1885	1886	1887	1890	1893	
12	18	24	18	13	16 (2)*	
1894	1896	1898	1899	1900	1902	1903
22 (5)*	11	13	14	14	10	11

* () Women admitted as regular students. Enrolment rose during these years because of the demand for missionary workers, especially in Rhodesia and in newly-opened urban centers at Durban and Johannesburg.

Even Kilbon realized that the Theological School must provide more sophisticated training for the new leaders of the Church but the problems seemed insurmountable. About 1897, for example, Kilbon talked about reorganizing the school into "junior" and English-language "senior" divisions to attract more educated students from Amanzimtoti Seminary, and other secondary schools--"this training being necessitated in consideration of the rapid changes in the condition of the people as a whole". Several apparently agreed to enroll but Kilbon could not secure an additional teacher, there were no suitable textbooks and there was no money to build more dormitories for the class. It is doubtful, moreover, whether those who volunteered for the class possessed the necessary qualifications. Only two of the 13 men enrolled in 1898-1899 had any education beyond the minimum sought for literacy in Zulu. According to one report, in 1900 the quality of the student body was "of a lower order than for many years" and the Mission was warned that "there seems to be a strange

notion abroad [the Zulu Christian community] that no particular training is necessary for a man to be able to preach the Gospel". The students "are uneducated men even from the standpoint of the Natives themselves" and unless more qualified applicants could be found it was recommended that the school be closed.³²

At the same time there was growing pressure from younger members of the Mission for a change in policy. As Frederick Bridgman cautiously explained in a letter to Secretary Smith who had "heard severe criticisms both from missionaries and native men regarding the poor material and the inadequate course in the school":

"I would not cast the slightest reflection on the able Principal of this school. . . . While conservative no one in the Mission is more truly progressive. At the same time I think he is in that weak physical state that shrinks from inaugurating a decided change such as is required in that school."³³

The Mission asked Secretary Smith to suspend judgment on the "theological school and the way in which it is fulfilling its mission" until these questions could be seen in the context of the Mission's educational crisis as a whole.³⁴ No one was in any doubt, however, about the condition of the male boarding schools at Adams:

"There is no question that the condition of our higher schools, especially the Theological School and Amanzimtoti Seminary, is appalling. . . . Even a novice in the Mission must feel the dead weight of burden that these schools in their present condition throw upon the Mission."³⁵

MISSION BOARDING SCHOOLS

(2) Inanda Seminary, Umzumbe Home
and Ireland Home

From the 1880s it was evident that boarding school life was more popular with the girls than with the boys of the American Zulu Mission. Amy Bridgman Cowles attributed this growing disparity in response to the traditional roles played by males and females in Zulu society:

"Girls in heathen homes as also those from station /Christian community/ homes are forbidden except in comparatively few cases to go to the towns to work. Hence to them it is release from bondage to run away from home and go to a school. Here they find pretty dresses and the monotony of the long waiting time between childhood and the time of marriage is broken up by a change. It is a relief to break away from the slavery of African womanhood. . . . To the boys, lords and masters of creation in their homes, it brings greater confinement and closer bondage to enter a school. By doing this, they give up liberty, where their sisters find it."³⁶

Because females traditionally were responsible for tilling the soil, they responded more favorably to the demand for agricultural labor so essential to the survival of the boarding schools. Furthermore, the government's industrial and manual training requirements for girls could be fulfilled at little cost to the Mission. Year after year Plant singled out Inanda Seminary, for example, as a model for African schools in the colony.³⁷

Inanda Seminary, founded in March 1869, was the first boarding school for African girls in Natal. Nineteen girls were enrolled in the first class, "all daughters of professedly

Christian parents". The missionaries, having established segregated Christian communities, wanted to offer advanced training for potential teachers and 'homemakers' within a more rigorous Christian environment. In effect, it was to be a finishing school emphasizing religious education for girls from the station communities:

"The need for better qualified teachers for the day schools and for more intelligent Christian mothers in these Christian communities was deeply felt. . . . The thought was to gather into it /Inanda Seminary/ the children of Christian parents, who had been under instruction in the station schools for a time. They would soon be leaving school altogether, if they remained at home, and the next few years would be a critical time for them. If they 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 motherhood. It was not the purpose in opening this school to take in beginners. . . . But Inanda Seminary, as its very name implies, was to be for the higher education of girls."³⁸

Standard II was made the entrance qualification and a fee of £4.10s a year was required from each pupil. For the first decade or so, it would appear that the pattern of development at Inanda Seminary was similar to that which prevailed at Amanzimtoti Seminary. The curriculum depended mainly on the varying abilities and interests of the missionary teachers--although Mrs. Edwards and her co-workers appear to have been more pragmatic in their approach to education than the missionaries at Adams. It was not until 1886 that a "course of study" embracing seven standards was adopted at the recommendation of the Council of Education.

Thereafter the school followed the usual European standards of the day with "arithmetic. . . . grammar, geography, writing, and composition, and also the history of South Africa".³⁹ Instruction was in English and penalties similar to those at Amanzimtoti Seminary were imposed against those speaking Zulu in the girls boarding schools.⁴⁰

In theory, Inanda and Amanzimtoti Seminaries were to be the two boarding schools for higher education in the Mission and when Umzumbe Home was opened in January 1873 it was understood that the purpose of the school was to provide accommodation and primary instruction for heathen girls who were beginning to migrate to the station communities. For 10 years they had been taught by Mrs. Robbins in her home, but she left Umzumbe station in 1872. The Mission then decided to use the Robbins' home, a 'rather dilapidated five-room cottage', as a permanent boarding school--a haven for girls who had 'run away' from heathen 'kraals'. Seventeen girls enrolled in the first class and three years later (1875) there were 11 boarders and 20 day scholars. By 1881 the school had its own building with 20 boarders. Although there does not appear to have been an entrance requirement, pupils were obliged to pay a fee of £1 a year and by the 1880s they were already beginning to receive a higher standard of education than that offered in the station school which was now accommodating day 'kraal' girls as well as primary students from the station community.⁴¹

The geographical position of the station community, moreover, undoubtedly influenced the early development of Umzumbe Home. In the first place, these Christians were isolated at the southern tip of the Mission's coastal stations--without a Reserve and surrounded by traditional kinsmen who had little contact with the white settler community. Communication with other stations was a problem since there was no road linking Umzumbe with the Mission Reserves to the north and it was almost 40 miles from the nearest railway station. Furthermore, most of the teachers were unmarried female missionaries who were rarely adapted psychologically to the rigors of working in such isolated and unhealthy (epidemics of typhoid, dysentery and malaria were recorded in the 1890s) conditions. Umzumbe Home was plagued with a constant turnover of staff and students which at times threatened the very existence of the school. On the other hand, the women who taught there were even more prone to improve their living standards than those who worked at Adams and Inanda, and Umzumbe Home was rapidly turned into a replica of what they had left behind in America. This must have had a decisive impact on their Zulu converts. The expanding Christian community was encouraged to settle on the Glebe and was therefore in more intimate contact with the missionaries than was the case on other stations. This may have been one of the reasons why Umzumbe station played such a prominent role in the reformation and revival movements of

the 1880s and 1890s. For Umzumbe Home, it meant a rapid change in status from a primary school for 'kraal' girls to a secondary school which, by 1893, had "much the same character and standing as Inanda".⁴²

Neither Inanda Seminary nor Umzumbe Home, however, were prepared to cope with the "invasion of the kraal girls" who had overrun the outstations and station primary schools by the early 1890s. Like Amanzimtoti Seminary, Inanda Seminary was split into two distinct departments about 1895. A primary department was created for "those who cannot read Zulu. . . . The curriculum includes Zulu reading, writing, and spelling, and the very first lessons in English reading, also elementary number work". In 1894 Inanda Seminary had already begun using students who had passed standard IV or above as teachers in the station and outstation schools. By 1898 Inanda Seminary's needs were so great that 27 'pupil' teachers were employed by this school and it is questionable whether even the minimum qualification of standard IV was maintained. In addition, Inanda Seminary and Umzumbe Home began sending out girls as preachers in the 1890s--an innovation probably unique in the history of African education in Natal.⁴³

Inevitably, educational standards declined. Missionary appeals to limit the number of illiterate 'kraal' girls and enforce the prescribed standards of "scholarship and payment of fees" were ineffective against the numbers who pleaded for admission. Missionaries at the girls boarding schools,

like those at Adams, were reluctant to turn away applicants who seemed so willing to respond to the Gospel. Inanda Seminary, for example, was unable to produce any students beyond standard IV between 1893 and 1899. In 1900 two passed the exam for a third class teacher's certificate (equivalent to standard V). In 1902 five more reached this level. On the eve of the arrival of the American Board Deputation, however, Inanda Seminary still did not have a student who had successfully completed standards VI-VII as it had in the late 1880s.⁴⁴

In essence, Inanda Seminary and Umzumbe Home were functioning as primary boarding schools for 'kraal' girls.⁴⁵

	1885	1893	1894	1895	1897	1900	1902	1903
Inanda Sem- inary en- rolment	60	124	181	197	?	244 ^a	180 ^b	169 ^b
'kraal girls'	?	78	108	114	'nearly all'	'maj- ority'	?	about 112
attendance	41	108	122	118	168	151	112	136
Umzumbe Home enrolment	27	48	61	73	70	97	172 ^c	219
'kraal girls'	?	?	20	about 48	about 46	?	?	73
attendance	26	42	44?	66?	63	85	130	105

^aForty applications were turned down in 1900 alone.

^bEnrolment declined from 1901 to about 1903 because of health problems.

^cUmzumbe Home had housing facilities for about 75 pupils in 1902, for example, and there was considerably less room in the 1890s.

By the end of the century the boarding schools were hopelessly overcrowded. In effect, the presence of these illiterate immigrants in such overwhelming numbers crippled the Mission's 'higher' educational system.

Under these circumstances, the Mission began to reconsider an 1885 ban on building more boarding schools.⁴⁶ In the early 1890s a committee on 'homes for kraal girls' recommended that boarding schools for females be built on the principal Mission stations--Umvoti, Mapumulo, Esidumbini, Imfume and Amanzimtoti--and also proposed a special 'home for kraal boys'. Although the plan, as usual, was too grandiose for the Mission's resources, approval was given in 1894 to a new boarding school for heathen girls. It was to be established in the house formerly occupied by William Ireland, who had died while on furlough in America. Mrs. Ireland agreed to supervise Ireland Home, as it was to be called, and in September 1894 the school opened with eight or nine girls in attendance.⁴⁷

Ireland Home was intended to provide housing and primary education for heathen girls north of Durban, as Umzumbe Home originally was founded for those residing south of the city.⁴⁸ The danger, of course, was that Ireland Home would also become a permanent secondary school. Thus the missionaries proposed that the school be a kind of half-way house where pupils would stay for varying periods to adjust to the new environment and receive the rudiments of an education "to teach them to read their Zulu Bible, elementary English and

plain sewing". If they proved adaptable, they would then be sent to Inanda or Umzumbe for further schooling. Ireland Home, however, merely served to accelerate the heathen migration. The building itself could barely accommodate a maximum of 35 pupils. By 1897 there were already 50 students and more than 60 applicants and in 1900 enrolment rose to more than 100. Mrs. Ireland and an Inanda Seminary graduate named Ngumbazi attempted to provide for the social and educational needs of the girls in almost impossible physical conditions. The Home apparently was situated in an unhealthy area of the station. The floors on which the girls slept were continually damp and within a short time there were several cases of pneumonia and ultimately malaria. Three years after the school was founded Ngumbazi was dead (1897) and Mrs. Ireland, her health shattered, had returned to America where she died soon afterwards.

At least two student teachers from Inanda Seminary continued to carry on the work, but the Mission apparently thought it was unwise to entrust the Home to an African superintendant. Since there was no missionary available, the school was closed, temporarily at first, about 1901 in the hope that it could be removed to a more healthy site. In 1903 a proposal to solicit funds in America to reopen Ireland Home as a training school for 'teachers and Christian workers' was rejected by the Mission because it conflicted with plans for stabilizing the financial positions of those boarding schools already in existence. In 1904 the East

Central Africa Mission accepted an offer to move the building to Chikore, in the eastern highlands of Rhodesia. Thus ended the last attempt ever made by the American Zulu Mission to expand its boarding school system.⁴⁹

MISSION PRIMARY AND ELEMENTARY SCHOOLS

(Including infant or kindergarten, evening and 'kraal' schools classified as elementary institutions by the Council of Education)

If schools were the "head and backbone of the Mission", the heart of the school system was primary and elementary education, especially on the stations: "The foundation of all our educational work consists of our system of primary education in the station schools." One searches in vain, however, for information on what was actually happening in these institutions. Apart from a few, often contradictory, statistics and missionary complaints, there is little evidence with which one can reconstruct the history of the Mission's aided and non-aided primary and elementary schools and evaluate their impact on the Christian and rapidly-changing traditional communities. And yet, according to one conservative estimate, the number of pupils in these institutions increased by more than three-fold between 1880 and 1905:

1880	1885	1890-1	1895	1900	1905
820	1,716	1,425	2,223	2,498	2,872

Despite the importance attached to these schools, moreover, the potential was virtually untapped. In 1903, only about one-third of those eligible were in school even in the American Zulu Mission Reserves.⁵⁰

The missionaries, oriented as they were to the boarding schools, knew almost nothing about the primary and elementary schools nominally under their control. Even before the 1880s the primary schools were being run by Africans and elementary education--first in the rural outstations and later in the urban areas--was promoted largely by African preachers and evangelists untrained as teachers or educational administrators. The missionaries increasingly complained about the lack of information on these schools and their inability to supervise them. In 1892, for example, "kraal schools" were described as "poorly equipped, indifferently looked after--a vital weakness in our whole system". According to the Mission, there was "arrested development, and in some cases, retrogression" in the station primary schools. Where there were buildings, as the government continually reminded the Mission, they were in a "state of disrepair".⁵¹

The question of "the scarcity of properly equipped and worthy teachers" was so complex that it was difficult to see what kind of solution would remedy the deplorable conditions which the missionaries, the Africans and even the government recognized. The decline in standards at the boarding schools coupled with the absence of a proper institution for training teachers obviously contributed to the dilemma.

While each pupil spent an average of three years in the primary schools (about 1902), the quality of instruction left much to be desired "in want of uniformity in the course of study, in text-books used, and in methods of teaching". Although the missionaries had improved the teaching of Zulu, the primary schools were hopelessly inadequate in English--the medium of instruction in the secondary schools. Text-books were "not adapted to the people, difficult to translate and are often beyond the comprehension of the teacher to say nothing of the children. There is a sad lack of appliances with which to illustrate the various subjects". Furthermore, the towns "have caused such a universal demand for labour, that even our station schools show its effects in the overwhelming proportion of girls to boys in the upper grades".⁵²

Teachers' salaries, when all the government's conditions were satisfied, could not meet even the minimum living standards of the day. In 1901, for example, teachers in seven of 12 aided station schools north of Durban received salaries of £18 to £30 a year. The Mission noted with despair that these wages were not competitive with those offered by other missionary societies--who used teachers trained by the American Zulu Mission--much less the urban areas:

"The salary is too small to secure good teachers, the parents are lax in paying fees and careless in sending the children, so the tide ebbs and flows and they [the primary schools] first have a grant and then lose it."⁵³

Fees for the station schools were fixed at two shillings a year per pupil but, as already indicated, the African Christ-

ian community no longer responded to these regulations.⁵⁴

The Mission warned the American Board that if radical improvements at this level were not made, plans for reorganizing the educational system would inevitably fail:

"Neglect the primary schools, and the result may prove disastrous to the people; our higher schools will be supplied with a low grade class of pupils. . . . We shall still lack for teachers and preachers. The influence of the missionary will be lessened."⁵⁵

A TURNING POINT: THE 1903 DEPUTATION

For almost two decades the evangelical link between the churches and the schools had been deemed a success largely because of the heathen immigrants. The missionaries often remarked that a significant source of the regenerative power of the Church stemmed from "young converts from the heathen homes" who "compare very favorably with those brought up in Christian homes on the station, for steadfastness and purity of living often excelling them".⁵⁶ By 1903, however, 80 per cent of the pupils at Amanzimtoti Seminary "had taken a decided stand for Christ"⁵⁷ while the "first great general revival" beginning in 1895 had converted the "whole school, with the exception of three or four" at Umzumbe Home.⁵⁸ In other words, the need to stress evangelism in the boarding schools seemed to be less imperative while in the primary schools it was acknowledged that "the time has come to make the sphere of teaching as distinct as that of preaching in our educational system".⁵⁹

In 1897 the Mission passed a series of regulations relating to the pay and employment of African teachers as well as recommendations on "school management and methods"⁶⁰ which revealed a growing awareness of the independent status of education within the Christian community:

" . . . since the educational element is becoming so prominent in all missionary work there is need that the whole future educational policy of the mission be put into definite form."⁶¹

In 1900 the Mission resolved to make a thorough inquiry into the school system:

"That . . . a committee be appointed to investigate as thoroughly as possible . . . the entire educational needs of the Mission; to define the scope and aim of any changes contemplated, and to draw up tentative plans as may be possible for the carrying out of these advances".⁶²

The missionaries were presented with a unique opportunity to fulfill these proposals when the American Board Deputation arrived in 1903. It was a turning point for African education in Natal because the decisions made at this time were to have an impact far beyond the schools operated by the American Zulu Mission. As endorsed by the Deputation and the American Board's subcommittee on African missions,⁶³ education, in effect, was separated from the Church.

TOWARDS A SECULAR SCHOOL SYSTEM: 1903-1910

(1) The Theological School and

Amanzimtoti Seminary

In evaluating the changes made in the Mission's schools in the years before Union, it is appropriate to begin with

the Theological School--still regarded by the missionaries as "the keystone of our entire educational system and the strategic point of all evangelistic effort". The most imperative recommendation made to the Deputation in the Theological School report of 1903--"A permanent increase in the teaching staff"--was fulfilled immediately. Kilbon fortuitiously withdrew from the Mission in 1904. Dorward, his closest collaborator, and Wilcox were given other duties. James Dexter Taylor--an articulate representative of the new generation of missionary specialists--together with Ransom were put in charge of the Theological School. The second request was for an increase in "class-room accommodations". This need was supposed to be met by an immediate grant of about £2,000 (\$10,000) allotted by the Board to the Theological School. At first the American Board accepted the recommendation but when the opportunity arose to open up a new station at Beira, the money was set aside for that purpose.⁶⁴ With two full-time instructors, however, the school could still be reorganized along the lines envisaged by Taylor.

The school was divided into 'lower' and 'higher' departments--a primary department to train preachers and evangelists and a secondary department to be "the distinctly theological training school". Primary students would receive the type of training more or less characteristic of the school in the past, and they would continue to be taught through the medium of Zulu. The course, however, was now designed for three years, after which certificates of completion would be

issued to those who were successful. The higher department was taught through the medium of English and a minimum entrance standard was fixed at standard IV. A three-year training course was also adopted in this department. Instruction continued to center on the Bible, but now more analysis and interpretation were required. Homiletics was made a separate course and church history, (i.e., post-Revelation), Biblical geography, and hymnology, as well as English literature and general science, were introduced. Regular examinations were held so that classes would not be grouped together with first and third-year men taking the same subjects as had been the case in the past. If successful, at the end of three years the student received a "theological diploma" which qualified him for the pastorate. Although, as Taylor realized, the "upper class will doubtless be small", the intention clearly was to train pastors for the churches and gradually diminish the lower section until it was no longer needed.⁶⁵

The school received an immediate and enthusiastic response from the African Church leaders and Taylor reported to Secretary Smith:

"The advanced department of the Theological School bids fair to be more immediately successful than we had dared hope. . . . The better intellectual quality of these men is already apparent, and we know at least some of them well enough to know that none of the spiritual is sacrificed for the intellectual."⁶⁶

In 1907 diplomas were awarded to three out of the four who had enrolled in the upper section's first class and certifi-

icates were given to four of nine candidates in the lower section.⁶⁷

Financial problems continued to frustrate the Mission's efforts, however. Not only did the Theological School lose the £2,000 grant, but aid from the American Board continued to fall below the school's minimum demands.⁶⁸ Taylor left on furlough in 1907 and Ransom was assigned to other duties because of staff shortages. The school was closed from 1907 to 1910 while the Mission re-evaluated the function and purpose of theological training within the context of the resources that were available.⁶⁹ In 1908-1909 discussions with the United Free Church of Scotland resulted in a merger plan which at the time was regarded as an historic advance in the South African ecumenical movement. The scheme envisaged transferring the Theological School to the Scottish mission station at Impolweni (Natal) where housing facilities were more satisfactory. One teacher from each denomination would supervise theological training for candidates from both missionary societies. In return, the Scottish Mission would send one teacher and all their boarding school pupils to Adams where a teacher-training school was about to be established. The Union Theological College at Impolweni was inaugurated in August 1910 and the changes initiated by Taylor were incorporated into the new school. Two distinct departments were created: an upper department with an entrance requirement of standard V for those preparing for the pastorate and a lower Zulu-language department for the

preachers and evangelists. In the first class there were 21 applicants, of which nine qualified for the higher department.⁷⁰

One of the prime motives in reorganizing the school in 1903, however, was never realized. The third and final recommendation offered by the theological committee to the 1903 Deputation had been to make "Jubilee Hall a distinct feeder to the Theological School".⁷¹ The missionaries had agreed, in theory, that every effort should be made to implement the 'traditional' relationship between Amanzimtoti Seminary and the Theological School:

" . . . this school should be the crowning effort of all of our educational endeavors, toward which our other schools should point their more capable and reliable students".⁷²

The closing of the Theological School and its removal to Impolweni severed the physical link between these two institutions during a crucial period of development for the churches and schools. Although the experiment later proved unsuccessful and the Theological School was moved back to Adams in 1918, something of the spirit of the previous generation was lost, never to return. By that time Amanzimtoti and Inanda seminaries were advanced secular institutions serving the needs of an urban-oriented Christian elite no longer unified by their identification with the Church. The subsequent crystallization of the Zulu Christian community was reflected, in this instance, in the vast differences in approach towards theological and secular education. The

Theological School continued to serve the needs of the churches, at least in the rural areas,⁷³ but the Church no longer dominated educational policy.

If the Mission's school system was to serve primarily the secular needs of the people, radical changes in the Mission's education philosophy would have to be made. And almost every missionary recognized that Amanzimtoti Seminary held the key to what had to be done in the schools. Shortly after LeRoy replaced Cowles as principal, he was asked to present a report to the 1903 Deputation outlining the problems and possibilities for reform of Amanzimtoti Seminary. It was to serve as a model for the Mission school system as a whole.

LeRoy--a former business executive--proposed two alternatives for the school and listed their mutual advantages. Amanzimtoti Seminary could retain the two-stream system. The primary department, however, would be separated from the advanced department and housed in its own building. The older boys who dominated the lower grades but were ineligible for the station schools would still have an opportunity to receive an education. Being older, the primaries were usually stronger than the advanced students and could provide the manual labor so desperately needed to supply the material needs of the school. These youths from the 'kraals' were products of the revivals of the 1880s and 1890s and it would be in keeping with the evangelical character of the school if they were retained as a kind of

moral inspiration for those, mostly from the station communities, who were better educated. Furthermore, since the ex-heathens were primarily responsible for the increase in enrolment "it is more inspiring and satisfactory to have a school with one hundred pupils than one with forty". Finally, LeRoy offered an argument that appealed directly to those missionaries of the second generation:

"Intellectual training is not what the school stands for, primarily; its object is to develop character, and it is better, therefore, to influence for good a large number of boys than it is a small number."⁷⁴

The alternative plan was a drastic departure from what had been attempted in the previous generation. This proposal would abolish the preparatory department completely and admit only those who had passed an examination in standard III. These would then be eligible for higher government grants which amounted to about £3 per pupil each year, and a limited enrolment would reduce the costs of running Amanzimtoti Seminary: "The school would become strictly a high grade institution, and should attract the better class of students, intellectually." Amanzimtoti Seminary would then "no longer be a competitor" to the station schools which, in turn, would be defined as primary institutions "and the boys would learn that the road which leads to Amanzimtoti Seminary must pass first through the station schools".⁷⁵

In his correspondence with Secretary Smith, moreover, LeRoy left no doubt as to which plan he favored:

"The question of 'higher education' has been raised time and time again, both by the natives and by some members of the Mission. 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. . . . 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. Could these low standard boys be kept, and the others advanced, making two schools, it would be more desirable, but this seems to be clearly impossible. My ideas on the school question, I confess, differ from those who have had more experience in the school"76

LeRoy emphasized that if Amanzimtoti Seminary did not improve, the Mission would forfeit the allegiance of the Christian community:

"The natives are begging for better or higher educational privileges. Now some native teachers have come forward urged by the increasing stringency of Government regulations and have offered to re-enter the Seminary if a higher course is offered. The Mission feels that it is absolutely necessary to meet this demand if we are to retain the respect of the natives for our educational system."77

In 1903 the Mission was willing to do almost anything to accommodate the Zulu Christian elite and LeRoy based much of his argument on the fact that his alternative plan would satisfy their demands:

"It would meet squarely the objection repeatedly brought forward by the native pastors and others, that their sons are no longer able to get higher training at Jubilee."78

The Mission was convinced. LeRoy was authorized to reorganize the school "to meet the urgent requests coming from certain natives" without waiting for the endorsement of the Prudential Committee.⁷⁹

If LeRoy's plans were to be realized, however, the American Board would have to supply more money and manpower than had been the case in the past. LeRoy appealed for a permanent financial endowment, the rebirth of an industrial training department and at least one teaching specialist, preferably in secondary education.⁸⁰ Drastic surgery was required to rehabilitate Amanzimtoti Seminary and LeRoy proved to be a very competent surgeon. The lower department was abolished in 1904 and the minimum entrance standard was set at standard IV, although a few exceptions were still made. The curriculum was brought firmly in line with that prevailing in European schools and the government's new requirements for teachers, passed in 1902, were rigidly imposed. School fees were not only made mandatory but increased to £5 a year. A standard 2½ hours of work for the school was demanded of all pupils regardless of their ability to pay the required fees. A new attempt was made to introduce industrial training (carpentry, tailoring, shoemaking) which, if it was not immediately successful, nevertheless indicated LeRoy's determination that Amanzimtoti Seminary should provide technical education that would bring tangible benefits for the majority who would migrate to the urban areas.⁸¹

Other reforms apparently were designed to improve the morale of the student body. English-style uniforms were adopted about 1905. Music now became a permanent part of the curriculum and Amanzimtoti Seminary had its own school band. At least one American sport, baseball, was introduced and

the first inter-school soccer matches were organized during this period. Cadet training using "military drill according to the revised tactics of the American Army", originally adopted by Cowles in 1894, was continued under LeRoy. Several social organizations created in the 1880s were also revitalized, such as the 'Literary Society' to improve the standard of English and the 'Society for Christian Endeavor' which originally was formed "to stimulate the boys in practical Christian living and endeavours for the souls of others". The result was an end to the "sullen and rebellious spirit" among the students which had been so characteristic of the 1880s and 1890s. School discipline which, as LeRoy admitted, "formerly proved to be the most difficult feature of the work", now required "the least attention".⁸²

Despite an inevitable drop in enrolment--55 were accepted out of 80 who applied in 1904--the school quickly recovered. In 1907 standard III was dropped completely and LeRoy predicted that standard IV would also soon be eliminated. The following figures illustrate the remarkable success of these reforms:⁸³

	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

	1893	1902	1906	1907
standard VII	3	---	5	3
standard VIII	1(?)	---	---	---

*Statistics for standards III-VII in 1893 and 1902 refer only to those who passed external government exams. One boy at Amanzimtoti Seminary apparently passed two of three exams for standard VIII in 1893, the only one at this level in the colony. While 37 out of 42 pupils at Amanzimtoti Seminary passed these tests in 1893 only 29 out of 69 pupils were successful in 1902 (students still took government exams between 1898 and 1902 even though the school was not aided).

While Amanzimtoti Seminary actually had 23 boys enrolled in standard V or above in 1893--under the old Council of Education--there were very few boys in this category in the next decade. Even in 1905 there were only 16 pupils at this level. Nevertheless, LeRoy was amazed at the students' unexpected and hitherto unrevealed ability to meet the government's teaching requirements after two years of reform at the school:

"Of those who received certificates ranking them as head teachers in the Colony, their positions were from the first to the sixteenth /19 passed from Amanzimtoti Seminary in 1905/, in a list of 53. . . . one . . . holds the highest certificate that the Natal Government is willing to give a native, /but/ still he desires more education, and will take the Cape School Elementary Examination . . . "84

While the other male boarding schools in Natal, moreover, had "declined rapidly in the last 2 or 3 years", Amanzimtoti Seminary's prestige soared:

"More of those who left the school sometime 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."⁸⁵

Although LeRoy's request for a yearly endowment was not granted, revenue received from the African Christian community, as we have noted, rose sharply from about 1905 and was now the school's largest source of income. In 1907 Amanzimtoti Seminary began benefitting from the Mission Reserve fund and there was a comparable increase in government and even American Board grants in the remaining years before Union.⁸⁶ The Prudential Committee, moreover, did agree to send missionary specialists in secondary education to the Natal field--the first of whom arrived in 1909. By 1910, once again Amanzimtoti Seminary was recognized--by the Zulu Christian community, the government and other missionary societies--as the premier secondary school for African boys in Natal.⁸⁷

TOWARDS A SECULAR SCHOOL SYSTEM: 1903-1910

(2) Inanda Seminary and Umzumbe Home

The lead taken by Amanzimtoti Seminary had ramifications, as predicted, for the girls' boarding schools as well. LeRoy himself had presaged this development in his report to the Deputation in 1903 by appealing for uniformity in standards, instruction and policy in the boarding schools:

"Instead of each school being sufficient unto itself, they should all be in vital connection, as parts of the one educational system; and until each one feels a personal responsibility in the welfare of these institutions . . . and of the educational system as a whole . . . success cannot be attained."⁸⁸

In 1905 the two schools adopted LeRoy's appeal and formed a joint committee to establish uniform entrance and examination standards and reorganize the curriculum, especially in the higher grades, so that the courses taught at each school were more or less the same in content and quality and the syllabus conformed to the white settler schools in the colony. Like Amanzimtoti Seminary, there was a commensurate increase in the number who paid the now uniform girls boarding school fee of £4.10s a year. Gradually, the primary departments of these institutions also declined. Inanda Seminary did not take the drastic actions enforced at Amanzimtoti Seminary but rather concentrated its relatively greater resources on the higher department whereas in the 1890s both girls boarding schools had been compelled to favor the primary department. Umzumbe Home, however, dealt more harshly with its lower standards, (i.e., those below standard III), and the department itself was abolished in 1909.⁸⁹

As the primary departments diminished, so did the percentage of 'kraal' girls in the boarding schools. In 1910 Inanda Seminary had only 38 girls from "heathen homes" and Umzumbe Home had no 'kraal' girls enrolled.⁹⁰ While total enrolment continued to fluctuate, average attendance was more stable than it had been in previous years. Indeed, the

average number of pupils at Umzumbe Home actually declined because the school was more severe in eliminating the lower standards:⁹¹

	1905	1907	1910
Inanda Seminary attendance	130	135	136
Umzumbe Home attendance	97	about 90	78

*Total enrolment in 1910: Inanda Seminary--205; Umzumbe Home--107.

The need for "more thorough and systematic training of teachers", now insisted upon by the government, became the major goal of the girls' boarding schools:⁹²

	Inanda Seminary			Umzumbe Home		
	1902	1903	1904	1902	1903	1904
Class I	---	---	5/5	---	---	---
Class II	---	5/5	6/10	---	?	7/7
Class III	5/6	7/8	?	---	9/?	1/2

*Top figure indicates those who passed the exams, bottom figure indicates those who took the exams. There are not enough statistics to trace the pattern after 1904.

In 1907 there were only three pupils who passed the Class I certificate examination in Natal (only 20 per cent of those taking the government teaching examinations in that year were successful) but two of these--placing first and second, respectively--were from Inanda Seminary. In 1893 Umzumbe Home had no pupils above standard V. In 1905, however, there were 48 pupils at standard V or above--by far the largest number in this category for any African school in

Natal.⁹³ In 1908 out of 277 African teachers in Natal, 169 were female and the American Zulu Mission received government recognition for its reforms in the girls boarding schools:

"The special attention to the education of native girls given for many years past by the American Mission is thus proving of considerable benefit to our educational work both in quality and cost, as with very few exceptions our best female teachers are the result of their efforts."⁹⁴

These institutions, like Amanzimtoti Seminary, also worked hard to establish an esprit de corps that would command considerable respect within the African Christian community in years to come. Alumni associations apparently were formed at all the high schools, while letters describing Umzumbe Home's activities, for example, were sent each year

" . . . to as many of our old girls as we can reach. . . . It is something if we . . . let them know that we remember them and want them to be loyal to their old school and the ideals of life which were here set before them".⁹⁵

In theory, discipline in the boarding schools was the students' responsibility. At Amanzimtoti Seminary, the tradition dated from the 1880s:

"The discipline [sic] of the school was maintained by a sort of judge and jury process among the pupils themselves, for the trial of minor offences [sic]. The court consisted of a native teacher and five of the older boys chosen . . . it sat once a week . . . its judgments being generally accepted without appeal. The sentences were usually manual labor for one to three hours per day extra."⁹⁶

In the girls' boarding schools, however, discipline was not merely a matter of authority but of virtual self-government. Indeed, Umzumbe Home seems to have been administered by the

students who first compiled and then voted on a 'constitution' about 1908 setting forth the rules by which the school was to be governed. Girls were elected to serve on one of four boards responsible for "Buildings and Grounds . . . Health . . . Public Property and . . . Conduct". Eight upper-standard girls together with the missionary principal and the senior African teacher constituted the "United Boards"--in effect, the executive branch of government in the school. It was, in fact, the highest honor to be elected to these boards:

"Our boards are distinguished by a red band fastened over one shoulder by gilt buttons and embroidered with the initials of the Board to which each belongs. When going to church, they march in a body at the head of the line led by their chairman."⁹⁷

Such innovations as these were far in advance of any other school, white or non-white, in Natal.

TOWARDS A SECULAR SCHOOL SYSTEM: 1903-1910

(3) Primary and Elementary Education

The primary schools took a somewhat different turn during these years because they were more closely tied to government aid and were the focal point of colonial policy in African education. Although the 1903 Deputation showed concern for the problems faced by these institutions, no recommendations were made to the Prudential Committee. The Mission's main proposal--that one missionary be set aside to administer all the primary and elementary schools--⁹⁸ was ignored until the government made its intentions known. In

November 1903 Barnett informed the Mission that in practice female missionaries supervized these institutions and the government would no longer accept this arrangement. If a male member of the Mission--on Plant's advice, Bunker was suggested--did not undertake the supervision of these schools, the Education Department would withdraw all aid except to the boarding schools.⁹⁹ However inaccurate the reference to female missionary supervision may have been,¹⁰⁰ this demand was exactly what the Mission had been advocating. In 1904 Bunker was set aside to supervize the primary and elementary schools and when Bunker was sent to open the mission at Beira in 1905, Cowles replaced him.¹⁰¹

Revenue obtained from the 1903 Mission Reserves Act was, of course, the principal factor enabling Cowles to re-organize these institutions. The Reserve Education Fund, as it was called, sparked "a new era in building and re-building".¹⁰² By 1909 the Mission had spent about £7,200 (\$36,000) of this money on primary and elementary schools in the Reserves:

"It is the policy of the Mission to use a large part of this money for the erection of substantial brick school buildings upon all the Reserves. Already about \$18,000 has thus been expended, while about \$18,000 additional from this fund has gone towards the purchase of school desks, salaries of teachers in unaided schools, repairs, supplies and supervision of these schools."¹⁰³

In effect, the fund was used to construct, equip and maintain these institutions along with tuition fees in money or kind¹⁰⁴ while government grants paid the salaries of

teachers in the aided schools--at little or no cost to the Mission.

The number of primary and elementary teachers in the Mission's schools rose from 76 in 1902 to 99 in 1910-1911: eight had class I, 31 class II and 15 class III certificates "while the balance are without certificates and are employed as assistants in Government-aided schools or as teachers in unaided schools". By this time Cowles was responsible for 3,517 primary pupils (1,427 males and 2,090 females) in at least 49 government-aided schools.¹⁰⁵ Gradually a uniform standard was adopted in the use of textbooks and other teaching aids, based largely on the pioneering efforts of Martha Price, a teacher at Inanda Seminary,¹⁰⁶ and in 1910 a government-approved syllabus through standard IV was selected for general use in the primary and elementary schools. Average attendance at this time was 88 per cent of the total enrolment, nine per cent more than that recorded for European schools. The American Zulu Mission had 28 per cent of the recognized African primary schools and about 25 per cent of the pupils in this category in Natal. For the first time in Mission history these institutions were inspected regularly, examinations held and formal graduation exercises instituted.¹⁰⁷

A NEW EPOCH IN MISSIONARY-COLONIAL COLLABORATION
IN AFRICAN EDUCATION

The ideas of LeRoy, Cowles and others coupled with the reforms that had already been enacted without government aid in the years before the 'Zulu Rebellion', were to prosper when the climate of opinion changed after 1906. The Mission was in a position to influence and, in turn, benefit from changes in colonial policy as government officials began to recognize the radical changes being implemented in its schools.

In the past, the missionaries had complained that while they were almost entirely responsible for African education in the colony, they had no voice in matters of legislation or administration.¹⁰⁸ Government regulations, together with the grants, were usually approved and enforced without seeking the advice, much less the assent, of the missionary societies concerned. Acting on American-sponsored recommendations to the 1906-7 Natal Native Affairs Commission, the second General Missionary Conference held in Johannesburg in 1906 and the Natal Missionary Conference, the government finally decided to create an Educational Advisory Board in 1907, representing missionaries from the major Protestant denominations operating schools in Natal, which would work in co-operation with the Department of Education.¹⁰⁹ All legislation relating to African education was to be submitted to this body before being implemented. The Educational Advisory Board could recommend changes in existing laws and suggest improvements in areas not yet defined by government edict

which were sent to the Education Department for consideration. Although the Educational Advisory Board had no power to enforce these proposals, for the first time in the history of Natal the missionaries were allowed a voice in colonial policy regarding African education. It was clearly a triumph for the American Zulu Mission: "It is gratifying that not only by government but by other societies the American Zulu Mission is considered to be taking the lead in native educational work". By 1910 the Mission could declare with a touch of pride that in this field, at least, it occupied "a position of commanding influence and responsibility".¹¹⁰

Perhaps the most important contribution made by the Mission in African education under Responsible Government, however, was in the area of teacher training. Summer sessions devoted to this subject apparently evolved out of the pupil-teacher experiments in the 1890s and Cowles probably sponsored the first teachers' conference about 1900:

"For some time I have had in mind the desirability of a vacation school for teachers and perhaps others. For both sexes--a time of bible study and spiritual uplift, the study of school methods and school problems."¹¹¹

Although at the time the government showed no interest, the Mission persevered and at least three of these three-day vacation schools--probably the first of their kind in the colony's history--were held before 1907. In that year a 'professional' teacher-training expert held an extended summer school at Inanda Seminary for one month. It was so successful that the Mission decided to make these an annual

affair. Attendance was made compulsory for those who taught in American Zulu Mission schools and teachers from other missionary societies were also invited. Although some of the Mission's concerns seem pointless today--as in 1907 when 26 Zulu formed a club to learn Esperanto--these early conferences served a useful purpose as a laboratory for new ideas and helped to raise the status of the teaching profession.¹¹² Above all, they aroused the interest of government and, as Amy Bridgman Cowles put it, "before we knew it, almost, the government began calling these conferences theirs".¹¹³ In 1910 the Mission was asked to invite all the African teachers in Natal to participate in the summer school. Of 126 who attended that year, 53 were from other missionary societies in the new Province.¹¹⁴

Summer sessions were not enough, however, for as Cowles pointed out in 1907, African education in Natal had now advanced to the stage where a teacher-training college was a necessity:

" . . . the character and efficiency of the work depends . . . upon the native teacher employed . . . the great burden of responsibility for results rests upon the training institution which prepares the teachers."¹¹⁵

With hints of substantial government aid, the Americans began to think seriously of setting up a permanent facility for training teachers. There was little doubt about where such a school would be located since LeRoy was already planning a full-fledged high school to prepare the boys at Amanzimtoti Seminary for university:

"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 a second or first class certificate. . . . Amanzimtoti . . . now needs to be advanced to the point where the boys could prepare for entrance to the college."¹¹⁶

The theological-training pact made with the United Free Church of Scotland provided the opportunity since the latter had agreed to send their advanced pupils and one missionary teacher to the proposed teacher-training college. Support for the project was also received from other missionary societies which apparently was an important factor in the final decision:

"It has long been apparent that unless the different missionary societies working in Natal combined in some definite way, there could 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."¹¹⁷

The old Theological School "cottages" together with a building bought in Durban and moved to Adams were turned into dormitories for the students and homes for the teachers. The balance of Reserve revenue accumulated by the Mission prior to the 1903 Act, and which was still in its possession, was used to repair and rennovate the buildings. Girls who had reached standard VI at Inanda Seminary and Umzumbe Home, together with those who had similar qualifications at Amanzimtoti Seminary, were to be admitted to the new college. One teacher from each of the girls boarding

schools was also assigned to the staff as was the non-missionary teaching specialist sent by the American Board to Natal. Le Roy 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.¹¹⁸ Governor Nathan, who visited the school in June 1909, endorsed the Mission's efforts and the government grant was set initially at £200. In 1910 enrolment increased to 66, of which 40 were boys. This reversal in the male-female ratio, a problem that had plagued the Mission's boarding schools for almost a generation, is a significant example of the African Christian elite's response to the Mission's new stress on secular institutions emphasizing higher education.¹¹⁹ Within a few years, secondary education at Adams would evolve into three distinct departments--a high school, (i.e., Amanzimtoti Seminary), a teacher-training college and a separate industrial-training school. Adams College, as it was to be called, was rightly regarded as a milestone along the road towards the founding of the University College of Fort Hare in 1916.

Thus African education in Natal was to be secular, European and, perhaps inevitably, oriented towards the urban areas. While the Americans played an influential role in these developments, it is significant that they coincided with the end of Mission-sponsored revivals in Natal and geographical expansion into the interior. Henceforth,

religious training and its most important byproduct, evangelism, were to become the exclusive preserve of the churches.

NOTES

1. See chap. I, pp. 22 and footnote 36; chap. V, p. 237.
2. The history of Christianity, for example, occupied a year's worth of study. A.Z.M. (Pretoria), Microfilm A756, Clark to members of the deputation 15/10/1903.
3. Brookes, "Adams College", chap. IV.
The students apparently favored English, however. William Ireland reported in 1878 that English was used "owing to the necessity of using English books, and also to the desire of the natives themselves. The only fault the natives found with their schools /the boarding schools/ . . . was they did not teach English more freely". N.M.C., Proceedings, 1878, p. 12.
4. N.M.C., Proceedings, 1890, p. 26 (my underline).
5. A.Z.M. (Pretoria), Microfilm A749, Amy Bridgman Cowles to Smith 16/10/1895. A.Z.M. (Inanda), unclassified, Amanzimtoti Seminary principal's report for 1894.
6. A.Z.M. (Pretoria), Microfilm A746, General Letter for 1898, p. 19.
7. Plant, op. cit., p. 71.
8. E.g., E.D. 5/2/2, Education Reports (Native and Indian Schools), Inspector of Native Education report for 1887.
9. Jubilee volume, p. 37. See also: N.M.C., Proceedings, 1878, pp. 8-12. A.Z.M. (Inanda), unclassified, South African Deputation Papers (1903), Amanzimtoti Seminary, pp. 40-42, 46. Taylor, Seventy-Five Years, p. 32. A.Z.M. (Pmburg.), Vol. 26 V/1/4, General Letter for 1907, pp. 10-11.
10. A.Z.M. (Inanda), unclassified, South African Deputation Papers (1903), Amanzimtoti Seminary, p. 42, Adams Theological School, p. 39.
11. These included many of the most prominent missionaries of the second generation such as Rood, Tyler, Ireland

Robbins and Henry Bridgman. Brookes, "Adams College", chap. V.

12. A.Z.M. (Inanda), unclassified, The American Zulu Mission Annual 1900-1901, pp. 13-14.
Inanda Seminary, for example, had four African teachers and 10 'pupil' teachers about 1902. A.Z.M. (Inanda), unclassified, South African Deputation Papers (1903), Inanda Seminary, p. 52.
13. A.Z.M. (Pretoria), Microfilm A757, LeRoy to Smith, n.d. (early in 1902).
Amanzimtoti Seminary also employed African teachers from the station communities, many of whom suffered incredible hardships to "exert . . . an influence such as no white man can hope for". While there was rarely, if ever, more than one African teacher at a time, those who taught at the school during this period included Jeremiah Mali, John Dube, John Nembula, Ngazana Lutuli, John Simon, Frank Langa, Robert Ngcobo, Judah Kwela and John Mdima (who became principal of Ohlange Institute about 1904). Jubilee volume, p. 38. A.Z.M. (Pmburg.), Vol. 25 V/1/1, Amanzimtoti Seminary principal's reports for 1892, 1896; Ibid., Vol. 26 V/1/4, General Letter for 1905, p. 10. A.Z.M. (Inanda), unclassified, Amanzimtoti Seminary principal's report for 1901.
14. A.B.C.F.M. reports, Zulu Mission, 1865, 1870, 1880, 1885, 1902. See also: A.Z.M. (Pmburg.), Vol. 25 V/1/1, Amanzimtoti Seminary station reports for 1891, 1898; Ibid., Vol. 25 V/1/2, Amanzimtoti Seminary station report for 1902. A.Z.M. (Inanda), unclassified, Amanzimtoti Seminary principal's report for 1894.
15. A.Z.M. (Pretoria), Microfilm A756, Clark to members of the deputation 15/10/1903. See also: A.Z.M. (Inanda), unclassified, Amanzimtoti Seminary principal's report for 1896-1897.
16. A.Z.M. (Pmburg.), Vol. 25 V/1/1, Amanzimtoti Seminary station reports for 1895, 1896; Ibid., Vol. 26 V/1/3, Amanzimtoti Seminary station report for 1902. See also: A.Z.M. (Inanda), unclassified, Amanzimtoti Seminary principal's report for 1901.
17. A.Z.M. (Pmburg.), Vol. 25 V/1/1, Amanzimtoti Seminary station report for 1895. See also: A.Z.M. (Inanda), unclassified, Amanzimtoti Seminary principal's report for 1894; Ibid., South African Deputation Papers (1903), Amanzimtoti Seminary, p. 41. Brookes, "Adams College", chap. V.

18. A.Z.M. (Pmburg.), Vol. 25 V/1/1, Theological School station report for 1893.
19. A.Z.M. (Pmburg.), Vol. 1 I/1/5, Semi-Annual Meeting, January 1885; Annual Meeting, June-July 1889; Ibid., Vol. 2 I/1/6, Semi-Annual Meeting, Jan.-Feb. 1895; Semi-Annual Meeting, January 1899; Ibid., Vol. 3 I/1/8, Semi-Annual Meeting, Jan.-Feb. 1903; Ibid., Vol. 22 IV/1/1, Theological School committee reports for 1895, 1896. See also: A.Z.M. (Pretoria), Microfilm A751, Kilbon to Smith 25/1/1890.
20. There were several missionary teachers at the school, but since they were there only part of the time, theological training was heavily influenced by Kilbon, an instructor at this institution for 24 years (he began in 1880 when Robbins was still alive)--of which he served as principal for 15 years. Kilbon's record as a teacher was surpassed only by Mrs. Edwards in the boarding schools during this period. From 1892 to 1897 Charles Ransom was a part-time instructor, and Fred Bunker, James Dorward and William Wilcox taught at the school in subsequent years. At least two Africans--John Dube and Mvakwendhlu Sivetye--were also instructors. Nevertheless, none of them ventured to depart from the policies and methods laid down by Kilbon and it was rare, indeed, for anyone to criticize him personally.
 Kilbon had one admirable quality which made him beloved among missionaries and Africans alike. He was a gentle, unassuming and, above all, an infinitely patient man. In other words, he was one of the few members of the Mission who would work with men like Bunker, Dorward and Wilcox who, for various reasons, were most resistant to change. By the late 1890s, new recruits were beginning to dominate Mission policy and they felt the individualism so often displayed and respected by the previous generation could no longer be tolerated. One safe institution for these 'irreconcilable' personalities appears to have been the Theological School. This had important repercussions for theological training and may well have contributed to the growth of the independent church movement during these years. A.Z.M. (Pmburg.), Vol. 7 II/1/5, Smith to Goodenough 5/2/1902 (re Wilcox); Ibid., Vol. 10 III/1/3, F. Bridgman to Barton 13/2/1908 (re Theological School); Ibid., Vol. 14 III/3/4, Wilcox to "Dear Brethren of the Mission" 21/9/1903. A.Z.M. (Pretoria), Microfilm A746, e.g., Bunker to Smith 31/10/1896; Ibid., Microfilm A751, Kilbon to Smith 25/1/1890, 6/9/1890 (re Wilcox); Ibid., Microfilm A756, F. Bridgman to Smith 6/5/1904 (re Bunker), Bunker to Smith 17/10/1902; Ibid., Microfilm

A758, Wilcox to Smith. Brookes, "Adams College", chap. V.

21. A.Z.M. (Pretoria), Microfilm A751, Kilbon to Smith 25/7/1895.
22. A.Z.M. (Pretoria), Microfilm A757, Kilbon to Smith 31/10/1902.
23. A.Z.M. (Pretoria), Microfilm A757, Goodenough to Smith 14/3/1902.
24. A.Z.M. (Pretoria), Microfilm A751, Kilbon to Smith 25/1/1890.

Kilbon's methods may have been an improvement on his predecessor's, however, for it appears that in the beginning the Theological School was an open-door institution with few, if any, religious or educational standards. E.g., A.Z.M. (Pmburg.), Vol. 17 III/6/1, Smith to Robbins 25/4/1885; Ibid., Vol. 24 IV/2/1, Theological School (unpublished Deputation Papers, 1903), pp. 3-4.

25. A.Z.M. (Pmburg.), Vol. 2 I/1/6, Semi-Annual Meeting, February 1895; Ibid., Vol. 25 V/1/1, Theological School station report for 1892. See also: A.Z.M. (Pretoria), Microfilm A751, Kilbon to Smith 19/3/1894.
26. A.Z.M. (Pretoria), Microfilm A757, Kilbon to Smith 31/10/1902.
27. A.Z.M. (Pmburg.), Vol. 22 IV/1/1, Theological School committee report for 1895; Ibid., Vol. 25 V/1/1, Theological School station report for 1894.
28. A.Z.M. (Pretoria), Microfilm A756, Bunker to Smith 27/7/1900.
29. A.Z.M. (Pretoria), Microfilm A758, Ransom to Smith 14/7/1900.
30. A.Z.M. (Pmburg.), Vol. 25 V/1/1, Theological School station reports for 1894, 1895.
31. A.Z.M. (Inanda), Microfilm A751, Kilbon to Smith 17/1/1893. See also: A.B.C.F.M. reports, Zulu Mission, 1881-1903.
32. A.Z.M. (Pmburg.), Vol. 26 V/1/3, Theological School station reports for 1898-1899, 1900, 1901, 1902;

- Ibid., Vol. 22 IV/1/2, Theological School committee reports for 1897, 1898; Ibid., Vol. 23 IV/1/3, Theological School committee report for 1899. See also: A.Z.M. (Pretoria), Microfilm A754, General Letter for 1901 (re Theological School).
33. A.Z.M. (Pretoria), Microfilm A755, F. Bridgman to Smith 18/4/1902. See also: A.Z.M. (Pmburg.), Vol. 23 IV/1/4, Theological School committee reports for 1902 (with special report).
 34. A.Z.M. (Pmburg.), Vol. 2 I/1/7, Annual Meeting, June-July 1902.
 35. A.Z.M. (Pretoria), Microfilm A758, Taylor to Smith 20/7/1900.
 36. A.Z.M. (Pretoria), Microfilm A749, Amy Bridgman Cowles to Smith 16/10/1895.
 37. Plant's description of Inanda Seminary in 1894: "The varied character of the work done, the exactness and thoroughness insisted upon in all the departments, and the air of refinement that pervades the whole establishment, combine to make it as near the ideal Native girls' school as it seems possible to get." E.D. 5/2/2, Education Reports (Native and Indian Schools), Inspector of Native Education report for 1893-4; Ibid., cf. reports for 1886, 1887, 1889, 1891-2, 1892-3. N.B.B., Education Department, Inspector of Native Education reports for 1897, 1901 (re Inanda Seminary).
 38. A.Z.M. (Inanda), unclassified, South African Deputation Papers (1903), Inanda Seminary, pp. 49-54.
 39. Ibid.
 40. E.g., N.B.B., Education Department, Inspector of Native Education report for 1885 (re Umzumbe Home).
 41. A.Z.M. (Inanda), unclassified, South African Deputation Papers (1903), Umzumbe Home, pp. 55-56.
The early history of Umzumbe Home owed a great deal to the efforts of Janet Welch, a colonial teacher who served for 18 years until her marriage in 1890--the longest tenure in the school's history.
 42. A.Z.M. (Inanda), unclassified, miscellaneous notes on Umzumbe Mission Station, n.d., n.n. (apparently compiled by Mrs. Laura Bridgman). See also: A.Z.M. (Pmburg.), Vol. 22 IV/1/1, Umzumbe Home committee reports 1893-1895; Ibid., Vol. 22 IV/1/2, Umzumbe

Home committee reports 1896-1899; Ibid., Vol. 25 V/1/1, Umzumbe Home station reports 1891-1897; Ibid., Vol. 25 V/1/2, General Letter for 1893, pp. 21-22, 30-31. A.Z.M. (Pretoria), Microfilm A749, Goodenough to Smith 22/2/1896 (re health problems of Umzumbe Home missionaries); Ibid., Microfilm A747, General Letter for 1898 (re Umzumbe Home). Personal Information (Richard Sales).

Umzumbe Home has been credited with introducing the kindergarten to African education in Natal. Before her marriage, Amy Bridgman taught for several years at her parents' station where she established kindergartens in the Sunday schools. Gradually a special curriculum was devised for this class at the station's primary school and pupils from Umzumbe Home were trained to teach kindergarten. The project received government aid and when Amy Bridgman left Umzumbe in 1891, the experiment was a proven success. It was adopted officially by the American Zulu Mission and eventually accepted by other missionary societies operating African primary schools in the colony. A.Z.M. (Inanda), unclassified, missionary scrap book, unidentified newspaper clipping (re Umzumbe Home). A.Z.M. (Pretoria), Microfilm A751, Ransom to Smith 4/1/1892. E.D. I/1/1, e.g., Minutes of the Council of Education 25/11/1885, p. 3. A.Z.M. (Pmburg.), Vol. 16 III/5/2, Smith to Wilder 7/1/1887.

43. A.Z.M. (Inanda), unclassified, South African Deputation Papers (1903), Inanda Seminary, p. 50. See also: A.Z.M. (Pretoria), Microfilm A747, General Letter for 1898 (re Inanda Seminary). A.Z.M. (Pmburg.), Vol. 22 III/1/2, Report of committee--pupils' work for teachers (1897); Ibid., Vol. 25 V/1/1, Inanda Seminary station reports 1893-1896; Ibid., Vol. 25 V/1/2, General Letter for 1899-1900, pp. 13-14.
44. A.Z.M. (Pmburg.), Vol. 2 I/1/6, Semi-Annual Meeting, Jan.-Feb. 1897. See also: A.Z.M. (Inanda), unclassified, South African Deputation Papers (1903), Inanda Seminary, pp. 52-53.

Umzumbe Home apparently encountered the same scholastic difficulties as the other boarding schools, but detailed supporting evidence is not available. Most of the girls at this school re-entered traditional society:

"We receive numbers of these girls from the kraals, give them a taste of civilized living, and Christian education. In a few months or a year or two they are back in their kraals. . . . Nineteen out of every twenty marry heathen men, into polygamy. There are none others for them to marry . . . for we are not reaching to any extent the heathen boys."

- A.Z.M. (Pretoria), Microfilm A750, A. Stillson (a teacher at the school 1892-1897) to Smith 28/3/1895.
45. Graph compiled from Inanda Seminary and Umzumbe Home station reports, general letters and published statistics of the Natal Education Department as well as the official reports of the A.B.C.F.M. 1885-1903.
 46. In the 1880s the missionaries were divided on the question of creating more boarding schools because they did not want finances and personnel to go to these institutions if it was to be at the expense of the churches. The controversy came out into the open when it was proposed that another girls boarding school be opened at Mapumulo. Although the Mission voted 6-3 in favor of the scheme, the American Board refused to grant funds unless the decision was unanimous. The project was dropped and at their annual meeting in 1885 the Mission "reaffirmed" its determination to limit the development of full-fledged secondary schools to Amanzimtoti and Inanda seminaries. Umzumbe Home was supposed to resume its role as a boarding school for 'kraal girls' who were not to be educated beyond the primary level. A.Z.M. (Pmburg.), Vol. 1 I/1/5, Semi-Annual Meeting, Jan.-Feb. 1885; Annual Meeting, June-July 1885; Ibid., Vol. 6 II/1/3, Smith to Rood 20/4/1885, Smith to Pixley 25/8/1885, 1/9/1885, 25/9/1885, 30/9/1885, 10/11/1887, 24/12/1887, 6/2/1888, 9/7/1888; Smith to Holbrook 21/8/1888; Ibid., Vol. 16 III/5/2, Smith to Wilder 20/4/1885.
 47. A.Z.M. (Pmburg.), Vol. 22 IV/1/1, Committee on homes for Kraal girls for 1893; Ibid., Ireland Home committee report for 1895.
 48. The following information has been taken from: A.Z.M. (Pmburg.), Vol. 2 I/1/6, Annual Meeting, June-July 1894; Annual Meeting, June-July 1895; Semi-Annual Meeting, February 1900; Ibid., Vol. 2 I/1/7, Annual Meeting, June-July 1900; Ibid., Vol. 22 IV/1/1, Ireland Home committee reports 1893-1895; Ibid., Vol. 22 IV/1/2, Ireland home committee reports 1896-1898; Ibid., Vol. 23 IV/1/4, Ireland Home committee report for 1900; Ibid., Vol. 25 V/1/1, Ireland Home station reports for 1894-5, 1896-7; Ibid., Vol. 25 V/1/2, General Letters for 1894, p. 6; 1895, pp. 23-24; 1896, pp. 21-22; 1899-1900, p. 14; Ibid., Vol. 26 V/1/3, Ireland Home station reports for 1898, 1900. See also: A.Z.M. (Pretoria), Microfilm A747, General Letter for 1898, p. 23; Ibid., Microfilm A751, Mrs. O. R. Ireland to Smith 1895-1897 (misc. correspondence).

49. The two students from Inanda were known simply as Katie and Nomdayi--the latter a chief's daughter who personally attracted a large number of heathen girls to the school. Indeed, the government called Ireland Home an "under-ground railway". A.Z.M. (Pmburg.), Vol. 2 I/1/7, Semi-Annual Meeting, February 1902; Ibid., Vol. 3 I/1/8, Semi-Annual Meeting, January 1904, Annual Meeting, June-July 1904 and Special Meeting, December 1904; Ibid., Vol. 14 III/3/4, Laura Mellen to the Mission 8/12/1903, George Wilder to Taylor 2/4/1904; Ibid., Vol. 19 III/9/1, Bunker circular letter, n.d. (about 1900); Ibid., Vol. 23 IV/1/4, Ireland Home committee report for 1902, report of special committee to consider the future of Ireland Home (1900); Ibid., Vol. 26 V/1/4, General Letter for 1904, p. 9. See also: N.B.B., Education Department, Inspector of Native Education report for 1898 (re Ireland Home). A.Z.M. (Inanda), unclassified, The American Zulu Mission Annual 1900-1901, p. 15.
50. Appendix IV. See also: A.Z.M. (Inanda), unclassified, South African Deputation Papers (1903). Primary Schools, p. 64. A.Z.M. (Pmburg.), Vol. 25 V/1/2, General Letter for 1892, p. 8.
51. A.Z.M. (Inanda), unclassified, South African Deputation Papers (1903), Primary Schools, pp. 58, 61-62. See also: A.Z.M. (Pmburg.), Vol. 25 V/1/2, General Letter for 1892, pp. 10-12.
52. A.Z.M. (Inanda), unclassified, South African Deputation Papers (1903), Primary Schools, pp. 59-61. See also: A.Z.M. (Pmburg.), Vol. 25 V/1/2, General Letter for 1897, pp. 3-4; Ibid., Vol. 26 V/1/3, North Coast report (Taylor) for 1902, pp. 2-7; Ibid., Vol. 26 V/1/4, General Letter for 1902, pp. 13-14.
53. A.Z.M. (Pmburg.), Vol. 25 V/1/1, Amanzimtoti Seminary principal's report for 1896; Ibid., Vol. 25 V/1/2, General Letters for 1893, pp. 31-32; Ibid., Vol. 26 V/1/3, General Letter for 1899-1900, pp. 14-17; North Coast report (Taylor) for 1902, pp. 2-7; Ibid., Vol. 26 V/1/4, General Letter for 1902-3, pp. 17-20.
54. A.Z.M. (Inanda), unclassified, South African Deputation Papers (1903), Primary Schools, p. 63. See also: chap. V, pp. 275-276.
55. A.Z.M. (Inanda), unclassified, South African Deputation Papers (1903), Primary Schools, pp. 65-66.
56. A.Z.M. (Pmburg.), Vol. 26 V/1/3, General Letter for 1899-1900, p. 17.

57. A.Z.M. (Pmburg.), Vol. 26 V/1/3, General Letter for 1903, p. 25.
58. A.Z.M. (Inanda), unclassified, South African Deputation Papers (1903), Umzumbe Home, pp. 56-57.
59. A.Z.M. (Inanda), unclassified, South African Deputation Papers (1903), Primary Schools, p. 61.
60. A.Z.M. (Pmburg.), Vol. 2 I/1/6, Semi-Annual Meeting, Jan.-Feb. 1897; Annual Meeting, June-July 1897.
61. A.Z.M. (Pmburg.), Vol. 2 I/1/6, Special Meeting, November 1899.
62. A.Z.M. (Pmburg.), Vol. 2 I/1/7, Annual Meeting, June-July 1900.
63. A.Z.M. (Inanda), unclassified, Deputation Report (1903), pp. 28-30, 52-54, 58. See also: A.Z.M. (Pmburg.), Vol. 3 I/1/8, Annual Meeting, July-August 1903; Ibid., Vol. 19 III/2/1, Smith to Taylor 31/3/1904 (with enclosure--Report of the American Board sub-committee on African missions).
64. A.Z.M. (Inanda), unclassified, South African Deputation Papers (1903), Adams Theological School, p. 39. See also: Taylor, Seventy-Five Years, pp. 36-37. A.Z.M. (Pmburg.), Vol. 3 I/1/8, Annual Meeting, June-July 1904; Ibid., Vol. 26 V/1/4, General Letter for 1905, pp. 10-11.
65. A.Z.M. (Pmburg.), Vol. 19 III/2/1, Smith to Taylor 18/6/1904, 30/11/1904, 27/2/1905 (with enclosure--additional recommendations of the American Board sub-committee on African missions); Ibid., Vol. 26 V/1/4, General Letters for 1904, pp. 9-11; 1905, pp. 10-11. See also: Taylor, Seventy-Five Years, pp. 36-37. A.Z.M. (Pretoria), Microfilm A758, Taylor to Smith 13/5/1903.
66. A.Z.M. (Pretoria), Microfilm A758, Taylor to Smith 26/8/1904.
67. A.Z.M. (Pmburg.), Vol. 26 V/1/4, General Letter for 1907, pp. 15-16.

68. Theological School 1905 1906
American Board grant £75 £75
(£100) (£100)
* () Mission's minimum estimated requirements.
A.Z.M. (Pmburg.), Vol. 3 I/1/8, Minutes of meetings
1904-1905.
69. A.Z.M. (Pmburg.), Vol. 3 I/1/8, Semi-Annual Meeting,
Jan.-Feb. 1907; Ibid., Vol. 26 V/1/4, General Letter
for 1907, pp. 15-16.
70. A.Z.M. (Pmburg.), Vol. 3 I/1/9, Annual Meeting, July
1908; Special Meeting, November 1908; Annual Meeting,
July 1910; Ibid., Vol. 26 V/1/4, General Letters for
1908, p. 45; 1909, p. 7; 1910, p. 34. See also:
Christofersen, Adventuring With God, p. 138. Taylor,
Seventy-Five Years, p. 37.
71. A.Z.M. (Inanda), unclassified, South African Deputation
Papers (1903), Adams Theological School, p. 39.
72. A.Z.M. (Pmburg.), Vol. 26 V/1/4, General Letter for
1904, pp. 10-11.
73. Henry Stick, in charge of the Theological School from
1918 to 1948, "was deeply concerned with the rural
ministry . . . and both he and his wife tried . . . to
prepare young men and their wives for a rural pastorate".
Christofersen, Adventuring With God, pp. 139-140.
74. A.Z.M. (Inanda), unclassified, South African Deputation
Papers (1903), Amanzimtoti Seminary, p. 47.
75. Ibid., p. 48.
76. A.Z.M. (Pretoria), Microfilm A757, LeRoy to Smith
30/10/1903.
77. A.Z.M. (Pretoria), Microfilm A757, Le Roy to Smith
2/12/1903.
78. A.Z.M. (Inanda), unclassified, South African Deputation
Papers (1903), Amanzimtoti Seminary, p. 48.
79. A.Z.M. (Pmburg.), Vol. 3 I/1/8, Special Meeting, Nov-
ember 1903.

Pressure was also exerted by the American Zulu Mission's rapidly-growing offspring, the East Central African Mission, now firmly entrenched in the eastern highlands of Rhodesia. Co-ordination was essential between the two missions to avoid unnecessary duplication. In the field of education, the Zulu Mission was concerned that the American Board might establish rivals

in Rhodesia to the boarding schools in Natal, thus depriving the latter of much-needed financial support. The Rhodesian Mission replied, in effect, that the Theological School at Adams would be acceptable but not Amanzimtoti Seminary "unless it becomes a school for distinctly higher education". A.Z.M. (Pmburg.), Vol. 3 I/1/8, Special Meeting, September 1903.

80. A.Z.M. (Inanda), unclassified, South African Deputation Papers (1903), Amanzimtoti Seminary, pp. 43-46.
81. A.Z.M. (Inanda), unclassified, Amanzimtoti Seminary principal's reports 1903-1906, 1908. See also: A.Z.M. (Pmburg.), Vol. 26 V/1/4, General Letters for 1903, pp. 24-26; 1904, pp. 6-7; 1905, pp. 6-7; 1910, pp. 31-32. Taylor, Seventy-Five Years, pp. 34, 72-73.
82. A.Z.M. (Inanda), unclassified, Amanzimtoti Seminary principal's reports for 1894, 1903-1908. See also A.Z.M. (Pretoria), Microfilm A754, General Letter for 1900-1901 p. 23. A.Z.M. (Pmburg.), Vol. 18 III/8/1, Anne Dixon to Smith 10/5/1886 (enclosed in James Gray folder 1896-1945).
83. A.Z.M. (Inanda), unclassified, Amanzimtoti Seminary principal's reports for 1893, 1906-1907. See also: A.Z.M. (Pmburg.), Vol. 24 IV/2/1, Amanzimtoti Seminary (unpublished Deputation Papers, 1903).
84. A.Z.M. (Inanda), unclassified, Amanzimtoti Seminary principal's report for 1905.
85. A.Z.M. (Inanda), unclassified, Microfilm A757, LeRoy to Smith 23/12/1904.
86. For details, see chap. V, pp. 263-264, 277.
87. A.Z.M. (Pmburg.), Vol. 26 V/1/4, e.g., General Letters for 1907, pp. 10-11; 1908, pp. 40-42; 1909, pp. 7-9; 1910, pp. 31-33.
88. A.Z.M. (Inanda), unclassified, South African Deputation Papers (1903), Amanzimtoti Seminary, p. 48.
89. A.Z.M. (Pmburg.), Vol. 24 IV/1/5, Report of the Inanda Seminary and Umzumbe Home committee for 1905; Ibid., Vol. 26 V/1/4, cf. General Letters for 1905, pp. 7-10; 1907, pp. 11-15; 1908, pp. 42-45; 1909, pp. 9-11; 1910, pp. 22-30. See also: Taylor, Seventy-Five Years, p. 39.

90. A.Z.M. (Pmburg.), Vol. 28 V/2/1, Umzumbe Home station reports for 1906-1907, 1907-1908. A.B.C.F.M. report, Zulu Mission, 1910.
91. A.B.C.F.M. reports, Zulu Mission, 1905, 1907, 1910.
92. N.B.B., Education Department, Native Schools statistics 1902-1904. See also: A.Z.M. (Pmburg.), Vol. 26 V/1/4, General Letter for 1904, pp. 7-9; Ibid., Vol. 19 III/2/1, cf. Smith to Taylor 30/11/1904, 21/12/1904, 9/12/1905, 14/12/1905 passim. (re teacher training in the boarding schools).
93. N.B.B., Education Department, Native Schools statistics for 1893, 1907. See also: A.Z.M. (Pmburg.), Vol. 26 V/1/4, General Letter for 1905, pp. 6-7.
94. N.B.B., Education Department, Inspector of Native Schools report for 1908.
95. A.Z.M. (Pmburg.), Vol. 28 V/2/1, Umzumbe Home station report for 1910-1911. See also: A.Z.M. (Inanda), unclassified, Amanzimtoti Seminary principal's report for 1901.
96. Jubilee volume, pp. 7-8.
97. A.Z.M. (Pmburg.), Vol. 26 V/1/4, General Letter for 1910, p. 29; Ibid., Vol. 28 V/2/1, Umzumbe Home station report for 1907-1908.
98. A.Z.M. (Inanda), unclassified, South African Deputation Papers (1903), Primary Schools, p. 64.
99. A.Z.M. (Pmburg.), Vol. 14 III/3/4, Barnett to F. Bridgman 14/11/1903; Ibid., Vol. 26 V/1/4, General Letter for 1904, pp. 4-5.
100. As indicated, there was no real missionary supervision over the primary and elementary schools. For most of this period (late 1830s to 1904), the Mission theoretically divided the field into five sections--north and south coasts (from Durban), Amanzimtoti (Adams), Inanda and Umzumbe--and apportioned this responsibility among those missionaries residing in these areas. In 1902 three of the six missionaries supervizing the primary schools were women. A.Z.M. (Inanda), unclassified, South African Deputation Papers (1903), Primary Schools, pp. 63-64; Ibid., The American Zulu Mission Annual 1900-1901, p. 16.
101. A.Z.M. (Pmburg.), Vol. 3 I/1/8, Semi-Annual Meeting, January 1904; Special Meeting, December 1904; Ibid., Vol. 26 V/1/4, General Letter for 1905, pp. 5-6.

102. A.Z.M. (Pmburg.), Vol. 26 V/1/4, General Letter for 1907, pp. 8-9.
103. N.B.B., Education Department, Inspector of Native Schools report for 1909 (re primary schools).
104. Primary school tuition of two shillings a year apparently was dropped after the Reserve Education Fund was created. Ten years later, however, the students again were required to pay the fee. A.Z.M. (Pmburg.), Vol. 3 I/1/9, Semi-Annual Meeting, December 1911.
105. A.Z.M. (Pmburg.), Vol. 27 V/1/5, Report of the A.Z.M. Day /primary and elementary/ Schools 1910-1911. A.B.C.F.M. report, Zulu Mission, 1902.
Taylor reported 3,932 primary pupils in 1910 and the American Board officially recorded 3,570. The estimated number of aided and unaided primary and elementary Mission schools in 1910, moreover, was 73. Taylor, Seventy-Five Years, p. 43. Appendix IV.
106. Miss Price, who arrived on the field in 1877, taught pupil teachers and supervised the primary department at Inanda Seminary. She published several Zulu textbooks and "reading charts" in the 1890s and organized probably the first teacher-training courses for Africans in the colony. A.Z.M. (Pmburg.), e.g., Vol. 23, IV/1/3, Inanda Seminary committee report for 1899. Taylor, Seventy-Five Years, pp. 38-39.
107. A.Z.M. (Pmburg.), Vol. 26 V/1/4, General Letter for 1910, pp. 20-21; Ibid., Vol. 27 V/1/5, Report of A.Z.M. Day /primary and elementary/ Schools 1910-1911. See also: Taylor, Seventy-Five Years, p. 72.
108. Clergymen were denied the right to be represented on the Council of Education when it was created in 1877, for example, and this was never repealed. N.G.G., Law No. 15 of 1877 (Dec. 4, 1877), "To make better provision for Primary or Elementary Education in the Colony of Natal," section 2.
109. Taylor, Seventy-Five Years, pp. 43-44. See also: 1906-7 Natal Native Affairs Commission, Evidence, pp. 186-187 (John Bruce for N.M.C.) and Report, p. 34. Emanuelson, op. cit., pp. 197-198, 224-228. Kannemeyer, op. cit., pp. 333-336.
The Advisory Board was actually in operation two years before it was recognized officially by the government in 1909. It consisted of a committee of 12 missionaries from 10 societies and two officials representing the Departments of Native Affairs and Education.

- A.Z.M. (Inanda), unclassified, Amanzimtoti Seminary principal's report for 1909. A.Z.M. (Pmburg.), Vol. 26 V/1/4, General Letter for 1909, p. 8.
110. A.Z.M. (Pmburg.), Vol. 26 V/1/4, General Letters for 1907, p. 9; 1910, p. 21.
 111. A.Z.M. (Inanda), unclassified, Amanzimtoti Seminary principal's report for 1901.
 112. A.Z.M. (Pretoria), Microfilm A754, General Letter for 1901 (re primary schools). See also: A.Z.M. (Pmburg.), Vol. 26 V/1/4, General Letters for 1905, pp. 5-6; 1907, p. 9; Ibid., Vol. 32 VII/9/1, Cowles report on teachers' conference, July-August 1907; Cowles report on building operations, n.d. (incomplete) and unidentified report on the 1907 teachers' conference (incomplete).
 113. A.Z.M. (Pmburg.), Vol. 32 VII/9/1, Amy Bridgman Cowles to Frost 27/7/1937.
 114. Taylor, Seventy-Five Years, p. 71.
 115. A.Z.M. (Pmburg.), Vol. 32 VII/9/1, Cowles report on teachers' conference, July-August 1907.
 116. A.Z.M. (Inanda), unclassified, Amanzimtoti Seminary principal's reports for 1907, 1908.
 117. A.Z.M. (Pmburg.), Vol. 26 V/1/4, General Letter for 1909, pp. 7-8.
 118. A.Z.M. (Pmburg.), Vol. 3 I/1/9, Annual Meeting, July 1909; Ibid., Vol. 26 V/1/4, General Letters for 1909, pp. 7-10; 1910, p. 33. See also: Taylor, Seventy-Five Years, pp. 33-34.
 119. A.Z.M. (Pmburg.), Vol. 3 I/1/9, Special Meeting, November 1910; Annual Meeting, July 1910; Ibid., Vol. 26 V/1/4, General Letter for 1910, p. 33. See also: A.Z.M. (Inanda), unclassified, Amanzimtoti Seminary principal's report for 1909, Nathan speech 25/6/1909.

CHAPTER VII

THE CHURCH IN ACTION: REFORM,
REVOLT, RECONCILIATION

The American Board's great dream of self-supporting, self-governing, self-propagating missionary churches had been envisaged by Secretary Rufus Anderson even before the American Civil War. At that time it was a hopeful dream, however, not a policy to be pursued in overseas missions. When the American Board first made an effort to get the Zulu Mission to consider the matter in the late 1860s, it was ignored. As we have seen, the second missionary generation feared the responsibility that already was being exercised by the Christian community. In the end, the Americans plunged into a cultural reformation, centered on the churches, in an attempt to eliminate everything that was not a projection of the Mission image. By the mid-1880s the primitive ecclesiastical structure that had bound the Zulu Christian community together and provided a creative channel of expression for the emerging African Christian elite lay in ruins.¹

THE AMERICAN BOARD INTERVENES

This was the situation on the Zulu Mission when Judson Smith, one of the more influential advocates of independent

indigenous churches in the history of the American Board, became foreign secretary in 1884. Smith (1884-1906) was an administrator par excellence--a representative of the new breed of missionary-cum-businessmen who were beginning to guide the fortunes of many American missionary societies in the generation before World War I. His letters--conspicuous for their clarity and efficiency of style--were more direct and demanding than his predecessors'. The laissez faire attitude of the past would no longer be tolerated. Every act would now have to be defended before the American Board as it rarely had been previously:

" . . . we must have fresh material from the missionaries on the field, and we should have the same from all of them. . . . If the churches /in America/ are to maintain an interest in the work of the Board, they must be kept in touch with the missionaries and must know what they are doing. . . . You may say, and very properly, that you have not been specially asked hitherto to furnish such matter. That you may be able to say so no longer, we write this letter You cannot be too specific in describing your educational, medical, industrial, publication and evangelistic work, in all its departments, or in the accounts of the churches and work of individuals, for generalities do not take hold upon the mind and heart like specific cases".²

The American Board's major concern was the African churches themselves, and Smith made quite clear what was to be required of the American Zulu Mission:

"What kind of Christians do the Zulus make. . . . What may we reasonably anticipate from these people after Christian institutions have become thoroughly established among them? How near do you think the day is, when these native churches will be self-supporting and competent to carry on the work of the Gospel without the aid of missionaries? How is the problem of self-support working out? Do

you find the people ready to respond, are they able to provide for themselves, is as much done by the missionaries to lead them to this result as can well be done?"³

The Mission's response to these inquiries was generally timid, fearful and--as usual--disunited. Wilcox, in a typical emotional outburst, urged the American Board to demand complete self-support at once, criticized his colleagues for their 'comfortable' style of living, claimed they were not making enough sacrifices in their work, and suggested that the Mission would benefit if its force was reduced even further.⁴ Most of the missionaries, and particularly the older ones, however, were afraid of any 'ignorant' if well-meant pressure from the American Board after years of relatively unrestricted freedom. Kilbon summarized what was undoubtedly the majority view on the issue of self-support in 1885:

"We should be very glad to know and adopt wiser, more progressive and effective, methods of work if somebody possessed the wisdom to instruct us. Some of the new missionaries when they first land try plans and advise methods but settle finally into the tried and proven ways of the experienced missionaries, or at least, find reason to regret that the success of their plans is not what they anticipated. . . . Nobody can know the stultifying, agonizing, fear of African heathenism till they meet it, and seek to eradicate it. . . . The difficulty of all difficulties is that of making them assume responsibility in anything. They do not shirk responsibility so much as they do not feel responsibility. There is nothing in heathenism to prepare a man for responsibility, but everything to unfit him for it. . . . They do not see the ground for the requirement to support themselves in church matters. . . . for they do not see the need of supporting anything requiring money".

To the question of what had been done in 50 years of effort towards self-support among the churches, Kilbon gave a reply

which, although honest, severely weakened the Mission's position from the American Board's point of view:

"The early missionaries hoped for a more rapid development, but experience has shown that they did not give time enough—that generations, instead of years, will be required. . . . We have one church and one only trying to carry this burden. They have been commendably persistent in their efforts since the church was formed . . . but with all their effort have raised only half what they proposed to raise. It is feared they will fall even below this in future. . . . We ourselves feel very unsatisfied with the way this question of self-support stands among our churches and of their indifference to the whole question of the pastorate."⁵

ATTEMPTS TO RECONCILE AMBIVALENT GOALS IN THE CHURCHES

Secretary Smith's rather adroit warning was well understood, even if the Mission did not acknowledge its own complicity in the churches' failure to assume responsibility. Indeed, the missionaries were aware that the reformation was also weakening their control over the Christian community and in 1883 had proposed discussing with the African pastors and preachers as a group "all matters, religious and educational relating to our work".⁶ Using these meetings as a public forum, the Zulu Mission hoped to dictate the methods to be used in reconciling its needs with the goals of the American Board. The churches which had been crippled by the reformation would now be rebuilt and, in the process, remolded in the Mission's image.

In 1885, the Mission called a special meeting, at which African delegates were present, to discuss the question of

how the churches could support their pastors and aid the Mission in a proposed extension of 'foreign work' into Zululand and Portuguese East Africa.⁷ A "Committee on Union and Co-operation with the Native Christians" drew up a plan which was presented, appropriately enough, at the Mission's Jubilee meeting in December 1885. Two missionaries, two members from a group of 'young people'--an obscure byproduct of the reformation apparently independent of Mission control⁸--and two members from the virtually defunct Home Missionary Society representing the older Christians were to be elected to an executive committee called the Abaisitupa ("The Six"). This committee would have authority over

" . . . selecting proper persons to be employed as teachers and preachers, their examination, and location, and to decide as to their salary; the Treasurer to receive, and keep account of all monies contributed for evangelistic work, and to pay the salary of the preachers and teachers, employed as by written order of the Committee of Six. The Secretary to keep a record of all business transacted and votes passed".⁹

Thus the churches were to be reorganized under a new executive body, the Abaisitupa, which was supposed to administer their financial affairs more efficiently than in the past, while a small measure of responsibility over Church affairs was returned to the African Christians. The Africans, however, made the most important concession. The 'young people' and the Home Missionary Society agreed to cease employing their own evangelists and put the funds they had collected and hitherto distributed separately into one treasury together with the Native Agency grant (that portion of the

American Board's subsidy to the Zulu Mission which was supposed to equal the amount collected by the Home Missionary Society to support the African Church leaders).

The missionaries, moreover, demanded and received the key post of treasurer "it being understood that any funds of the Board . . . shall be considered grants-in-aid and not subject in any way to the control of natives". In addition, the missionaries insisted on controlling the selection and placement of the preachers, evangelists and teachers.¹⁰ The Mission's needs, at least, had been satisfied. As Elijah Robbins, architect of the scheme, put it: "The main object of the plan is the formation of a Union Missionary Society . . . designed to avoid especially two evils (1) of the missionaries acting independently of the natives, and (2) of the natives acting independently of the missionaries".¹¹ Nevertheless, the creation of the Abaisitupa was an historic decision, for even a theoretical move to share responsibility proved irrevocable. What was given could never again be taken away.

The Mission had said nothing, however, about setting African preachers and/or pastors over the churches. Indeed, barely a year after the Abaisitupa was formed the Mission reported to the American Board that this was an impossible condition to fulfill:

"The churches are not ready for pastors. They do not know what the duties of a pastor are and hence have no correct idea of what his qualifica-

tions should be. To them he is more of a petty chief than a religious teacher. In selecting him they would regard his position in society rather than his position in the church."¹²

Secretary Smith, however, was adamant. No increase in personnel would be forthcoming until the Mission fulfilled the American Board's policy in full:

"There seems to be . . . the necessity of bringing the native preachers forward into positions of more responsibility in a measure to compensate for the diminution of American laborers. I wish distinctly to bring to the attention of the mission the propriety of moving toward the completion of the organization of the churches in the mission by securing the appointment of native pastors over them all, and their support by the churches themselves. . . . no man will ever become fit to be a pastor except by being made a pastor, and having his natural qualifications drawn out by the pressure of responsibility. No missionary should be a pastor of a native church, and no missionary should occupy the place of a pastor. A church that has a missionary for its pastor can never come to the idea of self-support."¹³

Secretary Smith clearly recognized the complementary relationship between a self-supporting and a self-governing Church. If the Mission was reluctant to ordain pastors to take charge of the churches, the latter were equally reluctant to render financial assistance for their own support. And the failure to accept these two principles foredoomed the third--that of a self-propagating Church. The American Board refused to increase the Mission's personnel and, from 1877, had begun to reduce the Native Agency grant.¹⁴ By 1885 the American Board's contribution had been cut to £140; by 1891 it was £75 and in 1894 it was only £50 a year. Between 1887 and 1894 the Abaisitupa distributed about £1,600 (\$8,000) in salaries

to Church officials, of which only about £600 (\$3,000) came from the American Board.¹⁵ As we have noted, however, contributions from the African Christian community also declined in the 1880s and 1890s while Church membership rose.¹⁶ Under the stimulus of the Abaisitupa, the African staff, with the exception of ordained pastors, also increased.¹⁷

	<u>Preachers</u>	<u>Evangelists</u>
1885	7 (4 in 1884)	50
1890	16	85
1895	22	160

Without sufficient funds, the Church leaders lived a precarious existence. In 1885 their salaries were reduced; in 1891 Goodenough reported that all but four preachers were earning £12 a year and had to take supplementary jobs to earn a living. Secretary Smith, however, did not even bother to camouflage the futility of asking for more money: "I will say with regard to the limit which has been named for your estimates for 1892 that it is well understood that the limit is hopelessly inadequate to provide for the necessary work of the Mission."¹⁸

BUILDING AN AUTONOMOUS CHURCH

Recognizing the urgency, as well as the inevitability, of responding to the American Board's demands, the American Zulu Mission already had embarked on an all-embracing scheme designed to give expression to the policy of a self-supporting, self-governing, self-propagating African Church autonomous in

structure but under the overall control of the Mission.

The first "principles" of self-support were adopted at the Mission's annual meeting in 1889 and offered to "representatives of the churches":

" . . . inasmuch as for 50 years the Gospel has been preached among the natives with the result that churches have been formed for more than 40 years, it is time that the churches . . . under the supervision of the Zulu Mission should now commit themselves to some more definite plan of self-support and the committee presents the following plan, viz. That each church of the Zulu Mission now assume the whole or a part of the support of a native licentiate /clergy/ . . . to assist the missionary in the labors of his circuit. . . . Any church unable to undertake the plan in full shall apply . . . for a temporary grant in aid. Any church unable to undertake the plan at all shall pay its contributions as usual to the committee on Home and Foreign Work /Abaisitupa/."

A "licensing board" was created to be composed of three missionaries and two ordained African pastors, "who shall grant or withhold licenses to candidates for employment by the churches". The missionaries also recommended "that in future each church should send two duly accredited delegates to the Native Meeting to bring . . . reports of their respective churches covering all collections and other church matters".¹⁹

The "licentiate", however, consisted of "approved" preachers or assistants to the missionaries, not pastors. This probationary period was regarded "as a necessary preliminary to the full Native Pastorate"²⁰ but in reality it merely legitimized a practice that had prevailed for more than a generation. Thus it seems probable that the Church's initial reluctance to accept the plan was based as much on

this requirement as on the financial burdens involved. In 1890 the Mission voted "to reaffirm and emphasize" the plan for self-support, and in 1891 a total of £300 was "apportioned" for preachers' salaries among the various churches. Each of the leading congregations--Umvoti, Adams and Inanda--were to be assessed £30 a year. The churches were warned that they would never be given pastors unless they pledged their entire support but, once again, there was no response.²¹

By the mid-1890s, the missionaries were getting desperate. The complexity of problems relating to land, school and Church, had aggravated tensions with the American Board, alienated the colonists and threatened to destroy already tenuous links with the African Christian community. The churches' refusal to commit themselves financially was attributed to their inability to appreciate the importance of corporative effort: "There is no properly organized missionary society among the churches . . . and the relations of the Abaisitupa to the churches is too loose and its duties and powers too vaguely defined".²² An organization was needed to unify the churches and define their responsibilities as well as their privileges so that a constructive program of self-support could be implemented. The missionaries recognized that this would alter the ideal of congregational polity, but the threatened collapse of the work dictated a change in policy.²³

A "Native Agency" plan was finally completed in 1895 and presented to the churches. In essence, it envisaged a homog-

enous African Church autonomous in structure but under the authoritative supervision of the Mission. The old Home Missionary Society--now called the Zulu Missionary Society²⁴--was reorganized and rejuvenated on a broadly representative basis similar to the 1889 proposals. It was to be composed of two delegates from each church (appointed annually), the "approved" preachers and pastors in active service and the Abaisitupa. The Society was to meet as a body once each year, but continuity from year to year was to be maintained through the Abaisitupa which was to become a kind of permanent working executive committee for the Society. The Abaisitupa was to hold at least two meetings a year, one of which coincided with the Mission's annual meeting, so that the missionaries as a whole and the African Church leaders could discuss matters of mutual interest and concern. Soon after the first meeting in 1896, the Pastor's Conference, as it was to be called, became an important vehicle for the expression of African opinion along with the Native Annual Meeting which was revived during these years.²⁵

To become an effective institution, however, the "Native Agency" plan had to satisfy two, seemingly conflicting, conditions. It had to provide for self-supporting churches under the leadership of African pastors and preachers who were to be given a degree of responsibility but with the limits of their power firmly circumscribed by the Mission. The Americans were well aware that the success of the plan depended on the spirit with which it was carried out--and this meant

that both sides had to be given every opportunity to render compromise decisions which would be mutually acceptable. Thus, for example, the basis for self-support continued to rest on the apportionment plan, but it was to be administered by mutual consent. The Mission would set an "advisory apportionment among the churches" which the Abaisitupa needed in order to pay the pastors and preachers for the ensuing year. This was to go to the Zulu Missionary Society for approval. If the latter didn't approve, then the onus fell on the executive committee to secure a compromise. The status of the Abaisitupa was greatly enhanced as a result:

"It shall be the business of the Executive Committee to carry out, during the year, the combined wishes of the Mission and the Zulu Missionary Society, in reference to the openings for evangelistic work, the location of native preachers, and their removal for cause, and allied matters."

The Abaisitupa fixed and paid the pastors' and preachers' salaries, located and commissioned them for service in the churches.²⁶

Thus at the top of the ecclesiastical hierarchy was the ordained pastor. His power and prestige was now understood and recognized by the Zulu Christian community whereas in the early 1870s with the first ordinations this had not been the case. Since the status of pastoral authority was to be a primary source of conflict between the churches and the colonists, it is worth mentioning some of the pastor's rights and duties even though, as yet, only one or two were left on the field. Ordained African pastors were recognized

officially by the government, allowed to act as marriage officers and accorded certain social and economic privileges, such as travelling on trains at a reduced fare.²⁷ Furthermore, only ordained pastors could perform the all-important rites of Church membership--the Lord's Supper (Communion) and Baptism.

Although the unordained "approved" preachers had none of these prerogatives, like the pastors they were ministers in charge of churches. Each congregation had the authority to choose its own minister, whether pastor or preacher, providing the Mission approved of its choice and the members themselves assumed financial responsibility for his support.

"Approved" preachers were allowed a voice in ecclesiastical affairs and several were paid missionaries of the Zulu Missionary Society. The unordained evangelists were at the bottom of this three-tiered pyramid, the largest in number but with no corresponding power. They were not allowed to supervise churches and received little financial support. Evangelists, in effect, were laymen and laywomen from local congregations who devoted a specific portion of their time to missionary work in the vicinity of their parishes in Natal and Zululand.

Under the "Native Agency" plan, the Mission retained control over the pastors and preachers. They had to submit progress reports on their churches every six months to the missionary in charge of their station. All appointments were on a yearly basis, so that if their reports were unsatisfactory,

if they disobeyed instructions from the Abaisitupa, or if their churches failed to provide financial support, they could be dismissed. The pastors and preachers were prevented from becoming too "secure"--hence powerful--in their churches by being moved as often as possible ("once in five years") and were warned against engaging in "business", using tobacco and other "habits unbecoming a Christian teacher". The "licensing board" originally proposed in 1889 was finally implemented. Preachers Institutes were revived for this purpose and separate written and oral examinations were conducted. The successful candidates were to be issued with either a pastor's or preacher's certificate, depending primarily on their educational qualifications.²⁸

With exhortations from the Mission, the churches finally approved the scheme in 1895.²⁹ They now had an administrative organization which was the parallel of the Mission itself, but it was centralized under an ecclesiastical hierarchy of officials (the Zulu Missionary Society and the Abaisitupa) who, in turn, were controlled by the Mission.

'WINDS OF CHANGE' IN THE CHURCHES

If the Mission had continued to hold the initiative, the churches undoubtedly would have had to be content with the "Native Agency" plan. The 'winds of change' were blowing elsewhere, however, and in the providential year of 1895, they swept over the Mission's newly-completed edifice. Once again, the stimulus was provided by the American Board. The

Mission was informed that from 1895 the American Board would no longer render financial assistance to the churches. Thus the 'Native Agency' grant and other indirect forms of aid were abolished. The churches were obliged to accept self-support and the Mission was rather relieved at the decision:

"Again we think the entire support of the Native pastorate must be thrown upon the Natives themselves. . . . Let us be thankful for the pinch which enables as well as compels us to inaugurate this move. . . . The funds of the Board will improve--we hope . . . the temptation will be strong upon us to ask the Board for funds for Native Agency--a temptation we must strenuously resist. . . . In this way only shall we reach a solid foundation on which we can build."³⁰

The Mission was also given a plan which was supposed to solve the "problems of the mission churches". For three years representatives of most of the foreign mission societies in the United States and Canada had been considering a uniform program of self-support. A permanent committee was established, whose chairman was Judson Smith, and in 1895 an "open letter" was written to the various mission churches connected with these societies around the world. It was something of a triumph for the policies of the American Board:

"It is the distinct aim of all our Societies to plant a Native Church, drawing its material support entirely from the native community, which will be ministered to by a native pastorate, and be self-supporting, self-governing and self-propagating.

"We believe your own spiritual strength and growth in grace will depend largely upon your effort and liberality in supporting your own churches . . . and on your having pastors, evangelists and teachers of your own, sharing your burdens, sympathizing with your trials, and responsible under God to you

alone and not to the people of a foreign country. . . . We feel that we must more and more withdraw from responsibility for established work to a relation of simple co-operation in church extension and education."³¹

On Secretary Smith's orders,³² the letter was translated into Zulu and copies were distributed to the churches.

Their response was predictable: "They believed that the missionaries were withholding from them the rights of Congregational Churches. They resented missionary control."³³

The African members of the Abaisitupa, bred and nurtured in the Mission's image, were now in a position to lead a religious revolt which was to be as profound in its ramifications as the cultural reformation of the 1870s and early 1880s.

The missionaries, despite 10 years of development towards an autonomous Church, were unprepared for this reaction. Secretary Smith had warned Goodenough in 1895 that self-support would not be a success on the Zulu Mission unless the African churches were genuinely self-governing:

" . . . in order to develop this degree of self-support it is plain that the missionaries must cease at every point to sustain the pastoral relation to these churches. . . . the mission . . . /must provide/ a good native clergy . . . in pastoral care over every church within the limits of the mission".³⁴

Thinking that the churches' objections were based on the dearth of pastors, the missionaries proceeded to correct this deficiency by ordaining four of the leading "approved" preachers in 1896. Thus the number of pastors--the crown in the edifice of an autonomous Church--increased from two to

six in a single year.³⁵ This served, however, only to strengthen the churches in their resolve. The newly-ordained pastors raised "the question of their privilege and position" at the first pastors' conference held under the authority of the reorganized 'Native Agency' plan in 1896:

"It soon became evident to them that for some reason the right to vote in our mission meetings, to become trustees of mission property, and to have an equal voice in all questions of mission policy such as the transfer of missionaries and supervision of the churches, was not granted to them. They felt from their understanding of the circular /the 'open letter' from the mission societies of the United States and Canada/ that they were being defrauded of their rights".³⁶

At the Native Annual Meeting in 1897, Sunguza Nyuswa, one of the newly-ordained pastors who was in charge of the church at Umtwalume, prepared a series of questions for discussion that revealed the roots of the Church's demands:

"1. Is it a fact that I am Mr. Harris' workman?
/the resident missionary at Umtwalume/. . . .
2. Am I not God's workman? 3. Why am I
under Mr. Harris? 4. What white mission-
ary is under another white missionary?
5. Why is it necessary that the work at Umtwalume
be reported to America when the American Board
no longer helps us . . . ?"³⁷

The 'winds of change' now began to blow with hurricane force. In 1896 an obscure English missionary from central Africa named Joseph Booth appeared in Natal as the promoter of a scheme called the "African Christian Union". His plan was later described by Frederick Bridgman as "a semi-benevolent joint stock company" whose contributors were to be the descendants of Africans throughout the world. The revenue collected was to be used towards regaining economic

and eventually political control of Africa:

"Let the African be his own employer; develop his own country; establish his own manufactures; run his own ships; work his own mines, and conserve the wealth from his labor and his God-given land for the uplifting of the people and the glory of God. Let the call be long and loud and clear to every one with African blood coursing in his veins."

Booth set up his headquarters in Durban where at an all-night meeting he outlined his ideas to 120 educated Africans from all parts of Natal. Unfortunately for Booth, however, the keynote of his plan--"Africa for the Africans"--was applied to him also. To be consistent, the Africans demanded that he resign. Booth argued that without him the scheme would fail and, since compromise was impossible, eventually all but a few of the Africans withdrew. Soon afterwards, the disappointed missionary left for the United States and eventually returned to England.³⁸

In itself, the incident was not particularly significant, but as Frederick Bridgman concluded: " . . . it cannot be doubted that the attendant agitation acted as a powerful stimulus on the schismatic spirit so prevalent at just that time. It was a wind fanning the flame."³⁹ In two years the churches and their leaders had arrived at the point where they were prepared to face the consequences of a complete break with the Mission if they were not granted the power and recognition of an autonomous Church. Only a spark was needed to change them from passive reformists to active insurgents. That spark was provided by the separatists.

INDEPENDENT OR ETHIOPIAN CHURCH MOVEMENTS

WITHIN THE AMERICAN ZULU MISSION:

(a) Origins

Separatism was not an unprecedented by-product of cultural contact and change. There had been many individuals who, for one reason or another, had become dissatisfied with American Congregational Christianity. Their protests had rarely elicited a response from other Zulu Christians, however, and they had either returned to the fold or drifted back into heathenism. In the first 50 years of the American Zulu Mission there was apparently only one case where a would-be separatist leader successfully established an independent Church. His career is worthy of note, because it offers a classic example of the historical background from which the separatists emerged to found independent or, as they were called, Ethiopian Churches throughout Southern Africa.⁴⁰

Mbiyana Ngidi, an original member of the Home Missionary Society, was one of the Mission's most outstanding disciples. For 17 years he served as a preacher and evangelist until his ordination as pastor of the church at Noodsberg, which he had founded, in 1878. At the time of his ordination the Mission had nothing but praise for his personal behavior as well as his doctrinal beliefs. What happened after this is not too clear but it seems that in the early 1880s he left Noodsberg, despite "protests and entreaties" from the missionaries and the congregation, for Zululand. Apparently still under the

authority of the Home Missionary Society, he founded a station near Rorke's Drift, where he was recognized as an ordained minister of the American Zulu Mission. Thus he was in Zululand when the Mission began to rebuild the churches and he may well have figured in the decision to unify the financial resources of the Christian community under the Abaisitupa. In 1885 the 'young people' proposed to support Ngidi's missionary activities with their own funds independent of Mission control. Although their desires were not sanctioned, it was under these circumstances that Ngidi broke away from the Mission and set up the Uhlanga (National) Church about 1885. The nucleus of this Church, however, apparently was formed out of the congregation at Rorke's Drift--far removed from the vicinity around Noodsberg in Natal where Ngidi was well known. He was "disfellowshipped" by the Mission in that year but his Church continued to thrive in Zululand.⁴¹

About 1890 he returned to Noodsberg as a "bishop" and set up a rival Church to the Mission in that area. Because the Noodsberg station was on Location land, the missionaries had no power to remove Ngidi. His influence over members of the original church at Noodsberg, moreover, apparently was so persuasive that a majority of the congregation took possession of the church building in 1891 and those who were still loyal to the Mission were forced to hold services elsewhere.⁴² The Mission then decided to ask the Natal government to intervene. In 1892 the government granted

the Mission a lease on the land occupied by the Noodsberg church and, in return, the Americans agreed to build a cottage to house a missionary who was to spend a few months each year supervizing the congregation.⁴³ This decision was to have unforeseen repercussions in future confrontations with the government over the status of the Mission's churches. Although Ngidi's advance was checked, at least temporarily, his performance had also made a decided impression on other Church leaders. The episode was an important prelude to the more important eruptions at Johannesburg in the Transvaal and Table Mountain in Natal--among the youngest and oldest centers of work, respectively, on the Mission.

Johannesburg⁴⁴

From the very beginning, the opening of missionary work in Johannesburg was plagued with misfortune. Gold discoveries on the Reef in the 1880s served as a magnet to the frustrated, discontented and disillusioned semi-literate Christians who were the by-products of the reformation, the growing scarcity of land in the Reserves and the gradual decay of the Mission's educational system. Hundreds, perhaps thousands, of young men left for Johannesburg from the Mission Reserves during this period. In the environment of the mining camps, however, they found a far more formidable barrier to advancement and recognition than on the rural stations in Natal. As American Mission Zulu, their natural inclination was to stick together and in the late 1880s they found a haven first with

the Presbyterians--one of four white Protestant churches then doing mission work in Johannesburg.⁴⁵ For a while they were apparently satisfied, but the unfamiliar liturgy and, above all, the fact that they were not ministered to in the Zulu language,⁴⁶ soon proved to be unacceptable and they withdrew to worship by themselves. As an independent congregation they prospered: services were held in a hired hall, an evening school was started and work begun in several other areas along the Reef.

As they progressed, however, the essential weaknesses of their position became more apparent. They were not a properly constituted church, so that their legal position vis-a-vis the Transvaal authorities was rather precarious. Furthermore, apparently they did not feel themselves capable of organizing a church on their own and were wary of doing anything which would not be recognized as legitimate by the established European churches. They needed a qualified minister who could help them construct a church and in general safeguard their interests. After nearly a year of independent worship they hired a white ex-Baptist, ex-Congregationalist minister named Harper Riley who had drifted into business in Johannesburg. The choice could not have been more unfortunate. Barely a year later the work collapsed completely over allegations, probably justified, that Riley had misused church funds. About 1892 the disorganized Johannesburg congregation finally appealed to the American Zulu Mission for an ordained African pastor and help in

building a recognized church. It is worthy of note, however, that membership had already increased from 40 to about 200. There were five preaching places in addition to Johannesburg and the evening school. The congregation owned all the furniture, hymn books, bibles and other materials used in their services. In essence, the Zulu in Johannesburg had virtually a self-supporting, self-governing, self-propagating church.

After corresponding for nearly a year, the Mission finally sent Goodenough to investigate the situation. Since neither the American Board, the Mission nor the Natal churches had the finances to support a work in Johannesburg, Goodenough was instructed to secure a property and erect a church, to be paid for and supported by the Johannesburg congregation, under the leadership of Benjamin Hawes, one of the Mission's oldest African pastors.⁴⁷ Goodenough, however, saw Johannesburg as a "heaven-sent" opportunity to establish a "new" work. He proceeded to buy property in Doornfontein, about a mile from the city center, and erected a church which was formally opened in December 1893. It was paid for almost entirely by the African congregation. The Mission then accepted an extraordinary proposal by Goodenough to take over the Johannesburg field--instead of giving the job to an African pastor⁴⁸--under a financial agreement which was to be a cause célèbre for the separatists.

Goodenough's wife had received a small inheritance, and with this money Goodenough leased several properties adjacent to the church, built a house for himself and an apartment building which he proposed to rent out to tenants and use the proceeds for mission work. This property was to be offered to the American Board on condition that Goodenough received interest on the money invested and payment for normal maintenance expenses. The Johannesburg church agreed to subsidize both conditions which amounted to about £50 a year. Thus the American Board would only be responsible for Goodenough's normal salary. All other expenses connected with the work at Johannesburg were to be paid for by the church.⁴⁹

For more than two years the Johannesburg church functioned on this basis. Goodenough secured the preaching services of a highly-regarded graduate of the Theological School by the name of Fokoti,⁵⁰ and several interested white laymen also rendered valuable assistance. The Americans pioneered a mission to the mine compounds,⁵¹ the evening school was reopened and evangelistic open-air meetings were started at Market Square (in the city center) from which a considerable income was derived. As the work expanded, the Mission began working among non-Zulu, especially in the mines. Goodenough's apartments were rented to Cape Coloureds, and a kindergarten was opened for their children as well as for those from poorer white families.⁵²

Although things appeared to be going well on the surface, the Johannesburg congregation was deeply disturbed over some

of these developments. In May 1896 a letter was sent to the Mission in Natal asking that Goodenough be recalled. Oddly enough, the man initiating the charges was a white settler by the name of T. B. Curson who, as the Mission put it, "makes himself perfectly one with the natives".⁵³ It was apparent from the beginning, however, that these grievances were but variations of a theme: Goodenough had acquired a virtual stranglehold over the temporal and spiritual affairs of the church.

The most important charges against him related to the mishandling of church property and funds and his refusal to allow the church to have its own ordained pastor. There was more than a grain of truth in both accusations. Goodenough personally controlled and allocated the various sources of church revenue together with funds accrued from his private investments. It was impossible to separate these accounts and when inquiries were made, Goodenough was tactless enough to demand complete subservience. He and the American Board, not the church, owned these properties and controlled the revenue. The Africans interpreted this as an acknowledgement that their money was going to Goodenough for his own private use and that they had no control whatsoever over the church property they had financed. In addition, they were incensed over Goodenough's treatment of Fokoti, whose salary apparently was used as a weapon to ensure obedience, and agreed with Curson's charge: "There is really now no work for Mr. Good-

enough to do except what a native preacher could do."

An inquiry was held in Johannesburg in June 1896 but, predictably, Goodenough was exonerated. The Africans were warned that whether Goodenough's conduct was censured or approved, it was for the Mission alone to decide. The Mission was well aware, however, that the real issues had not been resolved:

"The discontent and misunderstanding now existing in the /sic/ Johannesburg is utterly obstructive of spiritual results. Your committee is not sure that their judgments . . . will be respected. At some points raised we were unable to give a judgment. . . . whether or not the local private property of our missionaries was more favorable than detrimental to the work. . . . How to control the church collections. Who shall have voting power in church matters. . . . What course to recommend to Mr. G. /Goodenough/ in order to recover the confidence of the natives, without which the spiritual work at Johannesburg is at a standstill."⁵⁴

Unfortunately, these misgivings were overruled by the Mission's fear of losing complete control, and at the annual meeting in July 1896, the Johannesburg congregation was told that Goodenough would continue to control the activities and revenue of the church.⁵⁵

Thus the situation in Johannesburg remained static for all practical purposes. When the Africans raised the question of title to the land on which the church was built Goodenough, who had learned nothing from his previous experience, tactlessly told them it was held by the American Board and would never be transferred to the church. The Africans--the majority of whom were now united under Fokoti--reacted by refusing to underwrite any more building projects,

particularly in connection with a church to be erected at Elandsfontein. Goodenough ignored this threat and proceeded to borrow the money to buy the land and build the Elandsfontein church--proposing to use church funds to pay off the debt. Again the congregation appealed to the Mission. Goodenough countered by using his influence to get a number of resolutions passed by the Mission in February 1897 aimed at gaining total personal control over the activities of the Johannesburg congregation. It was decided to disband the Johannesburg church "owing to the fluctuating character of the native population, and to the fact that the extension of the work requires unity of plan and action under one head"--and adopt a plan of "mission halls" for evangelical purposes only. Members of the Johannesburg congregation were to be given "letters . . . recommending them to the churches at their homes" in Natal. Fokoti and the other "evangelists" (the opposition leaders) were warned that they were under the control of and responsible to the missionary in charge.⁵⁶

At first, Fokoti submitted and agreed to go to the "mission hall" at Elandsfontein. In March 1897, however, the smoldering controversy at Table Mountain erupted and Fokoti--encouraged by these dissidents and the Natal churches--withdrew with about half of the congregation and started holding separate services.⁵⁷ As yet, however, there was no question of establishing a rival Church.

Table Mountain

While the causes of the separatist Church movement at Table Mountain were less complex than those at Johannesburg, they led to more violent results and eventually ended in permanent estrangement. Table Mountain, as we have often noted, was the Achilles heel of the American Mission Reserve system throughout the 19th Century. As the only inland American Reserve and the first one to lose its missionary, Table Mountain was isolated from much of the social and educational developments going on elsewhere during this period. For years not even an African 'helper' was stationed on this Reserve which was visited only to exploit its resources of timber and firewood.⁵⁸

The threat of colonial expropriation brought the Mission's attention to the problems and possibilities of Table Mountain, however, and about 1887 an approved preacher by the name of Simungu Bafazini Shibe was sent to take charge of this Reserve. Shibe was typical of the Zulu Christian elite raised on the Mission's stations in the 1860s and 1870s. He grew up at Umzumbe under the watchful care of the Bridgmans. From there he was sent to Adams to complete his education. For about eight years he attended Amanzimtoti Seminary and the Theological School under the tutelage of Elijah Robins and then returned to Umzumbe where he was soon involved in the cultural reformation that received so much of its motivating force from this station. Shibe not only survived

the purges but emerged from the experience as one of Henry Bridgman's most trusted aides. He was one of the first Africans from the American Zulu Mission to be exempted from 'Native Law' and in every way exhibited those qualities the missionaries demanded from a true believer. They agreed unanimously that he was an excellent choice to rebuild the church and school at Table Mountain and in subsequent years his efforts were commended by every missionary who came in contact with the work on that Reserve.⁵⁹

Colonial pressure on the Reserves increased during the 1880s and 1890s, however, and, as we have noted, an attempt was made to re-establish resident missionaries on some of these grants. On several occasions, the Natal Congregational Union had been offered the Table Mountain Glebe and Reserve as its missionary responsibility.⁶⁰ Finally, in 1896 the Pietermaritzburg Congregational Church agreed to the proposition and a minister, George Pugh, was appointed missionary in charge of Table Mountain. It was to be an experiment. This was the first time a Natal colonial church had agreed to guide the fortunes of an established Zulu church founded by foreign missionaries. The contract was to last 10 years and the Natal Congregational Union was allowed to control all funds contributed by the Christian community. The only stipulation was that Pugh use this money "for evangelistic purposes" at Table Mountain and employ preachers who were "approved" by the American Zulu Mission--still ultimately

responsible because the Reserve title deed was in its name.⁶¹ Neither Shibe nor the church at Table Mountain participated in or was informed of this decision until Pugh took over in April 1896. Moreover, at that time Shibe apparently was at Lovedale in the Cape Province on sick leave. While he was away, Pugh peremptorily requested a replacement for Shibe without making any charges against the Table Mountain preacher.⁶²

The Mission hesitated, but it seemed better, as usual, to back the resident missionary. The Abaisitupa, under pressure, reluctantly consented to appoint Shibe to Noodsberg when he returned from Lovedale. But the missionaries had underestimated both Shibe and the church at Table Mountain. The congregation was unhappy at what it regarded as a breach of faith on the Mission's part and asked Shibe to continue as preacher. Shibe returned to the church in the latter part of 1896 and refused to go to Noodsberg despite the fact that Pugh had rejected his services.⁶³

Confronted by the intransigence of Simungu Shibe and the church at Table Mountain, the African members of the Abaisitupa decided to take an independent stand. They reversed their previous decision and supported Shibe with the whole-hearted approval of the churches:

"The pastors out of personal friendship to Simungu, and doubtless with the feeling that this was a test case to determine their place and influence in the mission, and withal feeling that in this case at least right and justice were on their side, espoused his cause. The people supported the pastors."⁶⁴

The churches began holding unauthorized meetings in 1897 under the leadership of the Abaisitupa: "The native members of the Committee of the Home Missionary Society [the Abaisitupa] became the medium of the new movement."⁶⁵ At a meeting held at Adams in March the leaders of the two dissident factions had been told to stand firm in their demands. It was shortly after this meeting that Fokoti, almost certainly because he was encouraged and supported by the African church leaders in Natal, organized a separate congregation in Johannesburg. In June-July 1897 at Itafamasi the disaffected and disillusioned congregation from Johannesburg was told to call a council of pastors and delegates from the Natal churches for the purpose of reestablishing a church in Johannesburg and ordaining its preacher, Fokoti. Shibe's supporters also appealed for approval, and the Abaisitupa directed that he continue to serve the Table Mountain congregation as their preacher. African delegates to the Native Annual Meeting held shortly afterwards demanded that seven more preachers be ordained and a separate treasury, controlled by Africans, was set up to support these men. They also recommended that in future "an additional meeting of [African] delegates alone" be held each year.⁶⁶

Panic-stricken, the missionaries acted with swiftness and determination. The pastors were told that their schemes amounted to an act of rebellion. They were warned that all Reserve and Glebe land and all the buildings (houses, churches,

schools) located in these areas were under the Mission's control. The Mission's authority and initiative in the calling of Church councils and the conditions to be satisfied in ordaining pastors were described in detail. Such was the Mission's fear that the pastors and/or the churches would embark on unilateral changes in policy:

"The American Board will not recognize any church organized or pastor ordained by native pastors alone. The organization of churches and the ordination of pastors can only be done with the approval and cooperation of the Mission itself."⁶⁷

The basic dilemma, however, remained unresolved: "One great difficulty we must meet is the assumption that ordination comes [sic] with it oneness and equality in all respects with all ordained men." Finally, in February 1898 the African pastors were told: "There are no black missionaries of the American Board." This decision, made at a critical turning point in the history of the separatist movement, in effect denied that ordained black pastors were equal in status to ordained white missionaries. It helped, among other things, to increase friction between the churches and their pastors and preachers, since the power and prestige of the latter lay at least partly in the churches' belief that ordination conferred equal status with the missionaries.⁶⁸

Such was the Mission's public stand against the challenge of the pastors, preachers and churches. In private, however, many were hesitant and bewildered by the ominous and ever-increasing tempo of alienation. A particularly

sensitive point was Table Mountain, where virtually every missionary recognized that the Mission had erred. The Natal Congregational Union had become the rider and the Mission the horse in directing Table Mountain policy:

"Mr. Pugh is the only one who can settle the differences amicably and it will now require far more yielding on his part than he is ready for. . . . He should be able to give reasons that satisfy the Natal Congregational Union if they do not satisfy the natives, why the unity at Table Mountain that existed before he went there, has not continued. . . . If the Union decides on Simungu's forcible removal, then the trustees will be called upon to carry out their desire. . . . If Simungu remains . . . we shall also be in a fix--for the natives will press for a church to be formed and Simungu to be settled over it. Natives have already pledged themselves to back him up and see that he is maintained at Table Mountain. . . . We are baffled."⁶⁹

If the Mission was 'baffled', the Natal Congregational Union was not. At a 'trial' held in Durban in September 1897, Pugh presented his charges against Shibe to the Mission so "that Simungu's name might be dropped from the approved list of preachers", as then he could not be appointed by the Abaisitupa". 'Evidence' was accepted without consulting the Zulu dissidents who, of course, weren't present at the meeting. The Mission also was obliged to send Pixley--a beloved and trusted missionary among the Zulu Christian community--as part of a deputation to secure either Shibe's surrender or his removal from Table Mountain Reserve. Thus, in the eyes of the churches, the Mission was identified with the enemy.⁷⁰

Shibe, still hesitant, made one last attempt to avert a complete break. In November 1897 he appealed directly to The American Board. Secretary Smith, however, seems to have lost the courage of his convictions. His reply--addressed, oddly enough, to Pixley--was the same as those given earlier to Fokoti, who had lodged similar appeals:

"It appears to me to connect itself with a certain restlessness on the part of the native preachers of the mission that has several times been mentioned in the correspondence from the field, and it would be very unwise for me to meddle with the matter".⁷¹

For the separatists, this was the final straw. If the American Board, so responsible for the present predicament, refused to intervene they saw no alternative but a complete withdrawal from the Mission.

In December 1897, Shibe left for Johannesburg for consultations with Fokoti and in February 1898--a few weeks after the Mission's African pastors were told that they did not have the same status as ordained white missionaries--the two separatists were ordained on their own initiative.⁷² In April Shibe returned to Table Mountain to establish a new work under a new organization--the Zulu Congregational Church.⁷³

INDEPENDENT OR ETHIOPIAN CHURCH MOVEMENTS

WITHIN THE AMERICAN ZULU MISSION:

(b) Reactions of the Mission and

'loyal' Natal church leaders

The separatists' actions put their more conservative colleagues in Natal in an embarrassing position. In failing to call a representative church council, in assuming leadership through 'irregular' ordinations and in establishing an independent organization without prior consultation, Fokoti and Shibe had rejected the advice of the African members on the Abaisitupa. The pastors and preachers were even more stunned by the actions of the separatists than the missionaries. The separatists temporarily lost the patronage of the African Church leaders and this respite gave the Mission a chance to expiate its position. Particularly unsettling were the 'illegal' ordinations. Even Goodenough recognized this action as a serious mistake: "They don't see it, but it is very clear to me, that they are greatly weakening themselves by this act. They will alienate the sympathy which they have had hitherto among the Natal churches." Frederick Bridgman believed this to be the most important reason for the Mission's ultimate success in averting a wholesale secession:

"The Zulu has an inborn respect, amounting almost to reverence, for precedent, for law. Now the ordinations in question displayed so manifest a disregard for regularity in ecclesiastical procedure that our native leaders drew back. The

secessionists then accused the pastors and churches of broken faith in thus forsaking them in mid-stream. Estrangement followed, and the time thus gained saved the day."/4

The missionaries quickly rallied. By skillfully isolating the dissidents and promising more concessions to those who remained loyal, the Americans were able to regain part of the initiative they had lost in 1896 and 1897. A document formally "separating" the Mission from the Zulu Congregation Church, together with the reasons why this was done, was sent to the churches. At the Mission's Annual Meeting in June 1898, an appeal was prepared to the Christian community which not only was conciliatory in tone but also was calculated to elicit the utmost respect for loyalty and legitimacy in the conduct of Church affairs:

"When the people of Natal were in darkness and ignorance, because the knowledge of the Gospel had not reached them, the American churches sent messengers as their delegates to preach the Gospel, form churches in the land, train, ordain, and guide pastors and nurture the whole until these churches should become intelligent, self-sustaining and self-propagating, and the guidance and control of the American Churches be no longer needed.

"It is evident to us that the time has not come, when the American Missionaries are no longer needed among you but we see that some of you who have been taught and nurtured by messengers of the American churches no longer receive their advice nor yield to their guidance. A body of such men have formed a separate organization and have called themselves by a new name. They have set over themselves men who assume to be authorized of God to lead his flock when they themselves have not been ordained to that office by any rule approved by the churches of Christ.

"This movement does not have regard to the wishes of the representatives of the American Churches who formed churches among you and who have heretofore been regarded as your guides. . . . You discard the fellowship of the American Churches when you reject the advice and cooperation of their missionaries. . . . We do not say this because we want to rule over you as chiefs rule over their subjects, but because we want you to respect the American churches as your parents in the faith: we are commanded to honour our parents and this means that churches should honour those that gave them birth and nurture just as much as that children should honour their fathers and mothers.

"The same love that gave you the Gospel at first still goes out to you till you become full men in Christ, and until these churches become complete in Him. As long as they remain with you their control and guidance must be respected."⁷⁵

More important, the missionaries appear to have been aware of the fact that many congregations in Natal were more closely identified with the independence movement than with their own leaders on the Abaisitupa: " . . . some of the churches questioned the authority of the '6'--their own appointees [sic]. . . . If the churches are losing their confidence in the '6' . . . some change will soon have to be considered". This suspicion was borne out by the churches' continued reluctance to support their pastors, preachers and evangelists who were still paid out of funds contributed to the Zulu Missionary Society:⁷⁶

Zulu Missionary Society

	Receipts	Expenses
1885-6	£46	?
1890-1	£237	£213
1895-6	£323	£383
1896-7	£319	£430

	Receipts	Expenses
1897-8	£478*	£480
1898-9	£316	£447

*The unusual contribution in 1897-1898 stemmed from the effects of revivals "in arousing the Churches to their obligations".

In 1899 the Mission offered to withdraw from the Abaisitupa, but the pastors and preachers rejected the suggestion and complained that the Zulu Congregational Church was "bringing in factional feeling into the stations and 'stealing' . . . outstations and preaching places". The Americans had made their point. If the pastors and preachers accepted the ultimate authority of the Mission in ecclesiastical matters, the Mission would support them in meeting the demands of the churches.

INDEPENDENT OR ETHIOPIAN CHURCH MOVEMENTS

WITHIN THE AMERICAN ZULU MISSION:

(c) Reconciliation

The separatists received a temporary fillip with the coming of the South African War. Although Fokoti died soon after he was ordained in 1898, his successor in Johannesburg was Sunguza Nyuswa, one of the most capable African Church administrators in Natal.⁷⁷ It was a severe blow to the Mission when he left his congregation at Umtwalume to join the dissidents: the missionaries had been forced to flee the Transvaal and there were not unreasonable fears that the Zulu Congregational Church under Nyuswa would assume control

in their absence. Furthermore, under the dynamic leadership of Shibe, the separatists were indeed beginning to draw converts from the Natal churches and rival congregations were established on several Reserves. The situation at Umzumbe, Shibe's old home, was especially critical. It was not protected by a Reserve and Shibe was able to buy adjacent land in freehold until the Zulu Congregational Church virtually surrounded the Glebe and slowly weaned away the Christian community.⁷⁸

Pugh's influence at Table Mountain, always in doubt, was destroyed. The Mission, however, now backed the African members on the Abaisitupa and refused to intervene in hopes of winning the confidence of the churches. Pugh retaliated by taking the matter up with the Under-Secretary for Native Affairs (S. O. Samuelson) and the Mission's bid to avoid responsibility for their previous actions backfired. Government interest in Table Mountain was renewed, and the Mission was forced to prove its authority over the inhabitants. Goodenough was given the unpleasant task of initiating legal proceedings against Shibe to force him off the Reserve. Although the Pietermaritzburg Magistrate's Court rendered a favorable decision, Shibe rather courageously took the matter to the Natal Supreme Court and won his case.⁷⁹ It was a great setback for the Mission. Shibe's prestige with the Natal churches soared and more members switched to the Zulu Congregational Church.

For almost two years the Mission and the Zulu Congregational Church waged an inconclusive battle for supremacy. But the objects of contention, the Natal churches, were also the chief victims of the struggle. As noted, the pastors' initial hesitancy in supporting the separatists appears to have split many of the congregations.⁸⁰ To reassert their authority and re-unite the churches, as much as to resolve the conflict, the African members on the Abaisitupa once again stepped into the breach and, with the Mission's encouragement, urged that an attempt be made to bring about a reconciliation. The separatists agreed to the proposition and a committee of five (three Africans, two missionaries) was delegated by the Abaisitupa to negotiate a settlement with representatives from the Zulu Congregational Church.⁸¹

Each side presented a reconciliation plan, but the Mission-sponsored recommendations were general and rather vague whereas those of the Zulu Congregational Church were detailed and specific. Thus the latter's scheme, presented by Sunguza Nyuswa in February 1900, became the basis for debate. Fortunately, this significant document has been preserved. It clearly reflects not only the conservative nature of the separatists but also their identity with the loyal Natal churches over the basic causes of the conflict. In typical Zulu imagery, the scheme was highlighted by a gigantic kraal, within which were the two opposing parties.

Board of Commissioners for Foreign

American

Missions

1. The American Zulu Mission
gives birth to the
2. Zulu Congregational Church

The kraal signified the American Board's protection on the outside while on the inside there was to be brotherhood-- "as a people of one family".⁸²

The separatists had an excellent grasp of the principles of congregationlism which they rather skillfully inserted into the womb, as it were, of their scheme. They proposed that the Zulu Congregational Church be the new name for the churches of the American Board in South Africa, but it was to consist of independent congregations under the control of pastors called to service by the churches themselves. General administration was to be undertaken by an African-controlled executive committee similar to the Abaisitupa, but the churches were not to be subject to as much control as they had been under the 1895 "Native Agency" plan. Regular progress reports were to be submitted to the American Zulu Mission, but the missionaries were to be confined to the role of advisers. A committee, on which Africans would be represented, was to administer the Mission Reserves. All property outside these areas was to be held under the trusteeship of the Zulu Missionary Society.⁸³

The discussions lasted 10 months and in the end a compromise was reached which preserved almost intact Nyuswa's original scheme. On September 11, 1900, all but one of the delegations agreed on the following platform for reconciliation, later ratified by the churches during the Native Annual Meeting at Itafamasi in 1901:

"1. That the Churches govern themselves together with their pastors according to Congregational usage, each pastor having official relations in that Church only which calls, including those places that are off-shoots still dependent on that Church.

"2. A pastor may be called by a Church and make such arrangements with that Church as it and he shall agree to under the advice of a properly called council of sister Churches, including the American Churches represented by the missionaries. If any Church calling a council so wishes it may invite delegates from Colonial Congregational Churches.

"3. Such property as may come into the hands of the Zulu Home and Foreign Missionary Society /Zulu Missionary Society/ . . . may be held by trustees appointed by that Society . . .

"4. The name by which the Churches shall be called may be chosen at a meeting of delegates from the Churches appointed for the purpose . . .

"5. The white missionary shall not take away the Church's right; but whatever a Church votes let that be the rule of that Church, provided that it does not subvert the principles of the sisterhood of the Churches.

"6. Each Church should keep a record in a book of its own proceedings . . . and all the Churches should make reports of Christian work and of other matters of interest affecting the body of the Churches at the annual meeting of the Z.H. & F.M. Society /Zulu Missionary Society/. "84

The reconciliation talks were successful because African opinion for the first time was wholly represented.

And it was the African pastors and preachers, not the missionaries,⁸⁵ who defended the Mission's cause with success. The Mission itself acknowledged the "remarkably self-possessed, considerate and tactful" leadership of Martin Lutuli who, although a layman and one of the 'loyalists', was chairman of the conference. John Dube, who had often voiced pro-separatist demands in the past, refused to accept what was apparently an offer to lead the Zulu Congregational Church. Bunker reported an interesting conversation he had with Dube at this time: "He acknowledged to me . . . that he had come to the conclusion that the best of the people would not follow him away from the mission, and that he saw that his greatest influence lay in working in unison with us". The dominant personality in the talks, however, appears to have been Sunguza Nyuswa, the Johannesburg separatist leader, who not only wooed most of the original dissidents back to the Mission fold but also convinced several congregations started by the Zulu Congregational Church to accept the agreement.⁸⁶

Shibe rejected the reconciliation not because he was unable to comply with the agreement but because the Mission would not accept the validity of his ordination. The pastoral office was a vital link in the Mission's existing authority over the Church. The status of an ordained African pastor who was in theory, but not in practice, equal to the white missionary had been a major source of friction. In fact, it was one issue which was never answered in the reconcilia-

tion debates: who was ultimately responsible for ordaining pastors? In the language of the day, it was a question of whether or not the Mission would accept the main principle implied in self-supporting, self-governing, self-propagating churches: did the African have the right to initiate change? If the validity of Shibe's self-proclaimed ordination had been recognized, the question would have been answered--but neither the churches nor the pastors, much less the missionaries, were willing to face the implications of such a decision in 1900.

Both Pugh and the Mission made some attempt to conciliate Shibe and bring him back into the fold, but in this case all efforts were in vain.⁸⁷ For a time the Zulu Congregational Church, which he now led, was left in peace on the Reserves, largely because the African pastors were able to win back most of the would-be separatists and Shibe himself was careful to avoid unduly antagonizing the Mission.⁸⁸ In 1903, however, under the authority of the Mission Reserves Act, Shibe was legally denied access to the Reserves, although he did not finally abandon these areas until some years afterwards. He seems to have survived primarily on the land he owned near Umzumbe, on a church he built on the Location adjoining Table Mountain Reserve and probably in Zululand where a few congregations seem to have been established. There is no evidence to suggest that the Zulu Congregational Church communicated with any other Ethiopian body during this period. Although Shibe may have received some converts

in the aftermath of the Zulu disturbances of 1906, the Church apparently was weakened by a secession in 1907.⁸⁹ In addition, the hostility of the Natal government, continual pressure from the Mission and, above all, the strength and prestige of the reconciled churches circumscribed his activities. The Zulu Congregational Church was relatively ineffective until after 1910.⁹⁰

Of far greater importance was the effect of the separatist movement on the Mission Church. We have seen that the Mission's attempt to create an autonomous Church was dictated as much by its own needs as by the demands of the Africans. The cultural reformation may have purified the churches but it also destroyed the timorous ecclesiastical institutions erected in the 1860s and early 1870s and bred a kind of rootless existence verging on anarchy in the tiny, isolated station communities. In effect, the Americans were losing control over their flocks and this threat, coupled with financial and personnel crises induced chiefly by the attitude of the American Board, forced the Mission to reevaluate the needs of the Church.

As mirrored in the "Native Agency" plan of 1895, however, the churches were far different from what they had been 10 years earlier. The Mission's reforms amounted to a radical reorganization of these ecclesiastical institutions as fundamental in their ramifications as the preceding cultural reformation. On the one hand, the churches were given more individual responsibility than they had ever

been given in the past. Day-to-day administration was put into the hands of their leaders who received an invaluable experience in the business of church government. On the other hand, the Mission veered away from the Congregational form of church government to one more closely resembling the Presbyterian or even the Anglican model with a hierarchy of African committees and officials molded in the Mission's image. In the process, moreover, the churches were unified as never before. And unity brought a new revelation of potential strength that was officially encouraged by the American Board. By 1895 two ambivalent trends were apparent: the more ambitious the churches became, the more uneasy the missionaries became over the reforms they themselves had sponsored. As the horizons of the churches broadened, the Mission grew more restrictive and inflexible in its efforts to maintain authority.

The immediate grievances of both the Johannesburg and Table Mountain separatists boiled down to personal differences with the resident missionary,⁹¹ although the question of control over church funds and property was a contributing factor in the case of Johannesburg. The underlying cause of the secession, however, was directly related to the Mission's ecclesiastical reforms. The Mission's attempt to re-establish white control lay at the heart of the dispute.

At Table Mountain the church had been virtually autonomous for years. The isolated Christian community had been dependent upon Shibe's leadership and probably even received the re-

formation gospel through the Mission's trusted disciple. At Johannesburg the church was organized and developed by African Christians from Natal. In both cases, the Mission did not appreciate either the needs or desires of these churches. At Table Mountain, pressure from the Natal government provided the Mission with an opportunity to protect its interests by linking up with the colonial Congregationalists. But no allowance was made for the fact that even the more enlightened settlers were out of sympathy with the Mission's concept of an African Church.⁹² It was a lamentable but not unforeseen tragedy that when the Natal Congregational Union finally abandoned Table Mountain in 1904, before the end of its contract, the Christian community was in a far worse condition than it had been 10 years earlier.⁹³

The Mission was asked to come to Johannesburg primarily because the congregation needed the services of an educated and ordained African pastor who could cope with the business affairs of the church and provide a necessary facade of legitimacy and legality in its relations with other churches and the Transvaal authorities. Instead of responding to this need, the Mission allowed its most sagacious businessman-cum-missionary to take control of the church. As efficient as Goodenough undoubtedly was, he had no sympathy for African leadership and, as we shall see, was perhaps the only missionary in the history of the American Zulu Mission who seriously advocated an apartheid relationship between missionary and African in the Church.⁹⁴

In these circumstances, perhaps, it was to be expected that the African reaction would take an extreme form. Even at this point, however, one is impressed with the essential conservatism of the separatist movement, and the reluctance of its leaders to break completely with the Mission. The formation and early evolution of the Zulu Congregational Church was not a reaction against 'European civilization'. The separatists were not returning to so-called traditional African patterns of belief and behavior, as some writers have alleged.⁹⁵ Nor were they bent on creating a new millennium for the Zulu people. The separatists were not possessed with a vision of society radically different from the one they had learned so well from the missionaries. The Zulu Congregational Church was, in fact, a protest against the missionaries who had attempted to stem the tide of a revolution they themselves had sponsored.⁹⁶ It was primarily the actions of the Mission that made the separatist alternative inevitable for the uncompromizing minority.

It is important to emphasize, moreover, that the tempo of the Ethiopian movement during this period was dependent more on the actions of the 'loyal' Natal churches than on the energy of the separatists. The Mission recognized this fact:

"The disorganization of the Johannesburg and Table Mountain work was far from being the most serious phase of the situation. In the questions at issue the seceders had the fullest sympathy and moral support of practically our entire constituency. It is probable, too, that the secession itself was

not undertaken without the sanction of the American Mission churches in Natal. The peril of complete rupture between the Mission and its churches . . . was imminent".⁹⁷

Shibe himself later testified before the 1902 Lands Commission that his decision to seek an independent church stemmed from "a great meeting which took place at Itafamasi" in June 1897. As we have seen, the Natal churches under the leadership of the African members of the Abaisitupa recognized the would-be separatists and offered to mediate their grievances at this meeting. At the reconciliation conferences, the Johannesburg faction also commented:

"The separation of these people [Z.C.C.] from the A.Z.M. and their churches is in fact traceable to the action of those churches in their annual meeting at Itafamasi. At that meeting the disaffected party was encouraged, and delegates both ordained and lay, were appointed to go to Johannesburg to assist in organizing a church."⁹⁸

Thus it would appear that the fortunes of the Ethiopian movement at this time varied with the attitude of the 'loyal' Natal churches and in the end the latter, with their leaders on the Abaisitupa, were responsible not only for reconciling most of the separatists but also for establishing a new basis of freedom for the African Church. The Mission recognized the "grave but inevitable concessions" it had given: "From the native standpoint the agreement then reached [the reconciliation pact of 1900] may be well considered . . . the Zulu Magna Charta in matters ecclesiastical. . . . It was the beginning of a new order in the history of the American Zulu Mission".⁹⁹ And so it seemed. The Church returned to a more decentralized, basically congregational form of government

where ultimate power and responsibility lay with each individual congregation under its own elected African pastor or preacher. In essence, the reconciliation agreement resulted in an autonomous Church with a new name which the Christian community chose to call the African Congregational Church. It was a significant innovation because it indicated how broad their outlook was compared with the separatists of the Zulu Congregational Church--a fact the Mission noted: "To the surprise of your committee not one vote was cast for 'the Zulu Congregational Church' which many at first seemed so loathe to drop. What seemed to carry the vote against it was that it was too tribal, sectional, limited--'African' having a wider meaning than 'Zulu'."¹⁰⁰ The vision of men like John Dube, Myakwendhlu Sivetye, Martin Lutuli, Nyuswa Sunguza and others had already passed beyond the ecclesiastical and political boundaries of denomination and 'tribe'.

Above all, the pastors, preachers and churches accepted the fact that the missionaries still had a vital role to play in their affairs. Indeed, both sides were determined that Christian unity should override the differences that remained. As partners--albeit still unequal--they would build the Church. It was to be a new era. Together, they would create new bridges of understanding in the utopia that many believed lay in the near future.

For the Mission as for the Church, however, the final test was yet to come. The dialogue had progressed, as it were, in a vacuum. Outside of one, brief experience--and

that a dismal failure--neither the Natal government nor the colonists as a whole had been permitted to interfere in the Mission's African Church policy. In the past, the Mission had been allowed to go its own way, but after Responsible Government there was a discernible shift in colonial attitude. In the decade before Union an attack was launched against the Ethiopian movement which eventually and inevitably embroiled the Mission. In defence, the missionaries were forced to compromise the hard-won freedom of the churches.

NOTES

1. For details, see chap. I, pp. 28-38.
2. A.Z.M. (Pmburg.), Vol. 5 II/1/2, E.E. Strong and C.H. Daniels (Prudential Committee) to Missionaries of the American Board (n.d.--circa 1890?)
3. A.Z.M. (Pmburg.), Vol. 5 II/1/2, Smith to Ireland 29/11/1884.
4. Wilcox wrote a 90-page pamphlet on self-support which led to his first resignation from the Mission in 1887. Although the pamphlet itself is missing, the details of his trenchant attack on Mission policy can be discerned from the comments of fellow missionaries who were asked to evaluate his criticisms; e.g., A.Z.M. (Pmburg.), Vol. 9 III/1/2, Fixley to Smith 21/6/1887; Ibid., Vol. 12 III/3/1, Tyler to Ireland 19/12/1887; two outlines criticising the pamphlet (n.d., no name); ? to Ireland, February 1888; Holbrook to Ireland 4/1/1888.
5. A.Z.M. (Pmburg.), Vol. 6 II/1/3, Smith to Kilbon 1/4/1885; Ibid., Vol. 9 III/1/2, Kilbon to Smith 9/2/1885, pp. 3, 6-7, 11-14 (excerpts from a 24-page reply to Smith's remarks).
 The church Kilbon referred to was Empusheni, "the first case in our Mission of a church assuming the entire support of its pastor of its own free will". Established in 1883 on Location land, its pastor was Ngumba Nyawose. He was suspended by the Mission about 1890 "not that he is guilty of any crime, but he has become so heady and unmanageable, that no dependence can be placed upon him". The preacher who succeeded Nyawose at Empusheni was Fokoti, the future separatist leader. Needless to say, Nyawose became an early and outspoken convert to the cause of an independent church. A.Z.M. (Pmburg.), Vol. 1 I/1/5, Annual Meeting, May-June 1883; Annual Meeting, June 1890; Ibid., Vol. 25 V/1/2, General Letter for 1893, p. 18. Jubilee volume, p. 43. See also: chap. I, p. 31; see below pp. 379-389, passim.
6. A.Z.M. (Pmburg.), Vol. 1 I/1/4a, Semi-Annual Meeting, February 1883.

7. A.Z.M. (Pmburg.), Vol. 1 I/1/5, Special Meeting, July 1885.
8. The Mission seems to have coined the phrase 'young people' but there is little information on their origins or activities. Apparently they emerged during the reformation from the boarding schools and from groups like the Blue Ribbon Army. In the 1880s, they were regarded by the Mission as a radical element in the Christian community, espousing the cause of a separatist leader (Mbiyana Ngidi) and demanding freehold tenure by attempting "to purchase land with their missionary contributions". A.Z.M. (Pmburg.), Vol. 1 I/1/6, Annual Meeting, July 1889; Ibid., Vol. 17 III/6/2, Robbins to Smith 1/2/1886. On Ngidi, see below, pp. 374-376.
9. A.Z.M. (Pmburg.), Vol. 1 I/1/5, Jubilee Meeting, December 1885; Annual Meeting, June 1886; Ibid., Vol. 22 IV/1/2, Committee Report on the origin, scope, status and authority of the Abaisitupa for 1898. See also: A.Z.M. (Inanda), unclassified, South African Deputation Papers (1903), Abaisitupa, or The Committee of Six on Home and Foreign Mission Work, p. 16.
10. A.Z.M. (Pmburg.), Vol. 1 I/1/5, Annual Meeting, June 1886.
11. A.Z.M. (Pmburg.), Vol. 17 III/6/2, Robbins to Smith 1/2/1886.
12. A.Z.M. (Pmburg.), Vol. 25 V/1/2, General Letter for 1886, p. 3.
13. A.Z.M. (Pmburg.), Vol. 6 II/1/3, Smith to Holbrook 21/8/1888.
14. Christoferson, "American Board Mission", p. 33.
15. A.Z.M. (Pmburg.), Vol. 1 I/1/5, Semi-Annual Meeting, January 1885; Ibid., Vol. 9 III/1/2, Goodenough to Smith 3/2/1891; Ibid., Vol. 22 IV/1/1, Report of the Native Annual Meeting Committee for 1895. See also: A.Z.M. (Pretoria) Microfilm A756, Bunker to Smith, n.d. (ca. 1901).
16. For details, see chap. I, pp. 41-42.
17. A.B.C.F.M. reports, Zulu Mission, 1885, 1890, 1895.
18. A.Z.M. (Pmburg.), Vol. 1 I/1/5, Semi-Annual Meeting, January 1885; Ibid., Vol. 6 II/1/4, Smith to Goodenough 18/6/1891; Ibid., Vol. 9 III/1/2, Secretary (Goodenough) to Smith 7/4/1891; Ibid., Vol. 22 IV/1/1,

Report of the Native Agency Committee for 1893,
p. 2.

19. A.Z.M. (Pmburg.), Vol. 1 I/1/5, Annual Meeting, June-July 1889.
20. A.Z.M. (Pmburg.), Vol. 9 III/1/2, Holbrook to Smith 23/10/1889.
21. A.Z.M. (Pmburg.), Vol. 1 I/1/5, Annual Meeting, June-July 1890; Annual Meeting, June-July 1891.
22. A.Z.M. (Pmburg.), Vol. 25 V/1/2, General Letter for 1893, p. 32.

23. It is interesting to note how Congregational polity was, and still is, defined in theory:

"The Congregationist polity is peculiarly insistent on the responsibility and authority of the local church. . . . The Congregational churches believe that a peculiar authority rests with the local body of Christian people. . . . They hold that such companies have a peculiar access to the right understanding of the truth of their faith and a peculiar capacity for interpreting it in its relation to all the necessities of their lives. The crucial item in this claim to an intrinsic authority is the claim of each congregation to be the best judge of the man who can most fitly minister to its spiritual needs. This is the sheet-anchor of the Congregationist claim to autonomy."

Many missionaries regarded this ideal as impractical for the American Zulu Mission, however, in the 1880s and 1890s. Goodenough commented in 1891: "A good many of us think that Congregationalism needs a good deal of modifying to fit it to this people, and it is a pity it has taken so long to find it out." By 1897 his viewpoint had obtained a plurality within the Mission: "If the work is to succeed such conditions call from us . . . as at no previous time, greater uniformity, not only of principles, but of the interpretation and application of those principles. Can this be secured by a strict adherence to the more or less 'every-missionary-go-as-you-please' Congregational idea so long in vogue? Even if we ourselves could prosecute christian work along these lines we cannot reasonably expect Zulus, of all people, to successfully follow in our steps." Spencer, M. "Social Contributions of Congregational and Kindred Churches". The Sociological Review, XXXV, nos. 3 & 4 (July-Oct. 1943), pp. 57-68. A.Z.M. (Pmburg.), Vol. 9 III/1/2, Goodenough to Smith 21/7/1891, p. 4; Ibid., Vol. 25 V/1/2, General Letter for 1897, pp. 6-7.

24. The Home Missionary Society, Zulu Home and Foreign Missionary Society, Zulu Home and Foreign Mission Work as well as the Zulu Missionary Society refer to the same organization.
25. A.Z.M. (Pmburg.), Vol. 2 I/1/6, Semi-Annual Meeting, February 1895; Annual Meeting, June-July 1895; Ibid., Vol. 30, VII/4/1, Draft Plan for Native Agency (1893).
26. A.Z.M. (Pmburg.), Vol. 2 I/1/6, Semi-Annual Meeting, February 1895; Ibid., Vol. 22 IV/1/1, Committee Report of the Apportionment Plan for 1891 (draft copy with separate, abbreviated corrections), Report of the Native Annual Meeting Committee for 1892.
27. N.G.G., Law No. 46 of 1887 (Sept. 27, 1887), "To regulate the Marriage of Natives by Christian Rites," pp. 1429-1430 (with subsequent amendments).
28. A.Z.M. (Pmburg.), Vol. 2 I/1/6, Semi-Annual Meeting, February 1895; Ibid., Vol. 22 IV/1/1, Report of the Preachers' Institute Committee for 1893, Report of the Native Agency Committee for 1894; Ibid., Vol. 22 IV/1/2, Report of the Preachers' Conferences North & South of Durban (1897-1898); Ibid., Vol. 30 VII/4/1, Draft Plan for Native Agency (1893).
29. A.Z.M. (Pmburg.), Vol. 2 I/1/6, Annual Meeting, June-July 1895.
30. A.Z.M. (Pmburg.), Vol. 22 IV/1/1, Report of the Native Annual Meeting Committee for 1895, pp. 2-3.
31. A.Z.M. (Pmburg.), Vol. 31 VII/5/1, excerpts from the Conference of Representatives of Foreign Mission Boards and Societies in the United States and Canada to American Mission Churches 14/2/1895. A subsequent "open letter" (2/4/1896) looked forward to standardizing the methods of self-support.
32. A.Z.M. (Pmburg.), Vol. 6 II/1/4, Smith to Goodenough 21/5/1895.
33. A.Z.M. (Inanda), unclassified, The American Zulu Mission Annual 1900-1901, p. 7.

The Mission tried to whitewash the uproar that followed by suggesting the words for self-support and self-government were not translated correctly into Zulu. The "open letter" seemed quite clear on both points, however. The American Board wanted independent churches formed as quickly as possible. A.Z.M. (Pmburg.), Vol. 2 I/1/6, Annual Meeting, June-July 1896.

34. A.Z.M. (Pmburg.), Vol. 6 II/1/4, Smith to Goodenough 25/3/1895, pp. 2-3.
 In 1895 the missionaries were urging that "we make progress slowly" in ordaining pastors. A.Z.M. (Pmburg.), Vol. 22 IV/1/1, Report of the Committee on the ordination of Zulu pastors for 1895.
35. A.B.C.F.M. reports, Zulu Mission, 1895-1896.
36. A.Z.M. (Pretoria), Microfilm A747, General Letter for 1898, p. 11.
 Once again, the missionaries sought an explanation for the pastors' behavior in the Zulu words which were used at their ordination services: "Inadvertently the name 'Umfundisi', the distinctive appellation by which the missionary is called, instead of 'umalusi', pastor, had been designated as their title of office." It was an excuse that would hardly suit the American Board, and it did scant credit to the missionaries.
37. A.Z.M. (Pmburg.), Vol. 22 IV/1/2, Sunguza's Questions--Report of the Native Annual Meeting Committee for 1897 and Report of the Committee appointed to correct misunderstanding of self-support circular at the Native Annual Meeting for 1897.
38. A.Z.M. (Inanda), unclassified, South African Deputation Papers (1903), Ethiopian Movement And Other Independent Factions Characterized By A National Spirit, pp. 28-29.
 John Nembula was treasurer of the African Christian Union. A.Z.M. (Pmburg.), Vol. 25 V/1/2, General Letter for 1897, p. 6. See also: Shepperson, G. and Price, T. Independent African, pp. 70-81 (re Joseph Booth).
39. A.Z.M. (Inanda), unclassified, South African Deputation Papers (1903), Ethiopian Movement And Other Independent Factions Characterized By A National Spirit, p. 29.
40. The term "Ethiopianism" has been defined as "a form of religious African nationalism which always threatened to boil over into revolt against European rule". As a reaction against white domination it was both a haven and a vehicle of expression for African proto-nationalist movements circa 1870-1920. Settlers and government officials in Natal adopted the word as a slogan to describe anti-white political disturbances such as the so-called Zulu Rebellion of 1906. A secession essentially away from white missionary churches, "Ethiopianism" may also be contrasted with subsequent African religious phenomena collated by Sundkler and categorized as "Zionism" and "Messianism". Shepperson and Price,

op. cit., pp. 72-74. See also: Sundkler, B. Bantu Prophets in South Africa (rev. ed.), 25-64, 68-70, 90-91, 295-301. Lea, A. The Native Separatist Church Movement in South Africa (a contemporary missionary viewpoint. Lea and Frederick Bridgman were close friends and collaborators on the Ethiopian 'problem')).

41. Jubilee volume, p. 43. See also: A.Z.M. (Pretoria), Microfilm A749, Goodenough to Smith 11/2/1892. A.Z.M. (Pmburg.), Vol. 1 I/1/5, Annual Meeting, June-July 1890; Ibid., Vol. 9 III/1/2, Pixley to Smith 26/12/1887, 10/7/1888. See above, chap. I, pp. 24, 31.
42. Thomas Hawes, the preacher, earlier had been suspended for "immorality" at Esidumbini. He was given the Noodsberg Church more or less as a chance to redeem himself and when he failed to control the dissident, pro-Ngidi group the Mission sacked him. This final humiliation led Thomas Hawes to espouse the cause of the separatists. Later he became a preacher in one of the Natal secessionist churches. A.Z.M. (Pmburg.), Vol. 9 III/1/2, Holbrook to Smith 24/2/1890, Goodenough to Smith 21/7/1891; Ibid., Vol. 22 IV/1/1, Committee Report--re Noodsberg for 1891; Ibid., Vol. 25 V/1/2, General Letter for 1894, p. 4. A.Z.M. (Pretoria), Microfilm A749, Goodenough to Smith 11/2/1892.
43. A.Z.M. (Pmburg.), Vol. 22 IV/1/1, "Noodsberg Cottage" Report for 1893 and Report of the Native Agency Committee for 1895; Ibid., Vol. 25 V/1/2, General Letter for 1893, pp. 8-9.
44. It has been somewhat difficult to reconstruct the history of the separatist movement in Johannesburg because the available records are scattered and sometimes irreconcilable. Thus I have kept the sources together rather than list them separately with each footnote for this section.

Pretoria Archives:

A.Z.M. (Pretoria), Microfilm A747, General Letters for 1898-1899; Ibid., Microfilm A748, Johannesburg Mission (Goodenough); Ibid., Microfilm A749, Goodenough to Smith 14/7/1893, p. 5, 21/7/1893, p. 2, 7/10/1893, 5/11/1893, 11/12/1893, 1/1/1894, 14/2/1894, 14/5/1894, Memorandum re Mission House, Johannesburg 21/4/1894, 2/8/1894, pp. 3-4; Goodenough to E.E. Strong 24/9/1894, 22/10/1894; Goodenough to Smith 10/12/1894, 6/4/1896, 22/8/1896, 17/10/1896, pp. 3-4, 25/1/1897, 8/3/1897, 12/4/1897, 10/5/1897, 7/10/1897, 14/4/1899, pp. 8-10.

Inanda Archives:

A.Z.M. (Inanda), unclassified, T.B. Curson to A.Z.M. 1/5/1896, T.B. Curson to Kilbon 15/5/1896.

Pietermaritzburg Archives:

A.Z.M. (Pmburg.), Vol. 1 I/1/5, Special Meeting, January 1892, Annual Meeting, June-July 1892, Semi-Annual Meeting, February 1893; Ibid., Vol. 2 I/1/6, Annual Meeting, June-July 1893, Semi-Annual Meeting, Jan.-Feb. 1894, Annual Meeting, June-July 1894, Annual Meeting, June-July 1896, Semi-Annual Meeting, Jan.-Feb. 1897, Annual Meeting June-July 1897; Ibid., Vol. 17 III/7/1, Kilbon to D.W. Drew 25/3/1893, Kilbon to D.W. Drew and Harper Riley 8/6/1893, Kilbon to Goodenough 1/8/1893, 7/10/1893, 21/10/1893, Kilbon to Harper Riley 23/10/1893, 20/12/1893, passim. (Kilbon's correspondence re Johannesburg for 1894-1895); Ibid., Vol. 17 III/7/2, correspondence re opening of Johannesburg work 1893-1894, n.b. Goodenough to Kilbon 25/9/1893, 29/9/1893; Ibid., Vol. 22 IV/1/1, Report of the Committee on Mission Work among the Zulus in Johannesburg (1892), Report of the Committee on Correspondence re Johannesburg Native Work for 1893, Report of the Johannesburg Committee for 1894; Reports of the Native Agency Committee for 1892, 1893, 1895; Report of the Committee on Benjamin Hawes (1895); Ibid., Vol. 22 IV/1/2, Reports of the Johannesburg Committee for 1896 (with two appendices) and 1897, Committee Resolutions on Johannesburg Work in reply to communications from Johannesburg Church (1897), Kilbon to Ndeya Makubalo and others in Johannesburg 7/7/1897, Report of the Johannesburg Emergency Committee for 1897; Ibid., Vol. 25 V/1/1, Johannesburg Mission (1894); Ibid., Vol. 25 V/1/2, General Letters for 1893, pp. 18, 20, 23, passim, 1894, p. 4, 1895, pp. 18-19; Ibid., Vol. 32 VII/9/1, Meeting to investigate Mr. Curson's insinuations 4/6/1896, Meeting with the Johannesburg Church 9/6/1896.

45. Other missions had been established by the Wesleyans, the Church of England and the Berlin Missionary Society.
46. Xhosa was probably the language medium. The Americans apparently were the first to open a Zulu-speaking mission on the Reef.
47. See chap. 1, p.24. George Wilder also made a trip to Johannesburg and reported that the congregation's two greatest needs were a Zulu-speaking preacher and a church building.
48. Benjamin Hawes, now pastor of the Itafamasi Church, was authorized to go to Johannesburg in 1893, but the Mission reversed its decision when Goodenough's offer

was accepted. Meanwhile, however, Hawes sold most of his goods and, in anticipation, failed to plant crops for the new season. Perhaps even more degrading to a pastor's prestige was the fact that he already had bade farewell to his congregation. Although the missionaries admitted they were "thoughtless in not communicating with him more during his time of suspense" they denied that Hawes actually had been appointed. Hawes, thoroughly disillusioned as well as financially impoverished, became one of the leading spokesmen for an independent church and heavily influenced the Abaisitupa in this direction until his death in 1897.

49. The agreement also gave the American Board an option on these properties at cost within five years of the date of the lease--viz. April 1899.
50. Fokoti apparently was brought to Johannesburg because of pressure from the church. It is impossible to ascertain his full name. He is referred to as Fakoti, Fokati, Fokoti Makaya, Fokoti Makanya, Fokoti Tyotyo and Ndeya Makanya but was generally known as Fokoti.
51. For details, see chap. IX, pp. 495-499.
52. Originally, it was intended that Zulu families occupy the buildings but the church members preferred to leave their wives and children in Natal. There was considerable friction between the Zulu congregation and the Coloureds. The Zulu were incensed over the fact that the apartments had been rented to couples--albeit without Goodenough's knowledge or consent--who were not married, and that several families were living in single rooms in "immoral" circumstances. Since the apartment was adjacent to the church "these colored tenants joining on to the mission property and being under the management of the missionary would be regarded as belonging together". The Africans felt this gave the church a bad reputation. The situation was aggravated when Fokoti was beaten by the Coloureds because he rebuked some of them for "living in sin".
53. Curson seems to have been interested in the struggling Johannesburg congregation from the beginning and, although apparently uneducated, was a spokesman for African religious freedom akin to Joseph Booth. He refused to implicate any of the African churchmen in his charges against Goodenough and took full responsibility for his actions.
54. Goodenough agreed to certain private recommendations. He put his property into the hands of an agent instead of administering it personally, and the apartment build-

ing itself was fenced off completely from the church. Steps were also taken to regularize the preacher's salary, but Curson was forced to leave the church. Goodenough regarded him as a rival in a power struggle to gain control over Mission work on the Reef, although the Mission's committee of inquiry found no basis for this allegation.

55. "We impressed upon them the fact . . . that we missionaries are amenable to the American churches . . . and are not and never can be under the domination of the native churches; that all who come under our care do so voluntarily and by that act place themselves under the care and direction of the American churches and whenever they wish to control themselves independent of the American churches whose representative the missionary is, they must take themselves away from these churches and not set up opposition within them."
56. Goodenough, in a letter to Secretary Smith, defended his actions in demanding these resolutions. The church at Doornfontein was "only the center of a large and increasing work. . . . This extension was impossible if Fokoti were the pastor, because he would absorb an ever-increasing amount for his own salary and comfort. This extension requires a lot of money. If I have a free hand I can get the money." It is interesting to note in this connection that in 1897 Goodenough commanded the highest salary on the American Zulu Mission.'
57. Incredibly enough, Goodenough still didn't understand the significance of this move. He reported to Secretary Smith: "I am really glad to be rid of Fokoti and these malcontents. If it were not for the situation in Natal I should look with complacency on this move in Johannesburg."
58. For details, see chap. II, pp.86, 99-105; and chap. III, p. 166.
59. E.g., A.Z.M. (Pmburg.), Vol. 25 V/1/2, General Letters for 1890, pp. 8-9, 1893, p. 23, 1894, p. 4; Ibid., Vol. 32 VII/9/1, photo and caption of Shibe and Cele at Umzumbe in the late 1870s. See also: 1902 Lands Commission, Evidence, pp. 15-20 (Shibe).
60. See chap. II, p. 120 and footnote 41.
61. A.Z.M. (Inanda), unclassified, Terms of Agreement between the Natal Congregational Union and the American Zulu Mission relating to Table Mountain (1896). See also: A.Z.M. (Pmburg.), Vol. 9 III/1/2, Goodenough to Smith 21/7/1891; Ibid., Vol. 22 IV/1/1, Report of

Committee on Superintendence at Table Mountain Station by the Congregational Church of P.M.B. (1892), Reports of the Committee on Table Mountain for 1893-1894; Ibid., Vol. 22 IV/1/2, Report of the Native Agency Committee for 1896, Report of the Committee on Table Mountain for 1896.

62. There seems to be little doubt that Pugh acted in this manner because he was afraid he could not match Shibe's power and influence over the people. Pugh only met Shibe briefly, if he met him at all, before Shibe applied for and received the Mission's permission for a four-month leave of absence. Shibe apparently had planned to go to his old home at Umzumbe but, due to an undisclosed illness, changed his plans and spent eight months recuperating at Lovedale. While there he met the famous resident missionary Dr. James Stewart and appears to have thought very highly of him. This is of interest since Stewart was to witness a secession in 1898 under the leadership of P.J. Mzimba, founder of the African Presbyterian Church. There is no evidence that Shibe ever met Mzimba, however. A.Z.M. (Pmburg.), Vol. 22 IV/1/2, Report of the Committee on Table Mountain for 1896; Ibid., Vol. 31 VII/5/1, Shibe to Kilbon 27/4/1896, Shibe to ? (probably Kilbon) 10/6/1896 (translated by Arnold Kuzwayo, assistant librarian at Fort Hare University College 13/1/1967). A.Z.M. (Inanda), unclassified, Dorward (?) to Stewart 23/8/1897 (re an interview with Shibe concerning the reasons for his secession).
63. 1902 Lands Commission, Evidence, pp. 15-20 (Shibe), 117-123. (Pugh).
64. A.Z.M. (Pretoria), Microfilm A747, General Letter for 1898, pp. 12-13.
65. Ibid., pp. 13-14.
66. A.Z.M. (Pmburg.), Vol. 22 IV/1/2, Report of Committee on Durban and Johannesburg Stands (1898), Report of Native Annual Meeting Committee for 1898.
67. A.Z.M. (Pmburg.), Vol. 19 III/9/1, Relation of Missionaries and pastors to each other (1897).
68. A.Z.M. (Pretoria), Microfilm A747, General Letter for 1898, p. 14. See also: A.Z.M. (Pmburg.), Vol. 2 I/1/6, Annual Meeting, June-July 1897; Ibid., 19 III/9/1, Report of Committee to Draw up a Statement which shall include the Necessary Conditions in calling a Native Pastor (1898, revised in 1899); Ibid., Vol. 22 IV/1/2, Report of Committee to draw up certain rules relating to calling a meeting of delegates from churches (1898);

Committee Report on the origin, scope, status and authority of the Abaisitupa for 1898; Report of the Special Committee on the present policy of the Mission re the Pastorate of the Zulu Churches for 1898.

69. A.Z.M. (Pmburg.), Vol. 31 VII/5/1, Kilbon to Fernie (an executive officer of the Natal Congregational Union) 13/9/1897.
70. A.Z.M. (Pmburg.), Vol. 31 VII/5/1, Kilbon to Fernie 27/9/1897, Report of Table Mountain matters at a Congregational Union meeting in Durban 15-16/9/1897 (by Kilbon).

Kilbon realized, too late, what the Natal Congregational Union was trying to do. He and others begged Pixley not to serve, but since they had kept silent at the Durban 'trial' and had agreed to the deputation, the Mission felt obliged to comply with the Natal Congregational Union's request. Kilbon concluded: "We American missionaries will have to suffer for this action--it will come back to us."

71. A.Z.M. (Pmburg.), Vol. 6 II/1/4, Smith to Pixley 14/12/1897. See also: A.Z.M. (Pretoria), Microfilm A749, Goodenough to Smith 24/5/1897, 28/2/1898, p. 5 (Fokoti).
72. A.Z.M. (Inanda), unclassified, A copy of the original document on the ordination of Simungu Shibe 20/2/1898 and signed by 115 people--founders and members of the 'Zulu Congregational Church' 27/2/1898. See also: A.Z.M. (Pretoria), Microfilm A749, Goodenough to Smith 9/5/1898. 1902 Lands Commission, Evidence, p. 18 (Shibe).

The service was 'legalized' by a Jewish lawyer. The missionaries themselves regarded the dissidents as legitimate members of the Mission Church until the ordinations of 1898. The Z.C.C. today traces the founding of their Church to this date. A.Z.M. (Pmburg.), Vol. 2 I/1/6, Special Meeting, April 1898. John Shibe interview (a nephew of Simungu and the present head of the Zulu Congregational Church) 31/3/1967.

73. Fokoti reported that the Johannesburg branch of the Zulu Congregational Church asked a black Wesleyan minister, H. Ntsiko, to instruct members in the intricacies of church government. Ntsiko apparently helped organize a church council, drew up a charter and unsuccessfully sought recognition for the congregation from the Transvaal authorities. The Zulu Congregational Church had an executive council, probably similar to the Abaisitupa, made up of the leading preachers with Shibe as chairman. Pastors and preachers retained almost total

control over their own parishes, however, and the Church seems to have been as decentralized during this period as it is today. Shibe told the 1902 Lands Commission: " . . . if you wish to know what our church is like, I should say it was like the American Church as far as its laws are concerned". A.Z.M. (Pmburg.), Vol. 31 VII/5/2, Fokoti's statement to Ngqibelo as to how the church was formed at Johannesburg, February 1898 (translated by John Wright, archivist, 13/12/1966). 1902 Lands Commission, Evidence, p. 18 (Shibe). Mhlongo interview, 16/12/1967, John Shibe interview 31/3/1967.

74. A.Z.M. (Pretoria), Microfilm A749, Goodenough to Smith 28/2/1898, p. 5. See also: A.Z.M. (Inanda), unclassified, South African Deputation Papers (1903), Ethiopian Movement And Other Independent Factions Characterized By A National Spirit, pp. 29-30.
75. A.Z.M. (Pmburg.), Vol. 2 I/1/6, Annual Meeting, June-July 1898; Ibid., Vol. 22 IV/1/2, Report of Special Committee to propose a message to the Native Annual Meeting at Umvoti (1898).
76. A.Z.M. (Pmburg.), Vol. 2 I/1/6, Annual Meeting, June-July 1898; Ibid., Vol. 22 IV/1/2, Apportionments and Receipts of the Home /Zulu/ Missionary Society to 1898 inclusive; Ibid., Vol. 23 IV/1/3, Report of the Native Annual Meeting Committee for 1899, Report of Committee on 'Letter from the Pastors' 30/6/1899, Report of the Native Agency Committee for 1898.
77. Nyuswa spent 13 years as a student at Amanzimtoti Seminary and the Theological School before he was put in charge of the church at Umtwalume late in 1892. Although still under missionary supervision, church membership rose dramatically under Nyuswa's leadership. Within four years he was in charge of the largest Christian community on the Mission. A.Z.M. (Pmburg.), Vol. 25 V/1/2, General Letter for 1893, p. 20. A.Z.M. (Inanda), unclassified, The American Zulu Mission Annual 1900-1901, p. 23.
78. A.Z.M. (Pretoria), Microfilm A751, Malcolm to Smith 18/5/1899, pp. 2-3, 6; Ibid., Microfilm A754, General Letter for 1900-1901, p. 5.
79. A.Z.M. (Pretoria), Microfilm A747, General Letter for 1899, pp. 11-12.

Pressure was also exerted from the government. S.O. Samuelson felt that if Shibe was not dealt with decisively "it resolved itself into a political question, as Simungu was influencing the native mind. . . . This is no missionary matter: it concerns us." A.Z.M. (Pmburg.),

Vol. 31 VII/5/1, Pugh to Kilbon 5/5/1898, Pugh to S.N.A. 10 or 13/5/1898, Pugh to Kilbon 16/5/1898, 1/6/1898.

80. See above, Pp. 387, 392-393.
81. Taylor, Seventy-Five Years, p. 29. See also: A.Z.M. (Pmburg.), Vol. 23 IV/1/4, Report of Committee on Reconciliation of the Zulu Congregational Church and the A.Z.M. and its Churches (1900).
82. Note the similarity between this metaphor and the Mission's appeal to the churches in June 1898 (pp. 391-392). A.Z.M. (Pmburg.), Vol. 31 VII/5/1, Nyuswa's Scheme and Counter Scheme by A.Z.M. & Z.H.F.M. Society Committee (translation and interpretation by R.R.R. Dhlomo, June 1965).
83. A.Z.M. (Pmburg.), Vol. 23 IV/1/4, Reports of Committee on Reconciliation with the Zulu Congregational Church for 1900-1901; Ibid., Vol. 25 V/1/2, General Letter for 1899-1900, pp. 8-11; Ibid., Vol. 31 VII/5/1, Nyuswa's Scheme and Counter Scheme by A.Z.M. & Z.H.F.M. Society Committee. See also: chap. III, pp. 159-160.
84. A.Z.M. (Pmburg.), Vol. 31 VII/5/1, Basis of Reconciliation between the Churches of the American Zulu Mission and the Zulu Congregational Church, confirmed by an Advisory Council of Churches at Durban 11/9/1900. See also: A.Z.M. (Pretoria), Microfilm A754, General Letter for 1901, pp. 9-13.
 The final document dropped all references to the Reserves, but a standing committee of five (one missionary) was elected to control and administer all property acquired by the churches in the future. A.Z.M. (Pmburg.), Vol. 23 IV/1/4, Report of Committee on Incorporation of the Zulu Home and Foreign Missionary Society for 1900. A.Z.M. (Pretoria), Microfilm A754, General Letter for 1900-1901, p. 12.
85. Frederick Bridgman and Kilbon represented the Mission at the reconciliation talks. Bridgman, a relatively new recruit, knew nothing about the separatist movement at the time and was rather disconcerted (as was the Zulu Congregational Church) that he was chosen: "To me it would be ludicrous, were it not so painful, that I should be dragged into exceedingly distasteful affairs with the beginnings of which I had no connection. Affairs, moreover, in which I personally feel that the Mission were not blameless. But to this committee the brethren assigned me, while each patted himself on the back that he at least has escaped the uncoveted appointment." A.Z.M. (Pretoria), Microfilm A748, F. Bridgman to Smith 15/12/1899.

86. A.Z.M. (Pretoria), Microfilm A748, Bunker to Smith 9/3/1899; Ibid., Microfilm A756, Bunker to Smith 23/2/1900; Ibid., Microfilm A754, General Letter for 1900-1901, pp. 10-11. See also: A.Z.M. (Pmburg.), Vol. 23 IV/1/4, Reports of Committee on Reconciliation with the Zulu Congregational Church for 1900-1901.
In 1900, the separatists had at least nine places of worship in the Transvaal Republic and Natal (one in Johannesburg, one in Pretoria and seven in Natal) and others in Zululand, Tsongaland and Mozambique.
87. Pugh was most apologetic to the Mission on the eve of the reconciliation talks: " . . . had I known what I now know, I should have acted differently in respect to USimungu /sic/ at the outset, and I am prepared to make it as easy as I possibly can for him to return. There are some things I have done during my time at Table Mountain . . . which now I wish I had not done. . . . I have been forced to the conclusion, that I judged him and his party from my personal standpoint". Later Pugh apologized to Shibe and asked him to return to his preaching duties. Shibe, who maintained that his ordination was legal, refused. A.Z.M. (Pmburg.), Vol. 14 III/3/4, Pugh to Taylor 17/5/1905; Ibid., Vol. 31 VII/5/1, Pugh to Kilbon 19/8/1900, 24/9/1900, Kilbon to Pugh 24/8/1900.
88. Some of Shibe's correspondence with the Mission in 1898-1899 has been preserved, and it is of interest to note how close the ties were even at that time. He invariably addressed each missionary as "Loving Father", inquired about their health, family and so forth. Kilbon attended Fokoti's funeral as the Mission's official representative and saw his family to "express our sympathy with them". A.Z.M. (Pmburg.), Vol. 2 I/1/6, Annual Meeting June-July 1898; Ibid., Vol. 31 VII/5/1, Shibe to ? (probably Kilbon) 25/7/1898, 2/8/1898, 22/8/1898, 26/7/1899, 7/9/1899; Kilbon to Shibe 24/7/1898 (translated by Arnold Kuzwayo 13/1/1967).
89. Sundkler, op. cit., pp. 44-45.
90. There is reason to believe that the Z.C.C. benefitted from a more severe secession in 1917, but a final judgment on this point must await further research. John Shibe interview 31/3/1967.
91. It is interesting to note the contemporary colonial explanation of the causes of Ethiopianism, as mirrored in the report of the 1903-05 South African Native Affairs Commission: "Almost without exception secessions have been led by Church officers who have been unable to co-operate smoothly with their European Superintendents."

The Commission found that there were little or no theological differences between the separatists and the 'European' churches. South African Native Affairs Commission 1903-1905, Report, pp. 63-65.

92. A letter from the members of the church at Table Mountain enumerating their grievances against Pugh concludes: "We all learn that it [their grievances] is because he [Pugh] is not of our Church [American Board]. He is despising the laws of our Church." Z.C.C. leaders today claim Shibe broke away from the Natal Congregational Union, not the American Board. A.Z.M. (Pretoria), Microfilm A748, Samuel Mzolo and Elijah Zondi to "Our dear and loving missionary" 10/11/1897. Mhlongo interview 16/2/1967, John Shibe interview 31/3/1967.
93. From which it has never recovered, as anyone visiting the area today will observe. The Mission recorded its "great disappointment in the failure of this experiment to bring about a closer union between our native churches and the Colonial Congregational churches". A.Z.M. (Pmburg.), Vol. 3 I/1/8, Semi-Annual Meeting, Dec.-Jan. 1904-05.
94. For details, see chap. IX, pp. 495, 502-503. In 1897, for example, Goodenough told Secretary Smith: "The facts are not as stated by Ndeya Makanya [Fokoti], who I may tell you is not a 'gentleman', but a native 'boy'. . . . It is absurd in the case of these 'boys' to talk about being independent". A.Z.M. (Pretoria), Microfilm A749, Goodenough to Smith 24/5/1897.
95. Independent churches, according to Sundkler, reveal "an emphasis on ritual"; separatist leaders "characteristically copied on the Bantu systems of rank, or authority and leadership". Separatist movements within the American Zulu Mission during this period, however, do not seem to have evolved in this manner. Congregationalism implies a de-emphasis on ritual--a characteristic of both the Z.C.C. and the 'loyal' Mission Church today. There was nothing "characteristically Bantu" about the African church leadership pattern during this period--if one has in mind the traditional system. If the ecclesiastical structure was more centralized and oriented towards an elite hierarchy than the Congregational ideal, it was because of the Mission's Church policy extending over most of a generation. What authoritarianism there was in the African churches stemmed rather from Mission sources than from traditional culture. Cf. Sundkler, op. cit., pp. 296-297.

96. In Taylor's words: "It seems that this faction is a righteous call for a change of policy on the part of the mission". A.Z.M. (Pretoria), Microfilm A758, Taylor to Smith 27/2/1900.
97. A.Z.M. (Inanda), unclassified, South African Deputation Papers (1903), Ethiopian Movement And Other Independent Factions Characterized By A National Spirit, p. 29.
98. A.Z.M. (Pretoria), Microfilm A748, F. Bridgman to Smith 15/12/1893, p. 16.
99. A.Z.M. (Inanda), unclassified, South African Deputation Papers (1903), Ethiopian Movement And Other Independent Factions Characterized By A National Spirit, p. 30.
100. A.Z.M. (Pmburg.), Vol. 23 IV/1/4, Report of the Native Annual Meeting Committee for 1901.
Sixteen out of 19 delegates voted for the title 'African Congregational Church'.

CHAPTER VIII

THE CHURCH IN RETREAT: COLONIAL INTERVENTION,
MISSION REACTIONS AND RESPONSE

The most important African concession in the reconciliation talks was the recognition that missionaries still had an important role to play in Church affairs. The agreement itself, however, was purposely vague in defining that role, for the new situation required a more positive psychological response to African needs. The Church leaders sought the missionaries as co-workers rather than overseers in the implementation of policy--a point some missionaries were willing to concede even in 1898:

"The Mission is destined to become more and more an advisory board commanding such influence as it can win. Circumstances are forcing upon us the relinquishment of the churches to their own care faster than we might choose. . . . The best results in the end will doubtless be secured by proving to them their need of our help rather than by forcing them to follow our lead, by trying to enlighten and influence their judgments rather than by exacting obedience to ours."¹

After 1900, moreover, the Mission no longer had de jure temporal or ecclesiastical authority over the churches.

In these circumstances, the Americans revealed a realism unique among missionary organizations in Natal at the time. They recognized that the center of power had shifted and foresaw that the Mission's survival was dependent on their

willingness to cooperate in sharing the mantle of ecclesiastical authority with the leaders of the African Congregational Church.²

	1899	1901	1903
Pastors	5	10*	10
"Approved" preachers	15	12	19
Evangelists	253	301	414

*Eight, according to the official A.B.C.F.M. report for 1901.

About 1902, for example, the Pastors' Conference--those African Church leaders who had been meeting regularly with the missionaries since 1896--began "to vote on matters which come within its scope".³ Anticipating the American Board Deputation in 1903, several questions were directed to this body that reflected the Mission's search for a meaningful dialogue:

"1. Placing of new missionaries: what mode of procedure will satisfy the A.C.C. as to placing
a. missionary in a field where a native church has been organized
b. missionary in a field where no native church has been organized.

"2. Superintendency: a. what is done by the present superintendents to which the A.C.C. objects
. . . b. what is your idea as to what a superintendent ought to do in harmony with the church.
c. would you prefer three, two, one or no superintendents? . . .

"3. State in what ways not now employed the missionaries can push the A.C.C. so that it may be known and trusted by Government. . . .

"4. Please state what the Deputation shall say to the American Board as to the value in your opinion, of the work of the present missionaries."⁴

The Mission recognized the congregations of the ex-separatists in Natal and the Transvaal and, as part of the reconciliation agreement, promised to refrain from any overt meddling in the internal affairs of the churches. Although the Americans were not yet willing to allow Africans to sit and vote with them, at the Mission's official meetings, the first tentative steps were made towards giving the Church leaders a veto over matters of Mission policy. In 1903, the Abaisitupa told the Mission that Goodenough was not to interfere in the work at Pretoria until his assistance was "requested" by the Natal churches, and the Mission agreed to this demand.⁵

Another important point was the Mission's control over all 'foreign' work. In the early 1900s a new mission was envisaged for Portuguese East Africa centering on Beira, and the African Congregational Church was invited to "co-operate" with the Mission in opening this field. The pastors and preachers, however, refused to join the Mission unless the work was authorized by the African Congregational Church:

" . . . Sivetye said that though the A.C.C. stood committed to the missionary principle it would not go forward till the missionaries had explained their past and present policy regarding extension. He said that at Mapumulo in '95 the churches were told that the missionaries had established a native church and now they would not go to the interior but the churches should do so independently. . . . When this matter had been cleared up perhaps the A.C.C. would cooperate with the A.Z.M. in opening Beira."⁶

Although the work in Portuguese East Africa later had to be abandoned, the Mission agreed to give the African Congregational Church a vote in the formulation of 'foreign'

missionary policy in Zululand, Tsongaland (where the Umtwalume church under Sunguza Nyuswa already had a small but flourishing work) and Portuguese East Africa. In 1905 Mhlanganiso Hlatywayo, originally a member of the Gazaland (Rhodesia) expedition of 1893, was sent and supported by the African churches to work with Bunker in opening the Ruth Tracy Strong Mission in Beira.⁷

The reconciliation agreement also brought a change for the better in the finances of the Zulu Missionary Society and the churches. Sivetye was appointed the first African treasurer of the Society in 1901 and its accounts were administered as efficiently as they ever were by the missionaries. The churches responded with unprecedented vigor. Between 1903 and 1908 the Zulu Missionary Society collected £850-£1,100 a year from the churches---more than twice the amount received in the 1890s. Church membership pledges were fixed at a minimum two shillings per quarter for adult males and one shilling per quarter for adult females. In 1903 only five of the 23 organized churches of the African Congregational Church were dependent on aid from the Zulu Missionary Society and the "proportion of their [Zulu churches] income given for religious purposes" exceeded "wealthy American churches". Consequently, a greater percentage of the Society's funds could be channelled into home and foreign missionary work per se.⁸ In 1904 the Mission commented:

"The churches during the last two or three years have usually contributed their full quota to the Home Mission Fund [Zulu Missionary Society] and

the Treasury is in a fairly satisfactory condition. . . . The relations between the Mission and Native members of the Isitupa /Abaisitupa/ are most cordial. The meetings are invariably harmonious, and your /missionary/ members consider service on this committee a real privilege."⁹

Missionary concessions also helped to broaden the perspective as well as the responsibilities of the African Christian community, for the autonomy of the churches and the dominant position of their leaders was balanced by a recognized need for aid and guidance from the missionaries:

"/The question is/ . . . not how soon may we go but rather how long can we stay? How long will the churches accept our co-operation? . . . Never have the churches needed supervision more than now. But it must be a supervision of the right kind, a supervision that is sympathetic, tactful, firm, ever callous to rebuff, divested of self-importance. . . . Despite the differences of the past . . . not for years has our Mission enjoyed the confidence of the churches to such a gratifying degree as now".¹⁰

Thus there was a refreshing determination on both sides to maintain unity amid individual clashes which still occurred. One such eruption in 1904 looked particularly threatening, but the African pastors and preachers adopted a pro-Mission attitude which the latter skillfully cultivated to win a major concession.

THE LESSON OF UMVOTI

Umvoti, unlike Table Mountain, was a prosperous station with about one-third of the land held in freehold by Africans, who also had their own sugar mill and village community of Groutville. Many prominent members of the Christian elite in Natal came from this area, and its schools, churches and

outstations were the envy of Africans living elsewhere. Even in the best of circumstances, however, Umvoti was a problem to the Mission. The station's relative economic and social affluence only served to generate a greater awareness of, and consequent frustration with, the African's prevailing position in Natal. In previous years, missionaries as far apart in temperament and approach as Goodenough and Wilcox had difficulty in controlling the church and its leaders. Now the spirit of the times dictated a change in policy. In 1898 Jeremiah Langeni was ordained pastor of the central church at Umvoti. For about five years this bachelor son of a preacher and grandson of Christian converts was given a free hand in directing the affairs of the station community.¹¹

With reconciliation, however, the newly-created African Congregational Church and the Mission agreed to work together in supervizing the churches. With the approval of the Abaisitupa, about 1902 Frederick Bunker was stationed at Umvoti to help co-ordinate the activities of the churches north of Durban. Almost immediately, he clashed with the pastor and prominent laymen at Umvoti church, and within a few months he was ostracized. The problem of authority once again threatened to split the churches and undermine the Mission's relations with the African pastors and preachers. Bunker himself recognized the critical issues at stake:

"I came . . . to the superintendence of the Umvoti Church with the purpose of putting to the full test the question as to whether the church would

accept missionary control and assistance without being forced to do so by the exercise of authority from without. . . . I soon found that, whereas this attitude of mine was quickly recognized and appreciated in school and station matters, I was neither consulted nor considered in the affairs of the church. . . . every advance or assertion of authority and every attempt to instruct has been regarded with suspicion and silent opposition. . . . all the preachers say 'We do not know the place of the missionary in the church. He has no place'."12

After a discreet inquiry into the facts of the case, which included alleged charges of immorality against Langeni, the Mission carefully solicited the opinion of the pastors and preachers before making a move. This concession was all that was needed:

" . . . the pendulum is now swinging the other way, many of the pastors are finding that the churches are not so easily managed as they had hoped. . . . The church in which this state of affairs has gone to the greatest extreme is the Umvoti Church. The two or three leaders, with the pastor, openly slight the missionary in charge, and deny any authority of the Mission to interfere in its affairs. This condition has become so acute that the other native pastors . . . openly condemn the attitude of the church and its pastor, and it is likely that a council of the other churches and the Mission will soon be called to instruct this church in its duties and responsibilities to its sister churches and to the Mission. It is hoped that in this council decisions will be reached which will act as a precedent, giving into the hands of the Mission authority which the pastors and churches have . . . been unwilling to recognize".13

With the backing of the African Congregational Church, the Mission in 1904 called a Church council to investigate charges of immorality against Langeni and to inquire into the reasons why Bunker was not allowed to act as an "advisor" to the church. After a detailed examination, the churches found Langeni guilty of immorality, Bunker was exonerated and most

of his complaints accepted as legitimate. The approval of a Mission-sponsored Church council to discuss issues relating specifically to the behavior of missionaries as well as Africans was an important precedent. Of more immediate significance, however, was the pattern of authority that had been established. The Mission's supervisory power over the individual churches was accepted by the latter as essential to the growth of the African Christian community as a whole.¹⁴

The Umvoti incident, together with another interesting claim, however, were confidentially noted in colonial intelligence reports at the time:

"It may not be out of place to report that the Native Converts (Amakolwa) of the Umvoti Mission . . . have refused to allow their Missionary to hold service in their church . . . giving as their reason that they prefer their Native parsons, and that he has not held service in the customary way for seven months. . . . Further, apropos of the Ethiopian movement, I heard that the Mission kept a steamship mysteriously plying between the North Coast of Zululand and Mozambique".¹⁵

No matter how ridiculous this statement might have seemed to the missionaries, had they been informed of its contents, it typified government interest in, and alarm over, the Mission's African policy. And it was not without precedent. It has been noted that at Noodsberg and Table Mountain in the 1890s the Mission sought government aid against separatist incursions. These events were carefully recorded by colonial officials and later used as evidence against the Mission's alleged complicity in the 'Ethiopian movement' and the 1906 'Rebellion'.

MISSION WORK IN LOCATIONS

From the granting of Responsible Government in 1893, it had become increasingly apparent that the colonists were obsessed with an unfathomable fear of Ethiopianism, which they equated with political freedom from white control. Minute papers in the Government House records and the archives of the Secretary for Native Affairs are filled with newspaper articles, reports, notes and statistics on the spread of separatist churches outside of Natal long before the 1906 Rebellion, and it would appear that the subject had become a cause célèbre among government officials and politically-minded settlers even before there were significant separatist movements within the colony.

By the early 1900s, however, government interference in Natal mission work had taken on more definite form. The colonists focussed much of their attention on the Mission's vulnerability with regard to the land. The Locations, for example, were still a missionary frontier in 1893 and with colonial control over the Natal Native Trust the Mission's position in these areas was made even more tenuous. When the colonists began a concerted campaign to re-inforce total white control over the African's religious activities--ostensibly to combat 'Ethiopianism'--the Locations provided a potentially explosive issue. With the end of the South African War, the Natal government took up the question of missionary activity on Location land which led to a serious conflict involving the principles of Mission policy towards

the African Congregational Church.

As usual, the missionaries were in an untenable position. They had desired government protection from the separatists but they did not have the resources to protect themselves when government policy threatened their own interests. With money and manpower at a low ebb, the missionaries rarely even saw, much less supervized, the outstations on the Locations that were pioneered by African preachers, evangelists and teachers.¹⁶ Nor could these responsibilities be undertaken exclusively by the African Congregational Church. Self-support and self-government in some ways limited self-propagation during these years. Although there were enough qualified African leaders for the churches and main outstations, there were few who could be spared, much less paid, to supervize the teachers and evangelists in the proliferating number of 'kraal' schools and preaching places on the more remote Reserves and Locations. In any case, the colonists refused even to acknowledge, much less accept, African supervision. This was one of the main reasons why the Mission's efforts to regain some control over the churches received such a sympathetic response from the African Christian community. The missionaries were needed to intercede on behalf of the Church--as on the land and in the school--against pressure from the colonists:

"In days past the friction from misunderstanding and from too independent a mood militated against such supervision; now the pastors heartily desire it. . . . If we are to make any headway in our contest with the Government for the rights of the

natives, and the establishment of the native church, we simply must exercise more supervision."¹⁷

About 1902 the Natal Native Trust passed a resolution which denied all missionary societies in Natal the right to establish mission work in Locations "unless the mission station be placed under the personal charge of a resident European male missionary". At first, this policy was applied only to new work in the Locations, so that "the request to be allowed to transfer a preacher, renew a lease or re-build a building" was turned down "to block any further effective work at the point in question". Tougher measures were soon adopted, however, as magistrates were instructed to cancel existing land leases, remove preachers and evangelists, destroy school and church buildings and so forth. Since no missionary society could comply with the regulations, the activities of all were restricted.¹⁸ In January 1904, for example, the American Zulu Mission alone had 15 outstations and preaching places (10 with buildings) on Locations in Natal and two on Locations in Zululand. By 1905 the colonists had advanced to the point where European missionary work on Locations in Natal and Zululand was in danger of being wiped out.¹⁹

In these circumstances, a clash was inevitable. The effectiveness of government policy was seriously questioned by the missionary societies. Although theoretically directed against what was labelled as 'Ethiopianism', it had the practical effect of alienating the African Christians and

provoking them to criticize government "which tends to aggravate that discontent and restlessness so much feared". It only served "to convince the native that the government looks with small favor upon Christianity, at least for the black man". Furthermore, it had the opposite effect from what was intended. The separatists simply avoided registering with the government as missionary societies and erected few permanent buildings so that in most cases they continued to carry on work on the Locations. As the work of the white missionary societies was curtailed, the separatist churches replaced them. Disillusioned mission converts were obliged to find a haven with the very organizations that the government was attempting to destroy.²⁰

Above all, the Americans sensed that something much more ominous lay behind government policy:

" . . . can it be the deliberate purpose of the Natal government to debar native Christians from any responsible share in the evangelization of their fellow countrymen? If so, then let statesmen consider whether indeed they recognize the genius of Christianity, which is preeminently a missionary religion. . . . A government that would deter native Christians from obeying the marching orders of the church is not only opposing itself to the settled policy of every great missionary body, but it may well take heed lest it be found fighting against God."²¹

These were strong words, indeed, but in 1904 the first South African General Missionary Conference "unanimously endorsed . . . the declaration that an independent native church is the ultimate aim of all mission work". As Frederick Bridgman reported to Secretary Smith:

" . . . the greatest benefit I derived was the assurance that the Zulu Mission in its policy of establishing a Native Church, which shall ultimately be independent, does not stand alone; and moreover the discovery that one or two Missions have already gone as far as ourselves in this direction and that all are headed the same way".²²

Finding sympathy and support from other missionary societies, the Americans undertook to bring their grievances to the notice of the Natal government under the auspices of the Natal Missionary Conference.²³ In December 1904 a Conference deputation met with the Minister of Native Affairs but, except for one "slight concession", their appeal for a revision in the regulations concerning missionary work in Locations was rejected.²⁴ Pressure was then exerted by colonial churchmen. In July 1905 the Durban Church Council sent a letter to the Minister of Native Affairs reviewing the reasons why the present Location policy was both ineffective against the separatists and disruptive of white mission work. Government was urged to heed the resolutions of the South African Native Affairs Commission which had endorsed missionary work on the Reserves and Locations of Natal and Zululand.²⁵

In August 1905 a combined deputation, consisting of the Pietermaritzburg and Durban Church Councils and several sympathetic members of the Legislative Assembly and Council, interviewed the Governor and prominent members of the Smythe Ministry. The representatives of nearly every white Protestant denomination in the colony were associated with the effort to seek a reversal of government policy on this issue,²⁶ but once

again the discussions were not encouraging.²⁷ Negotiations had reached an impasse, and there seemed little more that could be done to force the government to alter its position.

PASTORS AS MARRIAGE OFFICERS

While the controversy over white supervision in locations affected nearly every missionary society in Natal and Zululand, another aspect of the government's policy to combat 'Ethiopianism' affected primarily the American Zulu Mission. In 1903 the government approved an amendment to the 'Christian Marriage Law' of 1887 which apparently was without precedent in the South African colonies:

"No Minister shall solemnize any marriage between Natives according to Christian rites unless he shall have been licensed for that purpose by the Governor. . . . The granting or refusal of a license and the period during which it shall remain in force shall be in the sole and absolute discretion of the Governor. . . . Any person, not being a Minister licensed under this Act, who shall solemnize any marriage of Natives by Christian rites . . . shall be liable to a fine or imprisonment".²⁸

When the Act was put into effect in April 1904, the missionaries and ordained pastors of the African Congregational Church duly applied for marriage licenses. The missionaries were granted licenses immediately, but the government replied to the African applicants by asking for more information concerning the African Congregational Church and its relationship to the American Zulu Mission. As a foreign missionary group not connected with a white colonial church in Natal, the Americans were in a peculiarly vulnerable position. Accord-

ing to the government, "the American Zulu Mission is not a church, but a missionary body representing the Congregational Churches in America. . . . the purpose of the Mission . . . is to establish a self-supporting, self-propagating Church of Christ".²⁹ Government suspicions were aroused at this time, moreover, because they were provided with a concrete example of what seemed to be an inherent conflict in authority between the churches and the Mission. Langeni's application had been forwarded with the other pastors in April 1904 but in July the churches convicted him of 'immorality'. The Mission was faced with the embarrassing task of withdrawing his application while the government was still debating the advisability of granting licenses to the African pastors. It was an unfortunate error in timing. In October 1904 the applications of all the pastors were turned down.³⁰

A subsequent meeting with the Minister of Native Affairs only served to illustrate how irreconcilable the two positions were:

"The opinion of this Government is that these Missions must be kept absolutely under the control of Europeans . . . and it is evident from what you say yourself, that the tendency . . . of the Church is to throw off your authority. . . . I should have thought you would have welcomed this action of the Government. You admit that you had to make concessions. . . . Won't this action of the Government enable you to withdraw those concessions?"³¹

The fact that the African Congregational Church now accepted the necessity for Mission supervision--their decision was regarded as a triumph for American methods in missionary

circles--was not sufficient to satisfy the government.

Furthermore, the Americans were not even able to take advantage of this opportunity to ensure missionary supervision over the churches. As Frederick Bridgman reported to Secretary Smith:

"Every time I meet the Government where I am under the necessity of making the best possible show of our supervision work and our influence over the churches I come away feeling like something of a hypocrite. We are not today doing the supervision work that we often profess."³²

In February 1905, the Mission secured another meeting with the Minister of Native Affairs which was attended by the ordained African pastors. The object was to convince the colonists, through evidence given by the pastors themselves, that the Mission retained overall control. Although the Africans pleaded their cause with sincerity and almost abject humility,³³ government was unmoved. It was evident that the real source of contention was not the pastors per se but the African Congregational Church. As Samuelson told the Africans:

"The difficulty caused by yourselves has been in the fact that you have constituted yourselves into a body which you have chosen to name the 'African Congregational Church'--a name which is different from the name of the Church which brought you into existence, and the creation of . . . a Church with a separate name . . . has led to licenses being refused to you."³⁴

This implied, despite denials from missionaries and Africans alike, that the African Congregational Church was a separate and independent institution under African control. The government's assumptions, of course, were correct.

Furthermore, there was more than a hint that the government distrusted the Congregational polity out of which the African Congregational Church had been constructed. As the Minister of Native Affairs put it:

"Other Churches have a Bishop or a Superintendent as the case may be. It appears to me that your Church has no head to which the Government could look or could make responsible for any malpractices which might take place."

The fact that the missionaries were members of churches in America and thus could not be members of the African Congregational Church effectively limited their power over the Africans, as far as government was concerned:

"Minister for Native Affairs--Do I understand, Mr. Bridgman that a Pastor of any of these Churches could refuse you permission if he thought fit to preach in any of these Churches? Has he the power?"

"Bridgman--They could do it."³⁵

The implied criticism of Congregationalism, of course, reflected a more profound rejection of all the democratic imputations inherent in this particular branch of Christianity. It was becoming evident that no other missionary society in Natal was being subjected to such scrutiny:

" . . . what business is this of Government anyway? Is it the proper function of a British Government to investigate the detailed working of a recognized Church or Society and then to discriminate against it as compared with other denominations into whose internal affairs it has never examined? Why is Congregationalism thus singled out to the disregard of other bodies?"³⁶

Indeed, there is little doubt that the government's knowledge of 'Ethiopianism' in Natal during this period was com-

piled primarily through the publicized activities of the American Zulu Mission. As early as 1901, an attempt was made to build up a case of sedition against Simungu Shibe, for example, allegedly because he favored a Boer victory in the South African War. There was no evidence to support this charge but when Governor McCallum suggested in 1902 that the government license "all coloured preachers" to check the spread of separatist churches in the colony, most of the information on this movement stemmed from the activities of the Zulu Congregational Church. But, although Shibe was watched closely, he was careful to avoid doing anything which might be termed disloyal. Thus the Attorney-General suggested:

" . . . to prevent a repetition in Natal of the position created in the Cape Colony [re separatist church movements] . . . I would rather see the Supreme Chief [the Governor] invested with power to stop any preacher or person meddling with the natives under the cloak of religion. . . . The treatment must of necessity be of a somewhat drastic nature having regard to the difficulty of obtaining evidence for courts of law."³⁷

Of 18 African ministers denied licenses between 1904 and 1906, it would appear that at least eight were from the American Zulu Mission (the African Congregational Church), two from the Natal Congregational Union (the colonial church), two from the Zulu Congregational Church, while one, a former member of the Mission (Nqumba Nyawose), was an independent Congregationalist. Apparently only one other European missionary society had an ordained African pastor rejected as a marriage officer, and this was because he had no knowledge of English.³⁸

Like the government's Location policy, the policy of refusing to grant marriage officer licenses to ordained African pastors of the American Zulu Mission had the opposite effect from what was intended. The sharp increase in Christian marriages during these years was too much for the missionaries to handle alone. Frederick Bridgman warned the government that Christian couples were turning to traditional or, where available, separatist marriage rites because ordained African pastors could not be obtained. And because they could not solemnize marriages, other pastoral privileges were called into question such as registering births and deaths, performing baptisms, conducting funerals and so forth. By the 'Marriage Officer Act', as it was popularly called, the colonists, in effect, refused to recognize the pastoral office--the nucleus, of a self-supporting, self-governing, self-propagating church:

"Manifestly the recognition of our Native Ministers as marriage officers has very important bearings upon our entire work not only but also our standing as a Missionary Body in this land."³⁹

Since the Mission had no colonial church in Natal, it turned to the South African Congregational Union for support. This body endorsed the Mission's position and agreed to petition the Natal Legislative Assembly, along with similar petitions from the Mission and the African Congregational Church, for the appointment of a select committee to investigate these grievances. The Congregational Union noted

that government policy was without precedent in at least one respect:

" . . . to discriminate against them /the African pastors/ on the ground that the provisions for their supervision by the Mission with which they are associated, are not so officially stringent as those of other Missions, is virtually equivalent to a decision on the part of the Government that only certain forms of Church polity are to be recognized in Natal".⁴⁰

The point was not only valid but fundamental to an understanding of the problem. Government and Mission were on a collision course over their respective African policies. For four years the African church leaders had been harrassed and intimidated by colonial officialdom precisely because they had achieved a measure of religious freedom promoted--however reluctantly--by the American Zulu Mission. Congregational polity had given a peculiarly vibrant expression to what was really a kind of experiment in an integral African democracy. As the African Christian elite moved steadily away from traditional culture, government became increasingly more aggressive. Mission grievances were received with resentment and suspicion as it became clear that the unity of colonial 'native policy', which was supposed to reflect the unity of 'tribal' culture, was, in fact, a facade. When the Zulu disturbances broke out in 1906, the Americans were to be labelled as subversives with little or no loyalty to the colonial regime. In a hostile environment and a rapidly deteriorating political situation, the Mission felt threatened with extinction.

MISSION AND 'REBELLION':

(a) Background

The causes of what was popularly known as the Zulu 'Rebellion' of 1906 lay deep in the historical fabric of Natal and are not directly relevant to this study.⁴¹ Nevertheless, at the time both officially and unofficially it was believed that African Christians, inspired by the 'Ethiopians', were responsible for the uprising. Contemporary authorities like Capt. James Stewart described the Amakolwa's role in the 'Rebellion' as "a large and prominent one" and other, more recent, historians have accepted this opinion without qualification.⁴²

And yet, even Stewart estimated that all but 25 of the 321 chiefs in Natal and Zululand remained loyal and not more than 12,000 out of an African population of nearly one million actually participated in the disturbances. Of this total, 214 'Christians' (of whom seven were described as preachers) were actually convicted. The term 'Christian', moreover, was never defined, although this was a major source of contention between the missionaries and the government at the time. Furthermore, Africans serving with the colonists, many of them Christian, numbered more than 6,000 and it has been suggested that to this day traditional Zulu regard the Amakolwa of 1906 as "traitors to their people".⁴³

No assessment of the Zulu Christian's role in the disturbances is, in fact, possible without re-emphasizing the nature of the charges compiled against them. For at least

four years, the government had conducted a concerted campaign to destroy all vestiges of independent religious activity among Africans in Natal. The disturbances only seemed to confirm the conclusions which had become idées fixes by 1906, and with effortless ease 'mission' Christians, 'Ethiopians' and other 'educated' Africans were lumped together and labelled as the conspirators of the 'Rebellion'. As one writer has suggested, "what people believe to be true is frequently more important in determining the subsequent course of events, than the reality . . . the psychological reality of the 'Ethiopian menace' played an important part in the government's reaction to the disturbances".⁴⁴

Indeed, the facts had little relevance to the charges which had already been formulated. Moreover, they weren't many to begin with. African Christians, of whatever designation, do not seem to have played much of a role until after the "massacre" at Mome Gorge (June 10, 1906) when in the Lower Tugela, Ndwedwe and, more particularly, Mapumulo magisterial districts a series of short, decisive skirmishes put an end to the disturbances. Statistics relating to the activities of the Amakolwa were restricted mainly to the period between late June and July of 1906 in these three districts--within which were several American Mission Reserves as well as outstations located on Location land.⁴⁵

It was in these circumstances that the American Zulu Mission, for many years a source of irritation and concern

to the government, was linked with the disturbances. In August 1906 Lord Selborne, British High Commissioner for South Africa, asked McCallum for an official opinion as to the "instigator and organising spirit" of the 'Rebellion'. McCallum's reply left no doubt as to whom the Natal government proposed to blame:

" . . . the origin is to be found in an abstract principle and not a concrete individual. That abstract is Ethiopianism. . . . The original outbreak was the work of Kolwas. . . . The natives from the large American Zulu Mission Stations joined the rebels to a man. . . . It is this Mission who have lost control over their black congregations. . . . Congregationalism is a bad form of Christianity for any natives and particularly when its doctrines have been formulated by white pastors who cannot be expected to advocate the principle of 'Honouring the King' as much as that of 'Fearing God'."46

The facts relating specifically to the disturbances were obscured by more general charges made against the Mission per se. Indeed, it appears that McCallum and the colonial government were not concerned so much with proving the Mission's disloyalty as they were with removing its influence from the Natal scene because it undermined the foundations of colonial African policy. Before considering the more important motives behind the charges, however, some tentative conclusions must be made on the evidence compiled by the government.

MISSION AND 'REBELLION':

(b) Evidence

In 1905 the American Zulu Mission reluctantly had decided to ask the American Board to bring pressure to bear on the Natal government but Secretary Smith's initial effort proved fruitless.⁴⁷ After some preliminary inquiries, however, the American Board sent an official statement to Governor McCallum summarizing the Mission's major grievances and protesting against the accusation that its missionaries and African converts were disloyal. This letter--dated May 1906--was not answered until July 11, i.e., near the end of the disturbances in those districts where the Amakolwa were allegedly joining the rebels en masse. Both letters were forwarded to the Secretary of State for the Colonies together with a dispatch from Lt.-Col. W. F. Barker, Officer Commanding troops in the Mapumulo district. Col. Barker alleged that only four Africans from the American Mission Reserves in this area remained loyal:

"All natives of Isidumbeni [sic] Mission present at the mission station, with the exception of the four . . . are reported by Sivethye [sic] to have taken an active part in the Rebellion. . . . Andrew Mbulangwa Mnoti, of the Umsinduzi [sic] Mission . . . acted as chaplain to the educated natives of Messeni's impi and preached rebellion to all natives of Messeni's army. . . . the whole of the natives of the Umsinduzi Mission took an active part in the Rebellion".

In December 1906 this correspondence was published in an Imperial Blue Book relating to the disturbances. McCallum, in a covering dispatch to the Secretary of State for the

Colonies, referred to Barker's report and concluded that "the whole of the other congregations have joined the rebels in the field against us, I feel sure that you will realise that whatever good work the American Zulu missionaries have done in the past, their congregations are now beyond their control, and are a danger to the Government".⁴⁸

Such a sweeping condemnation not only came as a shock to the Mission but also reflected gravely on the American Board--the oldest and largest foreign missionary society in the United States. As Taylor observed: " . . . the impression has gone abroad throughout South Africa and overseas as well that the American Board is the Ethiopian Church".⁴⁹ It was a challenge which required an immediate response. The missionaries hoped that President Theodore Roosevelt would be asked to take diplomatic action, but the American Board decided, after seeking advice from the British Ambassador, to work through influential Congregationalists in Britain.⁵⁰ Meanwhile, James Barton, one of the American Board's corresponding secretaries, was already busy in London soliciting sympathetic Liberal and Labour MPs, the Colonial Office, the London Missionary Society, and organized pressure groups such as the Aborigines Protection Society demanding an inquiry into the disturbances. Frederick Bridgman, on a world tour in 1906, was occupied in a similar propaganda effort and in Natal the missionaries made a concerted attempt to bring their case before the colonists via the press.⁵¹

Taylor produced evidence to show that Mnoti, in fact, had never been connected with the American Zulu Mission. He also denied that Mission Africans had 'rebelled' intoto. In the two mission stations reported by Barker, Taylor's statistics indicated that only 14 of the Church members were disloyal to the colonial regime. Later on, he calculated that out of 24 churches with more than 4,000 members not more than 30 people had actually fought in the disturbances. McCallum's accusations, if they had any substance at all, apparently referred to those who wore 'European' clothing and resided on the Mission Reserves. Taylor rejected the allegation: it was neither a definition of Christianity nor a fair reflection on those who were members of the African Congregational Church. Furthermore, the Mission had not held administrative control over the Reserves since 1903 and therefore could not be held responsible for those who were not Christians--a majority on every Reserve.⁵²

McCallum countered with what seemed to be a damaging piece of evidence. At the height of the disturbances in the Mapumulo district, Taylor had appeared before S. O. Samuelson "with a son of the Reverend Mvakwendhlu Sivetye" giving "the first information that reached Government that any of our [A.Z.M.] natives had joined the rebels". At this interview and in a subsequent letter Taylor reported that most of the Christians in this district, (i.e. Esidumbini Mission Reserve and Emushane, Daliba and Noodsberg on the adjoining Location) had joined the 'rebels'. Government

regarded this statement as authentic because it was made at the time of the disturbances. Such evidence, coupled with letters sent to the American Board at the same time, seemed to confirm McCallum's charge.⁵³

Neither Taylor nor any other missionary had visited the area concerned at that time, however, and his statements, as well as those subsequently made to Under-Secretary for Native Affairs S. O. Samuelson, were based on information obtained from Sivetye's son. This man, who is still alive, has been able to shed some light on the controversy. When the disturbances spread to the Mapumulo district it seems that the frightened church members fled into the bush except for Sivetye and a few leading members of the congregation who were intent on saving, if possible, the Mission's property. At the time Sivetye believed that the missing Christians had joined Chief Messeni. Since most of the huts in the area were destroyed and the people scattered, it was some weeks before any proper investigation could be conducted. When the missionaries were able to inquire into the situation, however, they found that their own fears, as well as the government's subsequent charges, were without foundation.⁵⁴

Such was the conflict over evidence relating to the alleged participation of Africans from the American Zulu Mission in the disturbances. And what was true for these Christians appeared to be true for the Amakolwa as a whole. Although they were as divided in their loyalty as the heathens, the overwhelming majority did not participate in the fighting

and their influence was negligible: "In so far as there was real rebellion, it was predominantly a tribal one, run as far as possible on traditional lines."⁵⁵ As for the separatists, there is even less evidence linking them with the disturbances. As already indicated, Shibe, who was probably the most publicized 'Ethiopian' in Natal, was careful to avoid anything which might be regarded as rebellious activity, despite government reprisals from which he also suffered. The American missionaries, who vigorously condemned the atrocities of the troops and were conspicuous in organizing relief for the victims, regarded the Ethiopian charge as "incredible" and refused to accept such "tales".⁵⁶

MISSION AND 'REBELLION':

(c) Motives

When the Smythe ministry fell in November 1906 and Frederick Moor became Prime Minister with the additional portfolio of Minister of Native Affairs, it was hoped that a more sympathetic view of the Mission's cause would prevail. This proved to be illusory, as even Selborne refused to intervene.⁵⁷ 'Rebellion' statistics became secondary to an all-out assault on the Mission's African policy. In May 1907 Samuelson submitted a detailed analysis of McCallum's charges against the American Zulu Mission which was fully endorsed by every minister in the government as well as the previous Minister of Native Affairs.⁵⁸

It was a striking example of colonial solidarity on African policy prior to 1910. S. O. Samuelson's report quoted

extensively from published Mission documents on the origins of the Zulu Congregational Church, the reconciliation agreement and the establishment of the African Congregational Church. Every argument made in favor of autonomous churches was used to support the government's position. Previous interviews, the conclusions adopted by the Lands Commission of 1902, official 'Rebellion Dispatches' and so forth were compiled to illustrate the government's contention that Congregationalism was a fatal disease because it led to Ethiopianism which, in turn, had led to 'rebellion'. As Samuelson put it: "Ethiopian organisations no doubt owe their origin and parentage to some centrifugal force inherent in the American Zulu Mission".⁵⁹

However much they differed in method, the colonists were remarkably united on the fundamentals of African administration. Even in the uproar following the disturbances, it has been suggested that the colonists were not particularly interested in revising African policy and were generally apathetic towards more African legislation except on the subject of Ethiopianism.⁶⁰ Independent African churches could not be tolerated because the settlers believed they undermined white supremacy. Enough has been said of official policy and legislation prior to the 'Rebellion', moreover, to indicate that Ethiopianism was defined in very broad terms indeed. Thus Samuelson described the African Congregational Church.

"The African Congregational Church is the result of declared and definite policy. It is a Church, each unit of which is in charge of a native pastor, who is called by the congregation of natives, and responsible to it. Its pastors are not connected with the American Zulu Mission. . . . It is practically, and to all intents and purposes, a separate and distinct native, black, or Ethiopian Church, with its own native pastors, and conducted on principles of Congregationalism, a fact which the American Zulu Mission appears not to wish to realize, or to let the African Congregational Church become aware of."61

Ethiopianism was nothing less than black Christianity. It was, in essence, the African Christian community. By inference, anyone serving as a missionary to the Africans in Natal was a potential saboteur of the system. Ethiopian legislation had been based primarily on the activities of the Americans because they had conspicuously publicized their methods, successes and, indeed, even their failures. Thus the government knew, and feared, the policies of the American Zulu Mission because these were more familiar to them than the policies of any other missionary society in Natal. Since the Americans were recognized as leading spokesmen for autonomous African churches--since they were Congregational Americans doing mission work among Africans--they had to be silenced:

"The trouble which the Government have had in connection with the spread of Ethiopianism may be almost entirely traced to this particular foreign mission, and to deal with the danger, all the missions have unfortunately had to be treated in an identical manner."62

Only if mission work were controlled and harnessed as a tool of colonial policy could the African Christians--

especially the separatists who had moved further away from the colonial orbit--be brought back into the mainstream of traditional society. Only then would the old colonial strategy of having one, unified African policy effectively reflect the dream of one, unified 'tribal' culture--easily administered, easily controlled, easily exploited. Only then could the Shepstone system be preserved ad infinitum.

This seems to have been the basic motive behind the vigorous attempt to control the activities of the American Zulu Mission in Natal before the disturbances. It was a policy of restricting the freedom of those most amenable to control--the missionaries--in the belief that thereby one destroyed the freedom of those whom the missionaries sought to protect--the African Christians. Colonial officials had attempted to compile a case of conspiracy against 'Ethiopianism' long before 1906. They were unsuccessful, as the Attorney-General remarked, because evidence of this nature was very difficult to obtain. It could easily be obtained, however, if the government focussed its attention on the missionaries.

The charge that 'Ethiopianism' was responsible for the 'Rebellion' appears to have been manufactured by the government in order to furnish a scape-goat and provide support for its African policy. While some contemporaries hinted that the Natal government might have deliberately created the grievances that led to the disturbances, there is no evidence to support this conclusion.⁶³ Nevertheless, 'Ethiopianism'

proved to be an effective weapon against the chief architects of African religious freedom in Natal.

POLITICAL COST OF DISCIPLESHIP: Pastors become
marriage officers with the demise of the
African Congregational Church

Changes in the political arena would not resolve the basic problem, even though McCallum left the colony in May 1907.⁶⁴ Prime Minister Moor, more sympathetic towards the Mission than Governor McCallum, was just as inflexible on the subject of white control:

"Now I ask you . . . to see if you cannot bring about a control which makes you unquestionably final arbiters as regards the government of your Church. I am convinced, whether politically or ecclesiastically, or in any other way, the present development of our Natives is not so far advanced as to warrant any of us completely handing over to any majority, of the coloured people absolute power. . . . I do uphold the principle . . . that final power should rest with the White party".

As the basis for resolving past conflicts involving the African churches, Moor demanded a "written charter" that made white supremacy over the religious life of the people the sine qua non of Mission policy.⁶⁵

On July 12, 1907, the "Principles and Usage Guiding the Operations of the American Zulu Mission" was submitted to the government and explained in a subsequent interview with the Prime Minister held in September 1907.⁶⁶ The document itself was concocted by the Mission alone. It abrogated virtually everything accomplished since the recon-

ciliation agreement of 1900. Congregational polity was withdrawn from the churches or, as Moor put it:

"The conditions that govern congregationalism will simply be confined to the European section of your Mission until your Natives have advanced sufficiently to be trusted with complete powers, but at present it cannot be conceded by you, or by us politically."

In effect, the right of each congregation to "choose and call its native Minister" and "decide for itself . . . all matters of a purely local bearing" was denied. No church council or any other body that included Africans could legislate on any matter. Every organization within the African Congregational Church--the Native Annual Meeting, the Pastors' Conference, the Abaisitupa, the Zulu Missionary Society and so forth--was to be "purely advisory". Although the missionaries were in the minority on all of these committees, they had veto power over all recommendations, no matter how trivial they might be. Any hope the churches might have had to influence Mission policy, moreover, were demolished in this document:

"The Mission consists entirely of European workers. . . . No native converts ever become members of the Mission. . . . The Mission meets as a body twice annually and also at other times by special call. . . . No native is present at or has any voice in these meetings. . . . The Mission is. . . . a distinct body not a part of, but over, the native Church, not subject to its choice for appointment nor could the native Church have any voice in any case of discipline involving the missionary".

In the event of a decision by the Mission not being accepted by a member of the Mission's Church, the former had the sole

right to excommunicate the offender and "can in practically every instance dictate as to the use of Church property"--- despite the reconciliation agreement which had enabled the African Congregational Church to own and administer church property.

The Mission agreed to Moor's demand that this "constitution" be "confirmed at a formal meeting" with the African church leaders. The Umsunduzi Rules were also forwarded to the Prime Minister for consideration, together with a 'rule' written into the Incwadi Yabelusi (Pastors' Handbook):

"No Church or Pastor of the Churches of the American Zulu Mission who rejects the counsel of the American missionaries, or engages in work other than that under them, or who works in opposition to them, can remain in fellowship (communion) with the American Congregational Churches."⁶⁷

In essence, once a person was excommunicated, he was cut off from the entire Christian community. Finally, at the Native Annual Meeting in 1907, the African delegates 'agreed' to accept a new name for the Church. The title 'African Congregational Church' was replaced by 'The Congregational Churches of the American Board'. As Frederick Bridgman observed: "This obviates the insinuation . . . that our churches had severed connection with the Board".⁶⁸

'Ethiopianism', as far as the Natal government was concerned, had served its purpose and there was no longer any need to prolong the conflicts that had exacerbated and isolated the American Zulu Mission from the colonists. The controversy over recognizing the African pastors was

settled soon after Matthew Nathan became Governor of Natal in September 1907. In November pastors Mvakwendhlu Sivetye and William Makanya--two conspicuous loyalists during the disturbances--were granted marriage officer licenses, and in April 1908 this privilege was extended to the rest of the African clergy.⁶⁹

MISSIONARY SOCIETIES RESUME WORK IN THE LOCATIONS . . . WITH CONDITIONS

Meanwhile, in July 1907 the report of a Commission of Inquiry into the causes of the 'Rebellion' was published that, among other things, recommended a change in government policy with regard to missionary work in Locations.⁷⁰ An application to resume work in these areas submitted by the Maritzburg Church Council to the Natal Native Trust, however, was refused in 1908.⁷¹ On this issue, the Americans had remained in the background, collating statistics on the specific grievances of other missionary societies and sending this information to the Native Affairs Department.⁷² While content "to get other mission societies to take the lead in agitation", however, the American Zulu Mission found to its chagrin that "for some inexplicable reason our English brethren seem quite ready to take 'no' as an answer".⁷³ The compromises made in 1907 over the marriage officer dispute, moreover, had convinced the Mission that work in the Locations would only be resumed when the government was convinced that white missionaries were in complete control.

Thus the Mission found itself once again involved in a problem calculated to antagonize the colonial establishment. In seven years (1902-1909) the American missionaries had not opened a single new outstation or preaching place in a Location while three had been "lost . . . due to Government interference". Working through various colonial agencies, the Mission in 1909 was instrumental in organizing a combined deputation of the Maritzburg and Durban Church Councils to interview the Prime Minister once again. After some discussion, Moor offered to refer the question to the Council for Native Affairs. In May 1910 the Natal Missionary Conference together with the Maritzburg and Durban Church Councils presented six resolutions to the Council for Native Affairs requesting permission to build churches, schools and houses for African teachers and evangelists on Locations in Natal and Zululand. The land, however, was to be leased only to "responsible religious organisations" which meant that the "responsible" agency would be a white missionary society. The missionaries promised that the "responsible religious organisations are willing to undertake not less than a quarterly visitation of these Native agents by European Minister or an accredited substitute". With one qualification--the commissioners made clear that the "accredited substitute" was to be white--the resolutions were approved unanimously and forwarded to the Prime Minister.⁷⁴ Matters were delayed by Union but in regulations provided under the 1913 Land Act--based on those resolutions originally

presented to Natal's Council for Native Affairs--the European missionary societies of Natal were finally allowed to resume working in the Locations.⁷⁵

The issues that had brought down the wrath of the colonial government on the Mission and threatened to destroy its work in Natal were resolved to the satisfaction of all--or so it seemed. At the Mission's 75th anniversary celebrations in 1910, Taylor triumphantly reported that after years of

" . . . conflict . . . the Mission investigated as it is safe to say no mission outside Turkey or Russia had ever been before . . . and in the end the Mission vindicated without having departed in any particular from the methods and polity under which its work has been conducted from the beginning. . . . the Mission can only draw the curtain over this eventful period, with the conviction that it suffered from the mistakes of a few individuals intensified by the tension of the times, and that, the incidents over, mutual relations have again been restored to their uniformly satisfactory basis."⁷⁶

For the historian, such a verdict is unacceptable. Even a cursory comparison between the reconciliation agreement of 1900 and the 'constitution' of 1907 reveals a fundamental difference in concept and approach to the African Church. Whereas the 1900 agreement was initiated and constructed largely by Africans to serve African needs, the 1907 'constitution' was created by white missionaries in response to colonial needs--and the two were irreconcilable. One might argue, as Frederick Bridgman did, that the 'constitution' was only drawn up to satisfy the government: "In

actual practice we are far more Congregational than this statement might lead one to suppose."⁷⁷ And it may have been true that the Mission's working relationship with the churches was not significantly altered by this document.

Even so, the Mission had made concessions with almost unlimited implications. It was one thing to say, for example, that a "white missionary shall not take away the church's right; but whatever a church votes let that be the rule of that church". It was quite another matter to say that the Mission "has final authority in all matters pertaining to its work". The key to an autonomous Church was an ordained pastorate but in 1910 there were fewer Africans in this category than there had been in 1901. To cope with the enormous growth in membership, evangelists and, to a lesser extent, "approved" preachers more submissive to Mission control were appointed:

	1905	1910
Pastors	6-7	8
"Approved" preachers	12	25
Evangelists	345	489
Church membership (adherents not included)		
Admissions	326 (1906)	480
Total	4,860 (1906)	5,837

There was a similar, and probably related, decline in the number of self-supporting churches: nine of 26 churches in 1910 were dependent on outside aid (undoubtedly the Zulu

Missionary Society). The 'constitution' made quite clear that all church leaders "including the ordained men", would be "under the supervision of the European Superintendent to whom the particular congregation may be assigned by the Mission".⁷⁸

Thus the new 'constitution' was far more significant for the churches than the missionaries were willing to admit. Maurice Evans, a paternalistic segregationist in the Shepstone mold who was perhaps the most influential colonial theorist on African policy in Natal during this period, was correct in urging: "The Government should adopt a policy of co-operation with the Missionary Societies, who wanted what the Government wanted."⁷⁹ His conclusion was based on testimony elicited from the Americans themselves. Taylor's 'final' defence of the Mission's position before the Council for Native Affairs in 1910 revealed the nature of their irretractible concession:

"Aside from some general questions at first it was evident that most of the questions were levelled at us. . . . Evans led off with some questions as to the possibility of adequate control under our polity. . . . I gave him an emphasized resume of our Constitution (blessed document). . . . I guess it left them gasping on that issue. He ended by saying, But isn't all that very--I finished his sentence for him, Very uncongregational? Oh yes, very. We are a good combination of Presbyterianism, Wesleyanism and Congregationalism. ('prolonged applause,' that is, some hearty, 'hear, hears' . . .)"⁸⁰

In the end, the American Zulu Mission capitulated. To satisfy the colonists, it sacrificed the hard-won independence of the African Congregational Church.

The collapse of missionary resistance brought cries of despair from members of the Christian elite,⁸¹ but the compromises made under Responsible Government also tarnished the credibility of the Church in the eyes of many African political and religious nationalists. By 1910 the 'loyal' African pastors, preachers and evangelists were more submissive to white control than they had been in almost a generation and this undoubtedly contributed to the fragmentation of the Christian community which appears to have accelerated in the generation under Union.

NOTES

1. A.Z.M. (Pmburg.), Vol. 22 IV/1/2, Report of special committee on the present policy of the Mission re the pastorate of the Zulu churches (1898).
In 1903 the Africans asked for and received the authorized textbook on Congregationalism. A.Z.M. (Pmburg.), Vol. 3 I/1/8, Semi-Annual Meeting, Jan.-Feb. 1903.
2. A.B.C.F.M. reports, Zulu Mission, 1899, 1901, 1903. See also: A.Z.M. (Inanda), unclassified, The American Zulu Mission Annual 1900-1901, pp. 23-27 (ordained pastors).
3. A.Z.M. (Pmburg.), Vol. 23 IV/1/4, Report of the Native Annual Meeting Committee (1902).
4. A.Z.M. (Pmburg.), Vol. 24 IV/2/1, Report of the Delegates Meeting /A.C.C./ at Umsunduzi for 1903 with appendix of "questions".
5. A.Z.M. (Pmburg.), Vol. 24 IV/2/1, Report of the Delegates Meeting at Umsunduzi 3-5/11/1903, p. 2; Ibid., Vol. 26 V/1/4, General Letters for 1902, pp. 12-13, 1902-1903, pp. 34-37, 1904, pp. 16-17.
6. A.Z.M. (Pretoria), Microfilm A758, Taylor to E.E. Strong 16/10/1903.
7. A.Z.M. (Pmburg.), Vol. 24 IV/1/5, Report of Committee to invite co-operation of Isitupa /Abaisitupa/ in the occupation of Beira (1904), Native Agency Committee Reports for 1904-1905 (re A.C.C. in Zululand); Ibid., Vol. 26 V/1/4, General Letter for 1905, pp. 16-17.
8. A.Z.M. (Pmburg.), Vol. 10 III/1/3, F. Bridgman to Barton (?) 1908; Ibid., Vol. 23 IV/1/4, Report of the Native Annual Meeting Committee (1902); Ibid., Vol. 26 V/1/4, General Letters for 1902, p. 4, 1904, p. 20. A.B.C.F.M. report, Zulu Mission, 1903.
An African also was appointed secretary of the Zulu Missionary Society. A.Z.M. (Inanda), South African Deputation Papers (1903), The American Zulu Mission in its Relation to the African Congregational Church, p. 14.
9. A.Z.M. (Pmburg.), Vol. 24 IV/1/5, Report of the Native

Agency Committee for 1904.

10. A.Z.M. (Pmburg.), Vol. 26 V/1/4, General Letter for 1904, p. 18.
11. A.Z.M. (Inanda), unclassified, The American Zulu Mission Annual 1900-1901, pp. 27, 29; *Ibid.*, 1901-1902, p. 39. See also: A.Z.M. (Pretoria), Microfilm A747, General Letter for 1899-1900, p. 10. See above, chap. II, p. 122, footnote 53.
12. A.Z.M. (Pmburg.), Vol. 31 VII/5/1, Special Report of F.R. Bunker to the Committee of the American Zulu Mission in charge of the North Coast churches (1904), pp. 2, 4, 12.
13. A.Z.M. (Pmburg.), Vol. 26 V/1/4, General Letter for 1904, pp. 18-19 (*my italics*).
14. A.Z.M. (Pmburg.), Vol. 24 IV/1/4, Report of the Umvoti Council (1903); *Ibid.*, Vol. 31 VII/5/2, Minutes of Church Council 21/9/1904 (translated by Arnold Kuzwayo). See also: A.Z.M. (Pretoria), Microfilm A758, Taylor to Smith 29/9/1904.
 Bunker was relieved of his duties at Umvoti, however, and sent to Beira. Langeni apparently was guilty of "sodomy".
15. G.H., Vol. 303, p. 21, Lieut. F.A. Fynney's Report 17-30/6/1904 (*my italics*).
 The 'mystery' of the steamship probably referred to preparations for reopening the mission station at Beira.
16. As Taylor reported to Secretary Smith: "Many, very many of our outstations have never been visited by a missionary." A.Z.M. (Pmburg.), Vol. 10 III/1/3, Taylor to Smith 12/5/1905, p. 4.
17. A.Z.M. (Pmburg.), Vol. 10 III/1/3, Taylor to Samuel B. Capen (President, A.B.C.F.M.) 12/5/1905, pp. 2-4, cf. Taylor to Smith 5/4/1905, pp. 3-5, 7/10/1904, 16/12/1904, 20/1/1905, 17/2/1905, 5/5/1905.
18. G.H., Vol. 1547, p. 158, excerpt from Rand Daily Mail 10/8/1905. See also: A.Z.M. (Inanda), unclassified, Notes re Native work in Locations, for Native Affairs Commission [Natal, 1906-7]. Taylor, Seventy-Five Years, pp. 54-55. A.Z.M. (Pmburg.), Vol. 24 IV/1/5, Preaching Places on Locations (1904).

There are no surviving records of the Natal Native Trust for this period. The missionary societies contended that the Trust's policy was changed in 1902.

Government attempted to forge a link with Imperial policy by tracing its Location edict to 1892 "in connection with a certain application by a missionary". This apparently referred to the Noodsberg controversy involving Ngidi and the American Zulu Mission. Cd. 3027, Further Correspondence re Native Disturbances in Natal (July 1906), no. 87, encl., p. 85, McCallum to Secretary of State 14/6/1906. S.N.A. Vol. 1/1/141 (548/1891), Secretary of Natal Native Trust 9/7/1891. See above, chap. VII, pp. 374-376.

19. A.Z.M. (Inanda), unclassified, "The Governmental Restriction of Mission Work in Natal", by Frederick Bridgman (a paper read before the South African Missionary Conference in Johannesburg 16/7/1904), p. 409. Hereafter referred to as Bridgman's conference paper.
As the Mission observed: "... the impossibility of a society locating a white missionary at every little chapel or school situation . . . from four to eight miles of a central mission station is self-evident".
20. A.Z.M. (Inanda), unclassified, Bridgman's conference paper, pp. 408-411. See also: A.Z.M. (Pmburg.), Vol. 26 V/1/4, General Letter for 1905, p. 18.
The procedure prior to 1902 for establishing mission work in Locations was the same for all missionary societies: "First, to obtain the consent of the chief. Second, this consent and the purpose to open work at a given place were recorded at the magistracy. Third, sometimes several acres were leased from the Natal Native Trust as a site for church and school premises."
21. A.Z.M. (Inanda), unclassified, Bridgman's conference paper, pp. 408-411.
22. A.Z.M. (Pretoria), Microfilm A756, F. Bridgman to E.E. Strong 8/8/1904. See also: A.Z.M. (Pmburg.), Vol. 26 V/1/4, General Letter for 1905, p. 3.
23. N.M.C., Proceedings, 1905, pp. 4-7. See also: A.Z.M. (Inanda), unclassified, F. Bridgman to J. Bruce (secretary of the N.M.C.) 6/4/1905.
24. The government expressed a willingness to consider applications for temporary shelters for visiting preachers holding religious services. S.N.A. Vol. 1/1/315 (2569/1904), M.N.A. to P.M. 17/1/1905, Bruce to M.N.A. 29/3/1905, M.N.A. to Bruce 8/5/1905, notes re interview 22/12/1904.
25. A.Z.M. (Inanda), unclassified, H.W. Winter (M.N.A.) to A.W. Cragg (secretary of the Durban Church Council) 1/6/1905, Durban Church Council to S.N.A. 10/7/1905.

See also: South African Native Affairs Commission 1903-05, Report, pp. 56 (clause 289), 67-68 (clause 329).

26. The Roman Catholics did not belong to the Pietermaritzburg or the Durban Church Councils and kept out of the controversy.
27. G.H., Vol. 1154, pp. 152-157, Durban and Maritzburg Church Councils to S.N.A. 22/8/1905 (duplicate of letter dated 10/7/1905) with additional notes; cf. pp. 148-151, C.C. Mowbray (for Baptist Union of South Africa) to Governor 14/11/1905. See also: Mercury 2/9/1905.
28. N.G.G., Act No. 44 of 1903 (December 1, 1903), "To Amend the Law relating to Marriages of Natives by Christian Rites", pp. 1689-90, clauses 1-3.
 The original 'Christian Marriage Law' of 1887 had been regarded by the missionaries as a landmark in legislation affecting the status of the Zulu Christian community. In effect, Christian marriages were recognized by the government and ordained African pastors were allowed to act as marriage officers. The law placed all Africans choosing to be married by Christian rites under Common Law. Thus husbands who relapsed into polygamy, for example, could be prosecuted as bigamists. The offspring of such marriages and, in subsequent legislation, all married by Christian rites before 1887, were also included, with their children, in this law. N.G.G., Law No. 46 of 1887 (Sept. 27, 1887), "To regulate the Marriage of Natives by Christian Rites," pp. 1429-1430, sections 3, 9-15. N.M.C., Proceedings, 1887, A.Z.M. (Inanda), unclassified, S.N.A. 615/1892, S.N.A. to G. Wilder 8/6/1892.
29. A.Z.M. (Inanda), unclassified, acting U.S.N.A. to F. Bridgman 15/4/1904, F. Bridgman to acting U.S.N.A. 4/5/1904.
30. A.Z.M. (Inanda), unclassified, F. Bridgman to acting U.S.N.A. 14/10/1904.
31. A.Z.M. (Inanda), unclassified, notes re Mission Deputation (F. Bridgman and Taylor) to interview the S.N.A. on the subject of Native Marriage Licenses 18/10/1904, pp. 2, 5; Minister for Native Affairs to F. Bridgman 2/12/1904 (appeal for reconsideration of policy refused).
32. A.Z.M. (Pretoria), Microfilm A756, F. Bridgman to Smith 6/1/1905, p. 5.

33. E.g., Sivetye's statement: "We did not appoint ourselves to the Offices we hold as Ministers, we were appointed . . . by the European Ministers who are over us and in charge of us. . . . We feel that we made our applications in accordance with the provisions of the Law. We came to the Government to ask what the Law required, and we did it like children who come to their father to make a request". S.N.A. Vol. 1/1/316 (207/1905), notes re interview between M.N.A. and a combined deputation of the A.Z.M. and A.C.C. 16/2/1905.
34. Ibid.
35. Ibid.
It was also true, of course, that if a missionary was to join the African Congregational Church he would have to submit his credentials to the church he wished to join. These discussions were forwarded to the Governor who commended the actions of the M.N.A. in rejecting the Mission's appeal: "I am glad you have spoken to these people pretty plainly. . . . If there are any churches disposed to give native ministers independent control they should be treated similarly". The Attorney-General's opinion was couched in a similar vein. S.N.A. Vol. 1/1/316 (207/1905), McCallum to M.N.A. 26/2/1905, Attorney-General to U.S.N.A. (Samuleson) 17/4/1905, S.N.A. to F. Bridgman 12/5/1905.
36. A.Z.M. (Inanda), unclassified, A Statement regarding the Obstructive Policy of the Natal Government toward Christian Work Amongst Natives (n.d., no name but probably a paper presented by Frederick Bridgman to the Natal District Union of the Congregational Union of South Africa, about 1905), p. 4. Hereafter referred to as Bridgman's statement.
37. G.H., Vol. 1546, pp. 89-114, McCallum to S.N.A. 24/4/1902, Att.-Gen. to S.N.A. 13/5/1902, 3/2/1903. On government surveillance of Shibe's activities, see S.N.A. Vol. 1/1/286 (1409/1899), 1/1/294 (2772/1901), 1/1/333 (63 & 64/1906), passim. A.Z.M. (Inanda), unclassified, F. Bridgman to S.N.A. 12/7/1904 (re Ngumba Nyawose).
38. Cd. 3888, Further Correspondence re Native Affairs in Natal (January 1908), No. 32, encl. 1, Taylor to McCallum 16/7/1906, F. Bridgman to S.N.A. 11/7/1906, with annexure, pp. 39-41, 59. See also: A.Z.M. (Inanda), unclassified, W.J. Hacker (Wesleyan Methodist Church of South Africa) to Taylor 5/6/1905, F.G. Green (Church of the Province) to A.Z.M. 5/6/1905, J. Bruce (United Free Church of Scotland) to Taylor 7/6/1905.

39. A.Z.M. (Inanda), unclassified, Bridgman's statement, pp. 2-4; F. Bridgman to S.N.A. 14/6/1904.
40. A.Z.M. (Inanda), unclassified, cf. Petition of the Congregational Union of South Africa (n.d.), Petition of the African Congregational Church 7/6/1905, Petition of the American Zulu Mission 30/6/1905.
41. N.b. Marks, Reluctant Rebellion, Parts I-III.
42. Stuart, J. A History of the Zulu Rebellion 1906, p. 420. See also: Perrett, I.M. "Dinizulu and the Bambata Rebellion" (thesis), pp. 4, 53-61.
43. Stuart, op. cit., pp. 406-407, 421. See also: Marks, S. "Christian African Participation in the 1906 Zulu Rebellion". The Bulletin of the Society for African Church History, vol. II, no. 1 (December 1965), p. 56. Perrett, op. cit., pp. 83-84.
 Vilakazi commented: "The Bambatha [sic] Rebellion of 1906 was also a good indication of the Christian Zulus' rejection of Zulu law and government, for they did not join . . . the fight against the white man; and they deservedly earned the label of amambuka, i.e., deserters from the traditional Zulu". Vilakazi, op. cit., p. 143.
44. Marks, "Christian African Participation in the 1906 Zulu Rebellion", p. 61.
45. Ibid., p. 62. See also Stuart, op. cit., pp. 342-398. Brookes and Webb, op. cit., p. 224.
46. G.H., Vol. 700, pp. 144-152, Selborne to McCallum 6/8/1906, McCallum to Selborne 12/8/1906.
 Selborne's reply to McCallum: "What you say about Congregationalism being a bad form of Christianity for natives is quite true. . . . I admit that there is real evidence to show that Ethiopianism has had a great deal to do with the rising . . . but I am sure I am right in saying that we must be careful, very careful, not to make martyrs of them". Ibid., Selborne to McCallum 17/8/1906.
47. G.H., Vol. 1154, pp. 142-147, Smith to McCallum 1/4/1905, M.N.A. to Smith 19/5/1905 (rejecting Smith's personal request for a change in policy).
48. Cd. 3247, Further Correspondence re Native Disturbances in Natal (December 1906), No. 31, pp. 28-33, McCallum to Secretary of State 19/7/1906 (*my italics*), encl. 1,

American Board to McCallum 4/5/1906, encl. 2, Arthur Hedgeland (private secretary) to secretary A.Z.M. 11/7/1906; No. 32, pp. 33-34 with encl., Barker to Militia Department, Pietermaritzburg 17/7/1906.

Messeni was the most important 'rebel' chief in the Mapumulo district.

49. Cd. 3888, No. 32, encl. 2, pp. 41-43, Taylor to McCallum 25/2/1907.
50. A.Z.M. (Pmburg.), Vol. 7 II/1/6, James Bryce (British Ambassador to the U.S.) to E.E. Strong 5/8/1907.
 Bryce's comment on Natal: "Natal, however, is a self-governing Colony and a rather opinionated one, not always easy to deal with. It was a mistake to give it control of the Zulus of Zululand. . . . the Colony is very sensitive as to home interference". It is quite possible, however, that Bryce took the Mission's case privately to the Colonial Office.
51. A.Z.M. (Pmburg.), Vol. 7 II/1/6, E.E. Strong to Taylor 1/3/1907, 22/3/1907, F. Bridgman to E.E. Strong 14/8/1907, E.E. Strong to Bryce 14/8/1907, James Barton to F. Bridgman 28/8/1907. A.Z.M. (Inanda), unclassified, n.n. (probably Taylor to M.N.A.) 1/1/1907. See also: The Natal Witness, e.g., 29/1/1907. Mercury, e.g., 23/1/1907, 25/2/1907.
 One can only speculate as to how much the Americans were able to influence the subsequent course of events. The British press was antagonistic as could be seen, for example, in articles and suggestive cartoons decrying the destruction of church buildings on Locations. Radical members of the Liberal and Labour parties and the Aborigines Protection Society were particularly aroused by the government's refusal to assume control of African affairs in Natal. Proceedings were actually instituted against McCallum which included a charge of homicide but the cases were dismissed. Somerville, C.C. "Relations between Britain and Natal over the Bambata Rebellion and Dinizulu Affair" (thesis), esp. chap. IV.
52. Cd. 3888, No. 32, pp. 39-60, encl. 2, Taylor to McCallum 25/2/1907.
53. Cd. 3888, No. 32, pp. 39-60, encl. 3, Arthur Hedgeland to secretary, A.Z.M. 10/5/1907, S.O. Samuelson's Report, esp. pp. 51-53. See also: A.Z.M. (Pmburg.), Vol. 10 III/1/3, e.g., Taylor to Smith 6/7/1906, pp. 4-5, 13/7/1906, 20/7/1906, Taylor to F.F. Churchill (MLA) 13/7/1906, Taylor to Samuelson 3/7/1906.

54. Gideon Sivetye interview 22/12/1964. See also: A.Z.M. (Pmburg.), Vol. 10 III/1/3, Taylor to Commandant of Militia 4/10/1906, Taylor to W.A. Elbott 26/10/1906, Taylor to C.H. Jeffery (secretary, Pietermaritzburg Church Council) 21/2/1907.
55. Marks, "Christian African Participation in the 1906 Zulu Rebellion", pp. 69-70.
56. A.Z.M. (Pmburg.), Vol. 10 III/1/3, Taylor to Drew (editor of The Friend, Bloemfontein) 30/6/1905, p. 3, Taylor to S.N.A. 4/8/1906, ? (probably Taylor) to Campbell (MLA) 31/7/1906, 27/8/1906, ? (probably Taylor) to John Bruce 7/9/1906. See also: Mercury 4/10/1906, 30/11/1906.
57. A.Z.M. (Inanda), unclassified, Taylor to Moor 18/6/1907, Goodenough and Taylor to Selborne 16/3/1907 (asking him to receive an official deputation from the Mission), C. Phillips to Selborne 30/3/1907, D. Malcolm (private secretary) to C. Phillips 4/4/1907 (deputation refused).
58. Cd. 3888, No. 32, encl. 3, pp. 43-60, Arthur Hedgeland to Taylor 10/5/1907, H.D. Winter to McCallum 26/1/1907, C.O'Grady Gubbins (acting Prime Minister) to McCallum 3/5/1907, S.O. Samuelson's Report.
59. Cd. 3888, No. 32, encl. 3, S.O. Samuelson's Report, p. 59.
60. Talbot, C.J. "Public Opinion in Natal in 1906, after the outbreak of the Zulu Rebellion, with regard to Natal Native Policy (1891-1906)" (thesis), pp. 9, 57.
61. Cd. 3888, No. 32, encl. 3, S.O. Samuelson's Report, p. 58.
62. Cd. 3888, No. 32, McCallum to Secretary of State 10/5/1907.
63. Drew, for example, mentioned the possibility of a "manufactured native trouble" to Taylor who rejected the interpretation but cautioned him to keep silent on the matter. A.Z.M. (Pmburg.), Vol. 10 III/1/3, Taylor to Drew 30/6/1905.
64. The Colonial Office List (1908), p. 542.
 McCallum was appointed Governor of Ceylon. Even Moor admitted that the problem had degenerated into a personal conflict between the Governor and the missionaries. A.Z.M. (Inanda), unclassified, Taylor to Moor 18/6/1907.

65. A.Z.M. (Inanda), unclassified, notes re Interview between the Prime Minister and officers of the American Zulu Mission (Goodenough, F. Bridgman and Taylor) 29/6/1907, pp. 9-10.
66. The following information is taken from: A.Z.M. (Inanda), unclassified, "Principles and Usage Guiding the Operations of the American Zulu Mission", submitted to Prime Minister 12/7/1907; notes re Interview between Minister for Native Affairs, F. Bridgman and Goodenough of the American Zulu Mission 5/9/1907.
67. A.Z.M. (Inanda), unclassified, notes re Interview between the Prime Minister and officers of the American Zulu Mission (Goodenough, F. Bridgman and Taylor) 29/6/1907, p. 7; Ibid., translation of the 'Umsunduzi Rules', Incwadi Yabelusi (Pastors' Handbook), rule no. 20 submitted to M.N.A. 13/9/1907.
68. Missionary Herald, Vol. 103, November 1907, p. 533.
The African churches also joined the Congregational Union of South Africa in 1907, so "they may be identified with the English Colonial Congregational Churches". A year earlier, the Mission's letter heads were changed "to show . . . that we are connected with the Congregational Union of South Africa". A.Z.M. (Pmburg.), Vol. 3 I/1/8, Special Meeting, August 1906; Ibid., Vol. 10 III/1/3, F. Bridgman to Barton 3/8/1907.
69. A.Z.M. (Pmburg.), Vol. 10 III/1/3, F. Bridgman to Barton 30/11/1907, F. Bridgman to E. Bell 8/4/1908.
70. 1906-07 Natal Native Affairs Commission, Report, p. 35.
71. S.N.A. Vol. 3/1/1 (1693/1908), Resolution of Martizburg Church Council before N.N.T. 17/8/1908.
72. A.Z.M. (Inanda), unclassified, n.n. (probably Taylor) to M.N.A. 1/1/1907. See also: A.Z.M. (Pmburg.), Vol. 10 III/1/3 ? (probably Taylor) to Jeffreys 17/12/1906 and Bruce 17/12/1906. The Inanda Archives contain correspondence relating to missionary work in Locations with the Anglicans, Wesleyans, Presbyterians and the South African General Mission.
73. A.Z.M. (Pmburg.), Vol. 10 III/1/3, F. Bridgman to Barton 30/11/1907.
74. A.Z.M. (Pmburg.), Vol. 10 III/1/3, F. Bridgman to Bell 24/4/1909. See also: A.Z.M. (Inanda), unclassified,

Durban Church Council to S.N.A. 10/7/1905, pp. 2-3.
 S.N.A. Vol. 6/1/1, Council for Native Affairs
 19/5/1910, Mission Work and Policy (resolutions).

'The Congregational Churches of the American Board' were ignored--despite the fact that in theory the old African Congregational Church had been made co-equal with the Mission in the prosecution of 'foreign' missionary work. See above, pp. 425-426.

75. A.Z.M. (Inanda), unclassified, Church and School Sites Natal, Certificate of Occupation: Missions (a copy of the conditions for leasing land in Locations--circa 1912).
76. Taylor, Seventy-Five Years, pp. 56-57 (my italics).
77. A.Z.M. (Pmburg.), Vol. 10 III/1/3, F. Bridgman to Barton 14/9/1907, cf. F. Bridgman to W. Robertson (Congregational Union of South Africa), p. 8.
78. A.Z.M. (Inanda), unclassified, "Principles and Usage Guiding the Operations of the American Zulu Mission," submitted to Prime Minister 12/7/1907. See also: A.Z.M. (Pmburg.), Vol. 7 II/1/6, E.E. Strong to F. Bridgman 11/2/1909. A.B.C.F.M. reports, Zulu Mission, 1905, 1910.
79. S.N.A. Vol. 6/1/2, Council for Native Affairs, Minutes, 18-19/5/1910.
80. A.Z.M. (Inanda), unclassified, Taylor to F. Bridgman 20/5/1910.
81. E.g., Ilanga Lase Natal 20/3/1908 (translated by R.R.R. Dhlomo). Gideon Sivetye interviews 22/12/1964, 13/7/1966.

CHAPTER IX
TOWARDS AN URBAN MISSION IN AN
URBAN AFRICAN SOCIETY

"Great and radical changes are taking place in our midst. The whole character of the people is changing very rapidly. Civilization is making rapid strides among them. Great industrial changes are forcing themselves forward. Fathers and even mothers, young men and women, are going in large numbers to the cities for work. The tide flows very strongly from home and station to the cities. . . . The very old and the very young are the only ones not touched by it."¹

By 1900 most of the missionaries recognized the emerging cities as a new frontier in pioneer evangelism and were convinced that a major shift in policy emphasizing these areas was inevitable:

"The cities of South Africa will furnish a field of the largest opportunity for the use of the evangelistic forces of the Mission. . . . The extent to which tribes in all parts of Africa may be reached through converts made in these cities makes it imperative that we should . . . strengthen our position . . . to the fullest extent in those centers".²

Missionary opinion, however, was divided over the status of the urban areas. Should they be considered the Mission's final goal or a steppingstone into the interior of south-eastern Africa?

By 1903 this region--which the missionaries called Gazaland-- was the subject of considerable debate. Al-

though far less grandiose than the earlier dream of blazing a trail of Mission stations all the way to Tanganyika, it was considered ripe for evangelism along the lines developed in Natal. The territory was about 600 miles long and 400 miles wide:

" . . . from the parallel of Johannesburg and Lourenzo Marquez on the south to that of the Zambezi and Ft. Salisbury on the north and from Inhambane, Beira and Chinde on the east to Forts Salisbury, Victoria and Tuli on the west. It includes the lowlands of the Portuguese possessions and reaches up over the highlands into British Rhodesia."³

In other words, it was an area roughly rectangular in shape with towns at strategic points along the perimeter. From these urban communities, so some argued, the Mission would gradually expand towards the rural center--building stations and creating Christian communities from the shores of Natal to the Zambezi River.

Other missionaries regarded the scheme as impractical and outmoded. The American Board would not grant sufficient resources, they argued, to embark on a project of such dimensions. Furthermore, the possibility of friction from competing groups such as the Rhodesian mission or the African churches in Natal had not been envisaged. Above all, those who promoted this plan still regarded the rural areas--the traditional homelands--as the proper venue for missionary work. The towns would merely be used to accelerate the development of permanent secular and ecclesiastical institutions in the interior of south-eastern Africa.

The Mission was so divided over the question that two papers on "Mission extension" were presented when the Deputation arrived in 1903. Bunker, one of the main authors of the Gazaland project, argued that the urban communities "should be looked upon more as strategic centers from which to carry on the work than exclusive fields for that work":

"The opportunities for touching vast numbers of men for a brief season and under striking circumstances are marvellous and providential but these men do not make their homes in the cities, their home and tribal surroundings are not touched by the influences brought to bear upon them there. . . . The greatest work even for the men themselves, to say nothing of their families . . . must be done in changing their home environment. And beyond touching the men thus briefly . . . the city work can do little . . . if it does not follow them to their homes. . . . Thus . . . the cities do not furnish us with fields for the most permanent work. . . . The cities will furnish us with /an/ introduction to men and tribes."⁴

Kilbon on the other hand, foresaw that inevitably Africans in the towns would evangelize the interior just as the African Congregational Church in practice was responsible for missionary work in the rural areas of Natal and Zululand. He also noted, from sad experience, that the Mission's resources would be exhausted in the urban areas long before they could be used elsewhere. While Kilbon also regarded the Africans as temporary migrants and stressed the importance of primitive evangelism, he differed from Bunker in urging the Mission to center its activities in the urban communities:

"The Zulu Mission has already tested . . . this plan of centralizing our endeavor. It is not a mere theory, it is a proved success. . . . It is the wisdom of strategy and of economy to extend

our work on these lines. The greatest returns are promised at the least expenditure of force. . . . Our plan will be to keep on the lookout for the beginnings of industrial and municipal centres that give promise of development, and to secure /in/ these any early footing for a mission to the congregating natives".⁵

Neither of these papers was published. The Deputation could hardly deny the Mission's right to exploit Gazaland, since the American Board was largely responsible for pushing the Mission beyond the borders of Natal in the first place. A full-scale missionary enterprise in this vast area, however, was out of the question. Although the Deputation refrained from pronouncing judgment on either proposal, they encouraged the Mission's "plan to occupy the cities, like Durban and Johannesburg". The Deputation also recommended that the East Central Africa /Rhodesian/ Mission and the American Zulu Mission unite to alleviate fruitless competition in Gazaland and a rather tenuous agreement was worked out in August 1904.⁶ But the Deputation did not depart from the American Board's demand for self-propagating churches: "By the eye of faith, we see the day when the Zulu churches of Natal will of themselves send forth evangelists to these 'regions beyond'; for the black man must be the chief evangelist of his race."⁷

The Special Committee on Mission Policy, moreover, which "formed a basis for discussing the whole field and work with the Deputation . . . and was a guide in presenting the papers prepared" was controlled by missionaries of the third generation who began arriving on the field in the late 1890s and

early 1900s. They left little doubt as to what they meant by "Mission extension":

"To thoroughly man . . . the city centers already occupied, and to occupy others as speedily as possible, in order to reach country and remote districts by evangelizing the natives who congregate in these centers".⁸

These men were to play important roles in demonstrating the methods and defining the goals the Mission would attempt in the urban areas of south-eastern Africa in the last decade before Union.

THE BEGINNINGS OF URBAN WORK IN DURBAN:

Frederick Bridgman and the Church

By the time the Mission was confronted with these problems, it already had some 10 years' experience of urban work, for in the 1890s there had been the beginning of a shift towards the towns, with Durban and Johannesburg as the first centers of activity. Geographical necessity had dictated the Mission's extension of its activities to Durban--located at the center of the axis of coastal stations--in the 1880s as the first serious step towards establishing a permanent station in the urban areas. In December 1886 an inquiry was made into the possibility "of establishing a mission in Durban for native christians and others connected with our mission".⁹ Thus in the beginning the idea in Durban, as in Johannesburg, was to meet the needs of those from the Mission's coastal stations who were beginning to migrate to the towns in search of work and who "are removed from the Christian influence of the station--often from all

Christian influence".¹⁰

In 1890 the Americans asked the Durban Town Council for a site on which to construct a "mission building" for church services and an evening school during the week. The Council agreed to sell the Mission a site in Beatrice Street, in a section called Greyville, for a nominal sum of about £20 on the condition that it be used for African mission work. The missionaries decided to purchase an adjoining lot for £100 since even then it was envisaged that the work would need room for expansion. Colonial Congregationalists, having erected a new church, sold their old wood and iron chapel to the Mission for about £107. It was dismantled and re-erected by African Christians on the lot in Beatrice Street and on March 27, 1892, the first communion was held. About 300 people, all Africans from the Mission's stations, crowded into the building for the first Sunday service. The Mission's new experiment in the urban areas had begun.¹¹

At first, African preachers from Adams and Inanda held Sunday services together with an itinerant missionary, Fred Suter of the South East African Evangelistic Mission, who also taught a Bible class for laymen. After a year or so, he withdrew to devote full time to his own missionary society.¹² John Dube then took over for a short while but he was also obliged to relinquish the work because he was needed elsewhere.¹³ Ransom, nominally in charge of Durban from 1892 to 1897, insisted from the beginning that "the work naturally falls on us--the men from our stations are at work in Durban

and need our shepherding still".¹⁴ Believing that Durban already was "perhaps more important than any other station", Ransom urged the American Board to agree to a resident missionary:

"It is a marvel to me that the work holds together as it does for tied up as I am in school and by outside work you can readily see how little attention I can devote to Durban. . . . The population is peculiarly transient and likely to be for years to come so there must be some one to stay if success is to crown our labors."¹⁵

In the turbulent 1890s, however, there was no resident missionary in Durban. The town was made an outstation of Adams--the strategic center of the Mission's activities. In these circumstances, Durban was merely one of many responsibilities for the already overburdened missionaries. Year after year the call was repeated,¹⁶ but neither the man nor the money was forthcoming. Inevitably, it seems, most of the responsibility for the work in Durban fell on the shoulders of the African Christians. A church was formally organized on October 9, 1892, with 12 members--the 17th church of the American Zulu Mission--almost all of whom were Zulu Christians from the station communities. At the same time, an evening school during the week was started by a former Amanzimtoti Seminary pupil.¹⁷ Despite a small membership, the almost total lack of permanent African housing in Durban and the absence of Mission or government aid of any kind, the church members in 1893 paid the teacher's and part of the preacher's salaries, enlarged the chapel to house the preacher at their own expense, paid all the maintenance costs and sent

"a sizeable contribution" to the Zulu Missionary Society.

As Ransom put it: "This gives an idea of what a little mine there is in this young church".¹⁸ In 1894 nine part-time lay preachers were serving the Durban church which was holding meetings three times a week in addition to the evening school.¹⁹

In the same year William Makubalo Makanya, probably from the Theological School, became the permanent preacher in charge of religious and educational work. Under his leadership there was an enormous growth in church membership. By 1895 an average of 550 people attended the various meetings held on Sunday at the little chapel in Beatrice Street and 125 were present during the week at prayer and evangelistic training sessions. An average of about 50 attended the evening school. There were now 11 preaching places, at one of which the congregation had built its own chapel and called a preacher to hold services and conduct a day and evening school without cost to the Mission. In 1896 the church had 24 preaching places and in 1898 there were 30. By 1899 between 1,400 and 1,500 were attending Sunday services in the Beatrice Street chapel alone. At the same time the Africans had united in establishing a fund for the building of a larger church to house the huge congregation, less than half of which could be accommodated in the old building. By 1900 there were two full-time teachers in the Beatrice Street school which now had an enrolment of 150 students. Above all, the entire work was self-supporting.²⁰

Like Johannesburg, the Durban church was composed almost entirely of young men between the ages of 16 and 25. This was a factor in the constant turnover in the congregation which contributed to the instability the Mission feared and hoped would be solved by a resident missionary: "A difficulty which will long trouble us is the fact that there are no families . . . in Durban and of course there can not be the stability which the church derives from its foundation in the family".²¹ More and more illiterate heathens were converted by Christians from the station communities. Within five years after the Durban church was founded, these newcomers apparently comprised a majority of the membership. This had two implications. The zeal of the newly-converted complemented the reformation spirit of the station Christians to produce a high standard of church membership. In 1896, for example, each prospective adherent had to serve a year's probation before becoming a full member of the church. The educational standards of the congregation, however, deteriorated drastically as leadership passed into the hands of semi-literate or illiterate ex-heathens and the percentage of station Christians who were members of the church declined:

" . . . these . . . young men . . . have had little or no previous education or experience in church matters. So much is this the case that scarcely one among them could be found sufficiently qualified to hold office as treasurer or secretary. The men of experience in church matters . . . are the Christians from our different mission stations. But they can have no vote or hold office because their stay in town is expected to be only temporary and they do not want to resign . . . from their home churches".²²

In the late 1890s, friction increased between the young neophytes and their more sophisticated brethren from the stations who wanted control over the Durban work but were loathe to give up their 'country church' membership.²³ Another source of conflict lay with Bunker who was assigned to the Durban field after Ransom was transferred to Ifafa in 1897. Bunker tried to play a more authoritative role in Durban at the very time separatist movements in Johannesburg and at Table Mountain were making their greatest impact on the churches in Natal. He temporarily suspended Makanya, the preacher, who allegedly "confessed that he was guilty of lying". Makanya was put on probation and sent back to one of the stations.²⁴ Bunker employed another preacher and paid for his salary in part by using Reserve funds since the congregation refused to support the "missionary's man". The affection and loyalty of the Durban church members together with the sympathies of the African members on the Abaisitupa were with Makanya who began flirting with the separatists, apparently in Johannesburg. And the station churches in Natal "espoused his cause". Isolated and estranged from the congregation, the missionary who had acknowledged "the great vitality of this church . . . notwithstanding some very serious troubles" found himself in almost the same position as Pugh at Table Mountain and Goodenough in Johannesburg.²⁵ Nevertheless, Bunker continued to maintain that the issues convulsing the church and jeopardizing its relations with the Mission would have been alleviated under a missionary

resident in Durban:

"I have been sadly conscious during this entire trouble that if I had been able to spend time enough with the church to understand their situation and for them to understand my plans nearly if not all the trouble would have been obviated. But not only is the presence of a missionary needed in such times as this but the whole great work suffers sadly from lack of proper planning and supervision."²⁶

A poorly educated congregation, factional disputes, friction with the missionary nominally responsible for the work in Durban and a capable African leader who had been removed from office on questionable grounds without consulting the membership. It seemed like a textbook example of 'Ethiopianism' in the making and a most inopportune moment to appoint a resident missionary for the city. This, however, is exactly what the Mission did.

Frederick Bridgman arrived in Durban as resident missionary in 1900 with the church's de facto independence clearly established. After the 1900 reconciliation agreement, ownership of the land and buildings, for example, were subjects of dispute in Durban as elsewhere. Nor could the Americans--having followed their communicants to the town after 10 years of virtually unrestricted African missionary activity--exercise that moral and spiritual authority which still commanded respect and obedience in the rural areas. African Christians in Durban at this time were a tiny, unstable and very vulnerable minority in a polygot community dominated by the whites. These young transient, male converts had little understanding of the Mission's prerogatives.

In these circumstances, Frederick Bridgman's primary objective was to establish a base of operations for the Mission in Durban. And his methods seemed clear enough at the time: (1) Forge an indigenous church which would be identified with the Mission's interests; (2) Get the colonists involved in the effort to create a viable African Christian community in the city. To accomplish these goals, however, he had to convince the congregation that the Mission could be a valuable asset in promoting the church's own interests as the well-spring of community life for those living in Durban. To do this, he needed someone who could resolve the congregation's inner conflicts, win their confidence and galvanize their support for projects that would benefit both Mission and church.

Bridgman's opportunity came with the ratification of the reconciliation agreement during the Native Annual Meeting at Itafamasi in 1901. The Durban congregation failed to send a delegation: "The reason given was that there was not a single available member who knew enough to give an intelligent report". This shocked not only the Mission but also the newly-constituted African Congregational Church which, fully aware of its responsibilities, attempted to do the same thing that Goodenough had done by fiat in Johannesburg. The Abaisitupa tried to disband the church and re-organize the work along the lines of a Christian Endeavor Society. The plan was dropped when the Durban church refused to be disbanded, but the episode served to strengthen the

bonds between missionary and African churchmen in their mutual concern for the welfare of the Christian community in the urban areas. Bridgman appears to have used this detente, moreover, to endorse the Durban congregation's request that Makanya, the preacher who had been purged by Bunker a few years earlier, be restored to favor and ordained as pastor of the church. The Mission agreed and, with the approval of the Abaisitupa, the ordination took place in the Beatrice Street chapel in June 1901.²⁷ The African Christian community as well as the Mission now had a recognized leader in Durban. To a large extent, relations between Mission and Church in this city during the final decade of Responsible Government were determined by the conflicts and compromises made between these two men.

In strengthening the indigenous church, Frederick Bridgman gave priority to finances and property. For years the Durban congregation had refused to put their contributions into a bank, preferring treasurers who, more often than not, were incapable of exercising their duties wisely or efficiently. Minor irregularities in the church's finances were acknowledged from the beginning but these were ignored as the budget soared with the growth of the congregation. By 1903, however, it had become apparent that the financial stability of the church was being seriously undermined by the inefficiency of its treasurers. Frederick Bridgman, by his own admission, "took some high-handed measures which would have saved the money had the church backed me". Instead, however, the congrega-

tion accused the missionary of defaming the character of their treasurer because he had accused him publicly of defrauding the church. At this point, Frederick Bridgman withdrew; but, unlike Goodenough, he did not fall back on the authority of the Mission. Evidence against the treasurer was compiled and presented to Makanya who was asked to consider the case. At first, apparently, he refused to do so but Bridgman did not interfere--and the church was allowed to learn by experience. Within months, the treasurer's guilt became too obvious to be ignored, and the church agreed to transfer its funds to a bank and relieve the treasurer of his duties.²⁸

Another source of friction concerned the ownership of property. At the reconciliation talks, it was agreed that in future the African Congregational Church and the Mission would have joint ownership over all Church land and buildings. What was acceptable in theory, however, was not always workable in practice, and so it was with the Durban church. For several years the congregation had contributed to a church building fund, having outgrown the little chapel in Beatrice Street, and by 1902 they had saved £200 and pledged £600 more towards the cost of a £1,400 building seating 800 people.²⁹ Makanya asked Bridgman to honor the reconciliation agreement and convert the Beatrice Street property, where the building was to be erected, into joint ownership with the Durban church. In 1902, however, Bridgman was reluctant to agree when the congregation refused to follow his advice on financial matters. Furthermore, Bridgman, like Goodenough,

had his own plans for expansion. A sizeable congregation had been built up at a preaching place in Durban's Florida Road district and a church building was required. Bridgman wanted to lease or purchase a property for this purpose but Makanya, backed by the congregation, refused to consent to the project until the Mission agreed to the joint ownership of all present and future church property in the city.³⁰

Again Frederick Bridgman preferred compromise to confrontation. As he wrote to Secretary Smith during the controversy over the Florida Road scheme: "I have taken Pastor Makanya in my confidence about this enterprise. . . . My one desire is for the Beatrice Church to take up the Florida Rd. work as a branch. I want to work it with the natives."³¹

The question of trusteeship was taken up with the 1903 Deputation and it was at this time that the church fired its treasurer and placed its funds in a bank. With Frederick Bridgman lobbying behind the scenes, the joint ownership of church property in Durban was approved. Makanya released the funds necessary to build the new church in Beatrice Street and agreed to support the Florida Road church, as it was to be called. The Mission then borrowed £1,000 from the American Board to lease a site and erect a church building.³²

It took about three years to resolve the conflicts over church finances and property but acceptable solutions to each crisis were found and relations between the Mission and the church in Durban were strengthened as a result. Much of the

credit for this must undoubtedly go to the Abaisitupa, even though the historical record of the Durban church for this period remains scanty. As the unrecognized but omni-present mediator between the missionaries and the churches, it played a major role in reconciling both parties to the need for harmony. And it should be remembered that missionaries as well as Africans were represented on this committee so that its efforts also reflected Mission policy. In the end, however, success depended on the ability of Frederick Bridgman and Makanya to merge the interests of the Mission and the church. Pooling Mission-church funds and the joint ownership of property were rare innovations even among American missionaries in Southern Africa at this time. Implementation of the 1900 reconciliation agreement was slow and, as noted, it received a serious setback with the 1907 "constitution".³³ It would appear, however, that in Durban and, indeed, Johannesburg policies were not as decisive as personalities. Mission correspondence lends support to the feeling that Bridgman and Makanya became very close during these years and that their mutual regard for each other was a crucial factor in the growth of the African Christian community in Durban. The question of Mission authority, moreover, was left uncertain. Frederick Bridgman never attempted to define the spheres of activity of the Mission and the church, respectively, in Durban.

Between 1904 and 1913 the Mission's roots were planted deep in the soil of the city. With the question of property

rights settled, the last obstacle blocking the extension of the work in Beatrice Street was overcome. Bridgman, working closely with Makanya and the leaders of the African Christian community in Durban, drew up plans for the erection of the new church, a house for Makanya, a barracks to accommodate the growing number of lay preachers who needed a building for educational purposes and a medical dispensary that would also house the Mission's publications department. It was, in effect, a bold attempt to make Durban the new strategic center for the Mission in Natal:

"So the chapel will be the church center . . . the dispensary will be the medical center, and the book room the center for the publication department of the Mission. By so combining these 3 departments in one locality we hope that each department will advertise the other and so make our Durban work a far reaching influence for good throughout Natal and Zululand and beyond."³⁴

From the church's standpoint, this decision was an enormous boost to its prestige and influence. The Mission estimated that between 1899 and 1903 the permanent African population in Durban had increased from 11,000 to 20,000 with an additional transient group of about 50,000. By 1902 the Beatrice Street church alone was holding 52 meetings a week with a total attendance of 2,000. Church membership stood at 268 and there were now 48 preaching places in various parts of Durban. In 1902 the first permanent building at one of these preaching places was erected in the suburb of Malvern by the African congregation at their own expense. In 1903 another church was built in the suburb of Overport,

about two miles from Beatrice Street, with Glebe funds. In October 1904 the Florida Road church was completed with a seating capacity of 200 and a self-supporting evening school of more than 60 students "for the most part heathen, right from the kraals". Finally, after more than 10 years of deliberation, the new wood and iron church in Beatrice Street was completed and opened for services in July 1905. The African congregation had contributed £500 of the £1,100 it cost to build the church. In 1907 the Beatrice Street church had a membership of 395 which, despite a constant turnover due to a fluctuating population, by 1910 had risen to 477--one of the largest on the Mission.³⁵

Gradually chapels were erected at other preaching places as well until by 1910 there were congregations allied to the American Zulu Mission stretching for 22 miles across the Durban metropolitan area. Perhaps even more important, there were at least three permanent, self-supporting (one shilling a month per pupil) evening schools for adults and two day schools for children, while Bridgman and Makanya instructed lay preachers at the Beatrice Street barracks in elementary accounting, the preparation and preservation of records and other matters relating to the church.³⁶ Durban was now the headquarters of the Mission-sponsored Women's Christian Temperance Union for Africans in Natal and in almost every conceivable area where Africans could be found--among the ricksha-pullers, draymen and stevedores, laborers in stores and stables, in the jails, hospitals, barracks housing

African workers and even in colonial homes the Church . . . and the Mission were represented. Three years before Frederick Bridgman left Durban in 1913 he could report with satisfaction that the Durban churches, with their outstations and preaching places, reached a wider audience than all the rural stations in Natal combined.³⁷

Such spectacular growth, however, generated a host of problems--the most urgent being to provide adequate housing so that the Christians would agree to bring their families and settle permanently in the town. Like the missionaries in the rural areas, those in the urban areas accepted de facto segregation without question. In fact, as mirrored in testimony before the 1903 South African Native Affairs Commission, the Mission as a whole seemed incredibly laissez faire on the question of African housing:

"In the immediate future the natives crowded from the reserved lands will seek to acquire land by purchase or lease or will seek to gather in communities adjacent to industrial centers. The increased difficulties of living will render him increasingly available for labor and if he becomes an important and useful factor, the question of his residence will settle itself."³⁸

On the other hand, there is no evidence that there was even a modicum of practical colonial concern for the material well-being of Africans in the towns during this period. Thus the missionaries were largely responsible for what little was done in the fields of urban housing and social welfare. At first, the missionaries tried to persuade colonial private enterprise to expend capital on African housing. The Mission's

first attempt to provide "food and lodging" for Zulu females in Durban, for example, had been launched in September 1895 under the leadership of Mrs. Mary Edwards with financial backing from 18 Durban businessmen. Funds from this source proved unreliable, however, and 1½ years later the colonists withdrew from the project altogether. The Native Women's Home, as it was called, was not sufficiently publicized to attract enough boarders who, in any event, could afford no more than one shilling a day. Under the Mission's fragile patronage, little use could be made of the facility. Although Wesleyan missionaries were brought in as supervizers, the hostel had been forced to close down in May 1899.³⁹

The failure of this scheme appears to have convinced Frederick Bridgman that he must seek help from city and provincial governments in providing subsidized housing for Africans living in the community. To focus colonial public opinion on this issue, he became chairman of the Durban Church Council, an executive of the Natal Missionary Conference and, more important, a member of several colonial social and civic groups. Apparently Bridgman was able to exercise considerable influence on the attitude of municipal officials towards Africans living in the city. In 1909 a breakthrough was achieved when the Durban Town Council agreed "to make provision for the proper housing of native women temporarily in Durban". Using municipal funds, a permanent women's hostel was opened in the city--the first of its kind in Natal. Day-to-day expenses, including salaries, became the Council's

responsibility. Bridgman's efforts on behalf of the Africans in Durban served to bring him to the attention of the Natal government and he was invited to tour urban African "locations" in other British possessions in Southern Africa. Bridgman returned with an African housing plan for Durban which in 1910 was considering proposals to build its first non-white location. In the same year, again largely through Bridgman's efforts, the Durban Town Council received an African delegation "to plead the interests of their own people, thus giving the first semblance of recognition to the principle that the natives should have some voice where their interests were concerned".⁴⁰ Other missionary societies were also concerned with conditions of life in these nascent urban African ghettos, but their labors brought few tangible results during this period. Perhaps the best that can be said for these efforts was that at least colonial officials now were compelled to acknowledge publicly the presence of thousands of Africans who were more or less permanent inhabitants of the city.

MISSION FOCUS ON THE MINES IN THE TRANSVAAL

Although Mission work in the Transvaal seemed to be dominated by the separatist movement in the 1890s, it must be remembered that Goodenough--in charge of the field from 1893 to 1913--played a major role in the Mission's gradual shift towards the urban areas. An overbearing personality, tactless in human relationships, unsympathetic with the aspirations of the African Christian elite, Goodenough never-

theless was a shrewd, efficient businessman who foresaw that the Mission's limited resources would reap the most significant results in the urban areas. Goodenough, the first member of the Mission to work in the cities, was an important mediator in the stormy debates that often erupted over this aspect of Mission policy.

Through all the turmoil and upheaval of the first 10 years in Johannesburg, moreover, Goodenough stubbornly persisted in the optimistic view of its potential that he had perceived when he arrived in 1893:

"There is undoubtedly a grand opening for Mission work and one we especially are called upon to enter. . . . Seven years ago there was no sign of a town here--now it is a city of 40,000 people. . . . and there are said to be 100,000 Natives along the Rand and in Johannesburg. . . . The Zulus from Natal and Zululand. . . . are very clannish . . . and like to meet with those who speak the same language and who know the same places and people. . . . This clannish, home feeling, will be the means of getting hold of heathen boys, who in Natal would care nothing about meetings or church. Here it is different. They are all away from home, and the church will be a place to bring them together. They will have a common friend in the missionary, and this is a land where they often need a white friend. . . . We must not abandon this field. We have been called to come, and now we are here we must stay."⁴¹

As in Durban, the first members of the Johannesburg church were mostly young men from the Mission's stations in Natal. And, as in Durban, they were zealous evangelists and generous contributors to the church. Sixteen of the foundation membership of 30 in the Johannesburg church were preacher-evangelists. Organized into four groups, they were sent out three times a week to hold meetings, in addition to the

Sunday services. By 1895 they were holding 10 different meetings during the week with more than 1,000 in attendance. Even the separatist dilemma did not detract from the tremendous growth of the Mission church in Johannesburg. By 1898 there were three well-established congregations at Mayfair, Doornfontein and Elandsfontein together with numerous out-stations and preaching places--and the work was almost entirely self-supporting.⁴²

The South African War, however, crippled the work in Johannesburg. Buildings were left intact, but all were sacked and partially damaged. According to Mission estimates, the African population along the Reef dropped by about 60 per cent from 128,000 to 53,000. Many of the church members either fled to Natal or were forcibly recruited by the Boers as servants and laborers. Those who remained tried, with little success, to maintain the religious services and schools without leaders or revenue.⁴³

Goodenough also had fled to Natal but when he returned in 1902, his authority had been weakened considerably by the 1900 reconciliation agreement and the emergent African Congregational Church. Faced by these and related problems, he seems to have delimited the responsibilities of the Mission and the African churches in the Transvaal. Refusing to share power with his Zulu colleagues but unable to control the affairs of the Transvaal churches, Goodenough ignored the Christian community and concentrated his energies and resources on pioneer evangelism and literacy work on

the mines. Such was his status within the Mission that his actions apparently were approved without comment or criticism.

Goodenough had evaluated the potential of a mining compound ministry not long after he arrived in Johannesburg. The challenge of embarking on a "pioneer work" that "at first sight might seem the most hopeless" kindled his imagination:

"It is possible in a single day to reach more natives on the Rand, than could be reached anywhere else in South Africa by a month of toilsome effort. These natives, too, are the young men, the finest manhood of the native tribes. . . . It is an inspiration to think that here one is preaching to all native South Africa."⁴⁴

In the 1890s, Goodenough estimated that the mines had employed an average of 88,000 men a year as against 40,000 who worked elsewhere along the Reef. At this time, however, few mine managers would allow missionary work inside the compounds. Little support was received from the Christian community, because few Zulu were willing to work on the mines even in this period. Most preferred jobs as unskilled laborers "in kitchens, stores, shops, factories" or as servants in white homes and hotels. In these circumstances, of course, the Zulu were scattered throughout the Reef and it was difficult enough to minister to their needs without adding to the burden. Goodenough may have generated a lot of conflict but as long as the Mission was in control, the Church regarded him as a missionary to the Zulu. Thus little progress was made in the mining compound ministry until 1902 when the British assumed authority over the former South African Republic (the Transvaal). Godfrey Lagden, newly-appointed Commissioner

of Native Affairs, proved particularly useful because he supported the Church of England in "the prosecution of mission work along the Reef". Having already relinquished responsibility for the Christian community to the African Congregational Church, Goodenough now was able to convert his experiment on the mines into a permanent ministry.⁴⁵

Under Goodenough's leadership, the Americans established the first permanent mine compound ministry in Southern Africa. Although there were only an estimated 35,000 Africans inside the mines in 1902, and 18,000 in other occupations along the Reef, permission was finally received to erect a building specifically for missionary purposes on a mining site. A wood and iron building was constructed at Robinson Deep mine in Johannesburg in 1903 for a church and school under the supervision of an African evangelist. Use of the land, as Goodenough put it, was by "squatting right" granted by the mine manager. But there were four other mines (including the Ferreira Deep mine, biggest on the Reef at this time) less than a mile from the building which also was "the distributing compound where natives destined for the mines are first brought and thence distributed". Thus the Mission was in an excellent strategic position. In 1908 another regional center was established by the Mission at the Crown Deep mine to meet the challenge of a soaring African labor force estimated at 235,000 in 1909 of which about 188,000 were working in the mines. The Mission's General Letter writer reported in 1910 that "most of the work" of the

Mission in the Transvaal "is among the boys of the mining compounds".⁴⁶

Goodenough's own description of how he organized the mine compound work forms an interesting comparison with the methods used in Natal:

"We go out Sunday to one or two or three compounds --a company of us, consisting of several white missionaries /whites in Johannesburg whom Goodenough was able to recruit for part-time work/ and a number of native converts. . . . Sometimes we get several hundred, and sometimes not more than six to a dozen. The preaching must be of the simplest kind. . . . In the school, about all we attempt is to teach the natives to read and write their own language. While English has sometimes been taught, it has been done reluctantly, and only as a means of holding the natives until they themselves see that it is better to learn their own language. We have about decided to refuse to teach English. . . . Both in the compounds and in the schools, much depends on the native evangelist."⁴⁷

In essence, Goodenough operated on the assumption that there would never be a permanent African population residing in the urban areas. He believed that he ministered primarily to migrants and most of his methods can be traced to this premise. While white laymen were recruited as helpers, Goodenough appears to have been reluctant to seek permanent ties with municipal officials or even with other missionary societies. Although the 1900 "Forward Movement" plan had called for at least three missionaries and £2,800 for Johannesburg,⁴⁸ nothing ever came of these proposals. Whereas the African churches in the Transvaal, as in Natal, were expected to be self-supporting, as indeed they were "from the beginning", Goodenough did not press his migrant "boys"

for financial aid. The mine compound ministry was subsidized largely by the American Board until Goodenough retired in 1913.⁴⁹

Thus the miners received little encouragement from Goodenough to settle in the cities. While he compared the ersatz ghettos along the Reef with "Sodom and Hell", he refused even to contemplate improving housing conditions. Locations were fruitless: " . . . the massing of natives in large villages is contrary to their custom and is detrimental. If there must be locations, they should be restricted rather than increased".⁵⁰

This was one of the reasons why he favored the African Congregational Church's demand to have an equal voice in foreign mission work, especially in Portuguese East Africa where most of the miners were recruited and American and Zulu missionaries had been active since the early 1880s. Goodenough was particularly interested in an area then called Maputaland (known as Engonyameni by the Zulu), a peninsula of Delagoa Bay. Sunguza Nyuswa had visited the area in 1902 where he baptized a number of converts and reported at least five churches with congregations varying from 100 to 150. These communities apparently were formed by ex-miners returning from the Transvaal where they had been converted by Zulu missionaries.⁵¹ Goodenough and another African pastor, Cetywayo Goba, visited the area in 1904 where they found four full-fledged stations and three outstations with "chapels and schools built by the natives".⁵² Goodenough was amazed by what he saw:

"This work . . . was not a split-off from any other church, but . . . was started and carried on by natives who for the most part were converted in Pretoria. I have sometimes dreamed that young men converted in our schools might go back to their heathen homes and start a new work, but even in my dreams I never imagined anything equal to the reality. It is the most marvelous bit of mission work I have seen in Africa."⁵³

For Goodenough, it was the key to the success of his policy. Let the African Congregational Church be responsible for building rural Christian communities in Mozambique while Goodenough fed them with evangelists from the mining compounds. To facilitate this goal, preaching and teaching were kept at a rudimentary level and, where possible, conducted in the miner's mother tongue. In effect, Goodenough favored Bunker's ideal of using the urban communities to open up the interior. Consequently, Goodenough's methods and goals were a distinct departure from the kind of Mission evolving in Durban where Frederick Bridgman was intent on enlisting the support of the colonial establishment and integrating missionary activities with those of the Church in a united effort to build a permanent, self-supporting African Christian community in the city.

Meanwhile, the African Congregational Church (the Congregational Churches of the American Board after 1907) was quietly rebuilding and expanding the Zulu Christian community split by the separatists and shattered by the experiences of war. Since the churches and schools were not really subject to missionary control, however, written evidence on the growth of the Zulu Christian community in the

Transvaal during this period remains scanty. We do know that Christians from Natal carefully supervised the affairs of the Transvaal Church--not unmindful of the fact that they were also vulnerable as the Mission had been to schismatic movements. Ten cases arising mainly from property disputes with a church founded by separatists at Brickfields in Johannesburg, for example, were heard in court and litigation costs eventually amounted to about £180. Although the African Congregational Church entered the fray after 1900 and secured the loyalty of most of these independents, it was an expensive, time-consuming and, in the end, a frustrating experience. In 1904 the church was lost when the Johannesburg Town Council expropriated the Brickfields property.⁵⁴

In 1909 the Zulu Christian community in Johannesburg had 39 preachers "nearly all of whom are members of our churches in Natal".⁵⁵ Two of the earliest and most important evangelists and teachers were Joel Bhulose and Zephania Mdaweni. Both originally were from Natal and apparently among the first Zulu Christian migrants to leave the colony and work on the Reef. Fluent in four languages--English, Zulu, Dutch and Sotho--and able to converse in several others as well, they became Goodenough's principal aides in the mine compound ministry. Eventually both were ordained--probably in 1907. Later Mdaweni was put in charge of the Pretoria church while Bhulose--who re-established the church at Mayfair after the war--was sent back to Natal to become pastor of the Ifafa church. One of the preachers, Pindela

Kuzwayo, was responsible for the work at Elandsfontein during this period. Undoubtedly the most influential African churchman in the Transvaal, however, was Gardiner Mvuyana. He was in charge of the work at Doornfontein--the Mission's central church in Johannesburg--in the early 1900s. Subsequently, he enrolled at the Theological School and graduated in 1907. Mvuyana then returned to the Reef, was ordained in 1908 and put in charge of all the churches in Johannesburg--by this time "the most important point in our mission field". Although the Christian community does not appear to have expanded as rapidly here as in Durban, by the early 1920s more than 70 churches were reported on the Rand from the nucleus of three battered, virtually abandoned structures that had barely survived the South African War.⁵⁶

The division of labor between the Mission and the African Congregational Church in the Transvaal was to have unforeseen and, in many cases, unfortunate consequences. Goodenough deserves credit for laying the foundations that resulted in the extraordinary mining compound ministry of Frederick Bridgman (who took over the Transvaal field in 1913) and Ray Phillips (a pioneer social welfare worker) between the world wars. But the link Goodenough sought to maintain between the migrants and the emerging African Christian communities in Mozambique was frayed by unsympathetic Portuguese administrators, conflict with African churchmen both in Mozambique and Natal, and friction with competing missionary societies and the miners themselves, many of whom

preferred to remain in Johannesburg. Above all, Goodenough's policy of pragmatic apartheid proved to be unworkable in practice. His dream of an urban Mission emphasizing pioneer evangelism and Biblical literacy exclusively for migrant miners was abandoned because it could not be divorced from the reality of a large and permanent urban African population. The mine compound ministry became merely one of many concerns for succeeding missionaries who were protagonists of the social gospel. When Frederick Bridgman sought to do in the Transvaal what he had done so successfully in Durban, moreover, the churches did not respond. They now resented any missionary, no matter how sympathetic, who intruded in their affairs. The Mission was to endure yet another schismatic movement in 1917. Led by Gardiner Mvuyana, it was to be called, significantly enough, the African Congregational Church.

THE BEGINNINGS OF A MEDICAL MISSION:

Burt Bridgman and John Nembula at Adams

For most of the 19th Century, medical work on the American Zulu Mission was distinctly subordinate to evangelism. Two of the six pioneer missionaries--Newton Adams and Alexander Wilson--were doctors, but their medical duties were confined primarily to the missionaries and their families. When Wilson resigned and, in 1851, Adams died the American Board apparently did not see any need to appoint another missionary doctor.

Burt Bridgman, who arrived in 1892, was the first

medical missionary to Africans per se.⁵⁷ In the beginning, however, his activities were carefully circumscribed. First and foremost, the medical missionary would be required to teach in the boarding schools:

"It [medicine] should be carried on chiefly by Dr. Bridgman in the higher schools of the Mission with the expectation that by this means the teachers of the future may be given a sufficient knowledge of medical branches to teach them . . . in the regular station schools of the Mission. . . . that the teaching should relate to anatomy, physiology, practical hygiene, sanitation and especially to demonstrating the causes of disease with the idea of uprooting the native superstitions."⁵⁸

In the 'kraals' and outstations, stress was to be placed on "preventive medicine" and "visits be made to the preaching places in the neighborhood of the medical center and that talks or lectures on disease, witchcraft, etc. be given". Dispensaries were envisaged for Adams, Inanda and Umzumbe where the boarding schools were situated. After some discussion, Adams was selected as the headquarters of the Mission's medical department--once again, because it was "the chief educational centre of our mission".⁵⁹ Thus Burt Bridgman was called to establish medical services among the African Christian community on or near the stations. His work was defined largely as an educational enterprise and subordinated to existing missionary activities. In effect, Burt Bridgman was to "lay foundations, and remove hindrances in a society generally that would promote the success of all other kinds of missionary effort".⁶⁰

In theory, Burt Bridgman was to get a dispensary and hospital at Adams but hopes that the American Board and the Natal government each would contribute £1,000 towards the needs of medical work failed to materialize.⁶¹ Bridgman spent the first six months in language study at his father's old station at Umzumbe. While there he also drew up plans for a dispensary and hospital, but when he was transferred to Adams he found that even the home provided for his family was uninhabitable. The only available building for use as a dispensary was an "old shanty".⁶² In these humble circumstances, the Mission's medical department was born and Burt Bridgman--like his brother Frederick, a son of the Mission--adapted himself to the prevailing circumstances:

" . . . the success of the medical work in this field with its scattered population must not be judged by the same standards as is similar work in India or China. . . . Success is not always measured by numbers. Here, the number of patients must necessarily be comparatively small. Here also . . . the work must be largely of an educational character conducted both in the sick room and the schools".⁶³

In the beginning, he tried to fulfill the wishes of the Mission--teaching at Amanzimtoti Seminary and the Theological School, making regular trips to Inanda and Umzumbe where he ministered to the students' needs, taking an active part in the temperance movement, helping out in Reserve administration, supervizing Umzumbe station and preaching on occasion.⁶⁴

The demand for Burt Bridgman's services as a doctor, however, took up more and more of his time. Even in his short stay at Umzumbe, Bridgman was obliged to treat about 400

people and when he arrived at Adams in 1893, the number of patients who needed attention soon exceeded the intrinsic limitations of the reconverted shanty.⁶⁵ In these circumstances, Burt Bridgman was willing but unable to satisfy the Mission's varied requirements. Fortunately, he had the services of another doctor who was anxious to share the burden.

John Mavuma Nembula had accompanied Pixley to America in 1881-1882 to help translate and proof-read the text of the Zulu Bible which was then in the process of being published. He stayed on to study medicine and eventually graduated from the University of Michigan and the Chicago Medical College in 1885 and 1887, respectively--the first Zulu to qualify as a medical doctor. In 1889 he returned to Natal, was exempted from the 'Native Law Code' and allowed to practice as a physician in the colony. Details of Nembula's subsequent activities are rather obscure but apparently he first accepted a government position as district surgeon at Umsinga in 1889 and also took charge of a small hospital at Pomeroy (Northern Natal), where he lived. He resigned about 1891, however, possibly because of "the indignation of the whites at Pomeroy at having a Zulu for a doctor", and returned as a teacher to Amanzimtoti Seminary where he had once been a student.⁶⁶

The Mission's dilemma, of course, was Nembula himself. Here was a qualified physician whose services could be obtained for much less than it would cost to bring out a

missionary from America. There was no language difficulty and he was sympathetic to the Mission's evangelical policy. Furthermore, there is no indication that the missionaries ever found any weakness in Nembula's devotion to the cause, his character or competence. It was true that the American Board did not favor recruiting missionaries from countries in which it worked, but this obstacle was not insurmountable. Indeed, one writer has suggested that in the late 1880s some members of the Mission favored the appointment of Nembula as principal of Amanzimtoti Seminary and head of the medical program.⁶⁷ As in the case of the ordained pastors, however, there is no evidence that would suggest either integration or equality in the Mission's treatment of Nembula.

It is to Nembula's credit that he continued to work at Adams, recognizing an opportunity to serve his people in a way which took precedence over the inability of the missionaries to accept him as one of their own. When Burt Bridgman arrived, Nembula was appointed his assistant. Nembula divided his time between teaching at Amanzimtoti Seminary and medical work, for which he received a salary of about £100--one-third of a missionary's salary--obtained from the two departments making use of his services. Besides his teaching duties, Nembula was responsible for much of the medical work away from Adams.⁶⁸

In 1894 Nembula helped Burt Bridgman build the much-needed dispensary. It was a small, four-room brick building which also served as a hospital while Bridgman tried to

raise funds to build an additional structure for this purpose. Fees were charged and accepted by the patients. Two shillings and six pence was the fee for the first consultation. If Bridgman or Nembula had to visit the patient's home, provided it was on the Glebe or Mission Reserve, the charge was three shillings. Travelling expenses were added for those living away from Adams and there was an extra fee for medicines. It is significant that the Africans not only paid the fees but favored European medical treatment from the beginning:

"I find that the natives are much less prejudiced against hospitals and against surgical operations than I had supposed. . . . I find also that it is the surgical work which impresses the natives most favorably. . . . Most of the natives are freely able to pay the fees and charges made for medicines and . . . it has been decided to insist on these, not only to maintain the work, but for the natives own good."⁶⁹

In 1894, however, Amanzimtoti Seminary was forced to close. Nembula lost half his salary, and the American Board could not afford to make up the difference. Burt Bridgman pleaded for funds to retain his services and even agreed to postpone building the hospital so that the £30 allotted to the project could be spent on Nembula's salary. Appeals for more aid, however, were in vain and Nembula was dropped in January 1895.⁷⁰ In February 1896 the American Board found enough money to rehire Nembula and for a few months he worked in the Mission dispensary, but he left again, rather abruptly it seems, "in response to an invitation from the Government to attend some quarantined small pox patients at Ixopo". He was then appointed district surgeon at Mapumlo but his health

broke down and he died unexpectedly in January 1897.⁷¹

Burt Bridgman, in despair, revealed just how valuable Nembula had been in the short time he was with the Mission:

"The work and record of the Medical Department . . . has . . . been one of considerable disappointment. . . . at losing the services of Dr. John Nembula . . . and through this loss our inability not only to enlarge the work as has been planned, but also to even hold the ground which has been occupied. . . . The contemplated trip to both ends of the Mission . . . had to be given up, as also the visits to the Boarding Schools at Umzumbe and Inanda. Even the teaching in the schools at Adams has not been carried on. . . . Calls from the sick living on distant stations from both missionaries and natives have had to be refused."⁷²

It was a bitter blow from which Burt Bridgman never recovered. After many delays due to lack of funds, a hospital 'building' costing £48 had been constructed. Like the dispensary, however, this thatch-roofed, dirt-floor structure with three rooms and a kitchen could not be utilized efficiently:

"From one cause or another . . . the dispensary and hospital are closed at irregular intervals, aggregating two or three months out of every year. Under such conditions the work cannot grow or extend to any marked degree."⁷³ The medical department was in danger of complete collapse. All teaching, outstation and 'kraal' work "within a radius of 15 miles from Amanzimtoti" was dropped. The Mission's acute manpower shortage also forced Bridgman to spend more and more time in activities outside of the medical department. The number of patients which had risen from about 1,800 in 1894-1895 to more than 2,600 in 1895-1896, dropped to about 2,200 a year from 1896-1898. During the same period, surgery was per-

formed on an average of 45 patients a year.⁷⁴

The one encouraging aspect of medical work was that despite all these problems the department was self-supporting. In 1896 about £152 was received in fees which was almost double the amount obtained in 1894. By 1898 Burt Bridgman was able to report to Secretary Smith that the medical department was solvent. In the first five years (1892-1897) of its existence, the Africans contributed more than £500 in fees which paid for all expenses except Bridgman's salary and the cost of building the dispensary and hospital. There was a balance of £100 and "a larger and more valuable stock of instruments and medicines".⁷⁵

In 1898 Burt Bridgman returned to America with his wife who was forced to leave Natal because of ill health.⁷⁶ For six years Bridgman, with the invaluable help of Nembula, had worked to overcome the problems and prejudices of missionary and African alike in establishing the medical department. Unlike Adams and Wilson, Burt Bridgman came to minister primarily to the Africans. Unlike his successor, however, Bridgman regarded himself first and foremost as a missionary. In this sense, he represents a transitional period in the medical history of the Mission. Burt Bridgman, who was so intimately attached to the Mission's history and ideals, made his colleagues aware of the value of medical work per se and thus made the task of his less tactful and more demanding successor much easier than it would otherwise have been.

A MEDICAL MISSION IN AN URBAN AFRICAN SOCIETY:

James McCord Moves to Durban

The medical department was closed for more than a year before James McCord and his wife, a daughter of the missionary William Mellen, arrived to replace the Burt Bridgmans in December 1899. McCord spent the first six months at Esidumbini trying, without much success, to learn Zulu under the tutelage of his sister-in-law, Miss Laura Mellen, who was supervizing the station at the time. He then moved to Adams and reopened the dispensary that had been shut down in 1898. Meanwhile, however, a law had been passed stipulating that all doctors in Natal required a British medical degree to practice in the colony. While the American Board appealed for a special medical licence on McCord's behalf, he decided to get first-hand experience of health conditions in the traditional areas by walking more than 1,200 miles in a nine-month tour of rural Natal. It proved to be a valuable apprenticeship. All appeals were in vain, however, and in May 1901 McCord left for England. After a year's residence, he passed the required examinations and returned to Natal in August 1902. With a few exceptions, the medical department had now been closed for about four years.⁷⁷

McCord returned to Adams and reopened the small dispensary and hospital that Burt Bridgman had built, remaining at the station for two years. Unlike Bridgman, however, McCord refused to stray far from his medical practice. He never taught in the schools, supervized stations, preached

or did evangelistic work.⁷⁸ Even his trips away from Adams, after he returned to Natal, were restricted as much as possible. Fees were kept high enough, as McCord later revealed, to discourage fruitless treks to distant outstations. The basic charge of two shillings and six pence for the first examination was maintained but if McCord had to go to the Reserve the fee was now five shillings. Trips to outstations and 'kraals' ranged from 10 shillings to £3, depending on the distance away from Adams. Charges for an operation also varied from two shillings and six pence to £3 and the extra fees for medicine were maintained. Like Burt Bridgman, however, McCord also found that "the people pay very cheerfully for services and medicines, and expect to pay, as a matter of course". He treated an average of 14 people a day during these years, the dispensary receiving between 240 and 467 patients a month. In 10 months between 1902 and 1903 McCord treated 3,000 patients of which about one-third were new arrivals. Receipts totalled £270 while expenses came to £255. Thus, once again, the medical department was self-supporting.⁷⁹

It was during this period, however, that McCord gradually recognized the limitations of working at Adams. Whereas Burt Bridgman had restricted his varied activities more or less to the Christian community, McCord devoted all his time to medicine and soon acquired a reputation among the non-Christians. Thus, although he was stationed at Adams, two-thirds of his patients were heathens "who lived long

distances from the mission".⁸⁰

McCord set his eyes on Durban--easily accessible to Christian and heathen alike--as the new strategic center for the medical department. Many of his colleagues, however, did not favor this proposal: " . . . the concern of the missionaries was in Christianizing the natives, mine was their health, whether they were Christian or heathen. . . . my request [to move to Durban] was always debated, and always turned down".⁸¹ Like so much else that occurred within the Mission during these years, McCord's chance came when the Deputation arrived in 1903. To the American Board, McCord stressed the unlimited opportunities of being the sole doctor in Durban ministering to the needs of African heathen "drawn from all parts of South Africa" and, after some hesitation, his proposal was endorsed at the Mission's Annual Meeting in 1903.⁸²

As has been noted, the plan was to develop medical work in concert with the other departments of the Mission in Durban⁸³ and in March 1904 McCord moved to a dilapidated structure in Beatrice Street next to the church, "a poor affair even by comparison with the dispensary we'd left at Adams mission". Medical work was confined to one-third of the building "consisting of two small rooms, the front room for examination and consultation, the back room for drugs. Bottles would have to be stored in the coal shed behind, and the sandy street in front must serve as waiting room." Since space was at a premium, the patients slept on the floor in

their own blankets and brought their own food: " . . . relatives or friends . . . nursed the patient and prepared food in the cottage kitchen".⁸⁴ Thus for the third time in little more than a decade, the medical department was rebuilt virtually from its foundations.

Although McCord had intended to develop the dispensary before starting a hospital he was obliged a few days after arriving to deliver a baby in the coal shed while surgery was performed at his home where a room was set aside for the patients to recuperate. Obviously, the hospital could not wait. With the help of friends and relatives a four-room cottage was rented in June 1904 near the dispensary that would serve as the Mission's hospital for the next five years.⁸⁵ From March 1904 to March 1905 McCord treated more than 4,000 patients, of which at least 3,000 had come for the first time. Receipts for the year totalled £1,060 while expenses were only £800 leaving a balance of £260. By June 1905, the medical department had £435 in the bank. Although most of the patients were still coming from rural areas, the move to Durban had already fulfilled one of McCord's predictions. The medical department had brought in more revenue in one year in Durban than it had in almost 10 years at Adams.⁸⁶

McCord soon outgrew the rented dispensary and with Frederick Bridgman he embarked on the great building scheme in Beatrice Street which was to be the new headquarters of the Mission in Natal. Donations were needed but the humbleness of spirit and pleading tone so often found in appeals

of this type were completely absent in McCord's letters:

"I hope that some one . . . will appear for financial aid, but I mean to have the dispensary whether he does or not. The deputation recommended that we exercise faith in pushing on the work and we are trying to do so. But we mean to have it an active, ⁸⁷working faith rather than an idle, passive faith".

Fortunately, McCord's mother and uncle were induced to donate £2,000 towards the project. McCord used £1,000 of the "gift" to help finance the dispensary, which he was to use for the remainder of his service with the American Zulu Mission.⁸⁸

A recession in 1908-1909 temporarily reversed the growth of Durban's African population, but McCord still treated an average of 3,300 patients a year at the dispensary--about two-thirds new and heathen.⁸⁹

When McCord first arrived in Durban he had attempted to meet the wishes of his older colleagues and maintain contact with the country stations by making bi-weekly visits to Adams and Inanda and occasionally even further afield.⁹⁰ The percentage of urban patients--most of whom were male and a significant proportion non-Zulu--increased rapidly, however, and within two years McCord no longer left the city. His skill as a surgeon, moreover, had attracted a large number of patients who could not be accommodated in the small rented cottage that served as a hospital. Work was disrupted for three months while McCord was with the colonial forces during the 1906 disturbances, but soon afterwards he was pressing ahead with a master plan for a new hospital in Durban.

A property almost an acre in size was found in the Overport district, near the African church built in 1903. First McCord built a home and late in 1906 began erecting a hospital --again with private funds--when, as he later put it, "an influential group of Durbanites mobilized forces to oppose my plans".⁹¹ The group rejected the feasibility of any housing for Africans in the suburb and McCord was involved in litigation lasting almost three years--including, among other things, two cases brought before the Supreme Court of Natal. Despite the Mission's forebodings, McCord persevered and eventually won the right to build his hospital, although the fundamental question involving the legal status of Africans residing in Durban was left unanswered.⁹² With the American Board's approval, the dispensary funds together with another private loan paid for the court costs. The property itself was mortgaged and the money used to complete the hospital--although at first it was called a "dwelling" to avoid further complications with McCord's neighbors. The building, however, could accommodate between four and five times as many patients as the old 'cottage' hospital in Beatrice Street. On May 1, 1909, McCord's dream was finally realized. At his wife's suggestion, the "dwelling" was named the Mission Nursing Home, but from the beginning it was a full-fledged hospital for Africans in a white urban community--the first of its kind in Natal.⁹³

At the same time McCord embarked on another experiment which won the approval of his missionary colleagues. In the

beginning, the usefulness of the medical department from the Mission's standpoint had been in its value as a teaching medium, especially in the boarding schools. Thus McCord decided to set up a nursing course for Africans. Although two of the first three who were selected quit while he was on furlough in 1909, McCord persisted in his recruiting and found three more girls--apparently all from Inanda Seminary. Elizabeth Njapa, Nomhlatusi Bhengu, Julia Mawaza and Edna Mzoneli represented the first class of trainee Zulu nurses in South Africa. After a three-year course they received hospital certificates, subsequently gaining much prestige for the hospital and the cause of African nursing.⁹⁴ In seven years McCord had firmly established a medical center serving the needs of Africans living in the city. It was to be one of the most significant missionary enterprises in Southern Africa.

THE LITERATURE DEPARTMENT: An Object Lesson
in the Failure to Adapt to Cultural Change

Not every attempt to concentrate the Mission's resources, outside of the schools, in the cities was an unqualified success. In retrospect, however, it seems surprising that the Americans should have failed to promote the department of Zulu literature, for historically it was one field in which their contributions had overshadowed those of every missionary society working among the Zulu in Natal. In the beginning, much of their time had been spent in language

study and translation. By 1841 the Americans had printed on their little press 55,380 pages in Zulu, mostly portions of the New Testament.⁹⁵ Although the missionaries worked in unstable conditions, the contributions of the first generation in the sphere of Zulu literature cannot be overestimated. As one recent commentator has noted: "According to the scanty records we have, that press and its output during its early years were of tremendous significance."⁹⁶

The 'golden age' for the Mission's Zulu literature department, however, belongs to the second missionary generation between 1860 and 1885. By the end of this period, the missionaries had published 20,093,286 pages of Zulu in at least 76 different books, pamphlets and periodicals primarily for use in the churches and schools.⁹⁷ These included two pioneering books on the Zulu language;⁹⁸ a Zulu hymnbook which went through several editions and was of fundamental importance in the development of African hymnology;⁹⁹ a number of catechisms, tracts and other religious guides for the Christian community; several books and pamphlets for use in the primary schools; at least three newspapers¹⁰⁰ and the first attempts at publishing books for a wider, more sophisticated audience.¹⁰¹

They were primarily concerned, of course, with translating the Bible, and the obstacles as well as the opportunities encountered in this pioneer effort provide a good illustration of the contributions made by the Mission in the field of Zulu literature. Nearly every missionary during the first 40-odd

years was asked to submit translations on various books of the Bible which were assigned to them. In 1865 the first edition of the entire New Testament was published but it was characteristic of the Americans never to be satisfied with what they had produced. They immediately began to revise the text and in 1872 and 1878 two more editions of the New Testament were printed.¹⁰²

At the same time, portions of the Old Testament were divided among the missionaries.¹⁰³ The Old Testament, however, apparently proved to be much more difficult to translate--probably because much of it was done in the 1860s and 1870s when the first real controversies emerged over Zulu etymology and orthography. Differences between the missionaries became more irreconcilable as they became more familiar with the pitfalls of Zulu translation:

"No two translators agreed, as to the best way of dividing the words, the Zuluizing of names, or the translating of Hebrew and Greek words for which no proper terms could be found in Zulu. . . . For years no agreement could be reached as to the proper name of the Deity. So the translation went forward stumblingly and very slowly."¹⁰⁴

The only solution was to appoint an editor-in-chief to arbitrate disputes and make the final decisions when agreement could not be reached. Andrew Abraham, the first editor, died in 1878 and in 1879 Pixley was chosen to take his place. Under his guidance, the first complete translation of the Bible into Zulu was published in October 1883.¹⁰⁵

Once again, however, the missionaries were not satis-

fied with the translation and began revising the manuscript soon after it was published. For several years the work was carried on under the auspices of the Natal Missionary Conference "so that we might produce," in Pixley's words, "a translation that would be acceptable to all the missionaries, and the whole Zulu people".¹⁰⁶ In 1894, Kilbon was appointed editor-in-chief but ill health prevented him from co-ordinating the work of the various missionary societies who, in any event, were too preoccupied with their own affairs to fulfill the projects assigned to them.¹⁰⁷ In 1901 the Americans suggested that they resume the task of revising the Zulu Bible. The Natal Missionary Conference agreed and what work had been done by other societies was handed over to the Americans.¹⁰⁸ At first the project was given to a committee but the Mission soon realized that unless one missionary was set aside to work on the project, the revision would never be completed. In 1904 this assignment was given to Wilcox, and in 1908 Taylor was appointed to the project.¹⁰⁹

The Mission could not have chosen a more incompatible pair to work on the translation. Wilcox--like Kilbon, Dorward, Pixley and others who had worked on the revision--did not believe radical changes in the existing translation were needed. Pixley's comment on the New Testament made to the 1903 Deputation, for example, was very similar to Wilcox's viewpoint: "Minor mistakes may be corrected, a few new terms employed, some difficult passages be more clearly expressed in better Zulu idiom, but on the whole the New Testa-

ment is excellent as it now stands in the old version."¹¹⁰ Taylor was convinced that nothing less than a new translation, using only the most up-to-date Hebrew and Greek lexicons, was required. A choice had to be made and the Mission wisely picked Taylor in 1909. When the project was completed in 1924, it became the more or less official translation of the Bible for the Zulu and kindred peoples.¹¹¹

A magnificent contribution, but the revision alone had taken more than 40 years to complete. Amid other important priorities and unending disruptions, those missionaries who could be spared for the literature department found that most of their time was spent on Bible revision. During this period, however, the potential Zulu-reading public was undergoing a metamorphosis. Until the 1880s, the Mission's publications were restricted largely to the rural station communities. Zulu literature apparently played a very minor role outside this group, as Kilbon explained to Secretary Means in 1881: "By evangelistic work, we suppose you mean efforts to make the Gospel known among the heathens, in distinction from work on our stations. We can do nothing in this line . . . for the people cannot read; books and leaflets would be useless among them. Everything must be done viva voce."¹¹²

By the 1890s, however, the Mission's schools were attracting a significant number of Zulu beyond the station communities while heathens and Christians alike were migrating to the urban centers. Furthermore, as the frontiers of

missionary work expanded, the demand for literature in Zulu spread across south-eastern Africa. The Americans were being asked to supply religious and educational material to missions as far north as Nyasaland, southeast to Swaziland, Mozambique and Tsongaland and west to the Eastern Cape where some of the Wesleyans had switched to the Mission's Zulu Bible in place of the one they had been using. As the Mission's General Letter writer put it in 1893: "We take the lead of all Zulu missions in the matter of literature."¹¹³

The Americans looked to the towns as the cheapest and most efficient centers for distributing their publications. In 1893 the Mission opened what appears to have been its first urban book store in Pretoria to service the Reef and what would soon be known as Rhodesia. When the Mission proposed, in the same year, that someone be placed in charge of the Durban work, it was recognized that he would "have charge of the book room of Zulu literature which ought to be located in Durban, rather than Adams, as at present".¹¹⁴ Because most of the Mission's books and pamphlets were printed and published overseas,¹¹⁵ Durban's strategic position as a port linked directly with the Reef and as the terminus of three major railway lines in Natal was emphasized once again. The two most important Mission publications--the Zulu Bible and hymnbook--were produced in America and took almost six months before they reached Adams, five miles on a "rough and difficult" path from the nearest railway station. By placing the literature department in Durban, transportation costs

would be reduced and the six to eight weeks it took for the books to be moved from the port to Adams would be eliminated.¹¹⁶

When Bunker was sent to America in 1900 to seek more financial aid for the Mission, he was told to re-emphasize the need for a missionary in Durban to work full time in the "oversight and for the preparation and editing of new material" in Zulu. In addition, the Mission requested £600 for a building in the town to house its publications.¹¹⁷ When the 1903 Deputation arrived, the Mission carefully pointed out the vast changes that had taken place in the demand for Zulu literature in the previous decade and again asserted its leadership in this field:

"For a long time there was not a large demand for books, even amongst those who had been taught in the schools. This partly accounts for the little progress that had been made in this department. But a great change is manifest today. Now we find readers not only on our Mission stations, among our church members, but among the heathen, in heathen kraals. . . . A few years ago it were folly to leave a tract or a Testament in a kraal and hope that it would be read. It is not so now. . . . The superstitious fear of learning has largely disappeared from among the heathen, and the indifference of the station people is being displaced by a more healthful sentiment. . . . The people are now calling for books. . . . and are willing to pay a fair price for them. . . . The opportunity before us for spreading Christian literature is not confined to our own sphere of influence. . . . But it is scarcely an exaggeration to say that we are printing for the whole of South Africa."¹¹⁸

The American Board was asked to subsidize a printing and publishing facility and set aside one missionary (Dorward, nominal chairman of the department, was selected) and one African assistant as full-time Zulu literature workers. The

Mission again urged the American Board to provide funds to rent or build a book room to house the Mission's publications in Durban and transfer the whole department, together with Dorward and an African assistant, to the city. Finally, the Americans advocated the recruitment of African colporteurs to push the sale of Zulu literature "in Durban and Johannesburg, and also in the country districts".¹¹⁹

Although the Deputation endorsed these recommendations,¹²⁰ the American Board's subcommittee on African missions opposed the move to Durban:

"It does not seem to us so clear that it is advisable to transfer the publication department to Durban. The work of editing and preparing matter for the press can be as well done in the country as in the city, and it may be that the type setting and the printing can be made a part of the industrial training at Amanzimtoti and so give employment and training for the students, as well as effect a saving in expenses."¹²¹

Thus the Mission reluctantly split the literature department. Dorward continued to reside at Adams but was confined to editing duties only. And when Dorward withdrew from the field in 1905, he was not replaced. The sale of Zulu literature was given over to Frederick Bridgman and Goodenough in Durban and Johannesburg, respectively.¹²²

A hard blow from the Mission's standpoint was the refusal to subsidize a printing and publishing facility--the lack of which had crippled the quality as well as the quantity of Zulu literature for decades. The old pioneer press had been shut down in the 1860s and for years it gathered dust at Adams. Sporadic attempts to revive the press in the 1880s--

in part to promote industrial training for the pupils at Amanzimtoti Seminary--had been unsuccessful. Two small printing presses at Adams were partially renovated and put into operation in 1904, but they were abandoned again soon afterwards for lack of funds.¹²³

No editorial direction, no printing and publishing facilities and, above all, no funds. Hesitating to produce anything that might be difficult to sell, the Americans had published the same books and pamphlets year after year. Apart from materials relating to primary education, hardly anything new was produced between 1885 and 1910. The Zulu literature department consisted almost entirely of selling reissues and revisions of books and pamphlets first published in the previous 25 years. By dealing exclusively with a limited number of publications and concentrating almost solely on sales, the Americans were able to expend a minimum of resources on this field. Growth rate and gross income were deemed adequate to keep the department solvent.¹²⁴

Year	Sales (in volumes)	Amount Received (gross)
1895	about 12,000	£474
1898	25,703	£841
1899	17,787	£768
1900	9,287	£482
1902	29,143	£352 (net profit)
1903	27,000	£1,110
1907	25,638	£1,020
1910	about 28,000	?

Even these figures reveal, however, how important the urban market had become for the sale of Zulu literature. When the

South African War closed the Reef to Mission publications, for example, sales plummeted by almost two-thirds.

As noted, the Mission did establish a book room for Durban situated in Beatrice Street near the church and medical departments. When McCord built his new dispensary in 1904, part of the building was used for this purpose.¹²⁵ A book room apparently was set up in Johannesburg after the war and the one in Pretoria was reopened. No other centers for distributing Zulu literature seem to have been established in the urban areas before 1910. Frederick Bridgman and Good-enough became so involved with their own work that little, if any, time was spent on expanding the sale of Mission publications.

In 1910 the missionaries acknowledged it was too late to recover the ground that had been lost and concluded: "Except for hymn books and Bibles the sale of publications is small. . . . there is a large place for publications in the vernacular, and we are doing very little to supply the people with proper literature."¹²⁶ In the next generation the possibility of expanding the horizons of Zulu literature to meet the manifold challenges of an urban African society slipped away and the Mission continued to depend for inspiration on what had been produced during the 'golden age' of another era.

NOTES

1. A.Z.M. (Pretoria), Microfilm A756, Bunker to Smith 25/4/1900.
2. A.Z.M. (Pmburg.), Vol. 24 IV/2/1, Mission Extension paper for 1903 (Bunker), p. 3.
3. Ibid., p. 5.
4. Ibid., pp. 8-9.
5. A.Z.M. (Pmburg.), Vol. 24 IV/2/1, Mission Extension paper for 1903 (Kilbon), pp. 6-8, 13.
6. A.Z.M. (Pmburg.), Vol. 26 V/1/4, General Letter for 1905, p. 4.
 Although "union" was consummated, no one was quite sure what it really meant, and there is no evidence that the American Zulu Mission benefitted from the scheme, at least during this period. As the chairman of the Rhodesian Mission wrote to Taylor: "The Prudential committee have sanctioned the union of the two missions but it would appear . . . rather uncertain as to just what it is expected that this union will mean and what it will amount to." A.Z.M. (Pmburg.), Vol. 14 III/3/4, W.L. Thompson to Taylor 17/2/1905.
7. A.Z.M. (Inanda), unclassified, Deputation Report (1903), pp. 50, 53. See also: A.Z.M. (Pmburg.), Vol. 23 IV/1/4, Report of the Forward Movement committee (1903).
8. A.Z.M. (Inanda), unclassified, South African Deputation Papers (1903), Mission Policy, pp. 5, 7.
 Anticipating the 1903 Deputation, the Mission had voted in 1900 to ask the American Board for a grant of about £23,775 (\$118,875), the largest proposed budget in its history. While this appeal, of course, was rejected it is significant that most of the revenue was earmarked for the boarding schools and "general work in the cities". The Prudential Committee acknowledged, moreover, the legitimacy of the Mission's urban policy. A.Z.M. (Pmburg.), Vol. 2 I/1/7, Special Meeting, September 1900; Annual Meeting, June-July 1902 (Forward Movement committee's recommendations); Ibid., Vol. 23 IV/1/4, Presentation of the Forward Movement to the American Board, 1902 (Bunker's report).

9. A.Z.M. (Pmburg.), Vol. 1 I/1/5, Semi-Annual Meeting, December 1886.
10. A.Z.M. (Pmburg.), Vol. 25 V/1/2, General Letter for 1891, p. 2.
11. A.Z.M. (Pmburg.), Vol. 1 I/1/5, Semi-Annual Meeting, February 1890; Ibid., Vol. 22 IV/1/1, Report of site for D'Urban work (1891), Report of committee for Durban work (1892); Ibid., Vol. 25 V/1/2, General Letter for 1891, pp. 1-2.
12. A.Z.M. (Pmburg.), Vol. 25 V/1/2, General Letter for 1893, p. 17.
 The South East African Evangelistic Mission later amalgamated with the Cape General Mission to become the South Africa General Mission--one of the more successful missionary societies to be founded in South Africa. Scutt, op. cit., pp. 34-35, 41-42, 47-48.
13. A.Z.M. (Pmburg.), Vol. 25 V/1/1, Imfume station report (1892).
14. A.Z.M. (Pretoria), Microfilm A751, Ransom to Smith 13/9/1892.
15. A.Z.M. (Pretoria), Microfilm A751, Ransom to Smith 8/8/1893.
16. A.Z.M. (Pmburg.), e.g., Vol. 25 V/1/2, General Letters for 1894, p. 11; 1895, p. 13.
17. A.Z.M. (Pmburg.), Vol. 25 V/1/2, General Letter for 1893, p. 17; Ibid., Vol. 25 V/1/1, Imfume station report (1892).
18. A.Z.M. (Pmburg.), Vol. 22 IV/1/1, Report of the committee on Durban (1894). See also: A.Z.M. (Pretoria), Microfilm A751, Ransom to Smith 8/8/1893.
19. A.Z.M. (Pmburg.), Vol. 25 V/1/1, Amanzimtoti station report for 1894-1895.
20. A.Z.M. (Pmburg.), Vol. 25 V/1/1, Amanzimtoti station report for 1894-1895, Special Report for 1895 by William Makubalo; Ibid., Vol. 25 V/1/2, General Letters for 1895, p. 13, 1896, p. 16; Ibid., Vol. 26 V/1/3, Report of the Amanzimtoti and Durban churches (1898), Report of Durban work (1899). See also: A.Z.M. (Pretoria), Microfilm A747, General Letter for 1898, p. 7; Ibid., Microfilm A754, General Letter for 1901.

21. A.Z.M. (Pretoria), Microfilm A751, Ransom to Smith 9/8/1894. See also: A.Z.M. (Pmburg.), Vol. 26 V/1/4, General Letter for 1910, p. 14.
22. A.Z.M. (Pretoria), Microfilm A758, Wilcox to E.E. Strong 10/9/1901.
23. A.Z.M. (Pmburg.), Vol. 23 IV/1/3, Committee on voting in the church according to Congregational usage (1899); Ibid., Vol. 26 V/1/3, Report of the Durban work (1899).
24. A.Z.M. (Pmburg.), Vol. 22 IV/1/2, Committee report on the case of W. Makubalo (1897).
25. A.Z.M. (Pmburg.), Vol. 26 V/1/3, Report of the Durban work for 1899.
26. Ibid.
27. A.Z.M. (Pmburg.), Vol. 23 IV/1/4, Committee reports on the ordination of the Durban preacher for 1900-1901. See also: A.Z.M. (Pretoria), Microfilm A754, General Letter for 1901; Ibid., Microfilm A758, Wilcox to E.E. Strong 10/9/1901.
28. A.Z.M. (Pretoria), Microfilm A756, F. Bridgman to Smith 6/5/1904. See also: A.Z.M. (Pmburg.), Vol. 26 V/1/4, General Letter for 1904, p. 15.
29. A.Z.M. (Pmburg.), Vol. 26 V/1/4, General Letters for 1902, p. 7, 1902-1903, pp. 11-13.
30. A.Z.M. (Pretoria), Microfilm A756, F. Bridgman to Smith 6/5/1904.
31. Ibid.
32. A.Z.M. (Pmburg.), Vol. 19 III/2/1, Smith to Taylor 16/12/1903; Ibid., Vol. 23 IV/1/4, Special report of the Durban building committee (1903); Ibid., Vol. 24 IV/2/1, Committee on Durban church buildings (1903); Ibid., Vol. 26 V/1/4, General Letter for 1904, pp. 14-15. See also: Missionary Herald, Vol. 101, November 1905, pp. 582-583; December 1905, pp. 625-627.
33. For details, see chap. VIII, pp. 454-456, 459-461.
34. A.Z.M. (Pretoria), Microfilm A754, McCord circular letter 2/5/1904.
35. A.Z.M. (Pretoria), Microfilm A756, F. Bridgman to Smith, January 1904, 6/5/1904, 8/8/1904. See also: A.Z.M. (Pmburg.), Vol. 26 V/1/4, General Letters for

1902, p. 8, 1903, pp. 11-13, 1904, pp. 14-15, 1907, p. 20, 1910, p. 14. A.Z.M. (Inanda), unclassified, The American Zulu Mission Annual 1901-1902, pp. 41-42. The Overport, Florida Road and Beatrice Street churches cost a total of £2,500. A.Z.M. (Inanda), unclassified, The American Zulu Mission Annual 1904-1905, pp. 19-20.

36. A.Z.M. (Pmburg.), Vol. 26 V/1/4, General Letters for 1909, p. 6, 1910, p. 15. See also: A.Z.M. (Inanda), unclassified, The American Zulu Mission Annual 1901-1902, p. 42.
37. A.Z.M. (Pmburg.), Vol. 26 V/1/4, General Letters for 1902, p. 7, 1909, p. 6, 1910, pp. 14-15. Taylor, One-Hundred Years, p. 23.
38. A.Z.M. (Pmburg.), Vol. 14 III/3/4, Document on the replies given by the American Zulu Mission to questions asked by the South African Native Affairs Commission (1903).
39. A.Z.M. (Pmburg.), Vol. 22 IV/1/2, Report of committees on Native Women's Home in Durban for 1896, 1897, 1899; Report of committee in reply to Dr. Nembula and others who petitioned for Mrs. Edwards (1896), with enclosed letter dated 5/5/1896; Ibid., Vol. 25 V/1/2, General Letter for 1896, pp. 6-7.
40. A.Z.M. (Pmburg.), Vol. 26 V/1/4, General Letters for 1903, p. 13, 1907, p. 20, 1908, pp. 24-25, 1909, pp. 5-6, 1910, p. 15, 1912, pp. 3, 13. See also: Taylor, Seventy-Five Years, pp. 61-62.
41. A.Z.M. (Pretoria), Microfilm A749, Goodenough to Smith 7/10/1893.
42. A.Z.M. (Pmburg.), Vol. 23 IV/1/3, The Johannesburg Field (1898); Ibid., Vol. 25 V/1/2, General Letters for 1894, p. 11, 1895, p. 19.
43. A.Z.M. (Pmburg.), Vol. 23 IV/1/4, Report of the committee on re-opening the Johannesburg field (1901); Ibid., Vol. 26 V/1/4, General Letters for 1899-1900, pp. 7-8, 1902, pp. 8-9; The Native Problem on the Rand (1902), p. 4, The Johannesburg Field (1909), pp. 1-2. See also: A.Z.M. (Inanda), unclassified, The American Zulu Mission Annual 1900-1901, pp. 18-19; 1901-1902, pp. 42-43.
44. A.Z.M. (Pmburg.), Vol. 26 V/1/3, The Native Problem on the Rand (1902), pp. 6-7, 11.
45. A.Z.M. (Pmburg.), Vol. 25 V/1/2, General Letter for 1895, p. 19; Ibid., Vol. 26 V/1/3, The Native Problem on the Rand (1902), pp. 8-10; Ibid., Vol. 26 V/1/4,

- General Letter for 1902, pp. 9-10. See also: A.Z.M. (Inanda), unclassified, The American Zulu Mission Annual 1901-1902, p. 43.
46. A.Z.M. (Inanda), unclassified, South African Deputation Papers (1903), Work of the American Board in the Transvaal, pp. 20-21. See also: A.Z.M. (Pmburg.), Vol. 26 V/1/4, General Letters for 1908, p. 28, 1910, p. 17.
 47. A.Z.M. (Pmburg.), Vol. 26 V/1/3, The Native Problem on the Rand (1902), pp. 8-10.
 48. A.Z.M. (Pmburg.), Vol. 2 I/1/7, Special Meeting, September 1900. See above, footnote 8.
 49. Taylor, Seventy-Five Years, p. 17. See also: A.Z.M. (Pmburg.), Vol. 26 V/1/3, The Native Problem on the Rand (1902), pp. 14-15; Ibid., Vol. 26 V/1/4, e.g., General Letters for 1908, pp. 27-29, 1909, p. 6, 1910, pp. 17-18.
 50. A.Z.M. (Pmburg.), Vol. 26 V/1/3, The Native Problem on the Rand (1902), pp. 4-5.
 51. A.Z.M. (Pmburg.), Vol. 26 V/1/4, General Letter for 1902-1903, p. 16.
 52. A.Z.M. (Pmburg.), Vol. 26 V/1/4, General Letter for 1905, pp. 15-16.
 53. Missionary Herald, Vol. 101, January 1905, pp. 10-15.
 54. A.Z.M. (Pmburg.), Vol. 26 V/1/3, The Native Problem on the Rand (1902), p. 13; Ibid., Vol. 26 V/1/4, General Letter for 1904, p. 15. See also: A.Z.M. (Inanda), unclassified, South African Deputation Papers (1903), Work of the American Board in the Transvaal, p. 20.
 55. A.Z.M. (Pmburg.), Vol. 26 V/1/4, The Johannesburg Field (1909), pp. 9-11.
 56. A.Z.M. (Pmburg.), Vol. 26 V/1/3, The Native Problem on the Rand (1902), pp. 12-14; Ibid., Vol. 26 V/1/4, General Letters for 1907, p. 21, 1910, p. 18. See also: A.Z.M. (Inanda), unclassified, South African Deputation Papers (1903), Work of the American Board in the Transvaal, pp. 19-22. Taylor, Seventy-Five Years, pp. 63-64. Taylor, One-Hundred Years, p. 35.
 57. Christoferson, Adventuring With God, pp. 158-159.
 58. A.Z.M. (Pmburg.), Vol. 22 IV/1/1, Committee to determine the methods of medical work (1892).

59. A.Z.M. (Pmburg.), Vol. 1 I/1/5, Annual Meeting, June-July 1892; Ibid., Vol. 22 IV/1/1, Committee to determine the methods of medical work (1892) and Committee on medical work (1893).
60. A.Z.M. (Pmburg.), Vol. 22 IV/1/1, Committee to determine the methods of medical work (1892).
61. A.Z.M. (Pmburg.), Vol. 1 I/1/5, Annual Meetings June-July 1889, 1892; Ibid., Vol. 22 IV/1/1, Hospital at Adams (1891).
62. A.Z.M. (Pmburg.), Vol. 25 V/1/1, Report of the medical department (1893); Ibid., Vol. 25 V/1/2, General Letter for 1893, p. 15.
63. A.Z.M. (Pmburg.), Vol. 25 V/1/1, Report of the medical department (1893).
64. E.g., A.Z.M. (Pmburg.), Vol. 25 V/1/1, Reports of the medical department (1893-1894, with supplementary report); Ibid., Vol. 25 V/1/2, General Letters for 1893, pp. 15-16, 1894, pp. 3, 7-8, 1895, pp. 26-27. See also: A.Z.M. (Pretoria), Microfilm A748, B. Bridgman to Smith 12/7/1894.
65. A.Z.M. (Pmburg.), Vol. 25 V/1/1, Report of the medical department (1893-1894).
66. Nembula Folder (Killie Campbell Library). See also: The Christian Express Vol. XIX (1899), p. 34. A.Z.M. (Pmburg.), Vol. 9 III/1/2, Pixley to Smith 3/4/1888. Taylor, Seventy-Five Years, p. 45. Christoferson, Adventuring With God, pp. 65, 159, 164 footnote 3. Burrows, E.H. A History of Medicine in South Africa, p. 223. Mercury 29/3/1889.
67. Brookes, "Adams College" chap. V. See also: A.Z.M. (Pmburg.), Vol. 6 II/1/3, Smith to Pixley 12/7/1887.
68. A.Z.M. (Pretoria), Microfilm A748, B. Bridgman to Smith 12/7/1894; Ibid., Microfilm A751, Kilbon to Smith 19/3/1894. See also: A.Z.M. (Pmburg.), Vol. 22 IV/1/1, Committee on medical work (1893--second report).
69. A.Z.M. (Pretoria), Microfilm A748, B. Bridgman to Smith 10/7/1893. See also: A.Z.M. (Pmburg.), Vol. 25 V/1/2, General Letter for 1895, pp. 26-27; Ibid., Vol. 25 V/1/1, Reports of the medical department (1893-1894, 1895).
70. A.Z.M. (Pmburg.), Vol. 25 V/1/1, Reports of the medical department (1895); Ibid., Vol. 25 V/1/2, General Letter for 1895, p. 27; Ibid., Vol. 22 IV/1/1, Committee on

medical department (1894), Committee on medical work (1895). See also: A.Z.M. (Pretoria), Microfilm A748, B. Bridgman to Smith 12/7/1894.

71. A.Z.M. (Pretoria), Microfilm A748, B. Bridgman to Smith 21/11/1895, 1/1/1897. See also: A.Z.M. (Pmburg.), Vol. 22 IV/1/2, Report of the medical department committee (1896); Ibid., Vol. 25 V/1/1, Reports of the medical department (1896-1897); Ibid., Vol. 25 V/1/2, General Letter for 1896, p. 18.
72. A.Z.M. (Pmburg.), Vol. 25 V/1/1, Reports of the medical department (1896-1897).
73. A.Z.M. (Pmburg.), Vol. 25 V/1/2, General Letter for 1896, pp. 16-17; Ibid., Vol. 22 IV/1/2, Report of the medical department committee (1896); Ibid., Vol. 25 V/1/1, Reports of the medical department (1896-1897). See also: A.Z.M. (Pretoria), Microfilm A748, B. Bridgman to Smith 1/1/1897, 17/2/1898. A Century of Progress in Medical Work Among the Zulus (1835-1935), p. 3.
74. A.Z.M. (Pmburg.), Vol. 25 V/1/1, Reports of the medical department (1894-1897); Ibid., Vol. 26 V/1/3, Report of the medical department (1898); Ibid., Vol. 25 V/1/2, General Letter for 1896, pp. 17-18.
75. A.Z.M. (Pretoria), Microfilm A748, B. Bridgman to Smith 1/1/1897, 17/2/1898. See also: A.Z.M. (Pmburg.), Vol. 26 V/1/3, Report of the medical department (1898).
76. A.Z.M. (Pmburg.), Vol. 22 IV/1/2, Report of the medical committee (1898); Ibid., Vol. 23 IV/1/3, Report of the medical committee (1899).
77. A.Z.M. (Inanda), unclassified, The American Zulu Mission Annual 1900-1901, pp. 32-33; Ibid., South African Deputation Papers (1903), Medical Department, p. 76. See also: A.Z.M. (Pmburg.), Vol. 23 IV/1/4, Reports of the medical department committee (1900-1902).
78. Burt Bridgman had refused to recommend McCord because "he could only go as a physician. . . . he was not an active Christian man or worker". A.Z.M. (Pmburg.), Vol. 12 III/3/1, Burt Bridgman to Kilbon 21/12/1898.
79. A.Z.M. (Inanda), unclassified, South African Deputation Papers (1903), Medical Department, pp. 77-78. See also: A.Z.M. (Pmburg.), Vol. 25 V/1/2, General Letter for 1899-1900, p. 17.

During this period, McCord acquired the services of Mrs. Katie Makanya, a Sotho from whom he learned Zulu. This was undoubtedly the same 'Katie' who had

earlier helped to run Ireland Home after Mrs. Ireland retired. Mrs. Makanya, who spoke six languages, was to serve as McCord's principal African assistant for more than a generation. She retired from active service with McCord in 1940. McCord, J. My Patients Were Zulus, pp. 59-60, 119, 295.

80. McCord, op. cit., p. 61.
81. Ibid., p. 62.
82. A.Z.M. (Inanda), unclassified, South African Deputation Papers (1903), Medical Department, pp. 78-79; Ibid., Deputation Report (1903), p. 52. See also: A.Z.M. (Pmburg.), Vol. 26 V/1/4, General Letter for 1904, p. 12.
83. See above, p. 489.
84. McCord, op. cit., pp. 100-101, 125.
85. Ibid., pp. 101-105, passim. See also: A.Z.M. (Pmburg.), Vol. 26 V/1/4, General Letter for 1904, pp. 12-13.
86. A.Z.M. (Pmburg.), Vol. 26 V/1/4, General Letters for 1904, pp. 12-13, 1905, pp. 11-12; Ibid., Vol. 24 IV/1/5, Report of the medical department committee (1905).
87. A.Z.M. (Pretoria), Microfilm A754, McCord circular letter 2/5/1904.
88. McCord, op. cit., pp. 116-117. See also: A.Z.M. (Pmburg.), Vol. 26 V/1/4, General Letter for 1905, p. 12.
89. A.Z.M. (Pmburg.), Vol. 26 V/1/4, General Letters for 1908, p. 36, 1909, p. 13.
 In his first three years in Durban, McCord treated more than 12,000 patients, representing 6,000 different cases. Apparently tuberculosis (stemming from malnutrition) and syphilis were the most prevalent diseases. Tuberculosis alone accounted for one-third of the fatalities "among adult patients". Dysentery and malaria, however, were virtually unknown. 1906-7 Natal Native Affairs Commission, Evidence, pp. 469-471 (McCord).
90. A.Z.M. (Pretoria), Microfilm A757, McCord to Smith 5/8/1904.
91. McCord, op. cit., p. 165.
92. Ibid., n.b. chap. 9.
93. Ibid., pp. 175-179. See also: A.Z.M. (Pmburg.), Vol. 3 I/1/9, Special Meeting, August 1907; Semi-Annual Meeting,

January 1909; Ibid., Vol. 26 V/1/4, General Letters for 1907, p. 21, 1909, pp. 13-14; Ibid., Vol. 7 II/1/6, J.L. Barton to F. Bridgman 27/11/1907, E.E. Strong to F. Bridgman 19/3/1908, 16/4/1908.

94. McCord, op. cit., pp. 181-189, 196-205, 306.

These early African nurses were not recognized officially by the Natal government. Searle, C. The History of the Development of Nursing in South Africa 1652-1960 A Socio-Historical Survey, p. 269.

95. Ireland, op. cit., p. 17.

96. Christoferson, Adventuring With God, p. 35.

By 1860 the Mission had printed two million pages in Zulu and the scope of its publications in the religious and educational field was rather broad for this period in Africa. Relative to the American Board's other missions, especially those in Asia, however, the American Zulu Mission's output was small:

Country	Founded	Pages printed from founding of mission
West Africa	1837	2,500,000
South Africa	1836	2,000,000
Turkey	1822	191,805,000
Syria	1835	28,472,800
Mahrattas (India)	1816	130,000,000
Madras (India)	1839	357,969,621
Ceylon	1827	171,747,198
China	1833	25,000,000

A.Z.M. (Pmburg.), Vol. 6 II/1/3, E.E. Strong to Kilbon 5/3/1885 (appendix from which this graph is taken was published originally at the American Board's Jubilee celebrations in 1860).

97. A.Z.M. (Pmburg.), Vol. 9 III/1/2, Kilbon to E.E. Strong 23/5/1885.

98. Jacob Döhne's Zulu-Kaffir Dictionary (1857) and Lewis Grout's Grammar of the Zulu Language (1859; revised in 1893).

99. Some of the hymns apparently were used as anthems and praise songs outside the Church. Gideon Sivetye interview 13/7/1966.

100. Inkanyesi Yokusi (Morning Star, monthly, 1850s); Ikwezi (also Morning Star, monthly, 1861-1868); Ubaga (Torch, quarterly and monthly, 1877-1883).

101. E.g., Seth B. Stone's History of the World in Zulu (1874). According to Christoferson, William Mellen "published a reading book and another member was translating a book on Natural Philosophy". Christoferson, Adventuring With God, p. 41. See also: A.Z.M. (Inanda), unclassified, South African Deputation Papers (1903), Literature Department of the American Zulu Mission, pp. 67-68; Ibid., Ukuhamba Kwezwi Lenkosi Ezigingini Zolwandle (The Carrying of Word of the Lord to Islands of the Sea--i.e., a history of world missions, 1888).
102. Jubilee volume, p. 48.
103. All the missionaries, of course, were guided and instructed by a number of unnamed Zulu converts. At least one African translated a portion of the Bible without missionary supervision, however. Miss Talitha Hawes prepared the Zulu translation of the Song of Solomon. Christoferson, Adventuring With God, p. 64.
104. A.Z.M. (Inanda), unclassified, South African Deputation Papers (1903), Zulu Bible: Translation and Revision, p. 73.
105. Ibid., p. 74.
106. Ibid., p. 75.
107. A.Z.M. (Pretoria), Microfilm A751, Kilbon to Smith 19/3/1894.
108. A.Z.M. (Inanda), unclassified, The American Zulu Mission Annual, 1900-1901, p. 34.
109. A.Z.M. (Pmburg.), Vol. 3 I/1/8, Annual Meeting, June-July 1904; Ibid., Annual Meeting, July 1908; Ibid., Vol. 10 III/1/3, F. Bridgman to Barton 1/8/1908.
110. A.Z.M. (Inanda), unclassified, South African Deputation Papers (1903), Zulu Bible: Translation and Revision, p. 75.
111. A.Z.M. (Pmburg.), Vol. 3 I/1/9, Special Meeting, March 1909; Annual Meeting, July 1909; Ibid., Vol. 26 V/1/4, General Letter for 1910, p. 37.
Taylor was assisted by Posselt Gumede, a student at the Theological School. Cf. A.Z.M. (Pmburg.), Vol. 19 III/10/1, Bible Revision correspondence 1901-1919 (1902-1907 missing).
112. A.Z.M. (Pmburg.), Vol. 9 III/1/2, Kilbon to Means 20/10/1881, p. 13.

113. A.Z.M. (Pmburg.), Vol. 25 V/1/2, General Letter for 1893, p. 34. See also: A.Z.M. (Inanda), unclassified, South African Deputation Papers (1903), Literature Department of the American Zulu Mission, p. 69.
114. A.Z.M. (Pmburg.), Vol. 25 V/1/2, General Letter for 1893, pp. 3, 17, 34.
115. Attempts to place the Mission's publishing department in the hands of colonial agents during this period proved unsuccessful. E.g., A.Z.M. (Pmburg.), Vol. 17 III/7/1, Literature Department Report for 1896.
116. A.Z.M. (Inanda), unclassified, South African Deputation Papers (1903), Literature Department of the American Zulu Mission, p. 68, Medical Department, p. 78.
117. A.Z.M. (Pmburg.), Vol. 2 I/1/7, Special Meeting, September 1900.
118. A.Z.M. (Inanda), unclassified, South African Deputation Papers (1903), Literature Department of the American Zulu Mission, pp. 69-70.
119. Ibid., pp. 70-71. See also: A.Z.M. (Pmburg.), Vol. 24 IV/2/1, Committee on removal of Publishing Department from Adams (1903). See above, p. 489.
A "monthly periodical" of "general and mission news", which would include aids for teachers and church leaders, was also recommended for the Christian community.
120. A.Z.M. (Inanda), unclassified, Deputation Report (1903), p. 52.
121. A.Z.M. (Pmburg.), Vol. 19 III/11/1, Report of the (Board) subcommittee on African Missions (1904), p. 2; Smith to Taylor 9/3/1904.
122. A.Z.M. (Pmburg.), Vol. 26 V/1/4, General Letter for 1904, p. 11.
123. A.Z.M. (Pmburg.), Vol. 26 V/1/4, General Letters for 1905, p. 11, 1907, pp. 27-28, 1910, p. 35. See also: Taylor, Seventy-Five Years, p. 47.
124. A.Z.M. (Pmburg.), Vol. 25 V/1/2, General Letter for 1896, p. 14; Ibid., Vol. 26 V/1/4, General Letters for 1903, p. 29, 1904, p. 12, 1908, p. 46. See also: A.Z.M. (Inanda), unclassified, The American Zulu Mission Annual 1900-1901, p. 31. N.M.C. Uplifting the Zulus: Seventy-Five Years' Mission Work in Natal and Zululand, p. 52.

125. See above, pp. 489, 513. Cf. A.Z.M. (Pmburg.), Vol. 26 V/1/4, General Letter for 1905, p. 11.

126. A.Z.M. (Pmburg.), Vol. 26 V/1/4, General Letter for 1910, p. 35.

CHAPTER X

CONCLUSION

In the struggle for survival in Southern Africa, the American Zulu Mission was challenged in the years 1885-1910 as rarely before in its history. While varying in form, the principal issues at stake and the causes of discontent were interrelated and ultimately decisive in determining the future for both the Mission and its African converts. In this generation, the Americans emerged as leading exponents of what amounted to a counterculture to that which prevailed among the whites and traditional blacks in the colony. However reluctantly, the missionaries advocated an independent African Christian community free of outside influence and control. And it was the Americans who made the most significant contributions to the emergence of an indigenous African Christian elite capable of exercising a leadership role in this community in Natal.

Of all the institutions created by the Mission, it was the Church that succeeded in injecting a new stream of consciousness into the African Christian community. The Church was the catalyst that united and energized the latent forces of politico-religious nationalism often observed among members of this community in colonial Natal. As classrooms in democracy, the Mission's schools also played a major role in this

development. The encouragement of individual expression was a marked feature especially in the Mission's boarding schools where, despite severe financial problems, the Americans were apparently spending more per pupil than any other missionary society in Natal in their efforts to forge an African Christian elite.¹

Insistence on the exclusive use of English at this level, moreover, provided members of this community with a valuable instrument for articulating their demands before the colonists. In this connection, it is significant that the missionaries had strayed far from the linguistic standards set by previous generations. As LeRoy, who was censured by the Prudential Committee for his inability to speak Zulu, put it:

"I fear that my name must be added to the already large number of the Mission whose knowledge of the vernacular is far from satisfactory. . . . We as a Mission do not take the matter very seriously. The vote passed at the Annual Meeting, giving a year for us for language study was passed as a sort of joke."²

While the language barrier undoubtedly widened the gulf between missionary and traditional Zulu, there is little doubt that the Americans and their Christian converts were brought closer together through the medium of English.³

Above all, the Mission supported the fragile and not necessarily valid claims of the African Christian community to speak for the silent majority of traditionalists. While the Americans often disagreed with statements made by members of the Christian elite to the press, for example, they were among the few voices to be heard in promoting the idea of

an African public opinion. It is worthy of note that much of the published African 'reaction' to colonial rule in Natal during this period stemmed from those Christians associated with the American Zulu Mission. Martin Lutuli, for example, testified before the South African Native Affairs Commission in 1903 that the Natal Native Congress, of which he was then the chairman, was a political organization whose motivating force stemmed from the activities of the station communities on the Glabas and Reserves of the American Zulu Mission:

Samuelson: " . . . you have attended large meetings of Christian natives in these big Mission reserves, which are invested in the American Board of Missions?--Yes."

Samuelson: "In that way you have been able to hear the views of a large number of Natives in the Colony?--Yes."⁴

The missionaries themselves applauded the efforts of pressure groups like the Congress to define more clearly specific African needs and attempt to redress African grievances . . . while remaining an integral part of the Church.⁵

The Mission's success in promoting the political, social and economic aspirations of the African Christian community during these years was restricted, however, by the pressures exerted by a dominant white settler society whose overriding demand was for cheap black labor. As Taylor observed: "Two ideals rule the whole attitude of Natal Government to the native question: the native must be kept under; and he must be forced into the white labor market."⁶ In the process, the Reserves, in particular, were deprived of resources in

men and money while those institutions erected by the missionaries, especially the schools,⁷ were drained of potentially productive catechists. Males were gradually weaned away from the station communities while the number of female converts rose dramatically until by the late 1890s for the first time in Mission history there were more women than men in the Church.⁸

RISE OF THE MISSIONARY SPECIALISTS

Thus no final evaluation of the varied activities of the American Zulu Mission in Southern Africa between 1885 and 1910 can be made without considering a theme that first emerges in modern form during this period: the problem of creating a viable African Christian community in a white-dominated, multi-racial society.

Always a potential concern of the Americans in their dealings with the colonists, it did not become a dominant issue until Natal was granted Responsible Government and leadership within the Mission passed to the specialists of the third generation who began to arrive on the field in the late 1890s and early 1900s. As Bunker, himself a disciple of the previous generation, described them:

" . . . I admire the young men of the mission. They are the true leaders now. It is more manifest in every meeting. Their ideas are crystallising and they know what they want and are not afraid to attempt it. /Frederick/ Bridgman, Taylor and McCord are all strong men with their minds made up. LeRoy is near to them in convictions and close with them in ability. You will hear from these men. In all the plans for re-organization they carry the balance of power and are fully fitted to do so."⁹

Under their leadership, the Mission was forced to relinquish a traditional reliance on individual diversity among its members as an index of progress and accept collective responsibility for its actions. The Mission was molded into a cohesive unit with its structure delineated as never before. As McCord reported to Secretary Smith in 1904: "I hope that our meetings will soon consist largely of reports of departments."¹⁰ All work that was demonstrably a failure or that did not bring in sufficient results in relation to resources expended was now abandoned. It was the missionary specialists who handed over the Reserves to the government, curbed future evangelistic excursions into the interior, wiped out the last vestiges of missionary intervention in the internal affairs of the station communities and reduced rural activities in general to the absolute minimum. Under their inspiration, the transition from overseer to administrator vis-a-vis the African Christian community was completed while the Mission itself was gradually transformed into an organization of specialists in church ecumenics (Taylor), higher education (LeRoy), social welfare (Frederick Bridgman) and medicine (McCord).

Above all, the specialists succeeded in forging an urban Mission whose services would be devoted primarily to the needs of an urban African society. Every missionary who worked in the cities, however, stressed the fact that the greatest obstacle to success was not so much the African's adjustment to cultural change as the 'tribal' attitude of a

white supremacist society. As the 1903 Deputation put it:

"Again and again it has been borne in upon us, both in Natal and Rhodesia, in fact in all South Africa, that the black problem was after all a white problem. Unless the whites . . . come to treat the blacks as the gospel enjoins, no amount of foreign missionary force will be able to Christianize the natives".¹¹

It should be emphasized, moreover, that the Mission adhered to this distinction during an era when the clash between Boer and Briton highlighted the struggle for supremacy in Southern Africa:

"The native presents the most difficult problem that awaits South Africa in the future. The race problem between Boer and Briton will disappear in time . . . but the problem of the black and the white will remain. . . . The struggle for existence will grow more and more strenuous".¹²

It is true that most American missionaries feared the Afrikaner and saw him as a grave threat to their work:

" . . . the Boer national idea is practically unanimous in advocating and practicing as great a degree of slavery as possible for the native races. . . . It would be a long step backward for mission work to have the Boers in the ascendancy in this land. Notwithstanding their religious pretensions of being God's chosen people their success would mean disaster to the work of the mission."¹³

Even Goodenough cited this as a major reason why he felt compelled to bring the Johannesburg church under authoritative missionary control:

"I say it because of the peculiar position which a black man occupies in the South African Republic. He has few rights that a white man is bound to respect. He may be knocked and kicked and cuffed with impunity. He may not own land or house, and in Johannesburg may not rent a house outside the Location. The law does not recognise marriages of black people. They may herd like cattle and separate as well. Complications are likely to arise

at any time which require the presence of a responsible white missionary."¹⁴

It is equally true, however, that the Mission feared the English-speaking Natalians. "Nowhere . . . is the 'color line' drawn more carefully than in Natal" where, as Taylor put it, "the colonial attitude toward the missionaries . . . is determined by the colonial attitude toward the native himself".¹⁵ And on this issue, as we have seen, the Americans were particularly vulnerable because they appeared to be more sensitive to the aspirations of the African Christian community than their European missionary colleagues whose narrow religious concerns during this period helped to insulate them from colonial interference. Despite uneasiness over the possibility of Boer hegemony, the Mission applauded Southern African unification which would supercede in Natal a colonial government whose "deliberate purpose . . . is to hamper the American Mission work in every way it dares".¹⁶

In these circumstances, the new missionary specialists deliberately sought identity and status within white society in the belief that this would ultimately benefit the African Christian community. In the cities they hoped to soften hostility towards the African by gaining white approval and support for missionary work:

"Not many colonists . . . know the natives well enough to appreciate their attractive qualities, and through ignorance also have strange conceptions of missionaries and their work. We may hope that this carrying of our work into town will serve to make them better acquainted with us."¹⁷

When plans were made to establish the Mission's first urban station in Durban, for example, the participation of the settler community was deemed essential to the success of the project:

"In what we have done and are planning to do we are acting quite in harmony with the Congregational Church and people in Durban. In fact . . . one great object is to awaken and deepen the interest of our colonial brethren in Durban and in the colony, in real mission work among the . . . tribes that throng into this central and most important city in Natal".¹⁸

As the urban specialists proceeded to infiltrate colonial society, moreover, they became aware of the fact that they were entering a new field of missionary labor. Thus Frederick Bridgman described his "two distinct parishes" in Durban:

"But this much is evident upon the surface, that besides the varied and far reaching native work . . . there is . . . the relation of the missionary to the white population of Durban. The sympathy of the colonists must be won, and his sense of responsibility must be immeasurably improved, if the imperative needs of the Durban work are to be met. . . . the missionary in Durban has two distinct parishes, the members of each living in daily contact and mutually interdependent, but separated socially by a great gulf".¹⁹

McCord, despite his long litigation with the colonists over the hospital, accepted without question the desirability of becoming a reliable member of the colonial establishment and vied with Frederick Bridgman and Taylor in the number and variety of white civic and cultural organizations with which he was associated. Of his decision to join Durban's Natal Native Reform League, then an anti-black organization made up of leading colonial business and professional men, McCord wrote:

"While the present attitude of the League is rather unfriendly towards the native, I do not see any reason why it should continue to be so, and I am in hopes that it may ultimately be a force for the betterment and uplifting of the native race. I mean to cast my small influence on that side of the question."²⁰

Proclaiming the urgency of "one United Evangelical Church among the Zulu people", in 1911 the Americans succeeded in converting their 75th Anniversary celebrations into a commemorative memorial to 75 years of missionary work among the Zulu. In keeping with the colonial image of the African, the festivities centered on Zulu chorales and "native industrial work". Twenty-six societies comprised this "great missionary demonstration" designed for the benefit of the settler communities in Durban, Pietermaritzburg and other towns in the newly-created province of Natal.²¹

Quis Custodiet Ipsos Custodes?

In the end, the colonists had to be convinced that missionary work was no longer a threat to white supremacy--in land, church and school in the rural and urban areas. This is the key to an understanding of the nature of the solutions offered by the Mission in attempting to create a viable African Christian community in Southern Africa. Progress in the next generation was conditioned by the extent to which the Mission and its African adherents internalized the customs and taboos of a white settler society.

In 1885 the colonial press had accorded the Mission an unusual tribute during the latter's 50th Anniversary celebrations:

"There is one respect in which, alone, the American missionaries set an example. . . . They have throughout their fifty years of toil, abstained conscientiously and consistently from any interference in political affairs. It has never been brought up against them that they have sought to set the native against either the colonist or the Government."²²

By 1910 the Americans appeared willing to compromise everything accomplished in the previous 25 years in the effort to weave Mission and Church into the fabric of colonial society. Even the American Board was compelled to accept the unique racial status of missions in South Africa and every suggestion made by the Prudential Committee to appoint Negroes to this field was rejected. As the Mission candidly admitted:

"We know well enough that the clear inadvisability of receiving American Negroes into our Mission lays us open to suspicion and to the charge that we are lacking in courage, or that we too are tainted with the color prejudice which prevails about us".²³

In the next generation, the American Zulu Mission forfeited much of such authority as it had previously enjoyed as a mediator between black and white in the struggle to create a harmonious Christian culture in South Africa. In overestimating the goodwill of the whites and, in effect, emasculating the potential strength and determination of the African Christian community, the American missionaries unintentionally contributed to the frustration and bitterness between the races which they had striven hardest to avoid.

NOTES

1. A.Z.M. (Pmburg.), Vol. 22 IV/1/2, Committee on Economy in the management of Boarding Schools for Natives (1897).
2. A.Z.M. (Pretoria), Microfilm A757, LeRoy to Smith 30/10/1903.
3. Gideon Sivetye interview 13/7/1966. Sivetye was of the opinion that a missionary's ability to speak Zulu fluently was not always an index of his sympathy or understanding of the needs and desires of the African Christian community. Apparently this was especially true of the missionary women.
4. South African Native Affairs Commission, 1903-5, Vol. III (Natal), Evidence, pp. 859-873 (Lutuli). See also: 1906-7 Natal Native Affairs Commission, Report, p. 5; Evidence, section III (most of the Africans testifying before this Commission were, or had been, connected with the American Zulu Mission).
 The first meeting of the Natal Native Congress was held in Pietermaritzburg in June 1900 and it was dominated by African Christians from the American Zulu Mission. Indeed, the author was told that many of the leading participants in the Church reconciliation talks that year also took part in the Congress. Early leaders like B. Cele and John Dube were ordained pastors of the African Congregational Church as well as prominent land-owners. The majority were exempted from the 'Native Law Code'. Lutuli, a resident of Umvoti, had been a successful wagon maker and owned 300 acres of land in freehold. The Natal Native congress was not an organized political party, however, and meetings were infrequent before 1910. Personal information.
5. E.g., A.Z.M. (Pretoria), Microfilm A754, General Letter for 1900-1901, pp. 21-22. A.Z.M. (Inanda), unclassified, Amanzimtoti Seminary principal's report for 1901.
6. A.Z.M. (Pmburg.), Vol. 10 III/1/3, Taylor to Smith 20/1/1905, p. 3.
7. E.g., A.Z.M. (Pretoria), Microfilm A749, A.B. Cowles to Smith 16/10/1895, pp. 3-4. See also: South African Native Affairs Commission, 1903-5, Vol. III (Natal), Evidence, p. 256 (Plant).

8. Christoferson, "American Board Mission", p. 56.
There were 622 more female than male Church members, for example, in 1899.
9. A.Z.M. (Pretoria), Microfilm A756, Bunker to Smith 12/5/1903.
10. A.Z.M. (Pretoria), Microfilm A757, McCord to Smith 19/2/1904.
The Mission's habit of covering deficits by transferring funds from one department to another, for example, was no longer tolerated. In 1910 all revenue from the three boarding schools, elementary schools, Reserves, Glebes and publishing department was categorized and channelled into seven different bank accounts. A.Z.M. (Pmburg.), Vol. 3 I/1/9, Semi-Annual Meeting, January 1910.
11. A.Z.M. (Inanda), unclassified, Deputation Report (1903), p. 43.
12. A.Z.M. (Pmburg.), Vol. 26 V/1/3, The Native Problem on the Rand (1902), p. 1.
During the South African War, the Mission officially supported the Natal colonists and even volunteered its buildings at Adams and Inanda for use as hospitals, although this offer was declined. Several individual missionaries and ex-missionaries, however, supported the Boers--the most conspicuous being Wilcox and Dorward along with the pioneer linguist Lewis Grout--and campaigned vigorously on their behalf in the United States. While the Mission condemned these actions and printed an apology in the Natal press, the incident served to exacerbate relations between the Mission and the settlers in subsequent years. The station communities contributed funds to the British war effort, but the missionaries reported that their adherents appeared apathetic to the course of events. E.g., A.Z.M. (Pretoria), Microfilm A746, Smith to Wilcox 6/11/1899, 1/1/1900; Ibid., Microfilm A756, Bunker to Smith 19/1/1900; Ibid., Microfilm A758, Wilcox to Smith, n.d. (circa 1901). A.Z.M. (Pmburg.), Vol. 2 I/1/6, Semi-Annual Meeting, February 1900; Ibid., Vol. 2 I/1/7, Annual Meeting, June-July 1900; Ibid., Vol. 23 IV/1/4, Pixley to Wilcox 23/2/1900, Wilcox to Pixley 31/3/1900, Report of Committee to publish a statement in Natal Mercury and other papers on the war crisis (1900); Ibid., Vol. 25 V/1/2, General Letter for 1899-1900, pp. 18-19.
13. A.Z.M. (Pretoria), Microfilm A756, Bunker to Smith 19/1/1900.

14. A.Z.M. (Pmburg.), Vol. 25 V/1/1, Johannesburg Mission (1894), pp. 6-7.
15. A.Z.M. (Inanda), unclassified, South African Deputation Papers (1903), Attitude of Natal Colonists and the Government towards Missionary Work among the Natives, p. 90. See also: A.Z.M. (Pmburg.), Vol. 26 V/1/4, General Letter for 1906, pp. 7-9.
16. A.Z.M. (Pretoria), Microfilm A756, F. Bridgman to Smith 22/10/1904.
17. A.Z.M. (Pmburg.), Vol. 25 V/1/2, General Letter for 1893, p. 16.
18. A.Z.M. (Pretoria), Microfilm A751, Pixley to Smith 7/4/1891.
19. A.Z.M. (Pretoria), Microfilm A746, F. Bridgman to Smith 16/8/1899.
20. A.Z.M. (Pretoria), Microfilm A757, McCord circular letter 2/12/1904.
21. A.Z.M. (Pmburg.), Vol. 3 I/1/9, Annual Meeting, June 1907. See also: N.M.C., Proceedings, 1907, pp. 23-31. Mercury 8/6/1911, 1-6/7/1911. Taylor, Seventy-Five Years, pp. 77-95. N.M.C. Uplifting the Zulus: Seventy-Five Years' Mission Work in Natal and Zululand.
22. Jubilee volume, p. 60 (reprinted from Mercury 23/12/1885).
23. A.Z.M. (Pmburg.), Vol. 10 III/1/3, F. Bridgman to E.E. Strong 7/8/1909.

The first American Negro missionaries sent by the Board to the African continent were Benjamin Ousley (an ex-slave of Joseph Davis, brother of Confederate leader Jefferson Davis), his wife and Miss Nancy Jones. They occupied the station at Inhambane, Portuguese East Africa, in the 1880s and, among other things, pioneered the study of the Tsonga language.

NOTES ON SOURCES

I OFFICIAL MANUSCRIPT SOURCES

A. Natal
(Government Archives, Pietermaritzburg)

The manuscript collections I have consulted are catalogued in three sections. I have presented the series used with dates but without volume numbers since the archives of Government House and the Native Affairs Department have been reclassified. In addition to the government archival records listed below, I examined the Colonial Secretary's Office and the Executive Council collections but found nothing that appeared to bear directly on the subject.

1. Education Department

- a. Council of Education: Minute Books, 1884-1894.
- b. Council of Education: Letter Books, 1884-1895.
- c. Superintending Inspector of Schools: Letter Books, 1890-1901.
- d. Native Schools: Letter Books of Inspector of Native Education, 1887-1898.
- e. Miscellaneous Reports and Papers, 1885-1910.

2. Government House

- a. Secretary of State
 - (1) Despatches Received from Secretary of State, 1885-1910.
 - (2) Letter Books: Despatches to Secretary of State, 1885-1910.
 - (3) Confidential Despatches Received from Secretary of State, 1885-1910.
 - (4) Letter Books: Confidential Despatches to Secretary of State, 1885-1910.
 - (5) Letter Books: Secret Despatches to Secretary of State, 1893-1910.
- b. South Africa and General
 - (1) Correspondence, 1885-1910.
 - (2) Confidential Correspondence, 1900-1910.
 - (3) Secret Correspondence, 1899-1910.
 - (4) Letter Books: General Despatches, 1885-1910.
 - (5) Letter Books: Private and Confidential Despatches, 1885-1895.
 - (6) Letter Books: Secret Despatches, 1894-1910.
 - (7) Minute Books: Minutes to Ministers, 1893-1910.

3. Native Affairs Department

- a. Secretary for Native Affairs
 - (1) Letters Received, 1880-1910.
 - (2) Correspondence Registers and Indexes, 1880-1910.
 - (3) Confidential and semi-Official Correspondence, 1880-1910.
 - (4) Registers of, and Indexes to, Confidential and Semi-Official Correspondence, 1878-1905.
 - (5) Miscellaneous Correspondence, 1885-1907.
 - (6) Letters Despatched, 1880-1910.
 - (7) Miscellaneous Papers, 1900-1910.
- b. Natal Native Trust
 - (1) Minutes of Meetings, 1907-1908.
 - (2) Correspondence, 1895-1896.
 - (3) Registers and Indexes, 1895-1896.
- c. Council for Native Affairs
 - (1) Minutes of Meetings, 1909-1910.

II NON-OFFICIAL MANUSCRIPT SOURCES

- A. Natal Archives, Pietermaritzburg
 - 1. Mission Records and other Private Collections
 - a. American Zulu Mission correspondence
 - b. Garden Papers
 - c. H.E. Colenso Papers
 - d. Shepstone Papers
- B. American Board Mission Archives (unclassified), Inanda
 - 1. American Zulu Mission correspondence
 - 2. Church records
 - 3. Secretary for Native Affairs (misc. Minute Papers)
 - 4. Reserve title deeds, misc. manuscripts and printed works (English and Zulu)
- C. Pretoria Archives
 - 1. American Zulu Mission correspondence (microfilm serial nos. A746-A759).

III OFFICIAL PUBLICATIONS

- A. Great Britain
 - 1) Parliamentary Papers
 - cd. 2905, 2927, 3027, 3247, 3888, 3998, 4001, 4194, 4195, 4328, 4404 (1906-1908) Correspondence re Native Disturbances in Natal

The Colonial Office List (London), 1882-1910.

B. Natal

1) Administrative and Statistical Records

Government Notices and Proclamations, 1885-1910.

The Natal Government Gazette, 1856-1910.

Natal Blue Books, 1880-1910. Separated after Responsible Government into Statistical Year Books and Departmental Reports.

2) Commissions

Lands Commission, Report and Evidence, 1902.

Natal Native Affairs Commission, Report and Evidence, 1906-7.

Natal Native Commission, Report and Evidence, 1881-2.

Native Mission Reserves Commission, Report (Evidence missing), 1886.

3) Legislative Council (1857-1893)

Debates, 1880-1893.

Votes & Proceedings, 1880-1893.

Sessional Papers, 1880-1893.

4) Parliament (1893-1910)

Legislative Council and Assembly Debates, 1893-1909.

Legislative Council and Assembly Votes & Proceedings, 1893-1909.

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5) Other

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The Natal Advertiser (Durban), 1885-1910.
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AND SECONDARY)

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APPENDIX I

GLEBE AND RESERVE HOLDINGS OF MISSIONARY SOCIETIES

IN NATAL ca. 1902

Based on Natal Government, 1902 Lands Commission, Report, pp. 14-16, 24-25, 27, 49-52, 71-72. See also: A.Z.M. (Inanda), unclassified, original title deeds and maps of the American Mission Reserves.

American Zulu Mission	<u>Extent in acres</u>	<u>Notes</u>
<u>Original grants with date of title deed</u>		
Itafamasi Mission Reserve (July 10, 1873)	5,500	
Itafamasi Mission Glebe (Nov. 17, 1860)	500	
Inanda Mission Reserve (July 20, 1883)	11,500	
Inanda Mission Glebe (Nov. 17, 1860)	500	
Esidumbini Mission Reserve (July 10, 1873)	5,500	
Esidumbini Mission Glebe (Nov. 17, 1860)	500	
Umsunduzi Mission Reserve (July 10, 1873)	5,595	
Umsunduzi Mission Glebe (Dec. 1, 1860)	491	
Umvoti (Charlottedale or Groutville) Mission Reserve (Nov. 18, 1862)	9,008	According to 1896 figure. About 3,000 acres, not in- cluded in summary, in free- hold plots up to 15 acres.
Umvoti Mission Glebe (Nov. 13, 1862)	502	210 acres of this total laid out as the village of Groutville.
Mapumulo Mission Reserve (Nov. 4, 1862)	8,196	
Mapumulo Mission Glebe (Dec. 1, 1860)	504	
Umtwalume Mission Reserve (Nov. 4, 1862)	12,922	
Umtwalume Mission Glebe (Nov. 17, 1860)	485	
Amahlongwa Mission Reserve (Nov. 4, 1862)	6,965	According to original deed.
Amahlongwa Mission Glebe (Nov. 17, 1860)	498	

APPENDIX I (cont'd.)

<u>Original grants with date of title deed</u>	<u>Extent in acres</u>	<u>Notes</u>
Umzumbe Mission Glebe (July 31, 1865)	104	
Ifafa Mission Reserve (Nov. 4, 1862)	6,209	About 100 acres of this grant in freehold.
Ifafa Mission Glebe (Nov. 17, 1860)	531	
Amanzimtoti Mission Reserve (Nov. 4, 1862)	8,077	About 751 acres of this grant in freehold.
Amanzimtoti Mission Glebe (Nov. 17, 1860)	542	
Imfume Mission Reserve (Nov. 4, 1862)	7,498	About 228 acres of this grant in freehold.
Imfume Mission Glebe (Nov. 17, 1860)	624	
Table Mountain Mission Reserve (June 15, 1875)	5,623	According to original deed. Only 5,118 acres reported in summary.
Table Mountain Mission Glebe (Dec. 1, 1860)	504	
Totals (not included: about 3,000 acres of freehold land at Umvoti and 505 acres of disputed land at Table Mountain)		95,575

Six missionary societies, besides the Americans,
held one Mission Reserve apiece. Others were
given plots of land in freehold.

	<u>Extent in acres</u>
Church of England (not included: Nonoti 'Mission Lands')	16,318
Norwegian	12,499
Hannoverian (not included: Ehlanzeni 'Mission Reserve Lands')	8,149
Roman Catholic	6,827
Wesleyan	6,670

APPENDIX I (cont'd.)

	<u>Extent in acres</u>
Berlin (not included: Emmaus 'Mission Reserve Lands')	1,123
Dutch Reformed (no Mission Reserves)	1,995
Presbyterian (no Mission Reserves)	1
Native Calvinistic Protestant (no Mission Reserves)	<u>1</u>
Totals	149,162

Lands not granted to any denomination, though
set apart for missionary purposes.

	<u>Extent in acres</u>
Ehlanzeni	11,000
Nonoti	5,500
Emmaus	5,476

The Commissioners did not include the disputed Ndwedwe Reserve (5,000 acres) even in this category and it was not enumerated in the summary. Subsequently, Ehlanzeni (Hannoverian) and Emmaus (Berlin) were officially granted title deeds as Mission Reserves.

APPENDIX II

AMERICAN MISSION RESERVE REVENUE ACCOUNTS (L-s-d) ca. 1871-1909

Based on Natal Government, 1881-2 Natal Native Commission, Report, Annexure No. 9 to Appendix G, p. 51. See also: 1886 Native Mission Reserves Commission, Report, p. 6; 1902 Lands Commission, Evidence, pp. 467-468. S.N.A. Vol. 1/1/308 (162/1904), Taylor to M.N.A. 4/7/1904 (with enclosure); Ibid., Vol. 1/1/300 (723/1903). N.B.B. (unnumbered volume, 1907), Native Affairs Department, p. 121; Ibid., (unnumbered volume, 1908), Auditor-General, p. 63; Ibid., (unnumbered volume, 1909), Native Affairs Department, pp. x, 37, Auditor-General, pp. 131-132.

1871-1886	RECEIPTS	PAYMENTS	BALANCE	NOTES
ca. 1871-1881	1,985.2.4	1,665.4.6	319.17.10	
May 26, 1874- April 1, 1886	1,540.10.6 (1,151.2 from sale of Table Mountain firewood)	?	937.10.4 as of May 26, 1874 (apparently from sale of Table Mountain firewood)	Receipts from the sale of Table Mountain firewood for this period total 2,088.12.4. "The only accurate account of moneys received by the American Mission from lands granted it dates from the 26th of May, 1874 . . . "

November 1, 1881-December 31, 1900

Mission Reserve	Balance Nov. 1, 1881	RECEIPTS											Totals
		Resident Fees (i.e. Rents)	Store Leases	Stables and Grazing	Govern- ment Lease	Wood and Timber	Pros- pecting Licenses	Interest on Deposits	Fines and Penalties	Sale of Imfume Sugar Mill	Sale of Land	Misc.	
Amahlongwa		91.5.2		6.6.8		10.2.8							107.14.6
Amanzimtoti		170.4.9				35.17.3			2.4.0				208.6.0
Esidumbini		73.12.11	36.2.6			1.10.0							111.5.5
Imfume		36.8.0				14.0.0	2.5.0			168.13.10	28.0.0		249.6.10
Ifafa		128.13.7				3.0.0							131.13.7
Inanda		267.19.9	24.5.0			1.3.0							293.7.9
Mapumulo		127.14.0	56.13.4		1.0.0	7.5.0							192.12.4
Table Mountain		46.11.10	45.0.0			194.2.0							285.13.10
Umsunduzi		99.11.3				10.10.0							110.1.3
Umtwalume		56.15.3				27.0.0							83.15.3
Umvoti		289.17.6		15.15.0							46.0.0		351.12.6
Itafamasi		43.1.6	55.0.0										98.1.6
General Fund	259.12.10	18.11.0				3.0.0		40.3.6				4.12.6	325.19.10
Totals	259.12.10	1,450.6.6	217.0.10	22.1.8	1.0.0	307.9.11	2.5.0	40.3.6	2.4.0	168.13.10	74.0.0	4.12.6	2,549.10.7

APPENDIX II (cont'd.)

November 1, 1881-December 31, 1900

PAYMENTS

Travel Expenses	Office Expenses	Police and Collector	Buildings	Roads	Preachers and Teachers	Surveying and Transfers	Fencing	Printing and Copying	Legal Pro-ceed-ings	Misc.	Total as of December 31, 1900
139.1.2	78.11.0	17.2.1	1,270.4.1	99.0.0	13.0.0	74.5.0	77.4.6	26.9.3	52.13.5	10.6.0	1,857.16.6
Balance on hand as of December 31, 1900.....											691.14.1

1903-1909 (under the 1903 Mission Reserves Act)

NOTES

1903	Credit on hand to the A.Z.M.....	942 14.7
	(A.Z.M. Share.....)	471.7.3)
1904- June 12, 1906	Receipts	11,099.14.9
	Payments to Mission Societies.....	5,549.17.5
	(A.Z.M. Share.....)	3,860.5)
	Expenses and Administration (1904-1905).....	967.9.9
	Government Balance.....	3,615.0.0
June 30, 1906-	Receipts.....	3,766.17.6
June 30, 1907	Payments to Mission Societies.....	1,883.8.9
	(A.Z.M. Share.....)	1,260.0.0)
	Expenses and Administration.....	343.12.8
	Government Balance.....	1,654.18.8

Revenue consisted almost entirely of hut rents. "Store site rents amount to about £100 per annum, and land rents to a few pounds only." No reasons were given for a discrepancy of about £900 apparently missing from the government balance figure. The African Reserve tenants still owed £629.8.11 (A.Z.M.-£451.19.5) in rents, and this was only a fraction of the total deficit. A Natal Native Trust report estimated about £3,500 in unpaid rents was lost for the fiscal year 1905-1906.

From July 1, 1906, rent was reduced to 30 shillings per hut. Again no reasons were given for an apparent discrepancy between receipts and payments.

APPENDIX II (cont'd.)

1903-1909 (under the 1903 Mission Reserves Act)

NOTES

1907-	Government Balance as of June 30, 1907...	3,496.10.10
1908	Receipts.....	2,599.10.6
	Interest Credited by the Trust.....	68.17.9
		<u>6,164.19.1</u>
	Payments to Mission Societies.....	1,310.2.8
	(A.Z.M. Share.....about 1,000.0.0)	
	Expended on Reserves.....	532.11.6
	Expenses and Administration.....	1,149.14.4
	Government Balance as of June 30, 1908...	3,172.10.7
		<u>6,164.19.1</u>
1908-	Government Balance as of June 30, 1908...	3,172.10.7
1909	Receipts (June 30, 1909).....	2,963.9.4
	Interest credited by the Trust.....	59.13.5
		<u>6,195.13.4</u>
	Payments to Mission Societies.....	1,491.14.9
	(A.Z.M. Share.....about 1,100.0.0)	
	Expended on Reserves.....	437.1.3
	Expenses and Administration.....	715.12.10
	Government Balance as of June 30, 1909...	3,551.4.6
		<u>6,195.13.4</u>
	Revised Balance as of June 30, 1909.....	4,140.15.6

Reserve revenue accounts were separated from the accounts of the Natal Native Trust from July 1, 1908, and published in full. The Auditor-General noted "considerable sums" in Reserve revenue held in balance from year to year (the June 30, 1909, revised balance was the largest in the history of these areas), and he urged that "steps should be taken to formulate a well-devised scheme for the judicious expenditure of these sums on the relative Reserves". What was actually done with this money, however, remains a mystery.

APPENDIX III

GLEBE AND RESERVE POPULATIONS OF MISSIONARY SOCIETIES

IN NATAL ca. 1879-1909

Based on Natal Government, 1902 Lands Commission, Evidence, pp. 471-472. See also: N.B.B., Vol. 5 (1882-1883), Native Affairs Department, Magistrates' Reports (1879-1884); Ibid., Vol. 24 (1904), p. 1; Ibid., Vol. 32 (1906), Native Affairs Department, pp. 91-93; (unnumbered volume, 1909), Native Affairs Department, p. 25.

Americal Zulu Mission, 1879-1884

<u>Reserve</u>	<u>Population</u>	<u>Notes</u>
Table Mountain	?	
Imfume	800	1881. In 1884 Imfume, Amanzintoti contained about 3,000.
Amanzintoti (Adams)	800?	
Umsunduzi	800	1879. Estimated at 800 in 1882.
Inanda	500	1879. Estimated at 700 in 1882.
Itafamasi	?	
Mapumulo	1,500	Population of Mapumulo,
Umvoti (Groutville)	1,000	Umvoti, Esidumbini remained constant 1879-82.
Esidumbini	1,000	At Umvoti, Christians in
Amahlongwa	?	village community of Groutville.
Ifafa	600	1881. Rough estimate--Wilder.
Umtawalume	1,200	1881.
Umzumbe (Glebe) *	60	1881. All Christians.

American Zulu Mission and other missionary societies with Reserves in Natal, 1895. This appears to be the only detailed summary of Mission Reserve population for the colony before Union.

American Zulu Mission

Amanzintoti	1,140	(Christian-390; heathen-750)
Imfume	895	(Christian-364; heathen-531)
Mapumulo	1,000	(Christian-220; heathen- 780)
Esidumbini	3,000	(Christian-300; heathen-2,700)

APPENDIX III (cont'd.)

Inanda	2,000	(Christian-500; heathen-1,500)
Umsunduzi	700	(Christian-60; heathen-640)
Itafamasi	900	(Christian-200; heathen-700)
Ifafa	856	(Christian-116; heathen-740)
Amahlongwa	876	(Christian-140; heathen-736)
Umtwalume	1,492	(Christian-360; heathen-1,132)
Umvoti	2,328	(Christian-572; heathen-1,756)
Table Mountain	1,100	(Christian-440; heathen-660)
Umzumbe (Glebe)*	30	(Christian-30)
Church of England	3,163	(Christian-740; heathen-2,423)
Norwegian	2,499	(Christian-308; heathen-2,191)
Hannoverian	2,744	(Christian-406; heathen-2,338)
Roman Catholic	889	(Christian-71; heathen-818)
Wesleyan	544	(Christian-396; heathen-148)
Berlin	460	(Christian-120; heathen-340)
American Zulu Mission Reserve population in 1895		16,317
(Christian-3,692; heathen-12,625)		
Total Reserve population in 1895		26,616
(Christian-5,733; heathen-20,883)		

*Evidence is lacking as to why Umzumbe's Glebe population apparently dropped from 60 to 30 between 1881 and 1895.

APPENDIX III (cont'd.)

American Zulu Mission, 1906. Divisional figures (1906, 1909) are for all missionary societies with Reserves in these magisterial districts in Natal. S.O. Samuelson calculated in 1904 that there were 4.193 persons per hut in the Reserves. From 1905 the estimated average was 3.9 persons per hut based on the 1904 census (2.23 huts per kraal for Mission Reserves). The 1906 and 1909 figures are based on a compromise of 4 persons per hut. The A.Z.M. estimate of 18,500 in 1909 is an approximate proportion based on the figures for 1906.

	<u>1906</u>	<u>1909</u>
Umlazi Division	4,246	4,228
Amanzimtoti	1,092	--
Imfume	708	--
Mapumulo Division	4,531	5,245
Mapumulo	2,132	--
Esidumbini	944	--
Inanda and Ndwedwe Divisions	4,308	6,907
Inanda	2,784	--
Umsunduzi	532	--
Itafamasi	888	--
Alexandra Division	3,996	4,719
Ifafa	1,220	--
Amahlongwa	928	--
Umtwalume	1,802	--
Lower Tugela Division	1,811	1,918
Umvoti	1,428	--
Umgeni Division	366*	384
Table Mountain	588*	--
American Zulu Mission Reserve population in 1906...	15,046	
		1909...18,500?
Total Reserve population in 1906.....	19,258	
		1909.....23,461

*There appears to be no explanation as to why there were fewer Africans in Umgeni Division in 1906 than in Table Mountain Reserve which was theoretically within that division.

APPENDIX IV

FIGURES RELATING TO AFRICAN EDUCATION A IN NATAL, 1864-1909; B UNDER THE AMERICAN ZULU MISSION, 1864-1909; C IN THE AMERICAN MISSION BOARDING SCHOOLS, 1865-1909.

Based on Natal Blue Books (Education Department), Letter Books and Reports of the Inspector of Native Schools, A.B.C.F.M. reports, A.Z.M. Tabular Views, 1864-1910.

A. NATAL ^(a)											
	1864	1865	1877	1880	1885	1890-1	1893 (June 30)	1895	1900	1905	1909
African Population	175,220	137,736	290,035	362,477	377,581	455,983		503,208	794,650	921,073	1,039,269
African Schools	28	34	42	52	64	76	73 (60 at end of year)	133	186	165	178
Aided Pupils											
Gross	1,190	1,700	2,390	3,153	3,817	4,026	3,829	6,790	10,618	10,150	15,335
Average			1,503	2,052	2,294	2,777	2,802	6,056	7,940	7,985	12,484
Government Grants	£1,738	£1,909	£1,938	£2,312	£3,866	£3,998	£3,396	£4,826	£5,570	£6,335	£8,914
African Contributions ^(b)	£183	£206	£231	£469	£607	£795	£834	£549	£993	£2,475	£2,774

B. AMERICAN ZULU MISSION											
Aided Schools	12 ^(k)	13 ^(k)	16	20	23 ^(e)	23	21	33	36	37	41
Secondary (Boarding) Schools		1	4	4	4	4	4	5	5	4	3
Pupils		16	99	117	149	187	248	370	423	303	442 ⁽ⁱ⁾
Primary & Elementary Schools	11 ^(k)	11 ^(k)	23	25	41	31	37	50	55	72	73 ⁽ⁱ⁾
Pupils	306	505	766?	820	1,716	1,425	1,918	2,223	2,498	2,872	3,570 ⁽ⁱ⁾
Total Schools	11 ^(k)	12 ^(k)	27	29	45	35	41	55	60	76	76 ⁽ⁱ⁾
Pupils	306	521	865	937	1,865	1,653 ^(f)	2,195	2,682 ^(h)	2,921	3,175	4,012 ⁽ⁱ⁾
Government Grants	£416	£540 ^(d)	£728	£879	£953	£1,009	£967 ^(g)	£1,522	£1,319	£1,416	£2,626
African Contributions (aided schools) (b)	£122 ^(c)	?	£135	£219	£145	£152	£254	£175	£270	£744	£1,503 ^(j)

APPENDIX IV (cont'd.)

C. AMERICAN MISSION BOARDING SCHOOLS
(in pounds sterling)

	1865	1877	1880	1885	1890-1	1891-2	1892-3	1893-4	1894-5	1896	1897	1898	1899	1900	1901	1902	1905	1906	1907	1908	1909
Amanzimtoti Seminary																					
Government Grants	100	200	200	200	300	300	300	53	150	140	39	52					120	85	92	126	276
African Contributions	?	111	67	80	125	160	143	40	88	88	90	?	?	?	218	?	228	226	177	251	348
Inanda Seminary																					
	Est. in 1869																				
Government Grants		100	100	100	100	100	100	342	240	230	104	139	174	174	174	174	217	188	187	212	227
African Contributions		17	130	?	27	42	68	62	62	57	55	60	108	127	113	76	263	392	256	273	327
Umzumbe Home																					
	Est. in 1873																				
Government Grants		24	50	50	50	50	50	98	120	120	43	66	90	90	45	95	112	116	102	83	111
African Contributions		?	10	18	?	18	15	19	24	13	16	?	?	39	44	40	65	79	100	123	153

APPENDIX IV (cont'd.)

NOTES

Information relating to the American Zulu Mission appears to have originated with the latter's unpublished Tabular Views. Until the 1890s these figures were normally based on the calendar year (December to December) instead of the government's financial year (June to June), but the time factor was disregarded when the figures were published. Statistical variations are too numerous to catalogue in full, but a few examples should suffice to underscore the problem of credibility. In 1880 the Tabular View had a total enrolment of 800 in 33 schools, but 11 of these apparently had no reliable enrolment figures that could be listed even in this source. The A.B.C.F.M. report for the American Zulu Mission in that year, however, had a total of 29 schools with 937 pupils. In 1890, according to the Tabular View, there were 1,704 "under instruction" in 37 schools as opposed to 1,663 in 35 schools as listed in the A.B.C.F.M. report for that year. Additional examples of discrepancies in these sources have been cited in the text and footnotes. From the assumptions that prevailed in Mission correspondence and in subsequent oral evidence, it would appear that by African contributions is meant the contributions of the Christian community. African contributions, moreover, were based only on the payment of school fees. Contributions in kind were not included, even though these were far more important in the primary and elementary schools and in such secondary institutions as Umzumbe Home. 'European' monetary contributions have not been included in these graphs. The salaries of missionary and non-missionary (African and colonial) teachers, however, appear to have comprized the bulk of this revenue.

- (a) Including Zululand (from 1897) and the Northern Districts (from 1903).
- (b) Additional African monetary contributions cited in Education Department statistics for which no value was given included books, pens, ink and so forth.
- (c) Four out of the six schools with African contributions were American Zulu Mission.
- (d) Excluding £24 a year for an African printer and newspaper published at Esidumbini.
- (e) Excluding Lindley and Groutville kraal schools which in earlier years were grouped together. If tabulated separately, there were 70 aided schools, of which 29 were American, in 1885.

APPENDIX IV (cont'd.)

- (f) Including 41 others "not reported".
- (g) At least £450 of the £967 granted in this year went to the secondary schools of the American Zulu Mission.
- (h) Including 89 others "under instruction".
- (i) A.B.C.F.M. report, Zulu Mission, 1910.
- (j) Including John Dube's Zulu Industrial School--now known as Ohlange Institute--which was considered an American-administered school by the government. The African contribution for this school was £446 in 1909.
- (k) I can find no explanation for the discrepancies between these figures.