

**FROM MISSION SCHOOL TO BANTU EDUCATION:  
A HISTORY OF ADAMS COLLEGE**

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## ABSTRACT

In 1835 the first American Board missionaries arrived in South Africa and a mission station was built at Amanzimtoti. Adams College, then known as Amanzimtoti Institute was established in 1853 by the American Board with the expressed intention of opening up a school on the mission station originally founded by Dr Newton Adams. Adams College consisted of a number of institutions; a high school, a teacher training college and an industrial school. It was one of the first African schools to introduce co-education, to teach mathematics and science to Africans, to provide matriculation and post-matriculation courses, and to give responsible posts to Africans. This thesis examines the goals, beliefs and strategies of early missionaries and the founders of Adams College in the nineteenth century. It goes on to illustrate the influence of segregation and incorporationist ideals of those involved in missionary education in the early 1900s. Mission schools such as Adams College aimed at promoting a type of education based on European curriculum and models. Edgar Brookes and Jack Grant, prominent principals at Adams College, were well-intentioned and aimed at offering the students opportunity for advancement. In 1956 Adams College was closed by the government, as a consequence of the Bantu Education Act. This study interprets the transition from missionary to Bantu Education in light of the difficulties faced by Mission schools in the late 1940s.

## ABBREVIATIONS

ABM	American Board of Missions
ABCFM	American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions
AZM	American Zulu Mission
ANC	African National Congress
CPSA	Communist Party of South Africa
C.P.S.A.	Church of the Province of South Africa
CNE	Christian National Education
CYL	Congress Youth League
ICU	Industrial and Commercial Workers' Union
PAC	Pan-Africanist Congress
SAIRR	South African Institute of Race Relations

## INTRODUCTION

Any attempt to plan or revise education for the South African future cannot overlook an examination of present, but also past education endeavours. Therefore a study of an episode in the history of black education, in this case mission education in a particular mission institution, is relevant.

The intention of this thesis is to examine the history of Adams College from 1835 when the American Board missionaries first arrived in Natal, to 1956 the date the school was closed as a result of the Bantu Education Act. An attempt will be made to locate Adams College in a wider educational context by exploring mission education and thinking as well as referring to what was called 'Native Education' by governing bodies and later the Natal Education Department.<sup>1</sup> The history of this institution will be examined in the context of the transition from a missionary to a Bantu education system. In examining this educational change an attempt will be made to avoid "glorifying" the mission system, yet at the same time not belittle the importance of the transition to Bantu Education.<sup>2</sup> Instead the transformation of Adams College from a mission school to a state-run school will be explained by assessing why mission education started to collapse in the 1940s and by examining the pressures for change.

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1. In 1839 a Department of Education was established and mission schools came under the charge of this department. In 1884 education in this province was placed under the Natal Council of Education. Advisory committees were formed with whom a Superintendent of Education could consult. In 1894 the Natal Education Department was created.
  2. Hyslop explains that some liberal accounts have glorified and romanticised the mission system, while some Marxist authors have de-emphasized the importance of the transition to Bantu Education. J. Hyslop, "The concepts of reproduction and resistance in the sociology of education: The case of the transition from 'Missionary' to 'Bantu' education 1940-1955", Perspectives in Education 9, 1 (1987), pp. p.11

During the 1800s almost all of the formal education for Africans was provided by mission schools.<sup>3</sup> By the end of the nineteenth century, South Africa was to have a missionary population greater than almost anywhere else in the world.<sup>4</sup> The missionaries had two main goals: Firstly to spread Christianity and a Western way of life among 'heathen' Africans and secondly to establish schools so that people would be educated enough to understand and appreciate church activities. Several mission schools, besides Adams College, were established in Natal in the 19th century.<sup>5</sup> However, mission schools did not serve the masses and the majority of African children did not attend school.<sup>6</sup>

State participation in the education of Africans was slow to develop. Initially there was a lack of interest on the part of the Natal government in African education. In fact one can argue that throughout South Africa, in the early 19th century, the state was almost absent from the field of African education. It was only in 1894 that the Natal Education Department was created and it has been criticised for having policies which responded to the demands of a white colonial public and reflected the belief that educational needs of African and Indian children differed from those of whites.<sup>7</sup> In 1894 the Natal Education Department assumed the duties

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3. The extent of missionary participation in African education can be gauged by the following statistics. By the first quarter of the twentieth century there were 2702 mission schools with an enrolment of 215 956 pupils as against 68 state schools with an enrolment of 7 710 pupils. A.L. Behr, New Perspectives in South African Education (Durban, 1978) p. 159.
  4. P. Christie, The Right to Learn (Braamfontein, 1987), p.65.
  5. Inanda Seminary for girls, established at the American Board in 1869; St. Francis College at Mariannahill, established in 1882 by the Catholic Trappist order.
  6. By the 1880s 149 African boys and 83 girls were enrolled in missionary high schools in Natal. N. Etherington, Preachers Peasants and Politics in Southeast Africa, 1835-1880 (London, 1978), p.130.
  7. A.L. Behr & R.G. MacMillan, Education in South Africa (Pretoria, 1966), pp.112-118, pp.333-336.

of the Council of Education which in turn ceased to exist, and this system continued until 1910 when further changes were brought about by the Act of Union.<sup>8</sup> From the time of Union to the 1940s the state played an increasing role in education for Africans, and this became more and more its concern from the 1950s when the state took control.

The starting-point of the thesis is 1835, the date which marks the first organised attempt by the American Board at establishing itself in Natal. The first section traces the goals, beliefs and assumptions of the founders of Adams and attempts to evaluate how far these were implemented. By the end of the nineteenth century South Africa was changing. African chiefdoms were defeated, there was a steady movement of people to the towns to look for work as most of the land was colonized; and the discovery of minerals and the expansion of economic activities meant that more black people were drawn into wage labour. In these changed conditions peoples' attitudes to education began to change too. Education was seen more and more as a way into the dominant economic and social system, and people began to demand education. By 1896 many Africans began to realise the value of education especially as far as the earning of money was concerned, mainly because of the success of their 'educated brethren'.<sup>9</sup>

Part 11 examines the period from 1900 to the 1940s and illustrates the influence of liberal incorporationist and segregationist ideals in missionary education. Students at Adams College, especially from the late 1920s, were taught to believe in the possibility of gradual assimilation into white society. This section looks specifically

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8. *Ibid.*, p.334.

9. O.E. Emanuelson, "A History of Native Education in Natal between 1835 and 1927" (M.Ed. thesis, University of Natal, 1927), p.174.

at the teachers, curriculum and students and attempts to probe whose interests Adams College strove to serve. In considering this issue one must also ask whether the teachers in the mission school were satisfying their own interests or those of the students, and one can explore exactly what kind of knowledge or skills they attempted to instill into the students.

The final section assesses the failure of mission education from the 1940s, looking specifically at the reasons for the closure of mission schools, such as Adams College, in the 1950s. It will be argued that mission schools were facing many difficulties from the 1940s and that the Bantu Education Act was therefore a response to an educational crisis.<sup>10</sup>

Papers on Adams College<sup>11</sup> and those dealing with the American Board<sup>12</sup> have provided the empirical basis for this thesis. Details, varying perspectives and opinions have been gained from interviews with teachers and students and correspondences with past teachers. Former teachers and students have been most willing to answer questions, but over the years some have forgotten details, hence the gaps in the history. In retrospect some students are more forgiving while others remain critical of the mission school system.

Very little has been written on Adams College. Perhaps the most useful text is Shula Marks's Not Either An Experimental Doll.<sup>13</sup> Marks edited a series of

10. This argument is taken from Hyslop, "From 'Missionary' to 'Bantu' Education", pp.3-24.
11. Papers on Adams College are housed in the Killie Campbell Africana Library and at Amanzimtoti Zulu Training College. There was unrest at the school in 1986 and a fire in which many of the school records were destroyed.
12. The American Board of Mission papers are housed at the Natal Archives Depot, Pietermaritzburg. See Bibliography.
13. S. Marks, Not Either an Experimental Doll: The Separate Worlds of Three South African Women (Durban, 1987).

letters between Lily Moya, a past student at Adams College, and Mabel Palmer an elderly white liberal who helped Lily with her education. Grant also wrote two articles on Adams College during the 1950s<sup>14</sup> which contain a brief history of the school and outline particular features of the college. David Burchell has written a paper on Adams<sup>15</sup> which focuses on Adams' achievements and evaluates Adams' importance in mission education, but does not delve into the educational system at Adams *per se*. Oscar Dhlomo has written a factual thesis documenting the activities of the school from 1835 to 1956, and highlights the closing down of Adams College by the Bantu Education Act.<sup>16</sup>

Various autobiographies of past students and teachers at Adams College are most informative, giving a first hand account of daily life at Adams College. These include J. Grant, Jack Grant's Story (1980), E.H. Brookes, A South African Pilgrimage (1977), Z.K. Matthews, Freedom For My People (1983), E. Mphahlele, Down Second Avenue (1959), A. Luthuli, Let My People Go (1962) and E. Kuzwayo, Call Me Woman (1985). Tim Couzens' biography of H.I.E. Dhlomo is most useful in providing not only information on Adams College in its earlier years but also offers an understanding of the social and political ideas of the time.

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14. G.C. Grant, "Educational Institutions: Adams College", Native Teachers' Journal (July 1951), and "South African Missionary Institutions: Adams College", The South African Outlook (February 1955).
  15. D. Burchell, "Adams College, Natal, c.1920-1956: A Critical Assessment", The Journal of the University of Durban-Westville New Series 1, (1984).
  16. O.D. Dhlomo, "A Survey of Some aspects of the Educational Activities of the American Board of Commissioners for foreign Missions in Natal as reflected in the history of Amanzimtoti Institute 1835-1956" (M.Ed. thesis, University of Zululand, 1975.)

A fair amount of literature exists dealing with missionaries and the mission-educated elite. Switzer<sup>17</sup> and Dinnerstein<sup>18</sup> examine the role played by the American missionaries in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth century. David Chanaiwa<sup>19</sup> provides an analysis of the mission-educated elite. Various works have been written on Lovedale, a mission institution founded by the Glasgow Missionary Society in 1824. Some similarities exist between the two mission schools; both emphasized a Christian liberal education, and both schools were faced with the problem of combating Bantu Education which was seen as threatening their educational endeavour.<sup>20</sup>

Much has been written on South African liberalism which is significant when interpreting the teaching approach at Adams College. The term 'liberalism' has many meanings. This thesis defines the 'liberals' in terms of their acquired phrase "friends of the native". Liberal missionaries and teachers stressed the importance of education and believed that progress could only come by the evolutionary acceptance

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17. L.E. Switzer, "The Problems of an African Mission in a White-dominated, Multi-racial Society: The American Zulu Mission in South Africa 1885-1910" (Ph.D thesis, University of Natal, Pietermaritzburg, 1971).
  18. M. Dinnerstein, "The American Board Mission to the Zulu 1835-1900" (Ph.D thesis, Columbia University, 1971).
  19. D. Chanaiwa, "African Humanism in Southern Africa: The Utopian, traditionalist, and Colonialist Worlds of Mission-Educated Elites", in A.T. Mugomba and M. Nyaggah (eds.) Independence without Freedom. The Political Economy of Colonial Education in Southern Africa (Santa Barbara, 1980).
  20. D. Burchell, "A History of the Lovedale Missionary Institution 1890-1930" (M.A. thesis, University of Natal, Pietermaritzburg, 1979).  
T. White, "Lovedale 1930-1955: The study of a Missionary Institution in its social educational and political context" (M.A. thesis, Rhodes University, 1987).  
R.H.W. Shepherd, Lovedale South Africa. The Story of A Century 1841-1941 (Lovedale, 1940).

of 'civilised' Africans into the community. Brookes<sup>21</sup> defined liberalism as a philosophy which sought to make possible those social conditions in which the individuality of all men could be realised. The teachers during Grant's<sup>22</sup> principalship believed that a liberal education for Africans was one that was open-minded, without prejudice and in no way inferior to that received by white students.

Paul Rich has written critically on South African liberalism during this period. He looks at the liberal thinking of individuals such as James Henderson<sup>23</sup> and Edgar Brookes,<sup>24</sup> and evaluates the nature and development of South African segregationist ideology.<sup>25</sup> He claims that from 1910 to the start of the Second World War, liberals, missionaries and "friends of the natives" channeled their energies into the debate on the nature of segregation. Saul Dubow's recent work is useful in understanding segregation after the First World War and examines the liberal break with segregation.<sup>26</sup> Martin Legassick is also critical of liberal thinking, stating that the liberals aimed to convince selected Africans that the grievances they felt could be ameliorated through liberal reforms.<sup>27</sup> Richard Elphick on the other hand defends liberalism, and states that interwar liberals concentrated on improving the social

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21. Dr Edgar Harry Brookes, principal at Adams College from 1934 to 1945.
  22. Jack Grant, principal at Adams College from 1948 to 1956.
  23. P. Rich, "The appeals of Tuskegee: James Henderson, Lovedale, and the fortunes of South African Liberalism, 1906-1930", International Journal of African Historical Studies 20, 2 (1987).
  24. P. Rich, "The City of God and the Crisis of Political Faith: Edgar Brookes and the 'Lie in the Soul' of South African Segregation" (Paper, University of Warwick and University of Bristol, December 1986).
  25. P. Rich, White Power and the Liberal Conscience: Racial Segregation and South African Liberalism (Manchester, 1984).
  26. S. Dubow, Racial Segregation and the Origins of Apartheid in South Africa, 1919-36 (London, 1989).
  27. M. Legassick, "The Rise of Modern South African Liberalism: Its Assumptions and its Social Base" (Paper presented to the University of Sussex, The African Studies Faculty Graduate Seminar, 1975).

conditions of Africans and encouraged dialogue between white and black. Elphick examines the relationship between Christian missionaries and interwar liberals and argues that the "liberal-Christian synthesis in South Africa was not entirely impotent; and it was not at all disreputable."<sup>28</sup> However he does agree that they were strong on practical projects and on personal dedication, yet weak in understanding society.<sup>29</sup>

Many have explored issues on black education, but the most critical analysis of the present and past predicaments of black education is the work of Peter Kallaway.<sup>30</sup> He argues that any literature that fails to locate educational issues within the broader framework of economic and political change runs the risk of naivety and irrelevance.<sup>31</sup> Kallaway stresses a need for an awareness of the conservative nature of much secondary material looking at education in South Africa. He reproaches C.T. Loram and Edgar Brookes and says their research was "inspired by a desire to avoid conflict between black and white in the economic and political spheres, rather than by an unequivocal desire to promote the educational interests of black South Africans".<sup>32</sup>

When examining the history of black education in Natal, especially during the early years, Emanuelson's thesis is most useful in its factual content.<sup>33</sup> Behr and

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28. R. Elphick, "Mission Christianity and Interwar Liberalism", in J. Butler, R. Elphick and D. Welsh (eds.), Democratic Liberalism in South Africa Its History and Prospect (Cape Town, 1987), p. 79.

29. Ibid.

30. P. Kallaway, Apartheid and Education: The Education of Black South Africans (Johannesburg, 1984) and "Education and the State: From Mass Education to Bantu Education to People's Education - Some Preliminary Notes" in R. Burns and D. Young Education at the Crossroads (Cape Town, School of Education, 1987)

31. Kallaway, Apartheid and Education, p. 2.

32. Ibid., p. 3.

33. Emanuelson, "A History of Native Education".

MacMillan produced a comprehensive work on education in South Africa with a section dedicated to African education. A more analytical approach is provided by Frank Moltano in his article "The Historical Foundations of the schooling of Black South Africans",<sup>34</sup> and a documented work is available by Rose and Tunmer.<sup>35</sup> These works provide an overall picture of early African education in colonial South Africa and on African mission schooling in the 19th century.

Jonathan Hyslop has written a number of articles on black education. In particular he has explored student unrest, teacher resistance and Bantu Education. His research is drawn upon in this thesis.<sup>36</sup>

The Right to Learn, a text prepared for Sached by Pam Christie,<sup>37</sup> assesses the current debates about education in South Africa, and considers why there are such educational inequalities in South Africa. This work is most useful as it questions the function of schools and examines them in the context of the wider

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34. F. Moltano, "The Historical Foundations of the Schooling of Black South Africans", in P. Kallaway (ed.), Apartheid and Education, (Johannesburg, 1984), pp.45-107.
35. B. Rose and R. Tunmer, Documents in South African Education (Johannesburg, 1975).
36. J. Hyslop, "Aspects of the Failure of Bantu Education as a hegemonic strategy: School Boards, School Committees and Educational Politics 1955-1976", Paper presented at the University of the Witwatersrand History Workshop, "The Making of Class", 9-14 February 1987; "Food, Authority and Politics: Student Riots in South Africa, 1945-1976", African Perspective 1, 3&4 (1987); "'Let Us Cry For Our Children': Lessons of the 1955-6 School Boycotts", Transformation 4 (1987); "School, Unemployment and Youth: Origins and Significance of Student and Youth Movements, 1976-1987." Perspectives in Education 10, 2 (1988/9); "State Education Policy and the Social Reproduction of the Urban African Working Class: the Case of the Southern Transvaal 1955-1976." Journal of South African Studies 14, 3 (1988); "Teacher Resistance in African Education from the 1940s to the 1980s" (Unpublished paper, n.d.); "From 'Missionary' to 'Bantu' Education." Perspectives in Education 9,1 (1987).
37. Christie, The Right to Learn.

society. Mathonsi also stresses the link between education and economic and political forces in South Africa:

It must be noted that during the past few years, the black community was constantly told by those who support the political status quo that it should not bring politics into any discussion on education. But the question one must ask is: Is it possible to separate education from politics? Who is it that determines educational policies in this country?<sup>38</sup>

According to Kallaway, in order to have a clear understanding of the current context of black education and its historical background, a fuller consideration of all types of education is necessary:

The complexities of the issues relating to missionary and state systems, academic or vocational/technical curriculums, formal or non-formal schooling, medical education, and a host of other fields, in addition to their relations to the area of employment/unemployment, are manifold, and still in need of detailed research.<sup>39</sup>

This thesis hopes to fulfil some of the need for detailed research in missionary education. It intends to explain how the missionaries saw education as a way of achieving their twin aim of converting people to Christianity and to a 'western' way of thinking. Mission schools such as Adams College produced people with basic literacy, artisans and trades-people, but also an elite equipped with a higher level of education. However, problems at the institution such as student unrest, internal conflicts and financial difficulties all contributed towards its downfall. It was difficulties such as these which helped to justify the state implementing a new educational order. In this transformation of Adams College from a mission institution to an apartheid dominated school, one cannot ignore the racist and repressive nature

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38. E.N. Mathonsi, Black Matriculation Results A Mechanism of Social Control (Johannesburg, 1988), preface.

39. Kallaway, Education and Apartheid, p. 2.

of Bantu Education. This study is directed at understanding the present education dilemma by contributing to the research of past events. Frank Molteno has argued that

If those committed to educational reform and a democratic future for South Africa are to advance and not merely move in circles, they need to pay closer attention to the lessons of the past.<sup>40</sup>

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40. Molteno, Students Struggle for their Schools, Communications/Centre for African Studies 13, (Cape Town, 1987), p. 1.

## PART 1

### "ARISE AND SHINE"

The missionary enterprise of bringing the light of Christianity to pagan darkness is reflected in the school's motto 'Arise and Shine'. The early missionaries, the founders of Adams College, wanted to take African 'heathens' from one level of existence and raise them to another. The missionaries had certain beliefs and strategies which they believed would assist them in achieving their goal. In the early 1800s the missionaries faced determined resistance from an African society who did not want their lives changed by new religious beliefs. Nevertheless a distinct Christian community began to emerge from the 1850s, and by the 1880s many were demanding an education. Formal school education soon came to be valued by many Africans as a way of advancement in society. It was these people, an emerging African elite, who attended the Amanzimtoti Institute, later to be named Adams College.

#### The Founders of Adams College

The oldest foreign mission society in America, the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions, was formed in 1806 with the main goal of spreading Christianity to the 'heathen lands'. The American Board, an inter-denominational organisation, found its strongest supporter to be the Congregational Church. The Board employed many qualified men and women to work in religious, educational, publishing, industrial and medical fields.<sup>1</sup> In 1835 the first American

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1. ABM papers D/1/92. C.H. Maxwell "Relating to Missions and The Native Question" (1916) pp. 7-8.

Board missionaries arrived in South Africa with the aim of bringing "to the Native People of South Africa knowledge and the Christian religion."<sup>2</sup>

In 1834 Dr Newton Adams, a medical missionary, and his wife embarked upon their missionary endeavour. They sailed from Boston, the head office of the American Board, along with five other missionaries and their wives. The missionaries were part of a contingent which was divided into two groups. Three missionaries were sent to the interior to present-day Transvaal. They were Daniel Lindley, Henry Venable and Alexander Wilson. Three missionaries, known as the maritime group, were sent to the coast to Dingane's people near Port Natal. They were Newton Adams, Aldin Grout and George Champion.<sup>3</sup>

After spending some time in the Cape learning the Dutch language, Dr and Mrs Adams and the other missionaries arrived in Port Natal in 1835.<sup>4</sup> The inland mission did not last long, as it faced many mishaps such as illness and unrest. Dr Adams' maritime group, were more successful. It was not long before Adams had a school of 50 pupils and a Sunday congregation ranging from 200 to 1500.<sup>5</sup> As early as 1836 a Grahamstown trader, who visited Natal, said: "A school for girls has been established by Dr Adams, in which were 29 scholars, all neatly clothed in cotton dresses. Some were employed at needlework and others learning to read."<sup>6</sup>

The missionaries now turned their attention to Natal, where Adams had established a station in 1836.<sup>7</sup> In 1845 Grout settled on the banks of the Umvoti

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2. Memorandum for consideration by the Native Affairs Commission. p. 1.
  3. Dinnerstein, "The American Board Mission to the Zulu 1835-1900", p. 13.
  4. Newton Adams Papers, KCAL Accession No. 13644.
  5. Ibid.
  6. J. Dexter Taylor, One Hundred Years of the American Board mission in South Africa, 1835-1935 (Johannesburg, 1935), p.34.
  7. Wilson and Venable were discouraged, and Champion's wife was suffering from poor health, so they left South Africa.

River and founded a station known as Groutville. In 1847 Lindley founded the Inanda Mission station.<sup>8</sup>

In the early 1840s Adams reported a congregation of 500, and some successful proselytizing:

The influence of this station is not confined to the people of Port Natal. It extends to those living along the coast as far as the Umzimkulu, over a population of 10,000. I have been gratified to find in questioning some who have never heard the word of God from the lips of a missionary, that they have acquired a knowledge of the fundamental truths of Christianity, as the existence of God who upholds all things, the immortality of the soul, the sinfulness and the depravity of men, the atonement made by Jesus Christ, and the possibility of being reconciled to God...<sup>9</sup>

The African people in the vicinity of Adams's station saw him as a white medical doctor teaching new doctrines. These doctrines were probably common topics of conversation among the people. But, according to Christofersen it is extremely doubtful that they had acquired a new understanding of God that could be expressed as Dr Adams had voiced it.<sup>10</sup>

In 1843 the British Government took control of Natal. This gradually allowed for mission work to become firmly established. In 1847 Dr Adams moved from Umlazi and went to Amanzimtoti, about 22 miles down the coast from Durban, and started a new mission station. He made this decision because his congregation was moving there and because Amanzimtoti was the centre of a large population.<sup>11</sup> At this time the first convert, Umbalasi, a Zulu woman, was accepted into the church by Adams. In 1849 there were three churches in Natal, at Amanzimtoti, Umvoti and

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8. Dexter Taylor, One Hundred Years of the American Board mission, p.10.

9. A. F. Christofersen, Adventuring with God - The Story of the American Board Mission in South Africa (Durban, 1967), p. 21.

10. Ibid.

11. Ibid., p.27.

Inanda, with 43 members and by 1857 the number of churches had increased to twelve, with a total membership of 118.<sup>12</sup>

At Amanzimtoti Adams seemed to become popular among the local people; he was given a Zulu name which meant "the man with three coats". This name referred to the white overall which he wore as a doctor, the black frockcoat in which he took services and his short lumber jacket which he wore when chopping down trees.<sup>13</sup> At the mission station Adams built a residence that carried his name, and which remained on the mission grounds until it was pulled down in 1958.

Between 1850-1870 the American Board Mission in Natal passed through a period of steady but not rapid growth. In the latter years they boasted some 500 baptised African converts.<sup>14</sup> The first African minister to be ordained was Rufus Anderson, at Umzumbe, in 1870. Before 1880 seven Africans had already received ordination, among the first being James Dube,<sup>15</sup> Benjamin Hawes and Ira Nembula.<sup>16</sup> It was the ideal of the American Board from the beginning to gain converts who would act as leaders and spokespersons, and encourage the local people to join the mission stations.

The American Zulu Mission was the first body in Natal to own a printing-press, and the first to issue literature in the vernacular. Early instruction and

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12. Dexter Taylor, One Hundred Years of the American Board Mission, p. 18.

13. "A Notable Centenary. Adams College 1853-1953" by E.H. Brookes, Natal Witness, 22/6/1953.

14. J. Du Plessis, A History of Christian Missions in South Africa (London, 1911), p. 303.

15. James Dube, father of John Dube. John Dube was born in 1871 at the Inanda mission station where his father was a pastor. John Dube was educated at Adams College and after studying at America he taught at Adams and then established the Ohlange Institute.

16. Du Plessis, A History of Christian Missions, p.304.

education would not have been so accessible without the printing press which the first missionaries brought with them from America. The first Zulu dictionary of 400 pages was published by Rev J.L. Dohne in 1857, and in 1859 a Zulu grammar book was issued by Rev. Lewis Grout. In 1883 the missionaries succeeded in bringing out a complete Zulu Bible.<sup>17</sup> The translation of the Bible into Zulu, which involved various members of the American Zulu Mission, was finally completed under the editorship of S.C. Pixley, an American missionary.<sup>18</sup>

From 1850-1860 the American Board Mission had been reinforced by nine new families, bringing the total to thirteen missionary families.<sup>19</sup> Missionaries now "felt the need of increasing their direct influence over the natives[sic], and therefore petitioned that grants should be made of considerable tracts of land in the immediate vicinity of mission stations, upon which natives[sic] might be invited to settle."<sup>20</sup> The missionaries wanted a permanent population amongst whom they could work. The government accepted their petition in 1856 and towards the end of 1860 twelve mission stations were occupied and mission glebes and reserves were surveyed by the Colonial Government.<sup>21</sup> The mission reserves, totaled about 90,000 acres, and were held by the missionaries in trust for the Africans who settled upon them.<sup>22</sup> According to a report by the American Board, the mission reserves gave the missionaries

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17. ABM papers D/1/92. "Uplifting the Zulus" Issued by the Natal Missionary Conference, (1911).  
According to Dexter Taylor "the Gospel of St Matthew and thirty-seven of the Psalms in Zulu had been printed, besides much other literature." p. 11.
18. Du Plessis, A History of Christian Missions, p. 306.
19. Dexter Taylor, One Hundred Years of the American Board Mission, p. 11.
20. Du Plessis, A History of Christian Missions, pp.304-5.
21. Adams and Lindley were appointed members of the Government Commission which demarcated the reserves.
22. Du Plessis, A History of Christian Missions, pp.304-5.

"unlimited scope for their evangelistic activities and were made sole trustees with full powers to administer these Reserves as guardians of the inhabitants".<sup>23</sup>

By the end of the 1800s the ABM was firmly established in Natal. The American missionaries had achieved a steady progress in approximately sixty years. Adams had started a school and gained popularity among the local people. The missionaries had gained a number of African converts. Zulu literature was made available by the printing press and the missionaries were now addressing the Africans in their own tongue. Once the missionaries had established mission stations their task became easier.<sup>24</sup>

#### The Goals, Beliefs and Strategies of the Missionaries.

Dinnerstein believes that the missionaries' purpose in going to South Africa was a mixture of religious and benevolent motives. This is what impelled the American Board to dispatch "purveyors of the Gospel" not only to the unconverted in Africa but also to Asia and the Hawaiian Islands.<sup>25</sup> According to Dexter Taylor, religion was the driving force behind the missionaries. He stated: "... it is fortunate that America's actual move for the conquest of South Africa was motivated by a loftier purpose than trade or colonial expansion."<sup>26</sup> Majeke, however, would argue

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23. ABM papers A/1/9 "A brief review of the work of the American Board in South Africa" (1953) pp. 1-3.  
 24. See Appendix A - List of American Mission Stations in 1850.  
 25. Dinnerstein, "The American Board Mission to the Zulu 1835-1900", p. 8.  
 26. Dexter Taylor, One Hundred Years of the American Board Mission, p. 7.

differently. She maintains that the 19th century missionaries, especially the English missionaries, were not spurred by humanitarian reasons alone:

There is no doubt that there were well-meaning people who supported these humanitarian movements. But we would have a false perspective of events if we accepted these grandiloquent aims at their face value and assumed that there was some mysterious milk of human kindness animating the hearts of the English.<sup>27</sup>

Majeke adds that "the glory of God and the profit of England had always been, one might say, synonymous terms."<sup>28</sup>

It is interesting to note Majeke's point, especially since it was the London Missionary Society in the Cape that had originally influenced the American Board to go to South Africa. According to Dexter Taylor it was Dr John Philip, Superintendent of the London Missionary Society in South Africa, who was responsible for directing the attention of the American Board to the Zulu people in Natal.<sup>29</sup> Christofersen affirms that both groups, the maritime and inland groups, were to inquire carefully from Philip the manner and means of approaching the chiefs, and numerous other details of African life.<sup>30</sup> The maritime mission which stayed at Cape Town for some time before leaving for Natal,<sup>31</sup> learnt a great deal from their hosts, the London Missionary Society. Champion also stated that he had frequent discussions with Dr Philip - who he described as having great wisdom and experience.<sup>32</sup>

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27. N. Majeke, The Role of the Missionaries in Conquest (Johannesburg, 1952), p. 1.  
 28. Ibid.  
 29. Dexter Taylor, One Hundred Years of the American Board, p. 8. Booth and Dinnerstein also note that the American Board was acting on Dr Philip's advice, Booth, The United States Experience in South Africa 1784-1870 (Cape Town, 1976), p. 49 and Dinnerstein, "The American Board Mission to the Zulu 1835-1900", p. 12.  
 30. Christofersen, Adventuring with God, p. 13.  
 31. The maritime group went to Natal in December 1835.  
 32. Christofersen, Adventuring with God, p. 15.

There is enough evidence to argue that the American missionaries were influenced by Dr Philip, and according to Majeke he was motivated not only by humanitarian but also economic means. She quotes Dr Philip as saying:

While our missionaries ... are everywhere scattering the seeds of civilization ... they are extending British interests, British influence and the British Empire. ... Wherever the missionary places his standard among the savage tribe, their prejudices against the colonial government give way, their dependence upon the colony is increased by the creation of artificial wants. ... Industry, trade and agriculture spring up ...<sup>33</sup>

The basic goals were religious and educational, and one of the main tasks of the American missionaries was to establish permanent stations as bases for converting the Zulu. The American missionaries saw the African people as "pagans" and felt it their duty "to lead them from the darkness of their lives into the light of Christianity".<sup>34</sup> According to Switzer, the American Board believed that the Zulu were a 'chosen people' ordained by God to be the spearhead of African Christianity.<sup>35</sup> The American missionaries' main goal was to establish a Zulu Christian community. The Annual Report of the ABCFM of 1836 stated that the converts were to be rendered independent from their religious teachers as soon as possible.

Berman, discussing missionaries in general, states that "Missionaries, as agents of European churches, constructed schools because education was deemed indispensable to the main purpose of the Christian denominations - the spread of the gospel of Jesus Christ. Missionaries recognised that the school was, in the words of

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33. Majeke, The Role of the Missionaries in Conquest, p. 18.

34. A. Vilakazi, Zulu Transformations A Study of the Dynamics of Social Change (Pietermaritzburg, 1962), p. 128.

35. Switzer, "The Problems of an African Mission", p. 115.

one commentator, 'the nursery of the infant Church.'<sup>36</sup> Berman goes on to state that "... missionaries utilized their schools as inducements to lure Africans into the missionary orbit."<sup>37</sup> Most missionaries of the 19th century believed that a dose of the four R's - reading, 'riting, 'rithmetic and religion was an appropriate education. Some missionaries insisted on educating Africans in the vernacular as they wanted to train a group of catechists who could communicate easily with the local people and so avoid being alienated from the masses.<sup>38</sup> This applied to the early American missionaries, who taught in the vernacular. However, later, when Amanzimtoti Seminary was established lessons were given in English.

According to Switzer, the Americans' secondary objective to their principal roles as Christian missionaries, was the education of an African elite. The missionaries aimed at creating an educated group of Africans who could act as leaders in their community. These Africans were to be imbued with certain intellectual and moral qualities which were essential for the preservation and expansion of the Church.<sup>39</sup> Etherington, Switzer and Dinnerstein all stress that the American missionaries provided a protected environment in which an educated African leadership could develop.<sup>40</sup> It was the members of this mission-educated elite who became the first political leaders. According to Etherington, an interesting

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36. E.H. Berman, "African Responses to Christian Mission Education", African Studies Review 17, 3 (1974) p. 527.

37. Ibid.

38. Ibid., p. 530.

39. Switzer, "The Problems of an African Mission", p. 232.

40. Dinnerstein, "The American Board Mission to the Zulu 1835-1900", p. ii; Switzer, "The Problems of an African Mission", p. 539; N. Etherington, "Mission Station Melting Pots as a factor in the rise of South African Black Nationalism", The International Journal of African Historical Studies 9, 4 (1976), pp. 529-605.

development associated with missionary activity has been the growth of African political elites committed to African nationalism.<sup>41</sup> He notes that African Christians "from Natal were prominent in the founding of the South African Native Congress which carried on the campaign for equality in the twentieth century".<sup>42</sup>

The American missionaries ardently believed that their most obvious task was to transform the African people. Missionaries demanded of Africans a total reorientation of thought and behaviour which, according to Elphick, can only be described as "revolutionary".<sup>43</sup> The missionaries formed strong, disciplined societies and expected their converts to abandon traditional beliefs in witchcraft, and to relinquish essential community bonds such as polygamy and lobola. Missionaries also aimed to alter the economic base of African communities and saw to it that African art, music, dance, dress, architecture, community layout, furniture, food and drink were to be transformed.<sup>44</sup> According to Elphick the missionaries

went forth to peoples of whom they knew little but whom they deemed socially and mentally oppressed; they strove to "convert" them, that is, to replace their "false" consciousness with a "true" one so that the converts could destroy an old order and create a new in accordance with objective, developing processes of history.<sup>45</sup>

Initial attempts to transform African cultural practice had produced some sharp reaction from the non-Christians. The missionaries' approach often proved so

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41. Etherington, "Mission Station Melting Pots", p. 592.

42. N. Etherington, "Christianity and African Society in nineteenth-century Natal", in A. Duminy and B. Guest (eds.) Natal and Zululand From Earliest Times to 1910 (University of Natal Press, 1989), p. 296-7. See part II, section on The Student Body and see Appendix E showing list of students who became involved in Nationalist politics.

43. R. Elphick, "Africans and the Christian Campaign in Southern Africa", in H. Lamar and L. Thompson (eds.), The Frontier in History North America and South Africa Compared (London, 1981), p. 282.

44. Ibid.

45. Ibid., p. 283.

untenable that they were ignored, rejected, or humiliated by their intended converts. African reaction to European cultural chauvinism during the early 1800s, is exemplified in the following statement by an African:

...Teacher, White man: We black people do not like the news 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.<sup>46</sup>

The pattern of cultural contact, friction and eventually reformation<sup>47</sup> was not easily endured by some missionaries. Many of them left after encountering African hostility to their mission work, which Africans viewed as a threat to existing values and social structures.

It is interesting to interpret the missionaries' definition of 'Christianization' especially since it was their most important goal. The missionaries believed that the Gospel must reach all unbelievers before the apocalypse. To the missionaries the spreading of the Gospel was a critical matter in order to prepare as much of the world as possible for the second coming.<sup>48</sup> However, according to Alan Booth:

... it was clearly more than the Word of God with which the American missionary impulse was concerned. It was a way of life. Revolutionary America had emancipated the whole man, not just his religion; nothing less than a world remade in its image would do.<sup>49</sup>

The American Board believed, that to "Cover Africa with the institutions of civilized freedom, and [to] fill it with the light of knowledge and religion", was their duty. They maintained that in doing this "the whole Negro race [would be] raised in a

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46. Switzer, "The problem of an African Mission", p. 19.

47. Ibid., pp. 11-12.

48. Dinnerstein, "The American Board Mission to the Zulu 1835-1900", p. 9.

49. Booth, The United States Experience in South Africa, p. 49.

moment, from its hopeless depth of degradation."<sup>50</sup> Such conviction metabolised the American overseas missionary effort.

Dinnerstein says that the American mission's aim was towards a benevolent crusade.<sup>51</sup> She explains that an optimistic, assured air characterized the United States at just the same time foreign missions were getting under way. The notion that it was a special mission of America to spread its superior way of life began at that time and continued unabated throughout the nineteenth century. Implicit in the idea of foreign missions was the opportunity not only to bring religion but civilization - American civilization - to less fortunate people.<sup>52</sup> The American Board was also influenced by the spirit of New England Congregationalism. It believed in "a strict moral conviction of right and wrong, a belief in the almost-godliness of the work ethic, and a sense that material success was a reflection of inner godliness."<sup>53</sup>

The American Missionaries believed in "cleansing" the African Christians of "the customs and taboos of traditional culture."<sup>54</sup> To the missionaries, Christianity and 'Western' Civilization 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."<sup>55</sup> According to Switzer, 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

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50. Ibid.

51. Dinnerstein, "The American Board mission to th Zulu 1835-1900", pp. 9-10.

52. Ibid., p. 11.

53. Ibid., p.12.

54. Switzer, "The Problems of an African mission", p. 15.

55. Ibid., p. 17.

religious institutions. In the exclusive, segregated environment of the Glebes, they were able to mold their schools largely unhampered by outside influence or control.<sup>56</sup>

According to Dinnerstein, colonial society in Natal in the 1800s, where the American missionaries turned for friendship, was essentially racist. This society seems to have had a detrimental influence on the missionaries: "So overpowering was the colonial atmosphere in which the AZM operated that most new missionaries, fresh from home and with the exhortations of the Board still ringing in their ears, quickly succumbed to the prevailing attitudes."<sup>57</sup>

Some 19th century African Christians have accused missionaries of practicing racial prejudice. Berman explains that "To the Africans the patterns of residential segregation were an indication of the European sense of racial superiority."<sup>58</sup> One African convert noted that the "European missionaries" preached unity and love "yet lived aloof from the people to whom they preached."<sup>59</sup> Another African Christian complained that "while in the pulpit the missionaries said dear friends and brethren but as soon as they came out of the pulpit they would not call them that because they were black."<sup>60</sup> According to Etherington

Towards the end of the nineteenth century, a number of missionaries did succumb to racial prejudice, some because of its newfound respectability in intellectual circles in Europe, some because they were discouraged by their slow progress in converting the African population.<sup>61</sup>

Despite this occasional discrimination, many Africans were attracted to the mission stations. Various factors accounted for this. A small minority of Africans

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56. Ibid., p. 236.

57. Dinnerstein, "The American Board Mission to the Zulu 1835-1900", p. 198.

58. Berman, "African Responses to Christian Mission Education", p. 532.

59. Ibid.

60. Etherington, "Christianity and African Society", p. 295.

61. Ibid.

who, for a variety of reasons did not find a place in their traditional society found the mission station attractive.<sup>62</sup> The biggest attraction, however, was an economic one. Africans anxious to earn money worked on the mission stations. As soon as they had earned some money, they left.<sup>63</sup> Some African people turned to the station community when they could not cope with their troubles. For instance, women went to the mission stations when their husbands died or were convicted of a crime. A widow was often forced to marry her husband's brother, and there was pressure on her to stay in her husband's kraal. A large number of young girls who were unwilling to marry the men with whom their families had made arrangements, sought refuge in the mission stations.<sup>64</sup> The mission represented for others not so much a refuge, but an avenue to higher status. "Africans with only one wife received lavish praise from missionaries who viewed the practice as a sign of Godliness rather than one of penury."<sup>65</sup> The poor man who could only afford one wife underwent a quick rise in status.<sup>66</sup>

According to Dinnerstein few Africans came to the AZM spontaneously and the missionaries had to develop a method to attract more. They devised a technique of hiring Africans to live with the missionary family. Once living with the family, the workers were influenced into thinking and living a new life. Children would live with missionaries as their employees, on a basis of an agreement made

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62. Dinnerstein explains that this was a result of the shattering experiences of the Shakan wars. Dinnerstein, "The American Board Mission to the Zulu 1835-1900", p. 39.

63. Ibid., p.40.

64. Ibid., pp. 40-42 and rejection of marriage in Marks, An Experimental Doll, pp. 22 & 105.

65. Dinnerstein, "The American Board Mission to the Zulu 1835-1900", p. 44.

66. Ibid.

between the missionary and the children's parents. In return the missionary would clothe and instruct the children as well as give the parents some money. Adams drew up written contracts with some parents: he spoke of "the advantage of having the children constantly around us that they may be removed as much as possible from heathen example and influence,..."<sup>67</sup>

Dinnerstein suggests that this technique of gathering potential converts by employing Africans, established an early pattern of paternalism in the Christian community.<sup>68</sup>

The persistence of this attitude is revealed by a missionary who many decades later praised a 'native' teacher and preacher: "Every morning he blacks my boots and does my room work ... a few hours later teaches an Englishman Zulu, and still later goes out to preach in the compound, and he does the work of the morning as cheerfully as that of the afternoon."<sup>69</sup>

Dinnerstein adds: "As masters, the missionaries considered themselves superior to, and more competent than, their servants - the Christian converts."<sup>70</sup> This conviction became the conventional missionary philosophy in the AZM.<sup>71</sup>

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67. *Ibid.*, p. 46.

68. Missionaries saw themselves as "helpers and benefactors" of the African people. P.B. Dahle, "The Zulus' Future" (Natal, 1910), p. 12.

69. Quoted from correspondence dated 1902, Dinnerstein, "The American Board Mission to the Zulu 1853-1900", p. 54. The American missionary Dinnerstein is referring to was H.D. Goodenough who taught at Adams College before 1900.

70. Dinnerstein, "The American board Mission to the Zulu 1835-1900", p. 54.

71. *Ibid.* This paternalistic character of the missionaries is evident as early as the 1850s. The missionaries saw themselves as 'guardians' of the inhabitants in the mission reserves. See end of section Founders of Adams College.

### Official Educational Policy 1835-1900

When examining the educational policy for Africans during the 19th century, one cannot ignore the issue of industrial or vocational education.<sup>72</sup> During the 1800s the government did not show much interest in African education, however when it did, practical education was always encouraged. In 1839 a Department of Education was established in the Cape with James Rose-Innes as the first Superintendent-General of Education, and it was this year when the mission schools came under the charge of this department.<sup>73</sup> During the late 1830s the primary object of the missionaries was the conversion of the 'Natives' and what industrial instruction was given, was largely incidental.<sup>74</sup>

According to Emanuelson the emphasis in mission schools in Natal during the 1840s and early 1850s was always on 'civilization' and 'social advancement'.<sup>75</sup> However it was not long before the demand for industrial training for Africans became apparent. This was first reflected in Natal, in the report of the Commission of Inquiry in 1853. According to this Natal Native Commission "There should be a Government Industrial School in each village, in which the elements of gardening and

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72. The terms 'industrial training or education', 'vocational training', 'practical education' and 'manual work' used in this thesis require explanation. Industrial or vocational education was concerned with preparing African students for a specific trade. The emphasis was therefore on practical instruction and utility as opposed to academic education. Manual work was also evident in mission schools, not just as a subject but as an extra-curricular activity or used as a form of punishment.
73. Behr, New Perspectives in South African Education, p. 159.
74. A.D. Dodd, Native Vocational Training A Study of Conditions in South Africa, 1652-1936 (Lovedale Press, 1938), p. 59.
75. Emanuelson, "A History of Native Education in Natal", p. 25.

agriculture, as well as some of the more easy and useful trades, should be taught."<sup>76</sup>

Mission schools such as Adams College, began to depend heavily on government grants. The government specified the conditions under which grants were made and in doing so exerted their influence on the curriculum. Kallaway claims:

Industrial education sought to adapt the education curriculum of colonised peoples to the "realities" of the labour market by abandoning an academic curriculum in favour of a focus on practical arts and agriculture.<sup>77</sup>

- In 1854 Sir George Grey was appointed as governor of the Cape. He showed an interest in black schooling and "held education to be a prime weapon in the subjugation of the indigenous population."<sup>78</sup> Grey stressed the advantages of industrial education in the Cape and influenced the Natal government to think along similar lines. Grey placed the missionaries at the centre of his schemes for education. According to Majeke "He gave financial support for increased missionary activity and the establishment of mission schools".<sup>79</sup> Majeke asserts that it is clear that Grey related education directly to his labour policy. According to Grey

The Natives are to become useful servants, consumers of our goods, contributors to our revenue, in short a source of strength and wealth to this Colony, such as Providence designed them to be.<sup>80</sup>

Grey proclaimed that 'Native' education was too bookish and went about to promote schemes for industrial education. He claimed that the establishment of missions

76. Dodd, Native Vocational Training, p. 59.

77. P. Kallaway "Colonial Education in Natal: The Zwaartkop Government Native School, 1888-1892", Perspectives in Education 10, 2 (1988/9), p. 17. At Amanzimtoti Seminary there was a move away from academic subjects, which were taught in the 1860s and 1870s, to a practical focus in the 1880s and 1890s - see section Adams College in the 19th Century.

78. Molteno, "The Historical Foundations of the Schooling of Black South Africans", p. 50.

79. Majeke, The Role of the Missionaries in Conquest, p. 68.

80. Ibid., p. 66.

connected with industrial schools were necessary in order to raise the Africans in "Christianity and civilisation". He also stated that Africans should be employed on public works, trained in agriculture and in simple arts.<sup>81</sup>

Schools such as Lovedale fell into line with Grey's new policy. This institution, and other centres, introduced industrial departments.<sup>82</sup> However it is interesting to note that the missionaries were also instructed to

give higher education to a portion of the native youths, to raise up among them what might be called an educated class, from which might be selected teachers of the young, catechists, evangelists and ultimately even fully-qualified preachers of the gospel.<sup>83</sup>

Majeke states that two points regarding Grey's educational policy are noteworthy. Firstly his policy recognised the necessity for creating a special, privileged 'class' of educated Africans who would carry out the work of the missionaries among their own people, a 'class' that would tend to owe allegiance to the government. Secondly his policy was relating black education to economic needs and labour requirements.<sup>84</sup>

Grey hoped that mission schools could play a part in bringing the frontier under British control, and believed that Africans influenced and educated by missionaries would not make war on the frontiers. Grey saw education as the most important factor in the peaceful subjugation of Africans, and persuaded the British Government to subsidize missionary institutions so that they could train Africans in industrial occupations, and to act as interpreters, evangelists and schoolmasters amongst their own people.<sup>85</sup> He believed that then the Africans would be

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81. Rose and Tunmer, Documents in South African Education, p. 205.

82. Adams College only opened up an Industrial Department in 1884 under the leadership of Hugh Russel. Goodenough was principal of the college at this time. See section Adams College in the 19th Century.

83. Majeke, The Role of the Missionaries in Conquest, pp. 68-9.

84. Ibid., p. 69.

85. Behr, New Perspectives in south African Education, pp.159-160.

won by our exertions to Christianity, trained by us in agriculture and in simple arts,... accustomed to our laws and aware of their advantages, attached to us from a sense of benefits received, respecting us for our strength and generosity.<sup>86</sup>

It was only in 1856, due to the influence of Grey, and Bishop Colenso, Bishop of Natal since 1853, that the first legislation regarding 'native education' was passed in Natal. According to this legislation most African schools were placed under the supervision and management of the missionaries, but were to be inspected and reported on by a government inspector of schools.<sup>87</sup> The subjects of instruction were to be religious education, industrial training, and instruction in the English language.

During 1856-57 the missionaries in Natal first received government aid. Dodd remarks that it is difficult to say how much industrial or agricultural training was given in the schools. However, it is known that the colonial government withheld grants from any school which did not make provision for industrial training.<sup>88</sup> Ordinance 2 of 1856 stated that grants were to be given to missions which encouraged industrial training.<sup>89</sup> Switzer claims that in 1856, when Natal was granted representative government under a royal charter, one of the clauses stipulated that £5,000 a year was to be appropriated 'for Native purposes' outside the control of the newly-established Legislative Council.<sup>90</sup> However, according to Switzer, the government never spent the full amount set aside for Africans. It was only after 1864 that "government grants played an ever-increasing role in the growth of the Missions'

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86. Rose & Tunmer, Documents in South African Education, p. 205.

87. C.T. Loram, The Education of the South African Native (London, 1917), p. 55.

88. Dodd, Native Vocational Training, p. 60. Amanzimtoti Seminary was only given government aid in 1865.

89. Ibid.

90. Switzer, "The Problems of an African mission", p. 233.

school system."<sup>91</sup>

In 1858 a Select Committee on Education in Natal concerned itself with the schooling of Africans and recommended a "comprehensive system of English Education for the Natives". As a result the Governor was asked to act as "General Inspector of Education" for the inspection of African schools. But no inspections took place until 1864.<sup>92</sup> During the late 1850s Shepstone, the Secretary for Native Affairs also saw industrial training as playing a vital role in educating Africans. In 1858 he summarised his goals for African education. According to Kallaway, Shepstone

placed the teaching of morality (or the fundamentals of the overt and hidden curriculum) on an equal footing with the need to 'induce industry', which could be taken to mean encouraging the norms or values of the Victorian work ethic, as well as the actual acquisition of work-related skills.<sup>93</sup>

In 1858 Shepstone claimed that "To improve the barbaric mind, it is as necessary to induce industry as to teach morality."<sup>94</sup> Shepstone wanted to establish "model mechanical schools" to teach improved agricultural practices.<sup>95</sup> The Natal colonial government accepted the desirability of industrial education, but its actions were negative and it refused to give financial aid to mission schools unless they followed the set curriculum.<sup>96</sup>

In 1863 Langham Dale, Superintendent-General of Education in the Cape, also encouraged a practical slant in African education. According to Rose and Tunmer, Dale "proposed a series of grants to schools which would encourage the

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91. Ibid.

92. Behr & MacMillan, Education in South Africa, p. 334.

93. Kallaway, "The Zwaartkops Government Industrial Native School in Natal", p. 19.

94. Ibid., p. 17.

95. Rose & Tunmer, Documents in South African Education, p. 209.

96. Ibid.

teaching of needlework to girls and carpentry, shoemaking, printing to boys and which could also create black-smiths, gardeners and domestic servants".<sup>97</sup> Not only did Dale stress the need for a more practical education but also one that avoided "over-refinement". Dale believed in the "advantages of a simple and thorough training in the rudiments of elementary education"<sup>98</sup>. In 1869 he stated that

To give a high education to Kaffir boys, and then to leave them isolated from their own people in thoughts and habits, and to some extent in language, and without any prospect of useful and settled occupation in another sphere of labour, is only to increase the existing temptations of the so called school Kaffir to fall into the vices of the low Europeans with whom they are brought into contact.<sup>99</sup>

The emphasis on industrial training was expounded further with the beginning of a mineral revolution in South Africa. The 1870s and 1880s

ushered in a new era in the history of Natal..there was a partial revival of ...ideas linked to the need for artisans and semi-skilled labour in an expanding economy that was centered on the Diamond Fields, the construction of railways to the interior and the emergence of plantation agriculture in the sugar areas of the coastal plain.<sup>100</sup>

The emergence of a modern economy stimulated the need for industrial skills to enable Africans to move into the labour market. This influenced the Inspectors of Native Education to promote industrial education for Africans.<sup>101</sup>

In 1881-1882 the need for industrial training was emphasised by the Report of the Natal Native Commission. The Commission suggested the apprenticing

97. *Ibid.*, pp. 206-207.

98. *Ibid.*, p. 206. Langham Dale, Superintendent-General of Education, June 1863.

99. *Ibid.*, p. 208. Langham Dale, Superintendent General of Education, June 1869. It is interesting to note that in 1891 he still believed in the detriment of too high a standard of education. He said: "Knowledge is power even to them, but it may be power for ill." Rose & Tunmer, Documents in South African Education, p. 212.

100. Kallaway, "The Zwaartkops Government Industrial Native School in Natal", p. 20.

101. *Ibid.*, p. 21.

of 'Natives' to European tradesmen,<sup>102</sup> and also stated "...we think it would be also desirable to have a school or schools in which such youths might be taught the elements of trades, so as to know something of them before they are apprenticed." The Report defined "trades" as having instruction in masonry, carpentry, and iron and leather work.<sup>103</sup> The 1881 Natal Commission was asked to investigate the implications of Shepstone's legal policy. Matters such as "the progress of the natives towards civilisation" and education were included in the terms of reference, but in the event education received little attention.<sup>104</sup>

In 1884 the control, organisation and direction of African, or what was called 'Native' Education (previously under direct control of the Governor), was now placed under the Natal Council of Education. The Council had the power to establish and maintain government schools, assist approved mission schools, frame regulations, appoint teachers, and prescribe the curriculum to be followed.<sup>105</sup> A separate curriculum was drawn up for African schools and a system of inspection was introduced. The syllabus to be followed was set out in an outline which stressed industrial training. The curriculum included: the reading and writing of English; the reading and writing of Zulu; arithmetic; elements of industrial training (for boys) and needlework (for girls).<sup>106</sup> According to Loram the curriculum also included 'instruction in the principles of morality'.<sup>107</sup>

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102. Dodd, Native Vocational Training, p. 60. See also Emanuelson, "A History of Native Education", p. 99.

103. Rose & Tunmer, Documents in South African Education, pp. 210-211. Report of the Natal Native Commission 1881-1882.

104. Ibid.

105. Behr & Macmillan, Education in South Africa, p. 334. and Switzer, "The Problems of an African Mission", p. 242.

106. Behr, New Perspectives in Education, p. 161. and Emanuelson, "A History of Native Education", p. 107.

107. Loram, The Education of the South African Native, p. 57.

Law No.1 of 1884<sup>108</sup> had, among other things, outlined a course of instruction which made 'Elements of industrial training' a condition for government aid to African schools.<sup>109</sup> Switzer states that, 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. 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. Nevertheless, it seems as if these regulations were, in fact, a blatant attempt to discourage academic training for Africans. This contradicted what was to be one of the main aims of the American Mission.<sup>110</sup> According to Switzer most missionaries were not in favour of specialised industrial training if it was to be at the expense of an academic education.<sup>111</sup>

The first inspector of Native Education in Natal, F.B. Fynney, was appointed in 1884. Fynney showed an interest in industrial work. Fynney's report of 1885 states that "in addition to sewing in the girls schools the industrial subjects taught in a limited number of the boys schools included farming, housework,

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108. Extracts of this Law 1 of 1884, can be found in Emanuelson, "A History of Native Education", pp.106-110.

109. In 1884 Amanzimtoti Seminary opened an industrial school primarily so they could qualify for government aid. See section Adams College in the 19th Century.

110. Switzer, "The Problems of an African Mission", pp. 243-4.

111. Ibid., p. 245.

carpentry and gardening."<sup>112</sup> Fynney emphasized that "No training can be regarded as industrial which does not provide for the teaching of trades or agriculture or some productive labour that would enable the student to earn a living."<sup>113</sup> During this time many whites believed that schools should teach Africans to do lower-level, manual work.

In 1888 (Law No. 38) the government added 'manual' to the 'Elements of industrial training' so that schools could be aided even if they did not teach trades or handicrafts.<sup>114</sup> Government-aided schools were divided into three classes based on the industrial or manual training done at each school. This was so that those missionary societies which 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 recognised trades or handicrafts. Second-class schools were those where unskilled 'manual or field labour' was done regularly and carried out under the supervision of teachers; and third-class schools were those where no regular instruction was given in trades or handicrafts, or in industrial or manual instruction.<sup>115</sup> The Council of Education now officially recognised 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 labour or industrial training.<sup>116</sup>

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112. Dodd, Native Vocational Training, p. 61.

113. Loram, The Education of the South African Native, p. 58.

114. Switzer, "The Problems of an African Mission", p. 245.

115. Ibid., p. 245; Dodd, Native Vocational training, p. 62; Emanuelson, "A History of Native Education", p. 118.

116. Switzer, "The Problems of an African Mission", p. 245.

Langham Dale who retired at the end of 1891, summarised his thoughts on African education in his last annual report. He saw schools for Africans as "hostages for peace". He also singled out the issue of "manual industry" and stated that boys should be trained "to use the spade and the hoe, the plane and the saw, the mason's trowel and the plumb-line."<sup>117</sup> During the late 1880s many schools attempted to establish industrial departments and to improve their apparatus and equipment in the hope of earning better grants. They wanted to move away from the manual activities to more skilled training. This was also because "many parents were not in favour of 'work' in the schools, which they looked upon as places of 'learning' only. 'Work', they said, came in out-of-school and after-school life".<sup>118</sup>

In 1894, with Responsible Government, the structure of African education was revised. The Council of Education was abolished and the Natal Education Department created. A Sub-department of Native Education under the control of the Superintendent of Education, was developed and the necessary funds for its maintenance voted by the Natal parliament. This system continued until 1910 when further changes were brought about by the Act of Union.<sup>119</sup> A Superintendent, later called Director of Education, was put in charge of the Department, and he was responsible to the Minister of Education. Robert Russell held this position, as superintendent until 1903.<sup>120</sup>

African education was now in the hands of a new settler government. No more grants were made to mission schools in 1895, and according to the report of the

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117. Rose and Tunmer, Documents in South African Education, pp. 211-212. Also see Majeke, The Role of Missionaries in Conquest, pp. 135-6.

118. Emanuelson, "A History of Native Education", p. 120.

119. Behr & MacMillan, Education in South Africa, p. 334.

120. Ibid., pp. 112-118.

Superintendent of Education in that year, "no grants were to be made in the future to Native industrial schools in which the goods produced were likely to compete with European trade."<sup>121</sup> The new settler government was against industrial instruction which taught trades instead of simple manual labour. By 1898, at nearly every school the industrial teaching staff had been dismissed and industrial departments closed.<sup>122</sup> However by 1902 this agitation had declined and government aid continued.<sup>123</sup>

The white settlers in Natal from the 1840s had visualised Africans as a potentially large and willing labour force.<sup>124</sup> Dinnerstein observes that "The existence of independent, cohesive tribal units made the Africans less readily available as workers. The colonists therefore resented any policy which limited their labour supply."<sup>125</sup> Government thinking during the 19th century (especially the latter years) stressed the link between education and labour. Kallaway suggests that "This policy is to be understood as part of the general government policy of the time to promote the formation of a class of Africans who would stimulate the commercial and cultural values of the colonial world".<sup>126</sup>

The emphasis on the usefulness of Africans had not changed by the early 1900s. A paper presented to a Natal Missionary conference in 1910 by Rev. P. Blessing Dahle, stated that

The more the Native is civilized, the more is he valuable to the state, and the more does he promote commerce and public revenue. Every

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121. Dodd, Native Vocational Training, p. 63.  
 122. In 1984 Amanzimtoti seminary had to be closed down for six months. See section Adams College in the 19th Century.  
 123. Dodd, Native Vocational Training, pp. 63-64.  
 124. According to Switzer the dominant white settler society was demanding cheap black labour, p. 541.  
 125. Dinnerstein, "The American Board Mission to the Zulu 1835-1900", p. 39.  
 126. Kallaway, "The Zwaartkops Government Industrial Native School in Natal", p. 19.

Native who wears European clothes, who builds European houses, etc., is far more valuable to trade and commerce than the so called 'raw kaffir'.<sup>127</sup>

According to Blessing Dahle the government was not doing enough to promote "Native" education; and even from a commercial point of view the government should be prepared to do more.<sup>128</sup> Blessing Dahle adds that colonists should look upon the missionaries as... the most effectual commercial agents..."<sup>129</sup>

Educational policy for Africans in the 19th century revealed a strong link between schooling and work. Successive governments set up educational systems which reflected their needs at that time. It became increasingly obvious that industrial education was a method of moulding African education to fit a changing economy.

#### Adams College in the 19th Century

Adams College, a "seminary for lads",<sup>130</sup> was officially opened in 1853 at Amanzimtoti. Adams College, then known as Amanzimtoti Institute, was established by the American Board on the mission station originally founded by Adams.<sup>131</sup> To ensure the continuation of Adams's work as doctor, preacher and teacher, the American Board sent Rev Rood to Amanzimtoti "with the express object of opening a school for those capable of profiting from a course of studies beyond that provided in

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127. Dahle, "The Zulu's Future", p. 9.

128. Ibid.

129. Ibid.

130. Female students were only admitted in 1909.

131. Dr Newton Adams died in 1851.

the normal day school."<sup>132</sup> Adams was never forgotten as founder of the school, which was renamed after him in the 1930s.

The school was opened by Rood, the principal and sole teacher, with the purpose of training young men for the ministry. In 1853 there were nine students and by 1857 the school had twenty-five.<sup>133</sup> Most of the seminary students were grown men, although a class of boys was admitted in 1855.<sup>134</sup> Many of them were family men who brought their wives and children with them. From the 1850s a distinct community of African Christians, a mission-educated elite, began to emerge. These were people who had broken with 'traditionalism' and were trying to conform to the new imposed missionary lifestyle which was "Christian, temperate, literate, honest and generally without malice...".<sup>135</sup>

In 1860 the day school at Amanzimtoti was self-supporting.<sup>136</sup> It was only in 1865, after discussion with Robert Mann, Superintendent of Education, that government grants were made available to the school. In 1865 Amanzimtoti Seminary received a grant of £100 from the government and a donation of £100 from Durban people to erect a permanent building.<sup>137</sup> In 1871 the Amanzimtoti Institute erected another building which was later to become the high school and library.<sup>138</sup> Help was

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132. Grant, "Educational Institutions", p. 526.

133. Dinnerstein, "The American Board mission to the Zulu 1835-1900", pp. 138-9. According to Christofersen there were 20 pupils in 1856, Christofersen, Adventuring with God, p. 36.

134. Reverend William Ireland, "Sketch of the Zulu Mission 1835-1885," Jubilee of the American Mission in Natal 1835-1885. Natal: Horne Brothers, 1886, p. 31. Quoted in Dinnerstein, "The American Board mission to the Zulu 1835-1900", pp.138-9.

135. Vilakazi, Zulu Transformations, p. 128.

136. Christofersen, Adventuring with God, p. 39.

137. Ibid., p. 41 and Dexter Taylor, One Hundred Years of the American Board Mission, p. 35.

138. This building was used as the high school until it was burnt down in 1947. See Part III for details of student unrest.

received from America and the local white community, and money was raised by the students themselves.<sup>139</sup> 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.<sup>140</sup>

Despite this assistance, the school struggled financially. In 1865 school fees were introduced. Students who could not pay fees worked at the mission station for six hours a day. If they paid half their fees they worked for three hours a day.<sup>141</sup> "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."<sup>142</sup> When Cowles was principal he started a school farm, using the pupils as labourers, to meet the food requirements of the school. This venture was not successful as most of the crops failed.

In 1864, the Amanzimtoti Seminary had eleven boys, ranging in age between thirteen and eighteen.<sup>143</sup> The Amanzimtoti Institute's annual reports from 1865-1880 state that the curriculum consisted of arithmetic, biblical and secular history, geography, zoology, English grammar and reading in English and Zulu.<sup>144</sup> In the evenings the students studied the Bible and a chronological catechism of the Gospels which Ireland hoped would fix in their minds an important part of Biblical history.<sup>145</sup> Each pupil had to devote part of his day working to pay for his food. The mission treasury took care of other expenses, including clothing and books.<sup>146</sup>

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139. "A Notable Centenary. Adams College 1853-1953" *Natal Witness*, 22/6/1953.

140. Switzer, "The Problems of an African Mission", p. 235.

141. *Ibid.*, p. 298.

142. *Ibid.*

143. Dinnerstein, "The American Board Mission to the Zulu 1835-1900", p. 151.

144. Etherington, *Preachers Peasants and Politics*, p. 130.

145. Dinnerstein, "The American Board mission to the Zulu 1835-1900", p. 151, quotes Ireland in Second Annual Report of Amanzimtoti High School, 1867. According to Christofersen, *Adventuring with God* p. 51, William Ireland was Principal and teacher at Adams College in the 1870s.

146. Dinnerstein, "The American Board Mission to the Zulu 1835-1900", pp. 138-9.

Besides this elementary instruction there were also classes in algebra, geometry, physics and chemistry.<sup>147</sup> Greek, Latin and moral philosophy were also taught at Amanzimtoti Seminary.<sup>148</sup> Emanuelson states that the education during this time was probably "largely academic rather than professional".<sup>149</sup> There is no evidence of extra-curricular activities at Amanzimtoti before the 1900s, except that soccer was started in the 1890s. Before this time it appears that any after-school activities would have been of a religious nature.

The missionaries concentrated on remoulding African consciousness to a new set of values and a new way of life. An example of their way of thinking can be seen in the attitude of Goodenough, principal at the school from 1881-1887. He said that an "intellectual" education was best for Africans, for the following reasons:

Natives are lazy, not because they do not know how to work, but because they do not have sufficient inducement to work. *The first step in their elevation is not to teach them to work, but to teach them to want ...* It is not so much what is learnt, or how much is remembered, or whether any direct use is made of the knowledge required. It is what the education does to quicken and develop and discipline the mind that gives it 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.<sup>150</sup>

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147. Dexter Taylor, *One Hundred Years of the American Board Mission*, pp. 35-36.  
 148. Switzer, "The Problems of an African Mission", p. 291. Switzer states that the following subjects were taught at Amanzimtoti Seminary during the 19th century: Greek, Latin, algebra, astronomy, moral philosophy, world history and the history of Christianity.  
 149. Emanuelson, "A History of Native Education", p. 92.  
 150. Goodenough's emphasis. Goodenough to the Natal Missionary Conference, quoted in Switzer, "The Problems of an African Mission", p. 292.

Adams and Inanda<sup>151</sup> provided Africans with an opportunity for gaining a good standard of education. Both institutions trained their students for teaching. This education also equipped them for independence from the mission. The Wesleyans and the Anglicans under Bishop Colenso offered higher salaries than the American mission, and some of the graduates went to teach at those schools.<sup>152</sup> By 1881, from a total of 217 boys at Amanzimtoti, 84 had become teachers.<sup>153</sup>

Despite the ups and downs of the school during its early years, the number of students grew. Dinnerstein notes "the commitment of the Africans to an institution that would prepare them as teachers and assistants ... Grown men were willing to leave their stations and follow the missionary teacher, often uprooting their families to do so."<sup>154</sup> Enrolment at Amanzimtoti 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.<sup>155</sup> The enrolment of students was increasing, but the average attendance remained low and fluctuated in the later 1890s. In 1894 the total enrolment was 47 and the average attendance 39; in 1898 71 students were enrolled but only 53 attended school on average; in 1902 the total enrolment was 118 and the average attendance had dropped to 86 pupils.<sup>156</sup>

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151. At this stage Adams had only male students. Female students went to Inanda Seminary. Inanda Seminary was established in 1869 by the American Board of Missions. Daniel Lindley assisted in the foundation of Inanda Seminary. For more on Lindley see - H. Davies, Great South African Christians (London, 1951), and for a history on Inanda Seminary - see H. Hughes, "A Lighthouse for African womanhood: Inanda Seminary, 1869-1945" In Women and Gender in Southern Africa to 1945, pp. 197-220.
152. Dinnerstein, "The American Board Mission to the Zulu 1835-1900", p. 152.
153. Ibid., p. 151.
154. Ibid., p. 140.
155. Switzer, "The Problems of an African Mission", p. 296.
156. Ibid.

In the later 1890s the standard of instruction dropped. "By the late 1890s most of the pupils were at or below the minimum entrance standard set when the school opened in 1865."<sup>157</sup> During this time the curriculum consisted of a very basic instruction in English grammar, arithmetic, Natal history, English history, elementary science.<sup>158</sup> At this time there was also a shortage of teachers and Cowles used the students in the higher section to teach other students in lower classes. At this time there seems to be a decline in the number of pupils who took up teaching as a career. Up until 1881 approximately 37 per cent of the students took up teaching.<sup>159</sup> From 1881 to 1893 this figure dropped slightly to 35 per cent. However between 1893 and 1901, less than 15 per cent of those enrolled were attracted to teaching as a profession.<sup>160</sup> In the nine years that Cowles was principal only 18 students completed what was called the "entire course".<sup>161</sup>

It was during these latter years, when the school started to face financial difficulties,<sup>162</sup> that the government introduced a law that would make all schools for Africans introduce some form of manual labour or industrial training.<sup>163</sup> Although there were some missionaries who felt that these regulations conflicted with the mission's educational policy, there were other missionaries, such as Goodenough,

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157. *Ibid.*

158. *Ibid.*, p. 297.

159. Dinnerstein, "The American Board Mission to the Zulu 1835-1900", p. 151.

160. Switzer, "The Problems of an African Mission", p. 294.

161. *Ibid.*, p. 297.

162. According to Switzer the 1890s were financially the lowest point in the school's history. *Ibid.*, p. 298.

163. See section on Official Educational Policy. It can't only be coincidental that the period 1880-1900 was "a time when agriculture in Natal was undergoing the transition to capitalist production and when the labour market of Southern Africa was undergoing dramatic changes under the impact of the industrial and commercial expansion that followed the mineral discoveries". Kallaway, "The Zwaarkops Government Industrial Native School in Natal", p.18.

who felt that "the Mission should renew efforts to develop the economic potential of the Reserves and saw the government's concern for manual and industrial training as a favourable opportunity".<sup>164</sup> In the 1880s many missionaries responded to the Council's regulations by establishing elaborate industrial departments in the boarding schools.<sup>165</sup>

Goodenough, who replaced Ireland in 1881 as principal, realised that the school would only receive more government aid, if it satisfied the government's industrial requirements.<sup>166</sup> In 1884-5, Jubilee Hall, 'the most ambitious building scheme undertaken by the Mission up to that date' was constructed. This new school building provided an ideal opportunity to start an industrial department, especially since the boys were now adequately housed in a building they had constructed largely by themselves. Goodenough believed that an industrial section would provide a healthy counterbalance to the school's traditional emphasis on academic course work. He also believed it would satisfy the Council of Education to know that the Amanzimtoti Mission was not unaware of the value of industrial training.<sup>167</sup>

In 1884 an industrial department was established at Amanzimtoti under the leadership of Hugh Russell, who headed the department for about 10 years.<sup>168</sup> In 1887 the industrial training offered mainly carpentry but also bee-keeping, bricklaying, book-binding, bookkeeping and cartography.<sup>169</sup>

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164. Switzer, "The Problems of an African Mission", p. 246.

165. The Zwaartkop Government Industrial Native School was established in 1887 but was unsuccessful and had to close in 1892. See Kallaway "The Zwaartkops Government Industrial Native School in Natal", pp. 17-32.

166. Switzer, "The Problems of an African Mission", p. 247.

167. Ibid.

168. Ibid.

169. Ibid., p. 248.

In 1887 Amanzimtoti received £100 from the government for industrial training.<sup>170</sup> However this financial assistance was not enough as the industrial department, like the rest of the school, continued to face financial difficulties. In an attempt to solve the problem, Russell suggested that the department be turned into a competitive business proposition under his personal control, and the mission agreed. By 1892 there were 21 people in the industrial department, of whom 10 were fully fledged apprentices.<sup>171</sup> In 1893 there was a new plan for the distribution of government grants to secondary education. The situation was particularly grave at Amanzimtoti Seminary where per capita grants were a disadvantage because enrolment was still low. 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.<sup>172</sup> To add to the problem, the American Board sent no further financial support after 1894.<sup>173</sup> George Cowles, principal at the time, could not keep the industrial department going on this basis. Russell was dropped, the apprentices released, the equipment was sold and the industrial department collapsed.<sup>174</sup> With a debt of £140 Amanzimtoti Institute had to shut its doors for six months. 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".<sup>175</sup> Some sort of industrial training must have continued when the school reopened. Switzer, says that there is no

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170. *Ibid.*

171. *Ibid.*, p. 249.

172. *Ibid.*, p. 265.

173. Du Plessis, *A History of Christian Missions*, p. 304.

174. Switzer, "The Problems of an African Mission", p. 265.

175. *Ibid.*

doubt that the industrial department in 1910 was of a far lower standard than it had been in 1890.<sup>176</sup>

During the 19th century the Amanzimtoti Institute confronted several problems, especially in the 1890s. A major problem was the lack of financial resources. After 1894, with no further financial support from the Board, the principle of self-support and self-propagation was introduced at an early stage.<sup>177</sup> When Goodenough resigned in 1887, there was no one to take his place and the school had four principals in five years.<sup>178</sup> In 1893 George Cowles became principal and took over at an unstable time. Throughout the 19th century most of the principals had the same aims, namely to "prepare the students for their pre-ordained vocations ... concentrating on a potentially sophisticated program of academic studies."<sup>179</sup> Switzer maintains that even under Goodenough, industrial training played a subordinate role, and states: "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."<sup>180</sup>

The early missionaries demanded drastic changes from their converts.

These people

had to clothe themselves according to missionary standards of decency. They had to rearrange the sexual division of labour and so take women out of agriculture labour and turn them into housewives. They had to try to live, as near as their income would permit, in European houses and clothes. But all these requirements were

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176. *Ibid.*, p. 266-7.

177. Du Plessis, *A History of Christian Missions*, pp. 303-304.

178. Switzer, "The Problems of an African Mission", p. 295.

179. *Ibid.*, p. 291.

180. *Ibid.*, p. 291.

minor compared to the missionary assault on two basic institution of family life: polygamy and lobola.<sup>181</sup>

The missionaries attempted to educate a group of Africans and to raise them to what they believed was a superior level. These people were to be examples to the non-believers and to assist in educating the African masses so that they too would have the opportunity to "shine".<sup>182</sup> This interplay between the American missionaries and the African converts allowed not only for an educated African elite to emerge, but also the development of an African leadership. Mission education resulted in a group of Africans who became leaders in their community. The converts who were taught independence, individuality and self-help were soon to criticize any form of paternalism and racial prejudice.

When assessing whether or not the missionaries were successful in achieving their original goals, one could argue that statistically speaking they had rather negative results. During the first five decades of their work in Natal the missionaries produced an African Christian population of less than 10 000, well under 10 per cent of the African population.<sup>183</sup> However it was this ten per cent who soon came to be admired, and African people became hungry for instruction. Formal school education in the 'western' mode soon came to be valued by many Africans as a means of advancement in society. Vilakazi suggests that "In a sense, missionary education and missionary contact gave the African an urban orientation, not only in

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181. Etherington, "Christianity and African society in nineteenth-century Natal", p. 281.

182. It is interesting to note that Luthuli (past student and teacher at Adams College), in his Nobel Peace Prize Address, revealed his links with his Alma Mater when he stated "Arise and shine for thy light is come." T. Karis and G. Carter, Challenge and Violence. Vol. 3, p. 715. Also see Appendix C.

183. Etherington, "Christianity and African Society in nineteenth-century Natal", p. 282.

his technical preparation but also in the cultural sphere."<sup>184</sup> Many began to see the importance of sending their children to a good school. Mphahlele<sup>185</sup>, a well known African writer and past student of Adams College, remembers his grandmother during his childhood in the 1920s saying: "You must starve yourself, stinge yourself rice and stew if you want your children to go to college..."<sup>186</sup>

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184. Vilakazi, Zulu Transformations, pp. 121-2.

185. See Appendix C.

186. E. Mphahlele, Down Second Avenue (London, 1959), pp. 123-4.

## Part II

### EDUCATION FOR ASSIMILATION

From the time of Union in 1910, education was placed in the hands of the provinces. A Natal superintendent of education was in charge of African education in the province. In 1917 the Natal Education Department decided to appoint a Chief inspector of Native Education, and C. T. Loram was the first to hold this position.

From the early 1900s liberal segregationists, such as Loram, rejected assimilation yet permitted "racial upliftment".<sup>1</sup> Loram started to implement a curriculum promoting his segregationist views, a curriculum which was practised in schools such as Adams College. Within liberal circles, by the 1930s, the emphasis on segregation had lost credibility and social theorists now recognised the need for an "adaptationist policy".<sup>2</sup> From the 1930s liberal educationalists, believing in the inevitability of human progress, encouraged an optimistic assimilationist ideology.

In order to understand the type of education received by the students at Adams from the early 1900s to the 1950s, it is necessary to examine the ideas of the school authorities. It was their thinking and influence which shaped the education offered at Adams. Students educated at mission schools such as Adams were taught to believe in the possibility of a utopian world of universalism and non-racialism that was antithetical to the racist world of apartheid.<sup>3</sup> It was within the walls of mission institutions that African humanism, as defined by Chanaiwa, was developed:

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1. S. Dubow, "Race, civilisation and culture: the elaboration of segregation discourse in the inter-war years", in S. Marks and S. Trapido (eds.), The Politics of Race, Class and Nationalism in Twentieth Century South Africa (London, 1987), pp. 71-94.
  2. G. N. Heaton Nicholls developed the idea of what he preferred to call 'adaptation'. See Marks and Trapido (eds.), The Politics of Race Class and Nationalism pp. 9-10, and Heaton Nicholls, "South African Native Policy", African Affairs 44, (1945), pp. 73-80.
  3. Chanaiwa, "African Humanism in Southern Africa", p. 9.

... mission schools were mainly indoctrination centres for an alien culture, where impressionable African youths were introduced to the capitalist-Protestant ethics of piety, thrift, industriousness, sobriety, and respectability. They lived in an experimental educational environment of spiritualism, strict discipline, as well as nonethnicity, nonracialism, and universalism - all of which provided them their principles and values for private and public life. Thus, their education was not just a process of acquiring knowledge; it also was a way of living and feeling.<sup>4</sup>

According to Elphick almost all liberals were people of deep personal piety.<sup>5</sup> To understand the liberalism of the 1900s, and its influence on the education at Adams College, it is useful to look at the thinking of personalities such as Le Roy, Matthews, Brookes and Grant. These people attempted to instil knowledge and skills which they believed were beneficial to the students. Despite some periods of regression, the school on the whole during its 103 years, was noted for providing Africans with opportunities which were unavailable to the majority of African youth. For instance it was one of the first African schools to introduce co-education, to teach mathematics and science to Africans, to provide matriculation and post-matriculation courses, and to give responsible posts to Africans.

### Teaching and Curriculum

#### *Albert Le Roy 1901-1926*

In 1901 Rev Albert Le Roy came from America and was made principal of Amanzimtoti Seminary. He remained so for the following 25 years. In 1906 Le Roy

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4. *Ibid.*, pp. 11-12.

5. Elphick, "Mission Christianity and Interwar Liberalism", p. 67.

saw Amanzimtoti Seminary as being "instrumental in the training of native young men, preparing them to become, not only preachers and teachers, but artisans and day-labourers as well."<sup>6</sup> This term 'day-labourer' is significant when looking at African education in the early 1900s, especially in terms of educational policy during this time.

Le Roy was described by Grant as:

... a most vigorous Principal and administrator, a man of vision and drive, a man capable of winning the confidence of his staff and pupils, and at the same time a man capable of winning the confidence and full-hearted co-operation of the leaders of the Education Department.<sup>7</sup>

It is important to note that when Le Roy came to take charge of the college "there began an educational partnership of great significance".<sup>8</sup> Le Roy's great friend was Dr Charles T. Loram, from Pietermaritzburg, and successively Chief Inspector of Native Education, Member of the Native Affairs Commission and Superintendent of Education for Natal. Loram was to have an important influence over Le Roy in matters of education and in reforming the curriculum at Adams College.

Loram has been classed as both a segregationist and a liberal. Rich has described him as a "prominent white liberal" who took over the role of chief ideologist of white liberalism in the 1920s.<sup>9</sup> Saul Dubow has labelled Loram a segregationist<sup>10</sup> and defines segregation as denoting

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6. ABM papers D/1/91. A.E. Le Roy, "The Educated Zulu" A paper read before the South African General Missionary Conference, (1906), p. 3.
  7. Grant, "Educational Institutions", p. 526.
  8. "A Notable Centenary, Adams College 1853-1953" Natal Witness, 22/6/1953.
  9. Rich, White Power and the Liberal Conscience, pp. 17-18; R.D. Heyman, "C.T. Loram: A South African Liberal in Race Relations" The International Journal of African Historical Studies 5, (1972), pp.41-50 and R. Hunt Davis, "Charles T. Loram and the American Model for African Education in South Africa", in Kallaway (ed.), Apartheid and Education, p. 109 all label Loram as a "liberal".
  10. Dubow, Racial Segregation and the Origins of Apartheid, p. 6 and p. 21.

a complex amalgam of political, ideological and administrative strategies designed to maintain and entrench white supremacy at every level. It was elaborated in the context of South Africa's experience of rapid industrialisation and was intended to defend the prevailing social order from the threat posed by the growth of a potentially militant African proletariat.<sup>11</sup>

Incorporating both notions, Dubow has also used the term 'liberal segregationist'.<sup>12</sup>

Dubow explains that exponents of segregationist ideas, at least until the mid-1920s, viewed segregation "as a just and pragmatic policy, which would preserve white supremacy while facilitating the development of Africans along 'separate lines'".<sup>13</sup>

During the 1920s educationalists in the government focused their attention on the educated African intelligentsia in the towns. Loram was, as member of both the Native Affairs Commission and the Native Churches Commission, in a good position to influence governmental thinking on this.<sup>14</sup> Loram wanted to educate Africans in a way that would 'train' them for a life in a modern society, yet serve to limit any challenge that they might pose to white control. Dubow elucidates that the "segregationist ideology was an unashamed paternalism towards Africans and an unquestioning commitment to the maintenance of white supremacy."<sup>15</sup> Like most white educators of his time, Loram aimed at preventing an African educated class who could compete with the European".<sup>16</sup>

After observing various educational methods, Loram began to draw heavily on the American approach to black schooling. Loram found that the

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11. Ibid., p. 1.

12. Ibid., p. 8.

13. Ibid., p. 6-7.

14. Rich, White Power and the Liberal Conscience, pp. 17-18.

15. Dubow, Racial Segregation and the Origins of Apartheid, p. 45.

16. Heyman, "C.T. Loram: A South African Liberal", p. 43.

American model<sup>17</sup> contained "educational theories and practices that provided guidance for developing schools which would inculcate African subservience to and acceptance of white authority."<sup>18</sup> Loram believed that African education should be geared towards entrenching white control, and in order to do this the content should be revised. Loram maintained that the education given to Africans was too academic and not related to the everyday needs of the African people.<sup>19</sup>

It was in 1922, when Luthuli<sup>20</sup> first joined the teaching staff at Adams College under Le Roy, that African education in Natal was undergoing "drastic revision". Luthuli recalls that the "revolutionary at the helm"<sup>21</sup> was Loram, Natal's first Chief Inspector for Native Education. Loram's principal aim was to promote an elementary level of education emphasizing character training, habits of industry, use and appreciation of the vernacular, health and hygiene, agriculture and other practical subjects. Only a limited number of students were to attend approved teacher training institutions, and men were to train as farm demonstrators and women as home demonstrators at special schools set up for this purpose.<sup>22</sup>

Loram advocated a curriculum of 'practical' education for blacks and coined the phrase that blacks should 'develop along their own lines'. Couzens notes that this "idea of a separate kind of education did not catch on until the Bantu

17. Loram was influenced by what Booker T. Washington had accomplished at Tuskegee. During the post Civil War Reconstruction period there was a preference for negro education to be predominantly industrial and trades-oriented. Schools such as the Tuskegee Institute in Alabama, and Hampton in Virginia, produced students who were widely thought to be safe artisans and rural teachers, unchallenging of the white status quo.
18. Hunt Davis, "Charles T. Loram and the American Model", p. 109.
19. *Ibid.*, p. 113.
20. See Appendix C.
21. A. Luthuli, Let My People Go: An Autobiography (London, 1962), p. 35.
22. Hunt Davis, "Charles T. Loram and the American Model", p. 114.

Education Act of 1953 but it was very much part of the education debate of the time."<sup>23</sup> Dubow also recognises the early use of the language of apartheid:

Apartheid is conventionally regarded as having been introduced following the electoral victory of the Nationalist Party under Dr Malan in 1948. But fewer people are aware that it has a precursor in 'segregation', a policy dating back to the beginning of the twentieth century, and which in many respects established the ideological and political framework out of which apartheid was constructed and refined.<sup>24</sup>

Looking back to this period of Loram's involvement in African education, Luthuli recalled that it was fortunate that Loram did not stay in his position for long, although "it took longer to repair the damage than it had taken to inflict it."<sup>25</sup> Luthuli maintained however that Loram stayed long enough to initiate the idea of separate development, which was to "become one of the war-cries of Apartheid, and whether or not the Nationalists, have learned anything from his educational theory it has some similarity to theirs."<sup>26</sup> In retrospect Luthuli remarked,

For Dr Loram it can be said that his rash adventure was an experiment in keeping with current fashions elsewhere, especially in America....Against the present policy of the Nationalists it must be pointed out that they have resuscitated and intensified an approach already tried and abandoned.<sup>27</sup>

Loram attempted to articulate a detailed and differential educational policy appropriate to segregation.<sup>28</sup> He insisted on a practical education to equip African children "for the lives white South Africa decreed they would have to live.

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23. T. Couzens, The New African: A Study of the Life and Work of H.I.E. Dhlomo (Johannesburg, 1985), p. 50.

24. Dubow, Racial Segregation and the Origins of Apartheid, p.1.

25. Albert John Luthuli papers 1942-1967, AAS135, UNISA Library, Pretoria. Manuscript p. 31.

26. Ibid., pp. 31-32.

27. Ibid., p. 32.

28. Dubow, Racial Segregation and the Origins of Apartheid, p. 27.

Since they had been cast for the role of hewers of wood and drawers of water, their education must equip them to hew wood and draw water."<sup>29</sup>

Loram revised the syllabuses of the province's African secondary schools. Subjects such as algebra, geometry, and translation were dropped, as these subjects supposedly had no definite or practical bearing on African life. Physiology, hygiene, nature study and similar subjects, which had a practical and demonstrative value, were added to the syllabus; and there was an emphasis on manual work through courses such as agriculture, woodworking, needlework and domestic science.<sup>30</sup>

Owing to Loram's influence, manual work and menial crafts came to the fore at Adams College; and, according to Luthuli, standards in arithmetic, mathematics and English went downhill. For instance, an industrial department was started during Le Roy's time, offering 'useful' subjects such as tailoring, leather work, weaving, cabinet making and agriculture.<sup>31</sup> It seems that this must have been a direct result of Loram's introduction of 'practical' education.

As has been discussed above, Loram believed that proper education for Africans lay along the lines of the industrial education of Tuskegee and Hampton. Haines states that: "Writing in 1917, J Dexter Taylor praised Loram for securing the ABM-run Amanzimtoti Institute 'the privilege of creating its own curriculum, along the Hampton lines..."<sup>32</sup> It appears that Le Roy worked closely with Loram in revising the school's curriculum.

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29. Luthuli referring to Loram's thinking, Luthuli papers Manuscript, p. 31.

30. Hunt Davis, "Charles T. Loram and the American Model", p. 115.

31. An instructor in farming was appointed in as early as 1912, and an agricultural course was begun in 1913. Dodds, Native Vocational Training p. 65 and Lugg, Historic Natal and Zululand, p. 13. However agriculture came to the fore when Le Roy was influenced by Loram's revision of the syllabuses.

32. R.J. Haines, "Policing Urban Culture: Inter-Racial Philanthropy in Durban 1907-1932", Unpublished paper, p. 13. Dexter Taylor, an American missionary, ran the ABM's Durban station in 1921.

Le Roy seems to have been influenced by Loram's insistence on the utility and practical orientation of black education. This is evident in an article he wrote, entitled 'Does it Pay to Educate the Native?'.<sup>33</sup> Le Roy suggested that subjects which had been taught prior to 1920 may not have been the most suitable. He argued that the idea of an education designed to fit a man for his environment was of comparatively recent origin, and that technical schools and domestic science classes had never been heard of until recently.<sup>34</sup> Le Roy continued, "Now the cry is 'back to the land.' 'Teach the Native to work for himself and his people.' We welcome the change of emphasis...".<sup>35</sup> Le Roy seemed to imply that there was a link between this sudden change in thinking on education and a change in the "attitude of the European toward the native in South Africa."<sup>36</sup> According to Le Roy, up till that time the 'native' was "not a political problem": "He [the 'native'] had not yet become the problem of South Africa."<sup>37</sup> However, he went on,

Today all that has changed. The native is very much in the foreground of our thoughts. As one has expressed it: 'Commissions are sitting on him; books are being written about him; societies are being formed to study him; and Parliaments are endeavouring to legislate for him.'<sup>38</sup>

Le Roy's philosophy of education at Amanzimtoti Seminary can be noted in the following quote. According to Le Roy the objectives aimed at were

To awaken his [the student's] intellect and fill his mind with high ideals; to teach him habits of regularity and punctuality, of order and cleanliness; to impress upon him the dignity of labour by

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33. A.E. Le Roy, "Does it Pay to Educate the Native?", South African Journal of Science (Jan-Feb 1919), pp. 1-18.

34. Ibid.

35. Ibid.

36. Ibid.

37. Ibid.

38. Ibid., pp. 1-2.

keeping him employed for three hours every day at some form of industrial or manual work; to inculcate into his character obedience and respect to his superiors; to make a man of him by treating him with firmness, as well as with kindness and sympathy; and above all, to instil into his heart the principles of Jesus Christ, which make for righteousness,..<sup>39</sup>

It seems that not only those students in the industrial school, but also those training to be ministers and teachers had to take part in manual work. Another indication of Le Roy's belief in 'training' Africans for activities related to their so called everyday needs.

An important feature of Loram's work is its concentration on the findings of racial science.<sup>40</sup> Here too Le Roy was involved with Loram, in helping in the supervising and scoring of tests.<sup>41</sup> Loram devoted a large amount of his work, on the education of the 'native', to assessing Africans' actual and potential mental capacities by conducting a series of intelligence tests. Dubow states that Loram's conclusions about the alleged inferiority of Africans remain ambiguous.<sup>42</sup> However, in the process, Loram identified three schools of thought, which he termed the 'Repressionists', the 'Equalists' and the 'Segregationists'.

Repressionists, he argued, regarded Africans as being inferior to whites and therefore only fit for manual labour alone. Diametrically opposed were the Equalists... who... 'plead for equality of treatment for White and Black.'<sup>43</sup>

Loram in rejecting these two extremes, embraced the Segregationists. Dubow explains that Loram maintained that:

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39. Ibid., p. 15.

40. Dubow, Racial Segregation and the Origins of Apartheid, p. 27, and Dubow, "Race Civilisation and Culture", pp. 72, 75 & 78.

41. Loram, The Education of the South African Native, Preface, p. xii.

42. Dubow, Racial Segregation and the Origins of Apartheid, p. 27.

43. Ibid., p. 28.

This school 'would attack the problem in a scientific fashion' and ... 'would endeavour to give the Bantu race every circumstance to develop on the lines of its racial genius'. Strict segregation was, however, impractical in a country 'whose very existence is said to depend on a supply of cheap black labour',...<sup>44</sup>

Le Roy appears to have followed a similar line of thinking. He also saw the importance of the 'usefulness' of the African. In the early 1900s Le Roy conducted a survey asking: "Are educated natives worth employing?"<sup>45</sup> He set about investigating the students' progress in the work place after they had left Amanzimtoti Seminary. He stated that "During the past months, the masters of all our boys working in Durban were seen, with a view of getting a frank statement as to the service such boys were rendering."<sup>46</sup> Of the eight hundred former students who were traced by Le Roy, sixty were engaged as teachers in schools throughout South Africa, and thirty-six were preaching and linked to different mission societies. The rest were engaged in various forms of clerical and manual labour.<sup>47</sup> These statistics reveal just how many students, due to their industrial training, were influenced into following careers of a more practical nature. Le Roy's survey deduced that the educated 'native', as opposed to the 'raw kaffir', was advantageous to the employer.<sup>48</sup>

It was not only Le Roy who was influenced by Loram and the American models of industrial education. According to Rich, "One figure in missionary circles who did help shape the emerging climate of South African liberal thought on African economy and society was the Reverend James Henderson."<sup>49</sup> Henderson was

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44. Ibid.

45. Le Roy "Does it pay to educate the Native?", p. 6.

46. Ibid.

47. Ibid.

48. Ibid., pp. 14-15.

49. Rich, "The Appeals of Tuskegee", p. 272.

principal of Lovedale from 1906 to 1930, and was another to be influenced by the Tuskegee ideal of industrial training. A large number of students went into some form of industrial or farming labour when leaving school. The Phelps-Stokes Commission in 1922, found that "of some 3,330 former Lovedale students, 112 had become missionaries or evangelists, 1,000 had gone into either manual or industrial work, and 768 into teaching, while only 352 were in such trades as carpentry and printing, and 385 were in farming."<sup>50</sup>

People like Loram, Le Roy and Henderson may be termed "liberal segregationists".<sup>51</sup> This small group of missionaries, intellectuals and administrators were members of the white liberal movement in race relations which believed in the "potential equality of all races of mankind". The emphasis on the word "potential" implied one important principle - that they were *not yet* equal.<sup>52</sup> Legassick has labeled such individuals as self-styled 'friends of the natives'.

These 'friends of the native' began to publicly debate the 'Native Question'. An American Board missionary, Frederick Bridgman, noted that discussion was over a number of issues. Bridgman states that they debated: "Some scheme whereby the native population shall be made to supply the labour so necessary to domestic comfort and so essential to commercial development."<sup>53</sup> This point illustrates similar ideas to Le Roy over the labour question.

Despite Le Roy's friendship with Loram and his support of Loram's methods of education, many developments did occur during Le Roy's period as

50. Ibid., p. 291.

51. Dubow, Racial Segregation and the Origins of Apartheid, p. 8.

52. Heyman "C.T. Loram: A South African Liberal", p. 48.

53. Quoted in Haines, "Policing Urban Culture", pp. 3-4. Frederick Bridgman took charge of the American Board's Durban station in 1897.

principal (1901-1926). In 1910, the school became co-educational; and in the same year a teachers' training department was opened, although not recognised by the government. However by 1935 it was presenting a fully recognised teacher training course, and was training teachers from all parts of South Africa.<sup>54</sup> In 1905 there were only three African teachers at Adams with teacher certificates; by 1935 there were fifteen white and sixteen African qualified teachers on the staff.<sup>55</sup> In 1901 the enrolment had been 41; by 1926 the school had over 200 students. In 1901 less than ten pupils had been above standard VI, while in 1926 all pupils were above this level.

Le Roy was also responsible for the appointment of African staff members in important positions. In 1922 Albert Luthuli became the first African to be employed on the teaching staff at Adams, teaching Zulu and music and later being put in charge of school organisation.<sup>56</sup> In 1925 Z.K. Matthews was the first African to be appointed head of the high school with white staff under him. And during this time Robbins Guma was made a member of the staff at the teachers' training school; he was later to be the first African to act as head of the training college for African teachers at Adams.

#### *Z. K. Matthews 1925-1932*

A year before he left the Seminary, Le Roy appointed Z.K. Matthews<sup>57</sup> to the post of running a High School at Amanzimtoti. Matthews was eager to promote education for Africans. Matthews had been a student at Fort Hare before obtaining

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54. G. C. Grant, "South African Missionary Institutions: Adams College", The South African Outlook (February 1955), p. 28.

55. Ibid.

56. Luthuli, Let My People Go, p. 35.

57. See Appendix C.

this position, having received a B.A. Degree and a teaching diploma. At this time, 1924, Matthews had a certain understanding of the role of the African teacher:

Teaching in a society like that of South Africa was not like teaching elsewhere. It was not merely a profession. It was more like a mission than a way of earning a living, a vocation, a call to help satisfy the great hunger for education that existed among the millions of our people, a hunger which so few had done so little up to now to appease.<sup>58</sup>

In 1924, Adams College had a teacher training school, an industrial school and a primary school. The college had been trying to get a high school established, but with little success. Le Roy was willing to let Matthews attempt the task. Matthews described this event in his autobiography:

They had tried several Europeans in the top job, but the students had not been successful in examinations. 'The idea of trying an African in a spot where several Europeans have failed is not exactly popular' Le Roy said. His colleagues were opposed to it not on racial grounds but because they thought it foolhardy. 'So this is an experiment for me' he said, 'and an opportunity for you.'<sup>59</sup>

In 1925 when Matthews started at Adams, secondary education (high school education) was developed at the school. At the same time, secondary instruction commenced at Ohlange and Inanda Seminary. According to Matthews these secondary schools required teachers with better educational qualifications than were then current, and most of these teachers came from Fort Hare in the Cape and not from Natal. Matthews recalls that "there were complaints in the African Press that the Education Department was not being fair to educated Africans in Natal. Fort Hare was the only institution that provided Africans with opportunity for higher education..."<sup>60</sup>

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58. Z.K. Matthews, Freedom For My People (Cape Town, 1983), p. 82.

59. Ibid., p. 83.

60. Ibid., p. 86.

Unlike Loram, Matthews believed that the African could compete with any other race intellectually. Matthews ignored Loram's theory that Africans were inherently inferior. Matthews stated: "For my part, I refused to accept the suggestion that simply because I was an African there were limits to what I could do."<sup>61</sup> In 1925 when he became head of the high school at Adams, he started to encourage an academic as opposed to an industrial bias.<sup>62</sup>

Luthuli, who was a colleague of Matthews at Adams, writes:

In the days when Professor Matthews and I were young teachers at Adams the world seemed to be opening out for Africans. It seemed mainly a matter of proving our ability and worth as citizens, and that did not seem impossible. We were, of course, aware of the existence of colour prejudice, but we could not have conceived that prejudice would endure and intensify as it has.<sup>63</sup>

Luthuli suggests that he and Matthews were optimistic as to the possibility of improving African education and the African's position in society.

According to the regulations of the Natal Education Department, during the mid-1920s the following types of secondary education were open to African students in the province:

- (a) A high school course with an educational bias.
- (b) A high school course with an industrial bias, one for girls<sup>64</sup> emphasising subjects such as cookery, laundry, needlework, housewifery and other subjects connected with domestic science, and for boys including training in cabinet-making, building construction, etc.
- (c) A high school course with a commercial bias including subjects like book-keeping, shorthand and typing, business methods, etc.<sup>65</sup>

61. Ibid., p. 47.

62. Z.K. Matthews papers, AAS130 UNISA Library, "Our High School".

63. Luthuli papers, manuscript, p. 48.

64. See explanation of the type of education for female students under section The Student Body.

65. Z.K. Matthews papers, AAS130, UNISA Library.

At Adams College provision was made for both academic and industrial courses. During the mid-1920s and early 1930s Z.K. Matthews was in charge of the former and K.R Brueckner the latter.

During this time, agriculture was also offered at Adams College enabling the student to gain a qualification as an agricultural demonstrator. Henry Caleb Sibisi, who went to Adams in 1926-1927, recalls that one could choose an academic or a more practical line. He explains how Dr Brueckner encouraged him to take agriculture<sup>66</sup>: "And I said to him 'But it is difficult for me to take up this. What is agriculture?' He [Brueckner] said 'No, it entails giving you the bread!'"<sup>67</sup> In his first year of doing agriculture, Sibisi remembers taking poultry, piggery, animal husbandry, sheep and dairy. In the late 1920s science, biology, botany, geology, forestry, and agriculture were offered at Adams College.<sup>68</sup>

Z.K. Matthews, in a report to the Adams College Advisory Board, explained the problems of choosing a satisfactory curriculum for African students:

...rightly or wrongly the Native student has no great love for courses specially adapted to so called Native needs [and prefers courses] brought into line with those approved for other sections of the population.<sup>69</sup>

While at Adams, Matthews strove to create a high school that would offer courses which were in no way inferior to white schools and that would equip the students with a broad education:

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66. Agriculture (according to Mbutho) was stopped at the school in 1940, probably due to a lack of funds.
67. Interview with Sibisi in "Community Leadership and Power in Natal: Oral and Documentary Evidence covering the life of Mr Henry Caleb Sibisi" by Iain Edwards (1988), p. 35.
68. *Ibid.*, p.36.
69. Z.K. Matthews papers, Report to the Adams College Advisory Board.

One of the main objectives of a secondary education is to provide students with as many options as possible in the hope that they will discover the directions in which their natural bent lies and so prepare more adequately for the vocations which they intend to follow after school.<sup>70</sup>

Academic work, which was roughly on a par with the standard at white secondary schools, started in earnest during the late 1920s. According to Couzens' research on Herbert Dhlomo, who enrolled in the school in 1922, students were required to do six subjects: English, history, geography, arithmetic, Zulu and nature study.<sup>71</sup> A report written by Matthews in the late 1920s, states that instruction (in the high school) was given in the following subjects: compulsory subjects were English, Zulu, Xhosa, Sotho, arithmetic, history, geography, botany, agricultural science and physical science; optional subjects were Afrikaans, Latin and mathematics. Various extra subjects or activities were available to the student but not examinable. These included scripture, ethics and civics, art, singing and manual work, which could include gardening, woodworking, printing or agriculture. To add to this list students could join the literacy and debating society, the community service club, SCA or work in the Sunday School.<sup>72</sup>

Students in the high school and teachers' training college would have been, according to Couzens, brought up on the "Royal Readers" in English: "Francis Bacon's essays may have been one of the setworks (Coral Island was one of the books taught at Edendale)".<sup>73</sup> In the Zulu history classes J.Y. Gibson's The Story of the Zulus may have been read.<sup>74</sup> It seems possible to assume that there would have been

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70. Z.K. Matthews papers, "Our High School", p. 4.

71. Couzens, The New African, p. 49.

72. Z.K. Matthews papers, "Our High School", p. 5.

73. Couzens, The New African, p. 49.

74. Ibid.

no substantial difference between the teaching at Adams and Lovedale. Couzens believes that the educated elite were receiving very much the same schooling all round the country.<sup>75</sup> A student at Lovedale as early as 1924 remembers learning Shakespearean plays, the Romantic poets, Dickens, Francis Bacon and Milton. From this time Adams began to form more specialised departments.

Adams College came to be divided into three separate departments each run by an individual head, who followed the instructions of and worked under the principal of the school. In 1926 the high school offered junior certificate courses which took the examinations of the University of South Africa, and, from 1931, matriculation classes which wrote the Joint Matriculation Board exams.

Students took advantage of the new academic secondary school and the average enrolment from 1926 was over 150 students. In 1932 there were 52 students in standard V11, 44 students in standard V111, 43 taking their junior certificate and 18 students in the matriculation class.<sup>76</sup> Later an industrial school, more specialised than the original one started in Le Roy's time, offered a three-year apprenticeship course in carpentry and building. A teachers' training college was also formed, offering T.4 and J.T.3<sup>77</sup> teachers' courses. In close association with the college, the American Board Mission ran a theological department to train African ministers.

After leaving Adams College, Matthews continued to be involved in African education. In 1946, he wrote a review of Native Education, reflecting the previous 25 years:

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75. *Ibid.*, p. 51.

76. Z.K. Matthews papers, Report to the Adams College Advisory Board.

77. T.4 was a two year course after completing standard VII, and J.T.3 was a two year course after receiving a Junior Certificate.

... opposition has come in the main from the African people themselves. They have pointed out that there was a danger of their children being given a form of education which might be more of a handicap to them than anything else. They have demanded for their children an education which takes due account of the fact that they are living in the modern world, in an environment which includes both Western and African elements linked together indissolubly. Their view has been that they will not tolerate any course which purports to prepare their children for a purely African environment when they know that such a thing no longer exists in South Africa. Without advocating a slavish following of the curricula requirements of European schools, they have insisted upon the necessity for constructing our curricula in such a way that all children can, in accordance with their talents, be led into the common heritage of man in all fields of human knowledge and skill.<sup>78</sup>

Matthews was influenced by his own education which he had received at the high school at Lovedale. Here his courses had included English, history, geography, mathematics, physical science, Latin and African languages.<sup>79</sup> Matthews promoted an academic education at Adams College and was against an inferior education for Africans as was proposed by segregationists such as Loram.

During Matthews' time at Adams there was a marked liberal disillusionment with the whole idea of segregation. From 1927 there was a process of political reassessment. Legassick refers to this period as the first significant breach in thinking on native policy since Union, representing 'the birth of modern South African liberalism'.<sup>80</sup> This change in thinking, after the first two decades of the twentieth century, occurred once the full social implications of capitalist industrialisation became apparent. Dubow remarks that

Among its more important manifestations were the growth of urban slums and the emergence of working class radicalism, as well as a

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78. Molteno, "The Historical Foundations of the Schooling of Black South Africans", p. 86.

79. Matthews, Freedom For My People, p. 34.

80. Dubow, Racial Segregation and the Origins of Apartheid, p. 47.

growing awareness of the rapid dissolution of the 'tribal system' and the inadequate capacity of the reserves. It was with these processes in mind that social theorists began to draw on the brand of liberal reformism.<sup>81</sup>

Historically liberal values in education have been associated with institutions like mission schools. Elphick<sup>82</sup> notes that there was an overlap between the 'liberals' and 'Mission Christians', even though the liberals concentrated on improving the social conditions of Africans and the missionary network was centrally concerned with converting Africans to Christianity. However after the late 1920s missionaries showed more concern for the education, health and social welfare of their African converts.

*Edgar Brookes 1934-1945 and Jack Grant 1948-1956*<sup>83</sup>

The roles played by Brookes and Grant are similar in that they both encouraged what they believed to be a 'liberal' education. The various departments, teaching and extra-curricular activities followed a similar pattern during their principalships.

Two years after Matthews left Adams, Brookes came to Adams College. He continued to promote academic education at Adams. It is important to note that when Brookes came to Adams he had already broken with his former segregationist thinking and had announced that this advocacy of segregation had been misguided.<sup>84</sup> Early in his career Brookes described himself as a liberal, even though he supported a paternalistic form of racial segregation, what Rich described as "a partial model of

81. *Ibid.*, p. 33.

82. Elphick "Mission Christianity and Interwar Liberalism", pp. 64-80.

83. See Appendix C.

84. Dubow, Racial Segregation and the Origins of Apartheid, p. 47.

racial compartmentalisation".<sup>85</sup> However later in his life Brookes abandoned these views and moved towards an acceptance of universal suffrage.

Brookes altered his position from 1927.<sup>86</sup> Brookes says of himself "I am a South African whose spiritual pilgrimage has taken him from separate development to an inclusive liberalism".<sup>87</sup> In 1934 Brookes was asked by the missionary, Dr J.B. McCord of the American Board of Missions, whether he would accept the principalship of Adams College. Brookes saw Adams as a "vital centre of interracial activity" and felt the post to be an ideal opportunity to work among Africans.<sup>88</sup> Brookes arrived in Natal with the aim of building up "a liberal body in university and mission circles."<sup>89</sup> Brookes, when interviewed in 1979 remarked "we tried to give a liberal education. It was of course and always was, until the end of its existence, a Christian institution too, it never ceased to be that...".<sup>90</sup>

While he was at Adams, Brookes resigned from the South African Institute of Race Relations, the centre of South African liberalism.<sup>91</sup> Brookes's harsh

85. Rich "The City of God and the Crisis of Political Faith", p. 2.
86. His book, The History of Native Policy in South Africa from 1830 to the Present Day (1924), is very different in judgment and exposition to his revised edition in 1974 (University of Natal Press).
87. Brookes, A South African Pilgrimage, p. 56.
88. R.J. Haines, "Dr Edgar H. Brookes and the Liberalism of the 1930s" (B.A. Honours essay, University of Natal, Durban, 1975), p. 71.
89. Rich "The City of God and the Crisis of Political Faith", p. 22.
90. Natal University Oral History Project, KCAV 110, (Killie Campbell Africana Library). Interview with E.H. Brookes, 14/2/1979.
91. According to Rich the establishment of the SAIRR marked an important new phase of liberal politics in South Africa: "In an era of growing disbelief in the nineteenth century inheritance of biological racism and social Darwinism, liberal values tended to be redefined in terms of a cultural relativity that asserted the whites' 'civilising mission' to 'lift up' native races..." See P. Rich, "The South African Institute of Race Relations and the Debate on 'Race Relations', 1929-1958" Collected Seminar Papers on the Societies of Southern Africa in 19th and 20th Centuries, 12, 28 (Oct 1980-arch 1981), p. 79.

moral condemnation of segregation distanced him from the mainstream of the SAIRR liberals. People such as Loram, one of the founders of the Institute, viewed African development in a more conservative light and may not have agreed with Brookes's argument presented in the Phelps-Stokes lectures.<sup>92</sup> Brookes called attention to the invidious position of liberal thinkers: they were often classified as traitors to their country, although they were "fighting the white man's cause as well as that of the Native".<sup>93</sup> Despite Brookes's justification that liberals were also concerned with the needs of blacks, one must not forget that the liberals of the 1930s rejected black majority rule. However, as Haines suggests, "they were the inheritors of a philosophy committed to evolutionary change".<sup>94</sup>

Liberalism for Brookes was a philosophy which sought to make possible those social conditions in which the individuality of all people could be realised. However he, like those at Adams before and after him, viewed African development in a gradualist and paternalist light. He had a confident belief in Christian liberalism and was always optimistic and hopeful. The liberals and the mission Christians sought to break down barriers between black and white. They hoped for interracial reconciliation: "If blacks could understand the pressures felt by responsible whites,

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92. The Phelps-Stokes lectures delivered at the University of Cape Town, four months prior to the outbreak of World War Two, represented a re-thinking of liberal political philosophy in its application to a multiracial society. It posed the question whether a 'liberal native policy' was possible in South Africa. See M. Legassick, "Race, Industrialization and Social Change in South Africa: The Case of R.F.A. Hoernle", *African Affairs* 75, (1976), p. 225. The Phelps-Stokes Commission in 1921 and 1924, was a commission sent by an American Foundation to study educational facilities for Africans in Africa South of the Sahara. It was headed by Dr Thomas Jesse Jones, a well known American educationalist.

93. Haines, "Dr Edgar H. Brookes", p. 72.

94. *Ibid.*, p. 76-77.

they would be more patient; if whites could understand the sorrows and indignities suffered by blacks, they would be more fair in devising and implementing policy."<sup>95</sup> Brookes, in retrospect, felt that perhaps they were a little too anxious to appear co-operative and reasonable South Africans: "I fear that, like many liberals in many countries, we were over-optimistic about the reasonableness of our fellow-men."<sup>96</sup>

In 1934 when Brookes took over the principalship of the college, he did so at a time when morale was low. Over the past seven years the school had been administered by two acting principals and a principal who did not stay long enough to make any significant mark.<sup>97</sup> Notwithstanding this disadvantage, Brookes imposed his stamp in a short time, "impressing his efficient personality upon every department."<sup>98</sup> During his time the student body rose to 500 in number, with an increase in staff and school buildings. In 1935 students ranged from between sixteen to twenty-five years of age and were drawn from "all parts of the Union, Protectorates and Rhodesia, but mostly Zulu speaking."<sup>99</sup>

Brookes was the first head at Adams who was not a visiting missionary; yet, as Luthuli recalled, he "was clearly a man who took his religion as seriously as any missionary, perhaps more than some."<sup>100</sup> When Brookes became principal he saw to it that the school kept its strong Christian emphasis. According to Brookes any

95. Elphick, "Mission Christianity and Interwar Liberalism", p. 72.

96. Brookes, A South African Pilgrimage, p. 78.

97. Between 1927 and 1933 C.W. Atkins (acting principal) was followed by K.R. Brueckner (acting principal) and then by Otto Grithens. Grithens came from the U.S.A. with his wife specifically to be principal. This all ended up in what was, for the missionaries, a terrible scandal when he ran off to Johannesburg with the school secretary, Nesta Ball. Interview with C. Mbutho 13/5/1990 and interview with Mr and Mrs E. Dahle 29/6/1988.

98. Luthuli papers, manuscript, p. 40.

99. Letter from Dr E.H. Brookes to J.D. Rheinallt Jones. AD 843 37.6, CPSA.

100. Luthuli papers, manuscript, pp. 40-41.

prospective staff member at Adams College had to be "a convinced Christian of missionary sympathies. Active association with some particular church, with the Students' Christian Association, or with the Oxford Group, would be a recommendation."<sup>101</sup>

Brookes remembered certain members of staff during his time who had a significant influence on the students. Brookes says "In my time several white teachers worked very happily under Donald M'Timkulu, the very capable head of the high school."<sup>102</sup> M'Timkulu took over from Matthews and also stressed the importance of education. He said that Africans "seek for integration into the democratic structure and institutions of the country. To them one of the most effective ways of achieving this is by education - an education essentially no different from or inferior to, that of other sections of the community".<sup>103</sup>

When Brookes was principal Luthuli was in charge of a complex of small day schools in which the student teachers at Adams did their practice teaching.<sup>104</sup> Luthuli was also involved in music and was a very good choir conductor.<sup>105</sup> When Luthuli left Adams in 1936,<sup>106</sup> Reuben T. Caluza, an American-trained Zulu musician, a composer of some merit and an excellent choir conductor, took over Luthuli's interest in music.<sup>107</sup>

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101. Ibid.

102. Brookes, A South African Pilgrimage, p. 62.

103. Molteno, "The Historical Foundations of the Schooling of Black South Africans", pp. 75.

104. Brookes, A South African Pilgrimage, p. 54.

105. Ibid.

106. Luthuli left Adams when he was elected chief of Groutville - a Christian community north of Durban.

107. Ibid., p. 62.

Other members of staff during Brookes' time were Dr Karl Robert Brueckner and John Reuling. Both came to South Africa as members of the American Board of Missions. Brueckner was head of the industrial school and was responsible for planning and constructing the college buildings. John Reuling was dean of men and subsequently head teacher of the training college.

Ellen Kuzwayo<sup>108</sup>, who was at the school from 1932 to 1935, remembers the discipline at the school being quite strict. The college rules were posted on the notice board and students knew what was expected from them:

As in all teaching institutions, we attended classes from Monday to Friday. There were also evening study periods supervised by a rota of staff. We were expected to attend all religious services, and mealtimes were strictly observed. Finally, we were expected to keep order at the college both as individuals and collectively.<sup>109</sup>

After nearly twelve years as principal Brookes resigned in 1945 to work on the Native Affairs Commission, which he felt enabled him to give his full time to the advancement of the African people. After 1945 the school faced several problems with a fire and other student unrest.<sup>110</sup> During this time the school was under the principalship of Wyatt, who has been described as an outsider who was unable to control the students.<sup>111</sup> According to Grant, this was a period of stress and strain.<sup>112</sup>

In 1949 Mr and Mrs Grant arrived at Adams College from Zanzibar where Jack Grant had been an officer of the British Colonial Education Service since 1944.<sup>113</sup> Alan Paton described them as being

108. See Appendix C.

109. E. Kuzwayo, Call Me Woman (Johannesburg, 1985), p. 85.

110. See Part III for details of fire and unrest at Adams.

111. Interview with Mr and Mrs E. Dahle, 17/2/1979, KCAV 110.

112. Grant, "Educational Institutions", p. 530.

113. In 1948 Grant had received a letter from the Chairman of the Board of Governors of Adams College in Natal, informing him that the principalship of the college was vacant. Grant flew to Durban for an interview and was offered the post. Dr Alexander Kerr, the principal of Fort Hare (a friend of Grant's father in law), had informed the Chairman of the Board of Governors of Adams College that Grant had resigned from his position at Zanzibar. G.C. Jack Grant's Story (Guilford, 1980), pp. 83-84.

upright in conduct, devout in service, quiet in manner; the strength of their discipline was the strength of their own firm and noble characters. They were, in brief, the kind of people to whom any Christian parents might gratefully have entrusted the welfare of their children.<sup>114</sup>

In Grant's autobiography he states that he knew that the job of principal was no sinecure.<sup>115</sup> He was aware of the unrest in the school in 1946 and 1947 and that the school had been without a permanent head for eighteen months. Moreover, a few weeks before he started at Adams the Smuts government had been defeated in a general election and the Nationalist government under Dr Malan had come into power.

Jack Grant can also be labelled a liberal. Like Brookes, Grant placed considerable emphasis on providing a liberal and Christian education and aimed to create what he believed to be the ideal student, someone who would be able to render a service to the community. Grant saw Adams as imparting a valuable service to society:

The reward you will see yearly is trained men and women from Adams College going out into the world equipped to take their places firstly as good citizens and then as ministers, university students, clerks, builders and cabinet-makers.<sup>116</sup>

A school prospectus during Grant's time gives an indication of the school's objectives, stating that it aimed to give the students a liberal Christian education and to "instil into its students a keen sense of individual responsibility and of their duty towards others".<sup>117</sup> The school magazine in 1950 stated that "The

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114. Foreword written by Alan Paton in G.C. Grant "The Liquidation of Adams College" in Adams College, File 2, KCM 65.

115. Grant, *Jack Grant's Story*, p. 87.

116. ABM papers A/4/63. An Invitation from Adams College.

117. ABM papers A/4/63. School Prospectus.

Governing Council, the Principal and staff of Adams College are of one mind in their purpose to give a liberal and Christian education to all who enter its portals."<sup>118</sup> The school strove towards "progressive development and racial harmony", and believed that the students should be "trained to be good citizens".<sup>119</sup> According to Ida Grant the school had a distinct aim:

What the college has sought to turn out is not simply young men and women with educational certificates, but responsible, well-informed Christian young people. To Adams the tenets of the Christian faith have always been paramount.<sup>120</sup>

It is necessary to explain the 'liberal tradition' as espoused by the teachers at Adams College and to see how it influenced their teaching. Allan Evens, a teacher in the industrial school, feels that the school provided a liberal education. Evidence of this is that the students wrote the same Junior Certificate and Matriculation exams as white students. He says that "students were treated with respect and given responsibility... students ran their own committees and organised events." Evens adds that students were referred to by the staff as Africans, not 'Natives' or 'Kaffirs', as was common elsewhere.<sup>121</sup> Greta Lockey, who taught English and Latin in the High School, defines a liberal education as "an approach which is tolerant, open-minded and without prejudice".<sup>122</sup> She believes that Adams students received a liberal education.

Ted Harris, the farm manager, says that "the students counted as persons".<sup>123</sup> David Rubenstein, deputy head under Grant, recalls that "each student

118. Iso Lomuzi, 17, 29 (1950), p. 4.

119. ABM papers A/4/63. Adams Appeals.

120. "Adams Sacrificed to Apartheid", Ilanga, 22/9/1956.

121. Interview with A. Evens, 30/4/1988.

122. Interview with G. Lockey, 25/6/1990.

123. Correspondence with Ted Harris, July 1990.

was encouraged to develop to the maximum of his/her own potential". Rubenstein also stated that "freedom of expression was encouraged and no pre-determined limit suggested."<sup>124</sup>

The liberal conventional view of most missionaries and teachers in mission institutions, suggested that political change in the country would come naturally, if and when people were educated. This kind of thinking, with its stress on patience, hope and self-improvement, came to predominate in the minds of the educated elite in institutions such as Adams. Members of the mission-educated elite were seeking integration into promised 'democratic structures'; and to them a way of achieving this was through education.

Grant believed that Adams college made many valuable contributions towards society. Firstly in training an indigenous African ministry; secondly in disseminating knowledge among Africans who thereby became better equipped to take their place in society. Thirdly he maintained that Adams was influential in developing a sense of responsibility and initiative among Africans; and finally in striving to break down the barrier of prejudice between African and European in South Africa.<sup>125</sup>

Adams College's role in breaking down racial barriers in South Africa is debatable. Grant was one of the optimistic minority of white liberals who sought to reveal only the positive achievements of mission schools. Despite the advancements in educational standards, Adams College had many limitations and the students faced

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124. Correspondance with David Rubenstein, June 1990.  
125. Grant, "South African Missionary Institutions", p. 29.

certain hardships and tensions within the school system.<sup>126</sup> The extent to which the school was harmonious and multi-racial is also debatable.

Some historians have been critical of the liberal enterprise, describing liberals as being powerless and lacking a solid political base. Legassick maintains that liberals "tended to present the story of South Africa as an idealistic battle between the forces of evil and the valiant minority of good".<sup>127</sup> According to Rich the liberals were a generation who had been too slow to recognise the immense pace of change in the consciousness of emerging black political leadership.<sup>128</sup>

It is necessary to be aware of the limitations of the mission Christians but one should also note that personalities such as Grant, a devout Christian and propagator of liberal ideas, spoke out against the Nationalist government. The Grants arrived at Adams wanting to become active missionaries and "out of what they humbly considered to be obedience to the Holy Spirit, they came to cherish ideas of justice and of human equality, irreconcilable with the doctrines of white supremacy..."<sup>129</sup> It is not difficult to find fault with these well-intentioned liberals, but one should not forget that it was liberals and mission Christians such as Brookes and Grant who were often "the first whites to publicize new ills in South African society, and they often launched into complex debates among themselves, and with other experts, about what should be done about them".<sup>130</sup> In this sense, according to Elphick, the liberals and missionaries "were an articulate intelligentsia."<sup>131</sup>

126. See section The Student Body.

127. Legassick, "The Rise of Modern South African Liberalism", p. 1.

128. Rich, "The City of God and the Crisis of Political Faith", p. 49.

129. A. Paton in forward of Grant, Jack Grants Story, p. ix.

130. Elphick, "Mission Christianity and Interwar Liberalism", pp. 73-74.

131. Ibid.

Many members of staff at Adams came from Fort Hare (the University college for Africans founded in 1916) or had university degrees from overseas. Mr and Mrs Dahle who taught at the school during the time of Brookes and the Grants said that there were equal numbers of black and white staff.<sup>132</sup> When Grant came to the school in 1948 he was horrified at the segregated staff residences for single teachers: "...one for whites and one for blacks. This was due to the fact that separate housing on a racial basis was part and parcel of the mores of the country."<sup>133</sup> Grant found that there was little that he could do to change this system, however he did manage to destroy the only other existing apartheid barrier in the school, taking down the wall that divided the separate staff rooms for black and white teachers. Grant found that the removal of this led to improved relations among members of staff, not that there had been any racial friction between teachers.<sup>134</sup>

During Grant's time at the school there were many developments. In 1953 Adams celebrated its centenary and it was the first educational institution in Natal to do so. Additional funds were raised and the high school, that was destroyed by the 1946 fire, was rebuilt along with other new buildings.

Grant started a student guidance department. David Rubenstein, who was vice principal, was the guidance councillor. According to Rubenstein:

it became apparent that a great need at school was for someone skilled in counselling to help the students. They had to adjust not only to the stern demands of an apartheid society but to a newly developing mode of life in which the old tribal sanctions and mores were crumbling and new ones had not yet emerged. There was a formidable transition - the old ways were disappearing and the new ones to which they were attracted, rejected them.<sup>135</sup>

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132. Interview with Mr and Mrs Dahle, 29/6/1988.

133. Grant, *Jack Grant's story*, p. 93.

134. Interview with Ida Grant, 13/10/1988.

135. David H. Rubenstein's private papers.

Rubenstein, who completed a Masters degree in school guidance and counselling, saw his responsibility as aiding individual students to achieve their full potential, to assist them in adjusting to their school and their fellow students and to assist in vocational choices. In retrospect Rubenstein states:

Perhaps the major achievements of this portion of my career besides the rewards of individual counselling, was to have a part in persuading several of the large Natal firms to introduce aptitude testing rather than regarding Africans as an undifferentiated mass of "labour".<sup>136</sup>

Grant also developed the school farm so that by 1956 there were 12 acres under irrigation for growing vegetables and over 200 acres with the best type of sugar cane, and a sufficient number of cows to provide meat and milk for the students and staff.<sup>137</sup> Ted Harris, who was the farm manager from 1951 until the school closed, says that at this time the school did not offer agriculture to the students. Occasionally students worked on the school farm, especially those who stayed at school during the holidays. Harris remembers students cutting the grass for the mattresses for the following term.<sup>138</sup>

It was during the principalships of Brookes and Grant that Adams College gained a reputation as an elite school in Natal. Brookes wrote in 1953 that Adams College had become as much a Natal institution as Michaelhouse or Hilton:

It has always been and it remains unrepentantly progressive. Standing for the best that can be given to Zululand, and it has always been, and will always endeavour to continue to be, a sane constructive and reasonable force in Zulu life.<sup>139</sup>

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136. Ibid.

137. Grant, Jack Grant's Story, p. 92.

138. Correspondence with Ted Harris, July 1990.

139. "A Notable Centenary, Adams College 1853-1953" Natal Witness, 22/6/1953.

During these years the school, with its well-established separate departments - the high school, the teachers' training college and the industrial school - strove to offer much to its students.

The high school offered training for a University Junior Certificate (a three-year course from standard VI) and towards a Matriculation Certificate (a two-year course from Junior Certificate). Subjects varied according to the different years. Subjects during the 1940s and 1950s were English, arithmetic, geography, and African language<sup>140</sup>, agriculture (boys), domestic science (girls) and zoology. Two alternative subjects were chosen from the following list: Afrikaans or Latin, mathematics or history, physical science or botany or biology.<sup>141</sup> The gross enrolment for the high school in 1950 was 198 students, evenly distributed from form I to form V.<sup>142</sup>

The teachers' training college offered the following courses: T.4 which was two years after standard VII, and T.3 Junior which was two years after receiving a Junior Certificate. Subjects in the training college consisted of principles and methods of education, organisation and administration of schools, English, history, geography, physiology and hygiene, biology, physical science, mathematics, chart and blackboard work, art, physical education and Biblical instruction.<sup>143</sup> Those entering the training college had to have passed their previous exam with at least 50%, and must have reached the age of seventeen by 30 June of the year in which they entered. During 1950, 227 students enrolled for the J.T.3 courses. The T.4. classes were divided into boys and girls while the Junior T.3 classes were mixed.<sup>144</sup>

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140. According to Eric Dahle, Zulu, Xhosa, Sotho and Shona were available.

141. ABM papers A/3/63 School Prospectus and P.Saxon "Adams College, Natal", p.14.

142. Iso Lomuzi, 17, 29 (1950), p. 30.

143. Interview with Mr and Mrs E. Dahle, 29/6/1988.

144. Iso Lomuzi, 17,29 (1950), p.30.

The industrial department offered an industrial teachers' course which ran for two years after T.4, leading to a certificate as a woodwork instructor. A building course, consisting of a three-year apprentice course, was also available, offering subjects in the theory and practice of building construction, carpentry, brickwork and estimating costs. A three-year apprentice course in woodwork was also available, involving the theory and practice of carpentry, joinery and cabinet-making, furniture design and construction.<sup>145</sup> The industrial department at Adams College was the smallest division of the school. In 1950, 32 students enrolled for industrial education and were divided almost equally into the building and woodwork sections. In 1950 these students gave their attention almost exclusively to the building of the new high school. The woodwork students, besides their usual specialised cabinet-making, made special doors, window frames and helped with the roofing of the new building.<sup>146</sup>

Besides the high school, training college and industrial school, the college had a theological school on the same campus which was closely associated with Adams college though not part of it. The theological school was to prepare African ministers for the Bantu Congregational Church of the American Board. A number of students enrolled at the theological school after completing the matriculation course in the high school.

Biblical instruction, civics and ethics were taught to all the students in all departments by the principal. Throughout the history of the school, religious instruction was insisted upon. All mission schools stressed religion both as a subject and as a discipline that should play a vital part in everyday life. Luthuli<sup>147</sup> believed

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145. ABM papers A/3/63. School Prospectus.

146. Iso Lomuzi, 18, 31 (1952) p. 14.

147. See Appendix C.

that Adams College taught him the importance of Christianity.<sup>148</sup> According to Couzens "Adams College taught a Christianity which was involved in the community and which was there to serve in this world as well as the next."<sup>149</sup> Luthuli later reflected upon his life at Adams College. He felt that it taught him that he "had to do something about being a Christian...":

Among my many debts to Adams and its people the greatest was the gift of an ethos gradually absorbed, and profoundly lasting in effects. It became clear to me that the Christian Faith was not a private affair without relevance to society. It was, rather, a belief which equipped us in a unique way to meet the challenges of our society. It was a belief which had to be applied to the conditions of our lives; and our many works - they ranged from Sunday School teaching to road-building - became meaningful as the outflow of Christian belief.<sup>150</sup>

Religion played a vital part in the education offered in all the departments at Adams College. The Adams theological department stated that religious education should have a central position in the curriculum.<sup>151</sup> The school prospectus also stated that religious activities were to play an important part in educating the students at Adams:

From the beginning Adams has remained firm in its belief in the Evangelical and non-sectarian ideal of Christianity. The Church forms an integral part of the life of the college. There are daily devotions each morning in the Chapel, and services each Sunday. All students must attend these services.<sup>152</sup>

It was due to the heavy load of subjects that school began at 6:15 in the morning. This was to give the students two free afternoons, one for hobbies and societies and the other to be left completely free. There was a selection of extra-

148. Luthuli, Let My People Go, p. 39.  
 149. Couzens, The New African, p. 49.  
 150. Luthuli, Let My People Go, p. 42.  
 151. Imbewu, 1, 3 (Winter, 1949), pp. 1-2.  
 152. ABM papers A/4/63. School Prospectus.

curricular activities offered to the students, who were expected to belong to a club and participate in at least one sport. Sport in particular was encouraged by the school as it was seen as an important way of maintaining discipline and keeping the pupils loyal to their school. Most students participated in a number of clubs and sporting activities. There were many sports from which they could choose: soccer, netball, softball, tennis, athletics, cricket and boxing. As far as the various clubs and societies were concerned, students could join the literary and debating society, the student Christian association, boy scouts, girl guides, the drama society and the school choir.

The most popular sport for the male students was soccer, and the college had two teams: the 'Shooting Stars' for the seniors and the 'Flying Stars' for the juniors. According to Ellen Kuzwayo the teams were popular with everyone; both male and female students supported them whenever the teams played at the school or at an away fixture.<sup>153</sup> Soccer had been encouraged at Adams from as early as the 1890s;<sup>154</sup> the missionaries had no interest in rugby so they had introduced soccer. Sport, and especially soccer, was seen by the school authorities as a means of entertainment to relieve boredom and as a means of social control.

Another popular sport was athletics. The Adams team competed in inter-school championships against schools such as Ohlange, Inanda and Indaleni. The school was also known for its inter-house sporting competitions of which athletics was the best supported. Both male and female teams competed in the various houses

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153. Kuzwayo, Call Me Woman, pp. 85-6.

154. Tim Couzens explains that football began to be popular among blacks particularly in Natal during the 1890s. He believes the major influences to have been the army and the missions. See T. Couzens, "An Introduction to the History of Football in South Africa", in B. Bozzoli (ed.), Town and Countryside in the Transvaal pp. 198-214.

which were named after past principals of the school: Ireland, Le Roy, Cowles, Rood and Goodenough.

Cricket, especially in Grant's time, became a favourite sport for many boys at the school. Grant, prior to his days at Adams College, had been appointed captain of the first West Indies Cricket team to go to Australia, and subsequently captain of the West Indies team to go to England in 1933, and again in 1935.<sup>155</sup> Grant coached the cricket teams and built up a high standard.

Various types of entertainment were provided on Saturday evenings in the student dining hall. Brookes remembers that Adams put on 'The Bishop's Candlesticks', 'Saint Joan' and John Drinkwater's 'Abram Linkon'.<sup>156</sup> Brookes invited well-known Durban musicians to present music recitals, and organised influential speakers or educational films.

Drama was encouraged and a number of students put on their own plays, many with religious themes, such as 'The Prodigal Son'. Of the many clubs and societies, the literary and debating society was one of the most prominent. Ellen Kuzwayo recalls that there were regular organised debates either within the classes or between different classes, and sometimes between the teachers' training college and the high school.<sup>157</sup> The debating society's main aim was to improve the students standard of English. Many students developed a good command of the English language.

Brookes stated that Adams College was also used as a meeting place for white and black students. He remembers many "happy experiences of this kind" taking

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155. Ida Grant, personal papers.

156. Brookes, A South African Pilgrimage, p. 55.

157. Kuzwayo, Call Me Woman, p. 86.

place.<sup>158</sup> On one occasion a group of Maritzburg College boys came down for the day with their teacher Alan Paton. One of the stronger ties that was forged was with Michaelhouse, an elite school for white boys. Brookes started the exchange programme with Michaelhouse in order to encourage better race relations. This was later revived by Grant. Brookes recalled the days when such good relations between the two schools were able to exist:

The finest hour was when one of our Adams boys beat the Michaelhouse champion at tennis. For boys such a happening is stronger than all logical arguments. But since 1956 all this has come to an end. The Government Zulu Training School which has replaced Adams would not countenance such a challenge to apartheid.<sup>159</sup>

It is interesting to note the Adams students' impressions after visiting Michaelhouse. Some of these students seemed to acquire false expectations of their future roles in society. Returning from a short stay at Michaelhouse in 1938 one Adams student was unavoidably hopeful:

...it began to dawn on me that if the Bantu are at all educated, or have reached that standard where they can be able to meet with Europeans, the existing colour problems can be solved... When the Bantu have reached this standard, they will be automatically absorbed into friendship with the Europeans of South Africa, because they will be having one thing in common interest, namely education.<sup>160</sup>

According to a school prospectus of the 1950s the school offered "scope for the students to develop physically as well as intellectually".<sup>161</sup> During this time, one can argue that the school did attempt to provide the students with both a physical

158. Brookes, A South African Pilgrimage, p. 67.

159. Ibid.

160. Bantu Education file 6173, B25610. KCA Library. Extracts from diaries of Adams College students who visited Michaelhouse.

161. ABM papers A/4/63 School Prospectus.

and intellectual education. The school had reached a high level of academic achievement and students were successful in their external examinations. In 1955 the school "got 100% passes on the tough matriculation exam."<sup>162</sup> The school also offered a wide range of extra-curricular activities.

Most students did not approve of the manual work aspect. The education sought was an academic one, an education that would enable them to reach a level which was well above menial forms of labour. Once a week students had to take part in manual work known as 'campus care'.<sup>163</sup> Over and above a full time-table, with lessons starting before breakfast at 6:15 a.m. and compulsory evening studies from 6:45 to 9:00 p.m., the students were not only expected to take part in sport and the various clubs and societies, but to keep the school and the grounds clean. This included cutting grass, gardening, cleaning roads and classrooms. The rule stated that "All students must do their share towards keeping the school premises clean, and will be assigned jobs to do either during the week or on Saturday morning."<sup>164</sup> Another rule stated that: "All students are responsible for the cleanliness and care of their dormitories."<sup>165</sup> It was stressed that all students obey all rules and regulations. As the last rule stated, "The College reserved the right at any time to send home any student for misbehaviour, disobedience, or unsatisfactory work in class."<sup>166</sup>

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162. William Booth, unpublished manuscript, 1990, p. 7.2.

163. 'Campus Care' involved cutting grass, cleaning roads, classrooms and dormitories.

164. ABM papers A/4/63. School Prospectus.

165. Ibid.

166. Ibid.

### The Student Body

#### *Student backgrounds and elitism*

Students at Adams were drawn from all over South Africa, Southern Rhodesia, and even as far as Uganda, Kenya and Tanganyika. Some came from Christian homes, others from more 'traditional' backgrounds. Brookes recalled that:

Although the heart of the student body was made up of the Zulu-speaking students of the Bantu Congregational Church of the American Board, other denominational and language groups were welcome before my arrival and we had especially an appreciable number of students from Lesotho. During my term of office this process was strikingly accelerated.<sup>167</sup>

Between 1921 and 1939, according to the school's admission book, 49% of the students came from Natal (mainly from Durban and the South Coast), 16% from the Transvaal (Johannesburg area), 9% from the Orange Free State (Bloemfontein area), 5% from the Cape (Kimberly area), and 14% from Pondoland and East Griquand (mostly from Mount Frere and Matatiele). During this period 4% of the students came from Basutoland, 2% from Swaziland and 2% of the student body was drawn from the Bechuanaland Protectorate, the Rhodesias, Uganda and Kenya.<sup>168</sup> In 1950 the distribution of students showed that 53% came from Natal, 18% from the Cape, 14% from the Transvaal, 5% from the Orange Free State and 10% from non-Union Countries.<sup>169</sup>

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167. Brookes, *A South African Pilgrimage*, p. 63.

168. These statistics were taken from the school's admission book dated 1921 to 1939 which is still housed at Adams College, today known as Amanzimtoti Zulu Training College. During 1921 to 1939 the record shows 1083 students from which 9 names were crossed out, 88 provided no addresses and 161 were illegible or gave insufficient data. The statistics were therefore taken from the remaining list of 825 students. Note that today Pondoland and East Griquand is known as the Transkei, Basutoland as Lesotho, Rhodesia as Zimbabwe and Bechuanaland Protectorate as Botswana.

169. *Iso Lomuzi*, 17, 29 (1950), p. 30. The admission books dated before 1921 and after 1936, are believed to have been destroyed in a fire at the school in 1986.

Students from countries such as Uganda, Kenya and Rhodesia came from wealthy parents who could afford the cost of education, board and travel. Between 1921 and 1939 four students came from Uganda, and two students came from Kenya. Five out of six of these students obtained degrees from Fort Hare after leaving Adams College.<sup>170</sup>

Approximately half the students who attended the college were drawn from the Christian African elite of Natal. These were also people who could afford to send their children to such a school. Many students came from well-to-do families and shared similar backgrounds, assumptions, and values. However there were also those who came from more humble backgrounds and also aspired to those elitist ideals.

In 1949 the boarding fee was £18 a year plus £1 for medical, sport and library costs. In addition students had to pay for their books, stationery and examination fees. Tuition costs were met by grants from the provincial government; and the American Board Mission generally contributed an annual sum towards staff salaries.<sup>171</sup> There were a number of college bursaries available "to needy and worthy students", chosen according to character and academic achievement.<sup>172</sup> Students who received good marks were able to apply for bursaries from the Education Department on the recommendation of the college.

As explained above, most of the students at Adams College came from the "African bourgeoisie" - a term used by Kuper which refers to the "upper" occupational strata of African society.<sup>173</sup> Kuper's occupational classification of the bourgeoisie,

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170. Admission book 1921-1936.

171. Interview with Mr and Mrs Brookes, University of Natal Oral History Project, 14/2/1979, KCAV 110.

172. ABM papers A/4/63. School Prospectus.

173. L. Kuper, An African Bourgeoisie Race, Class, and Politics in South Africa (New Haven, 1965), p. ix.

includes African traders, professionals, higher grade civil servants and clerks.<sup>174</sup>

Associated with this higher occupational status is a level of education which is well above the average. Kuper explains that the "African bourgeoisie draws fine shades of distinction in respect of education..."<sup>175</sup> and adds, that

Formal education for Africans was linked with mission work and inextricably interwoven with Christianity, Westernization, and the repudiation of tribal traditions.<sup>176</sup>

The educated students tended to reject the tribal way of life and placed their hopes in cultural assimilation. Kuper says that

Education fostered occupational diversity, and the opportunity to escape from the common fate of the peasant or labourer into the highly prized positions of minister, teacher, clerk and interpreter.<sup>177</sup>

The correlation between mission education and an emergent elite has also been drawn by H.E. Peters. He chooses to define 'elite' as people who possess most of the following characteristics: relatively affluent and well educated, having innovative ideas and values, and relatively unified and cohesive, (although not necessarily integrated with all elite groups.)<sup>178</sup> According to Peters' definition of 'elite', African merchants, politicians and civil servants can be called elite and clerks, teachers and artisans be termed as the sub-elite. People in these occupations are referred to as the African bourgeoisie by Kuper. Both these definitions are applicable to the students at Adams College. Here the curriculum content, teaching

174. *Ibid.*, p. 3 and p. 95.

175. *Ibid.*, p. 73.

176. *Ibid.*

177. *Ibid.*, p. 74.

178. Harold Eugene Peters, Education and Achievement, Contribution of Education and Development of Elites Among the Plateau Tonga, (Lusaka, 1976), pp. 7-8. (Peters was from the University of Zambia, Institute for African Studies).

methodology and the attitudes and expectations of the teachers put the students into this upper occupational status. A combination of religious and academic knowledge, manual and technical skills, individualism and self-reliance, diligence, thoroughness, and perseverance, equipped the students to be integrated into a relatively affluent and educated group.<sup>179</sup>

Many students attached importance to clothing. While no fixed uniform was insisted upon, a style of dress was suggested. Male students were advised to wear khaki trousers and shirts during the week, and grey flannel trousers, a white shirt and a dark jacket for weekends and smarter occasions. It was suggested that female students wear blue or black gym tunics or skirts with white or khaki shirts during the week and that for Sundays they have a white dress and white shoes. Blazers for all were sold at the college and to be worn at most occasions.<sup>180</sup>

The school expected a certain standard of dress; therefore having the correct attire was important to students, even causing competition amongst them. Charles Mbutho, a student during Brookes's time, felt "troubled unhappy, poor", as he thought that he possessed nothing. He believed himself to be so poor that he was convinced that he could no longer remain at the college:

I possessed only one pair of shoes, two pairs of trousers, two shirts, one sports jacket... My misfortune of being so poorly dressed had the effect of lowering my prestige greatly. Due to my inferior attire I never got to know the girls in my class ... I did not even have the heart to greet them being so conscious of how poorly I looked.<sup>181</sup>

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179. To back up this assumption, see [Appendix E](#) - a study of the school-leavers from Adams College (from early 1900s to 1950s) showing the types of careers and occupations in which they were involved. This evidence indicates that a number of students became politicians, civil servants, clerks, teachers, nurses and artisans.

180. ABM papers A/4/63. School Prospectus.

181. Interview with C. Mbutho. Interviewed by Mr C.N. Shum: 1/3/81, 10/3/81, 17/3/81, 24/3/81.

Mbutho felt embarrassed at having only one pair of shoes. He remembers having no option but to go to class barefoot when it rained, even though some students would refuse to go to class because they had no other shoes to wear. Mbutho recollects some more fortunate students: "There were some boys from Johannesburg who were able to wear anything under the sun - they had everything. They would have as many as 5 or 6 pairs of shoes."<sup>182</sup>

The stigma of not having the correct clothing was experienced by many students at the school. After Ezekiel Mphahlele obtained his Junior Certificate from St Peter's, just enough money was found to send him to Adams to do the teacher training course. However Mphahlele had to work for a year before attending Adams to "save up for his clothing."<sup>183</sup>

During 1938 I felt poverty crawl all over me in a way I hadn't done before. It wasn't just a state I had been born into. That was the year I aimed at buying a suit for the first time, which I could use on Sundays at college. I dropped fifteen shillings at the tailor each month for ten months.<sup>184</sup>

Lily, a girl who attended Adams during the 1950s with the financial help of Mabel Palmer, often wrote to her benefactress asking for certain items of clothing which she insisted were compulsory:

I wish to inform you that uniform this year is completely compulsory. I ask you if you would kindly help me with the articles I don't have, to complete my uniform. I haven't got the white Sunday frock, and the blazer...<sup>185</sup>

However the Dean of Women students wrote to Dr Palmer stating that: "The blazer was not absolutely necessary."<sup>186</sup>

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182. Ibid.

183. Mphahlele, Down Second Avenue, p. 136.

184. Ibid., pp. 142-3.

185. Marks, Not Either An Experimental Doll, p. 145.

186. Ibid.

*Women students*

According to Mphahlele "There was a whole lot of fuss about the relationship between the two sexes not only in Adams but in all of the mission schools...".<sup>187</sup> There were many restrictive rules separating male and female students, a type of rigid social separation that African adolescents were not used to in their home environment. For instance, in 1926 Alfred Shebi, was sent home for "repeating improper letters to girls" and in 1934 another male student was expelled for "misconduct with a girl".<sup>188</sup> All areas and buildings outside Esidlaveleni (the girls dormitory), except the classrooms during class hours and the dining hall during meal times, were out of bounds for all female students.<sup>189</sup> Permission was given to visit the village store only on specific days, which were different for girls and boys. Students were only able to go to town once a term, boys' visits only to be made on the second Saturday of the month and girls on the third Saturday of the month. During free time students could not hold meetings or socials involving both sexes, unless an authorised teacher was present.

Tensions faced by female students at Adams College must not be overlooked. The role of the female student deserves examination in isolation from that of male students as they were so often denied the opportunity of gaining certain educational goals which were readily available to male students. Black women in particular faced oppressive social, cultural, economic, political and educational barriers.

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187. Interview with E. Mphahlele, 9/5/1988.

188. See Admission book 1921-1936, pp. 20 and 57.

189. ABM papers A/4/63. School Prospectus.

It is necessary to examine the time when Adams first became co-educational, and when mission schools were first opened to girls, to understand the many strained circumstances faced by female students. Ellen Kuzwayo observes that from the earliest mission schools, black women were denied a genuine education:

For too long black parents preferred to educate their boys and openly denied their girls that same opportunity; they kept their daughters at home. If they were allowed schooling, girls were encouraged to do domestic science, a subject which they ended up despising, ridiculing it as preparation for domestic service in white homes. As recently as the late 1930s and mid-1940s, girls were encouraged by teachers and parents alike to substitute science subjects - mathematics, physics and so on, with subjects like geography, physiology and hygiene.<sup>190</sup>

From the early 1800s, missionaries had certain ideas about what girls should learn. For example, in the mission schools women were not taught agriculture even though this had long been womens' work in rural society. Industrial education for boys involved tasks such as carpentry, wagon-building, stone-masonry and agriculture. But industrial education for girls taught only domestic skills, like cooking, laundry work, dress-making and home nursing. To the missionaries at Lovedale, especially in the 1800s, "womens' core role was a domestic one - it was their influence as wives and mothers that was important".<sup>191</sup> Lovedale eventually became the model par excellence of female industrial education.<sup>192</sup> In 1871 an Industrial department was opened at the Lovedale Girls' School, in which women and girls were trained as domestic servants or seamstresses. This course continued until 1922.<sup>193</sup>

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190. Kuzwayo, *Call Me Woman*, p. 242.

191. J. Cock, *Maids and Madams* (Johannesburg, 1980), p. 287.

192. *Ibid.*, p. 291. Cock says that Lovedale was the most prominent mission school in Southern Africa and served as a model for numerous other missionary institutions. "At Lesseyton, Peddie, Blythwood, Butterworth, Healdtown, Salem and St Matthews, education for girls followed much the same pattern. The focus was on education for domesticity.", *Ibid.*, p. 294.

193. Cock, *Maids and Madams*, p. 292.

Adams College became co-educational in 1910. However female students were not accepted in the lower standards of the high school, standards VI and VII.<sup>194</sup> It was only in the school's annual report of July 1943 to June 1944 that Brookes could say: "... our numbers have increased considerably this year owing to the lifting of the bar against admitting girls to the junior classes of the high school."<sup>195</sup> When the school first became co-educational there was a stringent separation of male and female students:

When the girls' department was first established, its premises were fenced with an 8ft barbed wire fence with locked gates. A telephone connected it with the principal's office, so that young mens' claims to have been given permission to call their 'sisters' could be checked before they were allowed a half hour's conversation on the veranda under the watchful eye of the matron.<sup>196</sup>

Inanda Seminary was opened as a boarding school in 1869 and the missionaries saw it necessary to open such a school to train "suitable wives for the young men being trained at Amanzimtoti [Adams College] as teachers and pastors".<sup>197</sup> In 1949 the reasons for educating female students had changed very little. As the principal, Lavinia Scott, wrote:

While academic standards have risen remarkably, and greater stress is now laid on intellectual achievement, the fundamental aim of Inanda remains - to train African girls in Christian womanhood, and to prepare them to be good wives and mothers and home-makers.<sup>198</sup>

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194. Only a few selected students were allowed to attend standard VIII from 1926, and matriculation classes from 1931. Before this time students took the industrial and teacher training courses.
195. ABM papers A/3/45. Annual Report July 1943 to June 1944, E.H.Brookes.
196. Grant, "South African Missionary Institutions", p. 28.
197. ABM papers A/4/45. Annual Report of Inanda Seminary 1949, L. Scott.
198. *Ibid.*

The type of education and the purpose of their education at Inanda would have been similar to that offered to female students at Adams. The two schools, both run by the American Board, operated on similar lines. According to the principal at Inanda Seminary, most female students would, after leaving school, spend a few years training as teachers, nurses or workers in shops, factories and homes, yet nearly all of them would marry and have homes of their own.<sup>199</sup> Lavinia Scott wrote that:

It is our greatest concern, and our constant prayer that they may be well equipped in knowledge, character, and spirit, for the responsibilities and opportunities of Christian marriage and motherhood.<sup>200</sup>

Inanda Seminary, like Adams College changed from an emphasis on an industrial practical training to an academic one in the mid-1920s. Hughes notes that while Inanda always stressed gender-specific subjects that would equip students for a life of domesticity, or the female professions such as teaching and nursing, Inanda did not educate African women for economic subseivence such as house servant. However Hughes does state that students were being educated within a racially segregated social order, which its teachers and governors did not challenge.<sup>201</sup>

After Union, mission schools such as Adams and Inanda followed the education department's insistence on the need for practical training. Instruction in girls' boarding schools in Natal during 1914 consisted of needlework, laundry work, spinning and weaving and housework.<sup>202</sup> According to Loram's philosophy the expressed aim of domestic science was two-fold: "namely preparation for the home

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199. *Ibid.*

200. *Ibid.*

201. Hughes, "Inanda Seminary to 1945", p. 197.

202. Dodd, Native Vocational Training, p. 64.

and the training of domestic servants..."<sup>203</sup> Loram's insistence on producing an appropriate education for Africans, could be linked to the fact that Inanda catered for an industrial course from 1918, offering sewing, gardening, poultry care, housekeeping and cooking, and from 1919 an advanced domestic art course.<sup>204</sup> During the mid-1920s the high school at Adams College had an industrial bias for girls, offering subjects such as cookery, laundry, needlework and housewifery.<sup>205</sup>

An academic course, offering Latin, English, Zulu or Sotho, algebra, geometry, arithmetic and history leading to the Junior Certificate, was introduced at Inanda in 1925. However few female students were attracted to this course.<sup>206</sup> Academic education was also encouraged at Adams from 1925, with Matthews' introduction of the high school. Girls, however, were not encouraged to go on to higher levels of education after primary school. It was mainly boys who went on to secondary education. In 1932, in the Adams high school, the boys far outnumbered the girls. In the standard VIII class there were 9 girls and 35 boys; in the Junior Certificate class 4 girls and 39 boys and in the matriculation class 3 girls and 15 boys.<sup>207</sup>

In the 1920s and 1930s male students had many more professional outlets than female students, who were mostly restricted to teaching and nursing.<sup>208</sup>

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203. *Ibid.*, p. 67.

204. Hughes, "Inanda Seminary to 1945" p. 216.

205. Z.K. Matthews papers, AAS130, UNISA Library, "Our High School", p. 1.

206. Hughes, "Inanda Seminary to 1945" p. 217.

207. Z.K. Matthews papers, AAS130, UNISA Library, Report to Adams College Advisory Board.

208. A survey of 70 ex-students who attended classes at Inanda in the 1920s and 1930s, reveals the following pattern: teacher 27; nurse 21; cook 4; waitress 2; storekeeper 1; office worker 1; dressmaker 1; 'at home' 13. See Hughes "Inanda Seminary to 1945", p. 217.

Kuzwayo recalls that in those years girls seemed daunted by the science subjects: "The likelihood is that they were scared not because they were stupid but because they had been told over and over again that women students had no aptitude in this field."<sup>209</sup>

Mbutho recalls that the teachers at Adams College encouraged 'western' ideas about the place of women in society. "They liked to make examples of their own families, to say what they did in their homes and how they brought up their children... women students were encouraged to be mother figures."<sup>210</sup> Cock observes that to those working in mission schools, Christianity and 'civilization' were linked, and the 'civilization' of African women involved their socialisation into western definitions of domestic roles.<sup>211</sup>

In the whole of South Africa as late as 1949, only 201 African girls actually went beyond the Junior Certificate examination (std. VIII), and only 0,2 per cent of the African school-going population actually passed the matriculation examination, which served as the university entrance qualification. Most of these were male.<sup>212</sup> By the 1940s many black women had graduated as teachers and nurses, yet as Kuzwayo remarks "...there it appeared, they had reached their limit".<sup>213</sup> Nursing and primary school teaching were seen as occupations most suitable for women, and both of these were also 'domestic' kinds of work - just on a higher level. <sup>214</sup> It was in the 1940s that the first black women doctors emerged; since then black women's educational progress has gathered momentum. According to Kuzwayo,

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209. Kuzwayo, *Call Me Woman*, p. 87.  
 210. Interview with C. Mbutho, 13/5/1990.  
 211. Cock, *Maids and Madams*, p. 287.  
 212. Marks, *Not Either An Experimental Doll*, p. 9., taken from UG 53-1951, Report on Native Education in South Africa paragraphs 689-93.  
 213. Kuzwayo, *Call Me Woman*, p. 242.  
 214. Christie, *The Right to Learn*, p. 77.

These are the achievements of black women today, who over several generations have been condemned as unproductive, unintelligent, incapable to the point of being seen as male property, whether they be single or married...<sup>215</sup>

Female students were not only looked down upon and regarded as being less capable academically, but were also mistreated sexually. Many mission records of the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries are replete with stories of women fleeing to the stations to escape an unwelcome marriage;<sup>216</sup> yet it appears that they were running to an equally trying situation. Shula Marks states that

The seduction of African schoolgirls by their schoolmasters was common gossip in South African high schools in the 1940s and 1950s. It was said that teachers would frequently bribe male students to 'confess' if the girl fell pregnant, in order to keep their positions.<sup>217</sup>

In 1946 an African teacher was dismissed from Adams "because of serious indiscretions in his conduct with one of the girl students". And according to Marks "anecdotal evidence suggests that this was more widespread".<sup>218</sup>

The relationship between male and female students at Adams was at times rather strained. Ida Grant remembers that the female students were outnumbered by the male students: "There was the odd case where there was trouble, sexual trouble, you know... and we had one or two illegitimate children turn up..."<sup>219</sup> Shula Marks comments that "concern with the virginity of young African girls remained a recurrent theme amongst missionaries, administrators and Christian Africans in twentieth century South Africa..."<sup>220</sup>

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215. *Ibid.*, p. 243.

216. Marks, *Not Either An Experimental Doll*, p. 21.

217. *Ibid.*, p. 49., fn. 71.

218. *Ibid.*, p. 25.

219. Interview with Ida Grant, 13/10/1988.

220. Marks, *Not Either An Experimental Doll*, p. 23.

*Optimism and disillusionment*

Students at Adams College during the 1920s were:

...subjected to an ideology of trusteeship, slow evolution, but with inevitable progress towards eventual assimilation. There may be temporary setbacks to this hope, it may take a long time, but there was little doubt amongst the black elite about their final acceptance into a community based on 'civilized standards', and the ultimate good faith of the whites was accepted.<sup>221</sup>

It can be argued that African students at mission schools such as Adams College, during the later 1900s, were given an education which allowed them to develop aspirations and expectations which could not be realised given the realities of South African society. A number of students, after leaving the protected environment of the mission school, felt cheated by the promise of assimilation into white society, especially those entering the increasingly racist society of the 1940s and 1950s. One of those students, H.I.E. Dhlomo, looking back at his school days at Adams College, wrote,

Oh why do those who teach and lead,  
Their trusting wards deceive and bleed?<sup>222</sup>

This notion of gradual assimilation, widespread in missionary boarding schools, "was well steeped in the liberal and Christian presumptions which prevailed in these institutions, including the optimistic liberal faith in the inevitability of progress".<sup>223</sup>

In 1952 Mtimkulu, a former teacher and student, still adhered firmly to the liberal belief in the potential and opportunity for African students following upon an education at a "progressive" school such as Adams College: "Adams is proving and

221. Couzens, *The New African*, p. 50.

222. Dhlomo, "Sweet Mango Tree", in T. Couzens and N. Visser (eds.), *H.I.E. Dhlomo* pp. 343-349.

223. G.M. Gerhart, *Black Power in South Africa: The Evolution of Ideology* (Berkeley, 1978), p. 33.

must daily prove that it is possible for Black and White to live and work together without superiority or condescension on the one side, and without subservience or arrogance on the other."<sup>224</sup>

Adams College and similar mission institutions can be seen almost as separate worlds. It seems that most missionaries prepared their charges for the narrower, more protected life of the mission station rather than that of the larger world outside. The relationship between Adams College and the outside world is significant when questioning whether or not the school prepared its students adequately for their future occupations. One can ask how sheltered the mission school really was; if any significant contact existed between the school and the society outside; and how the students coped with their vocations and the different way of life after leaving school.

Adams College was a protected environment. This made it difficult for students to adapt to the outside world when leaving the college during vacations or when entering their various careers. Mphahlele expressed this sentiment: "...no one...ever said anything about the attitude they thought we should adopt towards whites and white authority outside school. Slowly I realised how I hated the white man outside the walls of St Peter's."<sup>225</sup> Luthuli's recollection was similar:

Life at Adams College somehow continued to insulate us in some measure from what was happening in South Africa. It was not that restraints were put on us; it was rather that in some ways Adams was a world of its own...<sup>226</sup>

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224. "A Shining light in a sea of racial strife", Daily News, 5/9/1952.  
 225. Mphahlele, Down Second Avenue, p. 126.  
 226. Luthuli papers, manuscript, p. 33.

According to Couzens, students who went to Adams College "were luckier and more privileged than most and did lead a slightly more sheltered life."<sup>227</sup> In 1942 Dhlomo wrote a poem about his time at Adams, for him a time of quietness and security. In the poem 'Sweet Mango Tree' he wrote:

Neat, nestled 'neath rich scenes of green,  
 (Below sweet Manzimtoti stream  
 Glides past as lovely as a dream!)  
 The chapel stands, defying change!  
 Calm, hallowed, staid! Where all is strange,  
 Its breath is home!...<sup>228</sup>

Similar feelings were expressed by Luthuli in his autobiography,:

At Adams College I had had no particular cause to look far beyond the walls of the institution. I was, of course, aware of the South African scene, but Adams was in some ways a protected world, and the South Africa outside did not reach in in those days. Our awareness was partly theoretical. Moreover, we were busy.<sup>229</sup>

Visiting students to Adams College also noted the school's insularity. In a letter to his mother, a Michaelhouse student staying at Adams observed how isolated the school was: "Once you get to Adams you enter an entirely new world. One where there is absolutely no colour bar, and whether this is a good thing or not, I have not yet made up my mind."<sup>230</sup> According to Nyembezi the teachers fraternised with the students, they were friendly and there was no racial antagonism:

...it must have created in the minds of some students that all whites were like the whites at Adams College. So that in Adams you could say that there was an unreal world, but real in the sense that this is how things should be.<sup>231</sup>

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227. Couzens, *The New African*, p. 49.

228. *Ibid.*, p. 74.

229. Luthuli, *Let My People Go*, p. 52.

230. SAIRR papers, AD 843 B37.6. Extract of letter from an anonymous Michaelhouse student.

231. Interview with L. Nyembezi, 5/7/1988.

Ida Grant remembers how many visitors to Adams were "struck by the peaceful atmosphere and inter-racial harmony"<sup>232</sup> at the school, in contrast to the racial attitudes which prevailed outside. She describes Adams as having been "a centre to which many have been glad to come and breathe its freer air and get a new vision for a friendlier world."<sup>233</sup>

A strong sense of optimism was instilled into the students. They were taught to visualise a new South Africa, one where the inhabitants could work "towards the realisation of one goal and for the welfare of all who are South Africans, no matter to what race or creed they belong."<sup>234</sup> Students revealed signs of hopefulness, believing in a positive future. The constant emphasis on liberal and Christian thinking and the reassurance of gradual assimilation into society, encouraged the pupils to move forward with determination. One student, in an article in the school magazine, offered a "hint" which he felt would be of great help to his fellow students:

*Be optimistic, look to the end, imagine yourself done with your difficulty and fancy what pleasure you will receive after your sweating. Then I am sure you will go through thick and thin for the achievement of any of your undertakings because you will have known that PERSEVERANCE PREVAILS.*<sup>235</sup>

Another student, in an essay entitled "My Great Ambition", remarked, "It is hard to change humanity, but it is not impossible".<sup>236</sup> At Adams College the students were taught that nothing is impossible; they came to believe in perseverance, in the idea of progress, in individual achievement, and were given a sense of great optimism and self-confidence.

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232. "Adams Sacrificed to Apartheid", Ilanga Lase Natal, 2/9/1956.

233. Ibid.

234. Iso Lomuzy, 15, 27 (1946), p. 11.

235. Iso Lomuzy, 25, 27 (1946), p. 13.

236. Iso Lomuzy, 18, 31 (1952), p. 10.

This optimistic outlook led many students to believe in the possibility of a utopian world of universalism and non-racialism, a world that contrasted sharply with the harsh reality of South African society. Molteno notes that the influence of "liberal conventional wisdom", that change would come naturally when people were educated, caused Africans to believe that integration into democratic structures and institutions was possible through education.<sup>237</sup> This misplaced optimism ultimately led to feelings of disillusionment and confusion among students once they had left Adams. Mphahlele maintains that

The education and ideals taught at Adams simply ignored our political life, our home backgrounds, our poverty...ignored anything to do with our real environment, the environment we were going to have to go back to.<sup>238</sup>

Couzens observed that Dhlomo and other students must have left their school with the idea that the world was opening up for Africans.<sup>239</sup> Dhlomo's moving poem, 'Sweet Mango Tree', "tells of the agony of an African who sets out into life so confidently but whose aspirations and hopes have been thwarted and who has lost his direction."<sup>240</sup> Dhlomo cries:

O Time! O Place! O Graves! I Call!  
Bring back the souls, ideals and all  
Beliefs and Hopes I held in days  
Gone past!<sup>241</sup>

Totally disillusioned, Dhlomo at the end of the poem faces up to his own ordinariness and he rejects the ideologically-conditioned behavioural path he had taken:<sup>242</sup>

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237. Molteno, "The Historical Foundations of the Schooling of Black South Africans", p. 75.  
238. Interview with E. Mphahlele, 9/5/1988.  
239. Couzens, The New African, p. 50.  
240. Ibid., p. 247.  
241. Ibid.  
242. Ibid., p. 249.

In youth and triumph I bragged, 'I must  
Be different! Now mid storm and dust,  
I pray to be like other men...' <sup>243</sup>

Luthuli too, looked back to his days at Adams with sadness. In his autobiography he wrote:

There seemed point, in my youth, in striving after the values of the Western world. It seemed to be striving after wholeness and fulfilment. Since then we have watched the steady degeneration of South African affairs, and we have seen this degeneration quicken in the last ten years. <sup>244</sup>

To many members of the Adams community, Adams was a microcosm of what they would have liked South African society to be. As Mtimkulu, a past student and teacher at Adams put it: "...a world where men are men, and race and colour do not enter into the estimate - a world where ability is recognised and the inestimable worth of the individual is respected." <sup>245</sup> To some, Adams stood as a symbol "of the fearless pioneering spirit," <sup>246</sup> or as a "haven of comparative freedom in a strange land." <sup>247</sup> Mtimkulu saw the school, in a country torn by racial strife, as a "shining light" and as "an example of what can be done if the spirit of Christ rules in men's hearts." <sup>248</sup> A similar kind of thinking can be found in an essay written by a student in 1946: "Our motto here is 'Arise, Shine'. If we are to Shine at all, we have to see that we love others and sympathise with them, irrespective of race, colour and so on..." <sup>249</sup>

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243. *Ibid.*

244. Luthuli, *Let My People Go*, p. 42.

245. "A Shining Light in a sea of racial strife", Article written by D.G.S. Mtimkulu *Daily News*, 5/9/1952.

246. *Ibid.*

247. S. Vietzen, "Fabian Transplant: the Adams College Vacation Schools and the University, 1936-1952", (unpublished paper, conference on the History of Natal and Zululand, University of Natal, 1985), p. 9.

248. "A Shining Light in a sea of racial strife", *Daily News*, 5/9/1952.

249. *Iso Lomuzi*, 15, 27 (1946), p. 12.

It appears as if the students unconsciously or indirectly absorbed the motto of their school and tried to fulfil its meaning. One student, in an article in the school magazine, suggested that students must not forget the message of the motto; "which places great responsibility on every member of the college. In fact it is a command we should willingly obey if we wish to shine."<sup>250</sup> The student implores fellow students to make use of all the activities at the college in which they can rise and shine. The article concludes,

How many of us have sung with intelligence the first stanza of hymn  
344 which goes:  
"Rise up, O men of God!  
Have done with lesser things;  
Give HEART and SOUL and MIND and STRENGTH  
To serve the King of Kings."  
Once more I exhort you - Arise! Shine!<sup>251</sup>

The mission-educated elite became so involved with their own advancement that many of them seemed unaware of the barriers in society denying them upward mobility. As Shula Marks has observed:

Beneath the superficial appearance of acculturation, the contrast between the mid-Victorian vision of progress and improvement on the one hand and the subordination on the other led to profound tensions and ambiguities.<sup>252</sup>

An extension of this ambiguity is to be found in the missionaries' stress upon the school motto: 'Arise and Shine'. The latter implies that the onus is on the individual to 'rise', with the 'shine' following as a natural consequence. It presents an education at Adams as "yours the opportunity, yours the reward".<sup>253</sup> Mphahlele claims that the

250. *Ibid.*, 14, 26 (1945), pp. 8-9.

251. *Ibid.*

252. S. Marks, *The Ambiguities of Dependence in South Africa: Class Nationalism and the State in Twentieth Century Natal* (Johannesburg, 1986), p. 54.

253. ABM papers A/4/63. Adams Appeals.

missionaries ignored the reality of exploitation experienced by Africans. He says that the missionaries and teachers believed that they were educating Africans in order that one day they might overcome certain handicaps. But the missionaries did not consider the future: "the only future they thought about was preparing us for a moral leadership in our own communities, not to overcome oppression and exploitation."<sup>254</sup>

The position of the African intellectual was highly ambiguous, as they were surrounded by the ambivalent reactions of others, both African and white. Kuper explains this ambiguous situation:

... there is ambivalence, because the highest education does not emancipate a son from the racially subordinate status he shares with his uneducated father. And there is frustration when education does not lead to good employment, or when it creates estrangement between illiterate parents and educated children, ...<sup>255</sup>

Missionary education, not only encouraged a 'progressive' way of thinking but also resulted in students having similar ambitions, hence similar occupations when leaving school. In the 1952 school magazine, Grant bid farewell to the students who would be leaving the college that year. His idea of where the students would be the following year gives, to some extent, an indication of the type of careers that were available to students leaving Adams College:

In my mind's eye I picture you - some continuing your studies at university, some teaching in schools, some preaching the gospel, some tending the sick, some looking after your homes, some building homes and making furniture, some running your own businesses, some holding responsible posts in your communities, some giving of your time and talent to our welfare, and so on.<sup>256</sup>

Despite Grant's optimism there was not an abundance of openings and opportunities for school leavers. Most students ended up as teachers, clerks and

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254. Interview with E. Mphahlele, 9/5/1988.

255. Kuper, *An African Bourgeoisie*, p. 144.

256. *Iso Lomu*, 18, 31 (1952), p. 5.

nurses. In 1955 the school magazine collected the news of various past students. They came up with a long list of people in the fields of education, religion and social welfare and a few involved in literature, journalism and music.<sup>257</sup>

Marable maintains that this group of educated Africans, those who had graduated from schools such as Ohlange and Adams, with the legacy of accommodation and hope, were "forced into compromising positions from which they could not escape".<sup>258</sup> They had often been misguided, and their "increasing successes as an educated, critically self-conscious class did not allow them to fully understand the violent and rapidly changed characteristics of white South African society."<sup>259</sup> This is verified by Luthuli when he looked back at his education at Adams College. He saw himself as a "thirsty wayfarer yearning for a water-hole":

But how long the young with their eagerness to acquire education will be able to withstand the disillusioning experience of finding the waterside muddied and fouled by the Bantu Education Act and the separate Universities Act, is a matter of depressing conjecture.<sup>260</sup>

Chanaiwa chooses to call members of the African elite "humanists" because of their commitment to the ideology of individual dignity, non-racialism, and the brotherhood of mankind. Chanaiwa observes that the elites acquired this humanism from their Christian upbringing, education level, personal friendships and from their relationships with missionaries and white liberals. This mission-educated elite had a high notion of education, one that was "much broader than the mere production of clerks, mechanics, farmers, and teachers for bread-and-butter

257. *Ibid.*, 20, 33 (1955), p. 5.

258. M. Marable, "John L. Dube and the politics of Segregated Education in South Africa", in Mugomba and Nyaggah (eds.), *Independence Without Freedom*, p. 126.

259. *Ibid.*

260. Luthuli papers, Manuscript, p. 29.

occupations".<sup>261</sup> As far as the elite were concerned, education had to include programmes for "elevating the material, health, political, civil, and moral aspects of the whole community. Above all, it had to aim at providing the community with well-trained, conscientious and trustworthy leadership - capable of transforming human life and the world into something higher, more harmonious and better."<sup>262</sup>

With this kind of thinking it is possible to understand how the elite developed a utopian outlook. Yet this was an outlook that contrasted sharply with the realities of South African society. Some, under strong humanist influences, accepted these realities passively, while others rejected and opposed the system and became more and more militant over time.

#### *Political awareness*

Some students at Adams, who were politically aware, questioned their education. It was these students, hoping for change in the structure of South African society, who became the early African leaders. Adams College was one of the mission schools in South Africa which provided a protected environment in which an educated African leadership could develop. Those who emerged from Adams had certain advantages over less educated Africans. Students from mission schools were more articulate and conversant in European languages, and better equipped to understand the political and economic forces at work around them.

John Reuling recalls "active discussions of political movements on an inter-racial basis" at Adams. He states that the students at Adams had an increasing

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261. Chanaiwa, "African Humanism in South Africa", p. 34.

262. Ibid.

awareness of the National Party's efforts to deprive black people of their remaining civil and political rights.<sup>263</sup> Students discussed political theory and historical issues.

Reuling remembers "some very vehement comments in school debates..."<sup>264</sup>

Although Adams and other mission schools, such as Ohlange and Inanda, officially discouraged outright political organisation and discussion, pupils were eager to find out as much as they could. Reuling remembers the students being "proud of the African National Congress, and frustrated at the things it couldn't do".<sup>265</sup> He notes that many students became politically active after leaving Adams<sup>266</sup>: "It is one of my joys and one of my sorrows that many former students did pay rather heavy prices in trials and imprisonment for being politically active".<sup>267</sup>

The development of a political consciousness was not found in the same degree among all members of the mission-educated elite. A rather ambivalent situation evolved. While some, in spite of growing dissatisfaction even in the 1940s,

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263. Marable, "John L. Dube and the Politics of Segregated Education in South Africa", p. 125. In 1949 the pupils were given a lecture on 'Apartheid' by Selby Msimang. The Sunday Tribune noted that the lecturer had criticised the government and advocated a lack of cooperation between 'Europeans' and 'non-Europeans' in South Africa. The school authorities chose to ignore the newspaper report. ABM papers A/4/63. Minutes of General Purpose Committee 1949.

264. *Ibid.*

265. *Ibid.*, p. 125.

266. Some Adams College students became politically active after leaving school. A.W.G. Champion - leader of the Durban branch of the ICU, a political and civic leader; John L. Dube - first president general of the ANC; Anton Lembede - involved in the ANC Youth League and gained a reputation as a political philosopher; Jordan Ngubane - influential and controversial politician and journalist; Selby Ngcobo - prominent academic and politically active in late 1930s and early 1940s; Ellen Kuzwayo - secretary to the Congress Youth League in 1946; Albert John Luthuli - president general of the ANC from 1952-1967; Cromwell Diko - leading politician of the Transkei; Joshua Nkomo - Zimbabwean African nationalist politician; Gatsha Buthelezi - Chief Minister of KwaZulu Government.

267. *Ibid.*, p. 126.

still believed in paternalist promises, liberal values and a more gradual approach to change, others followed the Congress Youth League. Africanist doctrines voiced by the Youth League in the mid-1940s signalled a growing challenge to the 'old guard' African leadership.

A number of mission-educated Africans reflected a similar way of thinking to those who had taught them, adopting a moderate and gradualist outlook. Gerhart suggests that most wanted

... the fulfilment of the paternalistic promises of trusteeship; unfettered opportunity to assimilate European culture and learn modern skills, opportunity to demonstrate African competence and to be accepted, however gradually, as equals in a common, competitive society. The right of whites to lead the way was generally assumed; what the African sought was simply the right to be included as a "junior partner" in the white man's ruling councils, until such times as he was ready to play his full part as an equal.<sup>268</sup>

When Albert John Luthuli was elected president-general of the ANC in 1952 he saw the future in terms of African participation in government rather than absolute control of it. Luthuli spoke of a "progressive and liberal" nationalism with the goal of African "partnership" in government. His preference for compromise as opposed to confrontation was evident in the Defiance Campaign. Passive resistance for Luthuli, even on a mass scale, was not to overthrow the state but rather to urge the inclusion of all sectors of the community in the democratic process. Luthuli hoped for the peaceful transformation of South Africa into a harmonious multi-racial society. Many mission-educated African leaders in the 1940s and 1950s were conciliatory: "Theirs was a politics of reason and they still believed that their white

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268. *Ibid.*, p.38.

compatriots saw the black man as someone with whom they shared a common humanity."<sup>269</sup>

In contrast to these liberal values, more 'radical' leaders (also educated at mission schools) aimed specifically at mobilizing the masses. During the 1940s a younger generation of African nationalists came to the fore. "They were impatient with traditional, moderate tactics and dissatisfied with the ANC's failure to develop into a mass movement."<sup>270</sup> 1943-44 saw the emergence of the Congress Youth League (CYL), a movement which from the start avoided close contact with any white liberals and those following a more moderate path. The CYL began as a movement among a section of the African intelligentsia, many of whom had been educated at Adams College and Fort Hare. Anton Lembede, the first leader of the CYL, a person who occupied "a pivotal position in the evolution of African nationalism"<sup>271</sup>, studied at Adams College from 1933 to 1935.

Those in the Youth League "firmly rejected any paternalist support from white liberals"<sup>272</sup> and they were hostile to the class analysis of the Communist party.<sup>273</sup> The Africanists ruled out any collaboration with non-African movements. "The Africanist analysis was based on race: Africans were the victims of racial oppression; accordingly Africans should unite to wage their struggle against oppression."<sup>274</sup> The educated elite who adhered to the CYL and Africanist thinking

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269. N.C. Manganyi, Exiles and Homecomings: A Biography of Es'kia Mphahlele (Johannesburg, 1983), pp. 99-100.  
 270. Karis and Carter, From Protest to Challenge, Vol. 3, p. 4.  
 271. Ibid., Vol. 4, p. 55.  
 272. P. Maylam, A History of the African People of South Africa from the Early Iron Age to the 1970s (Johannesburg, 1986), p. 184.  
 273. Rich, White Power and the Liberal Conscience, p. 83.  
 274. Maylam, A History of the African People, p. 184.

were those who were the most disillusioned with their lot, and who were encouraged by the Africanist emphasis on African pride, assertiveness and self-reliance.<sup>275</sup>

### *Student tensions*

Adams College was not free of internal tensions. The school expected the students to obey a strict moral code which was taken more seriously by some than others. Strained relations within the school may have been due to students coming from a variety of backgrounds and the school being co-educational. Female students in particular faced disadvantages: an inferior syllabus, for instance, and the threat of being harassed by male students. Many poorer students, perhaps living off a small bursary, found it difficult fitting into an environment dominated by the wealthier students coming from the ranks of the African elite.

Students were often dissatisfied with the conditions in the school. Some resented the paternalism of the missionaries and were critical of certain college rules which were "a trifle puritanical."<sup>276</sup> Teachers and missionaries, especially during the 1920s and 1930s, expected definite behaviour relating to character and conduct. The school authorities did not stand for any form of deviation.<sup>277</sup>

According to Hirson the "extensive grounds, the wide fields, the country setting, and even the school equipment" typical of most mission schools made them part of a very privileged group. He maintains that it was these privileges which made the students more sensitive to any deficiencies.<sup>278</sup>

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275. It is interesting to note the diversity among former Adams College students who are African leaders today. Leaders in the ANC, PAC and Inkatha were educated at Adams College. See Appendix E.

276. Burchell "Adams College, Natal, c.1920-1956", p. 155.

277. See Admission book, pp. 5, 6, 22, 71, 84, 96.

278. B. Hirson, Year of Fire, Year of Ash: The Soweto Revolt. Roots of a Revolution (London, 1979), p. 22.

Zeph Mothopeng,<sup>279</sup> who was a student in the high school in 1940, was one of the more critical students. Mbutho, who was at school with Mothopeng, remembers a remark Mothopeng put to Brookes.

Mothopeng rose to criticise the principal [Brookes] very very strongly. He used the phrase that he [Brookes] was putting a sugar coating on a bitter pill.<sup>280</sup>

Mothopeng criticised the education at Adams College for not revealing the truth about the antagonism and alienation that the students would have to face when leaving the school.

Mphahlele is also critical of Adams College. In his autobiography he described Adams as "more like a mine compound" than a school.<sup>281</sup> Mphahlele's opinion is verified in a remark made by Wyatt, the principal who took over from Brookes:

Coming from an adjacent territory where, admittedly, conditions are very different, I was surprised to find the poverty-stricken accommodation for male students. The female students fare better, but even they lack certain facilities that *might normally be expected* at a High School and Training College.<sup>282</sup>

Despite Wyatt's seeming concern for the students, he was not a popular head and he remained principal for only two years. Marks notes how "In 1947 an unpopular principal had been forced to resign after two unexplained cases of arson, a threatening letter and a student boycott of the examination."<sup>283</sup> Brookes, who still kept in contact with the school after he had left, described Wyatt's period at Adams as one of "Chaos, distrust and almost despair."<sup>284</sup>

279. See Appendix C.

280. Interview with C. Mbutho, 13/5/1990.

281. Mphahlele, Down Second Avenue, p. 145.

282. ABM papers A/3/45. Annual Report June 1946, Mr E.G. Wyatt.

283. Marks, Not Either an Experimental Doll, p. 28.

284. Ibid.

Student-staff relations were not always as good as they have been made out to have been. Some students were highly critical of their teachers. According to Mphahlele,

There was a strange assortment of African and European teachers at Adams: tired-looking, bored men; retired decrepit, cantankerous white professors one has come to associate with mission institutions; very large African teachers, one with a smile as broad and as unfriendly as the ocean; grim-looking white missionaries who were always telling us at speech day how lucky we were to receive an education.<sup>285</sup>

Mphahlele felt that while he was at Adams that he was "going to be crushed under the feet of so many men and women. In such an ascetic American Board Mission atmosphere..."<sup>286</sup>

During Grant's time one of the students, who was dissatisfied with the school and what she perceived as the authoritarianism of her teachers, wrote:

You should be careful when writing the new Dean because she believes ruling with a iron hand ... and does not know well how to deal with Africans [sic].<sup>287</sup>

The student was referring to Miss Kaemper, the dean of women students in the early 1950s. Ruth Hummel, school secretary at this time, agrees that Miss Kaemper was strict but says that the matron was even stricter. She remembers the girls being punished "for the slightest little thing". The matron, an African woman, would punish the girls "when she found a piece of bread in their lockers or a book or a belt lying around ... they [the girls] had to cut grass, wash a floor or polish furniture" as punishment.<sup>288</sup>

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285. Mphahlele, Down Second Avenue, p. 146.

286. Ibid., p. 147.

287. Letter from Lilly to Mabel Palmer 17/5/1951 in Marks, Not Either An Experimental Doll, p. 151.

288. Interview with R. Hummel 18/6/1990.

Many school rules were enforced, and a strict disciplinary code was imposed upon the students. Mphahlele accuses the missionaries of being obsessed with an ascetic moral code quite alien to their African experience. He maintains that the missionaries and teachers in the mission schools were pressuring students to turn their back on their history, their culture and everything that they had been taught by their people.<sup>289</sup> Mphahlele remembers attendance at Sunday morning, Sunday evening and daily chapel service being compulsory. He recalls with dread how at mission schools such as Adams the students were forced to go to church. He continues, "no one in either of these schools [St Peters' and Adams College] would care to answer questions about Christian beliefs...I did feel cheated somehow because we had not been exposed to other religious beliefs..."<sup>290</sup>

Some typical school regulations were enforced: a ban on tobacco and alcohol, certain areas being placed out of bounds, and specific study times being set aside. There were also certain rules which were highly restrictive. It was impossible for a group of students to get together without gaining permission in advance:

Permission to hold meetings of groups of students other than sports practices, must be obtained from the Deans after consultation with the faculty adviser at least 24 hours before such a meeting is to be held.<sup>291</sup>

Another rule required that the "football grounds and sport field, except on legitimate business or when organised games are in progress", were out of bounds.<sup>292</sup> It appears that the authorities feared any collective student organisation or action. Student-staff relations may not have been as harmonious as some have suggested.

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289. Ibid.

290. Interview with E. Mphahlele, 9/5/1988.

291. AMB papers A/4/63. School Prospectus.

292. Ibid.

Adams College, the oldest educational establishment in Natal, had a reputation among its past students for its advanced and liberal education. Many past students from the 1920s to the 1950s, such as Luthuli, Mbutho, Kuzwayo, Nyembezi, Makhanya and Zwane, came to be proud of their Alma Mater. Luthuli, educated at Adams College in 1920, believed that students received a high quality of education, except when the school went through a phase of insisting a predominantly practical curriculum.<sup>293</sup> Mbutho, who was at the school from 1932-1941, says that in retrospect he can be critical, but he believes that, for that time, he received a good education and says "nothing more could have been done".<sup>294</sup> Kuzwayo maintains that, from 1932 to 1935, she received a broad education of a high standard at Adams College. She says "I owe a lot to Adams".<sup>295</sup> Neyembezi attended Adams College from 1936 to 1937, and says that it was a good school in that the teachers tried to develop independence on the part of the student.<sup>296</sup> Makhanga, who went to Adams from 1951 to 1954, believes that Adams College was a good school in that it gave its students a start in life. He believes in the school motto, and says that those who left Adams had the opportunity to shine.<sup>297</sup>

Ruth Hummel, Grant's secretary, remembers having received a letter from a past Adams student who wrote: "Today the Lord God has blessed me with boy twins. I wish to register them at Adams College".<sup>298</sup> Even though his twins would have to wait at least another fourteen to seventeen years, he wanted to be sure that

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293. See beginning of Part II, Luthuli papers and Luthuli, Let My People Go.

294. Interview with C. Mbutho, 13/5/1990.

295. Interview with E. Kuzwayo, 10/5/1988.

296. Interview with L. Nyembezi, 5/7/1988.

297. Interview with D. Makhanga, 23/9/1988.

298. Interview with R. Hummel, 18/6/1990.

they would be educated at Adams. According to Hummel the college not only had children but also grand-children and great grand-children of former students.

It can be concluded that there was a move away from segregationism to "a sort of welfare liberalism".<sup>299</sup> This change in thinking influenced the nature of education at Adams College. Le Roy, inspired by the ardent segregationist Loram, introduced a definite practical slant into the curriculum.

...the mission societies, some of whom had in the first part of the century been major advocates of a policy of formal non-racial equality, were now strongly influenced by the Booker T. Washington approach to education, stressing the training of the many in vocational skills rather than the training of the few for equal participation in the society. Education, they argued, must be shaped for local conditions and for the specific needs of the African.<sup>300</sup>

However by the 1930s, due to the encouragement of Matthews and Brookes, the education was of a higher standard and of a more academic nature. By this time, even the industrial school offered specialist courses such as building science and a more advanced carpentry, as opposed to its former focus on manual training. Brookes and Grant attempted to provide a 'liberal' education, but at the same time promoted one that was related to African life. To a certain degree, they continued to emphasize practical and industrial instruction by their insistence that all students should partake in some sort of manual work.

Liberals have been criticised by Legassick, he says: "Liberalism and democratic ideology, in the context of South Africa, could not establish satisfactory interconnections and, instead, it was the Communist Party and African nationalist organisations which were the most articulate exponents of democratization."<sup>301</sup>

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299. Legassick, "The Rise of Modern South African Liberalism", p. 15.

300. *Ibid.*, p. 2.

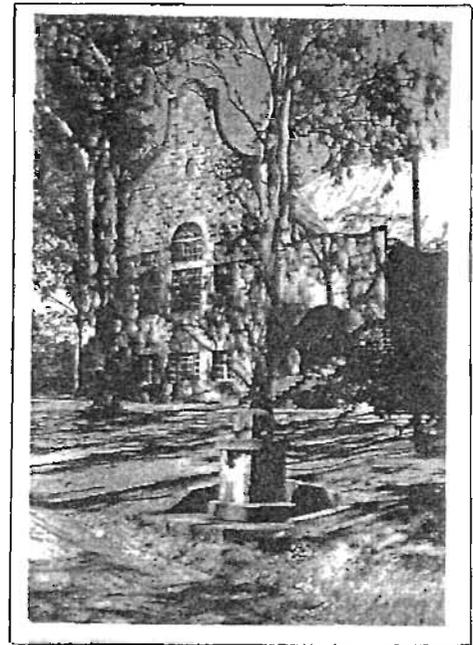
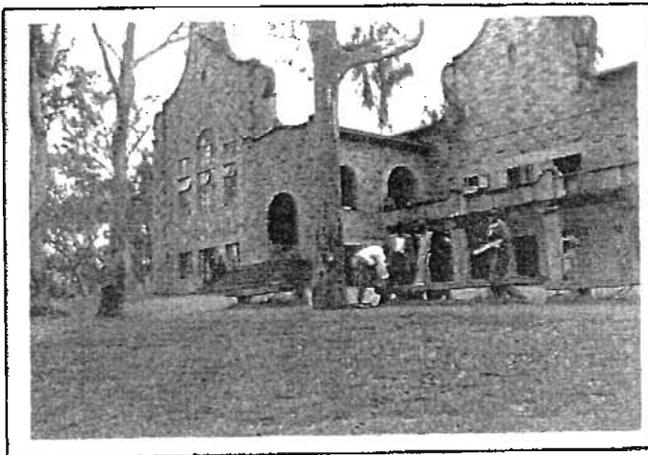
301. M. Legassick, "Race, Industrialisation and Social Change in South Africa: The case of R.F.A. Hoernle", *African Affairs* 75 (1976), p. 239.

Liberals have also been accused of being condescending and patronizing. Liberalism "spoke about Africans, never to Africans".<sup>302</sup> Liberals strongly believed in educating Africans for a process of assimilation, yet they seemed unaware of the contradictory situation students had to face. Society was not prepared to accommodate even the most educated African into the dominant social, political and economic structures.

Nevertheless liberal teachers and missionaries, especially during Brookes' and Grant's time, were on the whole dedicated people. They had good intentions, and should be recognised as being progressive in the context of their time.

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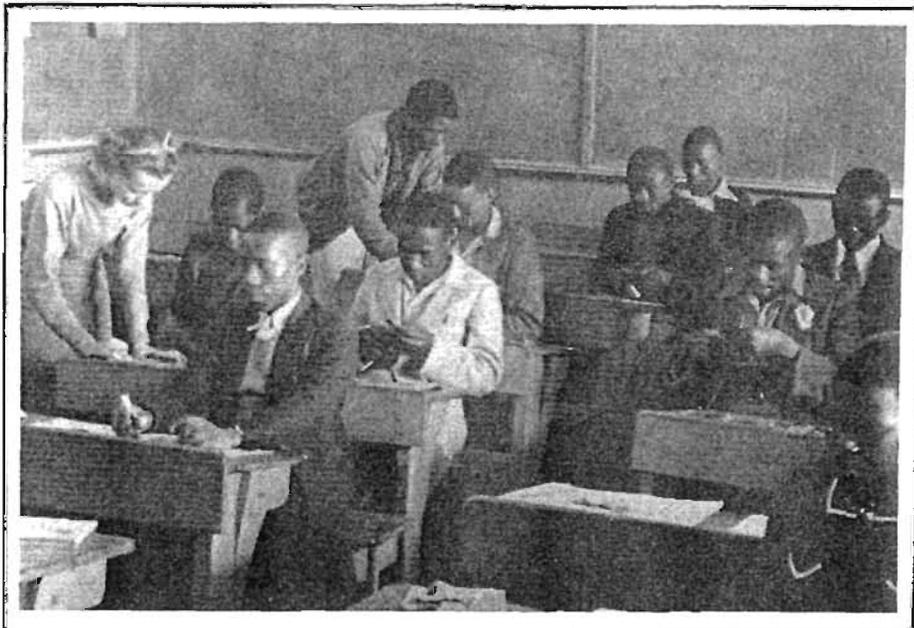
302. "An Audience with Richard Rive" Southern Africa Review of Books 3, 3 & 4 (Feb/May 1990), p. 38.



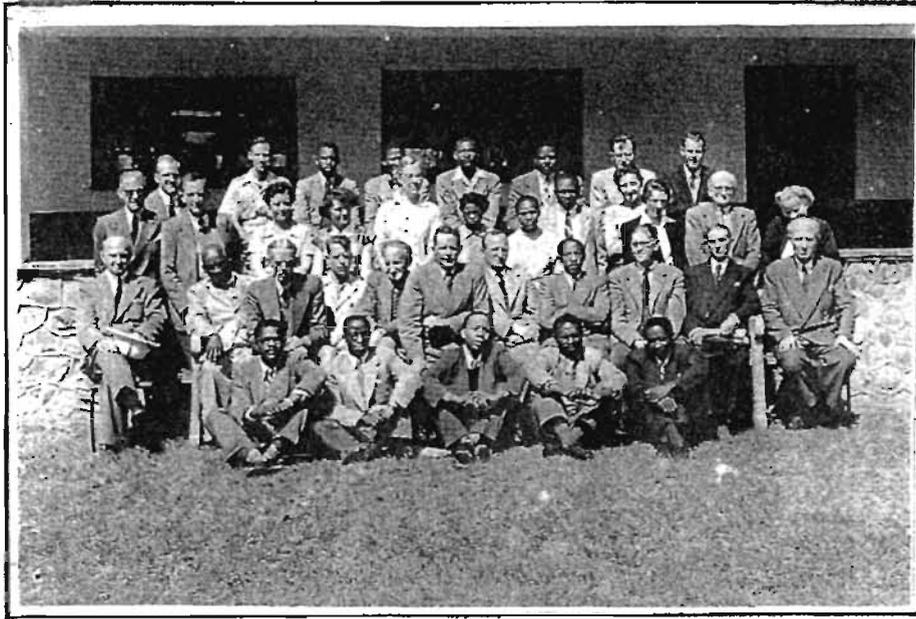
Adams College School Buildings



Jack and Ida Grant, August 1952.



Miss Christofersen and Art Class, 1937.  
(Mrs Dahle).



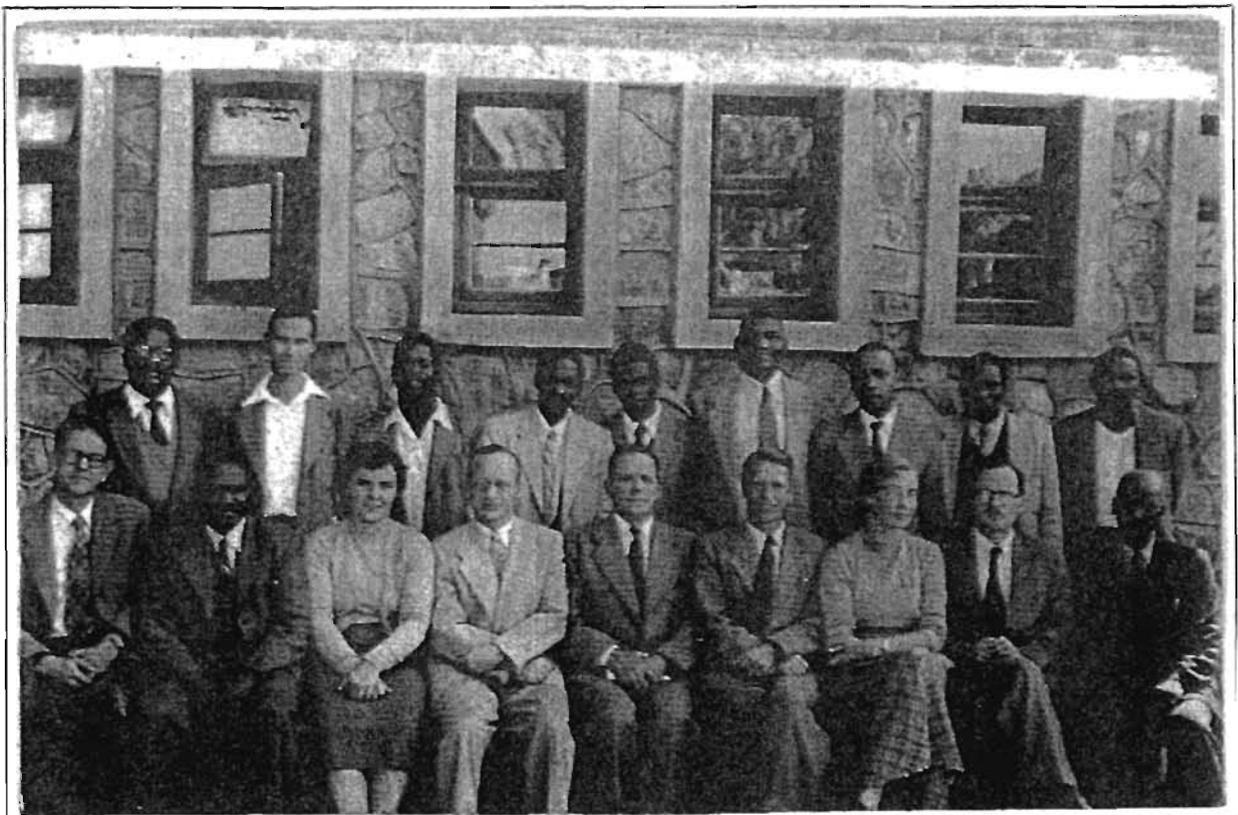
Teaching Staff at Adams College, 1954.



Prefects at Adams College, 1952.



Ida Grant and girl guides.



Teachers at Adams College with principal, Jack Grant, in centre.

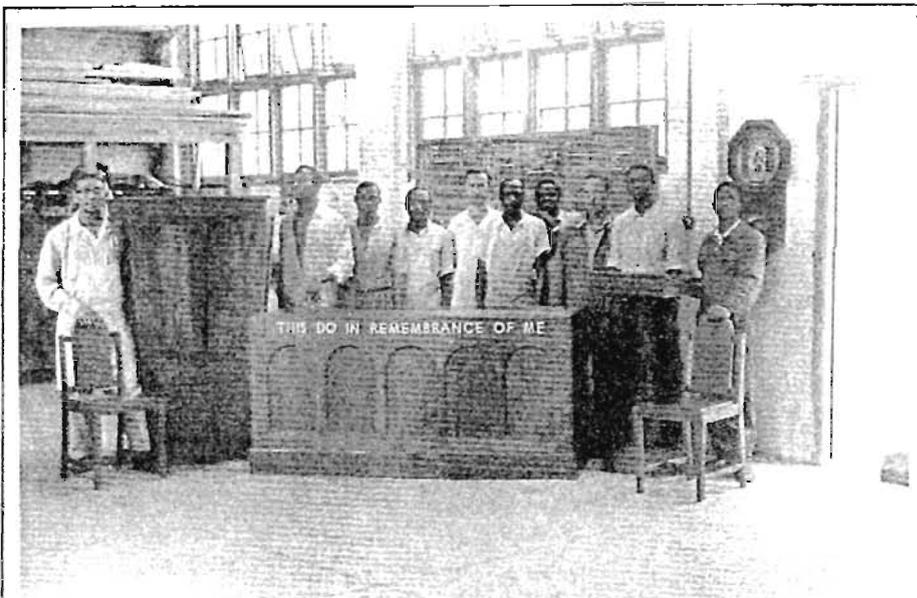
WINNERS OF THE N.R.C. TROPHY,  
 DURBAN AND DISTRICT LEAGUE / 1952 /  
 SHOOTING STARS F.C. (AMANZIMTOYI).



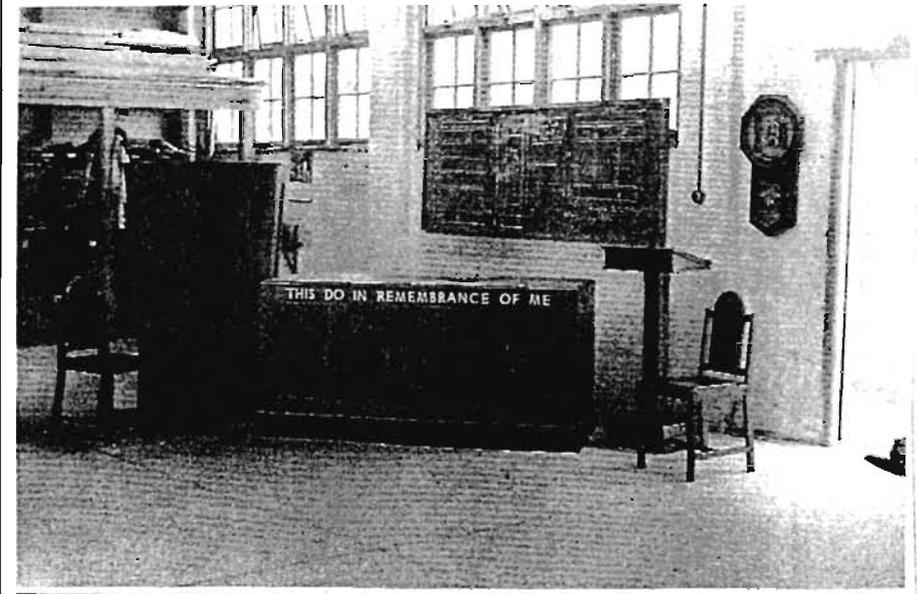
STANDING: L. to R.: R. D. Ngcobo, A. J. Lutuli, A. Mxozeli, A. Radebe, V. Qunta, R. Kuzwayo, N. Msomi,  
 SITTING: W. Mambi, L. Cele, I. Mkunya (capt.), A. Nxumalo, G. Sidane, C. Lepolisa. [E. B. Ndhlovu.  
 FRONT: I. Masondo, A. Shongase, R. Caluza.



Football team, the 'shooting stars' early 1950's.



Third year industrial school woodwork students with communion table, pulpit and lectern for Inanda Seminary 1954.





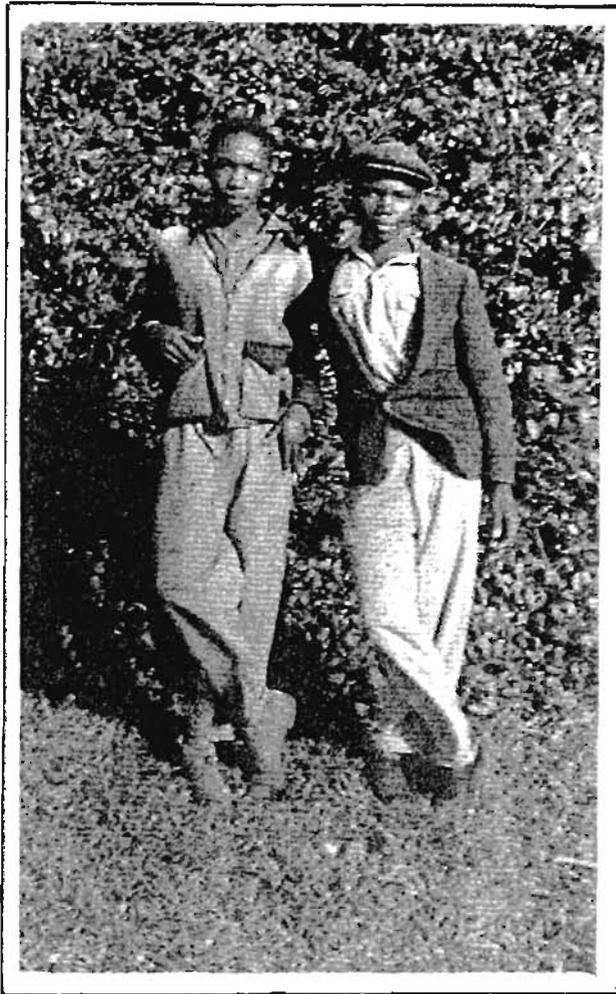
Allan and Joyce Evens with final year woodwork students, November 1954.



Final year woodwork students after tea party, December 1952.



Nursery school for staff's children, started and run by Mrs Brükman, Dean of women students.



Students not in uniform.



Student C.V.W. Mkandawire



Students



Female Students



Female Students with Elizabeth Kämper  
(Daphne Tshabalala on the right)



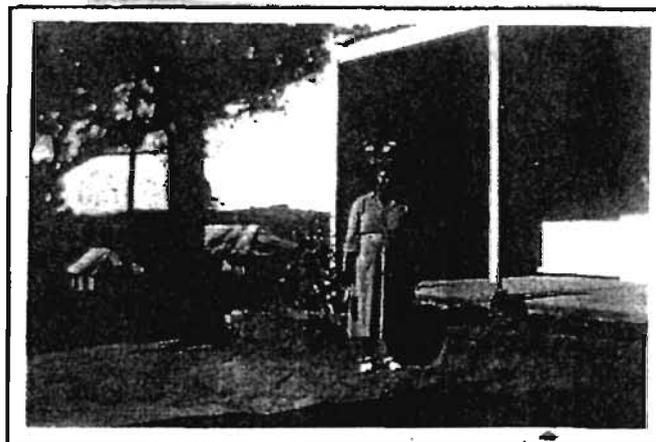
Domestic Science Department



Hospital Cottage



Ruth Hummel and Elizabeth Kämper's cottage



Matron during the 1950's

PART III  
TENSIONS, TRANSITION AND CLOSURE

The transformation from mission schooling to Bantu Education should not be seen as a radical break as many liberal writers have suggested. Nor should this transition, at another extreme, be understood as having resumed without interruption. Hyslop argues that when looking at this educational change one must avoid:

- i) glorifying and romanticizing the mission system as evident in some liberal accounts
- ii) de-emphasizing the importance of the transition to Bantu Education as some Marxist authors have done when counteracting the above view.<sup>1</sup>

Kallaway argues that one should see Bantu Education as simply an "example of the 'normal' growth of mass schooling in capitalist society ...". Like Hyslop, he demonstrates that Bantu Education was far from being a unique form of mass schooling.<sup>2</sup> Hyslop notes that

The advent of monopoly capitalist industrialization necessitated in South Africa as elsewhere, a transition to an education order based on mass schooling. If the consequences for education were unusually horrific, the process was not one without parallels.<sup>3</sup>

This thesis acknowledges view points from both liberal and Marxist interpretations. It recognises, as some liberals would suggest, that Adams College aimed at cultivating individual development and at providing a high standard of education. It also agrees with the Marxists who express the change in economic terms.

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1. Hyslop identifies Kuper *An African Bourgeoisie*, p. 169 as an example of a liberal account, and Christie & Collins "Bantu Education: Apartheid Ideology and Labour Reproduction", pp. 160-183 as authors opposing this liberal view. Hyslop, "From 'Missionary' to 'Bantu' Education", p. 11.
  2. Kallaway, "Education and the State", pp. 28, 47.
  3. Hyslop, "From 'Missionary' to 'Bantu' Education", p. 22.

Bantu Education can be viewed an educational system serving the needs of capitalism in the 1960s and 1970s.

The transformation from missionary education to Bantu education at Adams College must be examined, at least in part, in the light of tensions faced by the school at this time. By the 1940s Adams College, like other mission schools, started to collapse and so a restructuring of the educational system became a necessity. Hyslop observes that

The Nationalist perception of the inadequacy of mission education was thus not purely an ideological one, but reflected a grasp of the demographic failure and internal problems of those schools. The introduction of Bantu Education was not an ideologically motivated, wanton destruction of an effective mission school system, but rather a response to the ruling class's real need to restructure education.<sup>4</sup>

Marxists argue that the restructuring of the education system can be seen as an attempt by the ruling class to relate the education system more closely to changing economic needs. Christie and Collins, using a class analysis, illustrate that the "Nationalist government did introduce new curriculums, new financing and new methods of control into African schooling, but in the interests of their socio-economic needs and not because they were racist".<sup>5</sup> They see a continuing thread in African schooling in South Africa, namely the reproduction of a certain kind of labour.<sup>6</sup> Liberals on the other hand argue the presence of ideology and stress the racist nature of Bantu Education. They illustrate Bantu Education as being a radical change from the former education system. This thesis considers both views. According to Hyslop:

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4. *Ibid.*, p. 14.

5. Christie and Collins "Bantu Education: Apartheid Ideology and Labour Reproduction", pp. 182-183.

6. There is evidence that mission schools played a role in maintaining the existing social order and reproducing the labour force before 1955.

"We thus need to construct an analysis of Bantu Education which does not over-emphasize either its continuities or its discontinuities with what went before."<sup>7</sup>

### The Failure of Mission Education

The failure of mission schools in the late 1940s and early 1950s can be understood by examining causes of student unrest, dissatisfaction with food and various school facilities, constraints due to the lack of finance, and the political and social conditions of the 1940s and 1950s. Periods of unrest at Adams College during the 1940s and 1950s suggest that many students were not satisfied with the school. Hyslop suggests that "even the most undirected and individualistic outbreaks of students do tell us something about the effectiveness or ineffectiveness of the schooling system."<sup>8</sup>

The myth that mission institutions ran smoothly, and that within relatively secure environments political activity never played a significant role, "ignores the fact that it was in the mission boarding schools that traditions of militant protest had their origins."<sup>9</sup> During the 1940s a trend towards militant student action emerged in some South African mission schools. In 1942 the Ohlange Institute called in the police to curb student disturbances; and in 1944 St. Francis College in Mariannhill also experienced student dissatisfaction. Grace Dieu and Bethesda in the Tranvaal also met with general restlessness and resistance, and in 1946 the police were called to

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7. Hyslop, "From 'Missionary' to 'Bantu' Education", p. 11.

8. Ibid., p. 6.

9. Hyslop, "Food, Authority and Politics", p. 4.

Bethesda.<sup>10</sup> In 1946 Lovedale and Healdtown in the Cape experienced "an explosion of student anger".<sup>11</sup>

This unrest led the government, in 1947, to form a committee to enquire into the disturbances among students in "state-aided native educational institutions". Their main finding was that a new type of African student, "the modern bumptious lad from the the city", was emerging. According to the report: "Students in the institutions today are rapidly passing from the docile, unquestioning, infantile stage of adolescence. They are becoming critical of authority, irritating, delighting to shock conservative opinion".<sup>12</sup> This report explained student disturbances in terms of the "awakening of race consciousness". It also indicated that manual work, both as a subject and as a form of punishment, as well as the failure of school authorities to address student complaints, were contributing factors. The committee saw the provincial education departments as being responsible, and so its findings were not welcomed by the education authorities. The report was shelved.<sup>13</sup>

On the surface there appears to have been minimal student political involvement at mission schools. For instance, students at Adams were not allowed to form political clubs and overt political activity was frowned upon. Nevertheless, a number of students were exposed to debates on political issues through the literary and debating society.<sup>14</sup>

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10. These examples of student unrest (and others) can be noted in CPSA papers AD1760, Report of the Committee appointed to enquire into "Disturbances at Native Educational Institutions", July 1947, Appendix C, pp. 1-17.
  11. *Ibid.*; Hyslop, "Food, Authority and Politics: Student Riots in South Africa 1945-1976", pp. 1-4.
  12. CPSA papers AD1760, Report of the Committee appointed to enquire into "Disturbances at Native Educational Institutions", July 1947, p. 14.
  13. *Ibid.*, pp.1-114.
  14. See Part II, *The Student Body*, section on "*Political awareness*" for details on the type of subjects debated by the students.

Students were "responsive to the conditions in society at large and particularly to struggles against those conditions."<sup>15</sup> The report on "Disturbances at Native Educational Institutions", when examining the attitude of the African youth of the 1940s, quoted various heads and teachers of mission schools. One stated "The authorities at the institutions are not abreast of the times. They don't know the temper of the people today..." Another person stated "The present-day students are a changed type. They are more critical and less inclined to take what is given them".<sup>16</sup> The report stated that

The African Head of an institution confesses he is puzzled at the length to which students have gone in recent disturbances, but wonders whether we are not witnessing a "new attitude of secret working", a "revenge attitude" toward the authorities.<sup>17</sup>

Manganyi argues that many African students had become politically restless by the 1940s. Some responded in full measure, and were expelled for legitimate challenges to racial arrogance.<sup>18</sup> Wyatt, the principal at Adams in 1946, noted that

African youth is passing through a period of stress and strain. Communist propaganda gains adherents and influences many others. Racial discrimination will not much longer be accepted passively.<sup>19</sup>

Dahle, a teacher at Adams from 1937-1956, recalls that from the end of the war in 1945 there seemed to be much restlessness among the students at Adams College. This coincided with Brookes's resignation as principal to become a senator

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15. Molteno, "The Historical Foundations of the Schooling of Black South Africans", p. 82.
  16. Report of the Committee appointed to enquire into "Disturbances at Native Educational Institutions", p. 14.
  17. *Ibid.*
  18. Manganyi, *Exiles and Homecomings*, p. 64.
  19. ABM papers A/3/45. Annual Report, June 1946, E.G. Wyatt.

in parliament. In 1946 Wyatt was appointed in his place yet was unable to win the confidence of the students in the way that Brookes had done.<sup>20</sup> Early in 1946 there was an incident of stone throwing, a store was broken into and food and money was stolen. Eight students were expelled and others were suspended. In March 1947 a fire broke out destroying the high school, teachers' training college, library and staff room. Dahle recalls how one night students went on the rampage throwing stones at the dining hall roof and breaking windows, all to the accompaniment of shouting and chanting. A few weeks later, after similar "frightening sounds", he saw the sky lit up with fire.<sup>21</sup> In April 1947 students were unsuccessful in their attempt to burn the main block of the boys' dormitories. Combustible material placed under two inside stairways was extinguished.<sup>22</sup>

The origin of the fire in March was never satisfactorily traced. Brookes saw it as "one of those unfortunate protests which sprang from African feelings of frustration".<sup>23</sup> Brookes wrote in a letter, "From what I can gather, however, buildings were deliberately set on fire. We do not yet know by whom, so it looks as if Adams has at last joined the melancholy fellowship of Lovedale and other Cape institutions."<sup>24</sup> Dahle remembers the unrest arising over issues such as the quality and quantity of food; and the students were finding it difficult to study by candlelight, when the light engine was out of order.<sup>25</sup> The head of the school at the time of this unrest, Wyatt, described the dissatisfaction in his annual report:

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20. Interview with E. Dahle, 29/6/1988 and the University of Natal Oral History Project 17/2/1979, KCAV 110.
  21. Ibid.
  22. Report of the Committee appointed to enquire into "Disturbances at Native Educational Institutions", Appendix C, p. 10.
  23. Brookes, A South African Pilgrimage, p. 67.
  24. ABM papers A/2/13. Letter to Rev Dr J Dexter Taylor, March 1947.
  25. Interview with E. Dahle, 29/6/1988, and 17/2/1979 KCAV 110.

...trouble ensued in the Boys' Department over the question of food. It was accentuated owing to an impending increase in school fees,... the male students refused the food provided and demanded bread. This could not be acceded, and they responded by smashing open the storerooms and doing a certain amount of damage. All was quiet by the following morning, but the ringleaders, so far as they could be traced, were expelled.<sup>26</sup>

Adams was affected in several ways by the unrest of 1946 and 1947 and the subsequent dismissal of Wyatt. Wyatt had lost all control of the students. The acting principal, Rubenstein, observed how the unsettled atmosphere in the school caused low examination results.<sup>27</sup> It was only in 1949 that a donation from America enabled the building of a new three-storied school building to replace those destroyed in the fire. Until then classes were carried on in army huts.<sup>28</sup>

When Grant took over as principal, trouble in the school continued and there were sporadic outbreaks of what appeared to be tribal friction. In June 1949 there was an incident where two Zulu students appeared to have "waylaid" and assaulted a Xhosa student.<sup>29</sup> Ida Grant remembers instances of what appeared to be inter-tribal conflict in the school. She recalls her husband finding dangerous weapons under students' beds, and states that the friction was mainly between Zulu and non-Zulu students. Mphahlele also recalls tribal problems while he was at Adams College:

I left Adams with a nagging feeling of a strong memory of tribalism that prevailed in Natal... The province is Zulu country and the bulk of the students at Adams had always been Zulus. They did not like non-Zulu boys and girls coming to the College. They regarded us as foreigners.<sup>30</sup>

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26. ABM papers A/3/45. Annual Report, June 1946, E.G. Wyatt.  
 27. ABM papers A/3/45. Annual Report, June 1948, R.H. Rubenstein.  
 28. Ida Grant's private papers.  
 29. ABM papers A/4/63. Adams College - Minutes of General purpose Committee 1949-57, Report No.2, 24/6/1949.  
 30. Mphahlele, Down Second Avenue, p. 145.

According to Burchell most Zulu students tended to regard non-Zulu as outsiders, and Transvaal blacks were stereotyped as dangerous men: "Even amongst the Black staff there existed some resentment of 'foreign' Blacks from the Cape who, like Z.K. Matthews, tended to occupy the important positions at the institution."<sup>31</sup>

When Brookes was principal he encouraged certain tribal celebrations such as Moshoeshoe Day, in honour of Moshoeshoe, the founder of the Basotho state, and Shaka Day. Brookes observed that "Every tribal group took pleasure in displaying its own traditional life on this occasion."<sup>32</sup> When Grant came to Adams he banned all celebrations to commemorate African heroes as he feared this would encourage inter-tribal rivalry. He was also aware that parents had opposed such celebrations finding the "revival of the old tribal dances too redolent of heathenism."<sup>33</sup>

In 1950 unrest was sparked off when Grant interrupted the meeting of the Zulu Society in the dining hall. Ida Grant, described the incident in a letter to a friend:

...Jack stopped a Zulu group from putting on a tribal dance. The students took offence, and determined to have revenge. They stirred up others, and through incitement and intimidation induced most of the boys to join them in flouting authority. They refused to sing in Chapel on Friday and went on by refusing to eat, and staying away from classes. On Saturday they planned to damage college property, and on the Sunday they once again refused to eat or go to Chapel.<sup>34</sup>

According to Dahle the unrest of 1950 "was thought of by some to be a ploy to try out the strength of the new principal".<sup>35</sup> Approximately 200 students

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31. Burchell, "Adams College, Natal, c. 1920-1956", p. 154.

32. Brookes, South African Pilgrimage, p. 64.

33. Ibid.

34. Ida Grant's private papers.

35. Interview with E. Dahle, 29/6/1988.

boycotted classes and assembled in the field below the teachers' training college. The Chairman of Adams College Incorporated along with fifteen policemen, arrived to speak to the students, finding them "silent and sullen". After ignoring the ultimatum to be back in their classrooms by 4:00 p.m. the students were suspended. Ida Grant recalls that

Some 70 boys remained loyal, and fortunately all the girls did the same. Those who were sent away could apply for readmission; and then followed weeks of interviews, meetings, letters and reports... over 150 students were readmitted.<sup>36</sup>

After the principal and members of staff had interviewed all the students involved in the unrest and boycotts, only six students were found to have been ring-leaders and they were not readmitted to the school.<sup>37</sup> Grant claimed that the ring-leaders managed to influence and threaten a large number of students into participating in the unrest. It was later explained to Grant that many students did not attend chapel or dinner because they were afraid, and in hiding.

It seems that some students were against certain rules and regulations, and when incited by other students their dissatisfaction led to protest action. According to a member of staff at the time, it was difficult to ascertain exactly what lay behind the unrest.

...the issue started over the principal stopping some students from dancing and ended in complaints about food. Neither give adequate explanations for the serious intentions that many of the students planned.<sup>38</sup>

The investigating committee, and the principal's report on the unrest, found that pupils had called an illegal meeting under the guise of a football practice to plan

36. Ida Grant's private papers.

37. Interview with E. Dahle, 29/6/1988.

38. Letter to Alan and Joyce Evens September 1950, from Hetty and George McNeillage, teachers at Adams College.

tactics of revenge. The pupils decided that they would break into the food storeroom at 12:30 a.m. and destroy the food, and that the head prefect and night-watchman would be "taken care of". The students also debated whether to burn down the dining hall and cut the telephone wires. However, they felt that this would be "going too far". The plan was not carried out as those responsible for waking the students saw Dahle and some policemen; according to Grant the presence of police on campus prevented any violence.

The question arises whether this unrest at Adams in the late 1940s and 1950s represented merely isolated incidents within the school or whether it was an expression of a more militant consciousness. Hyslop has investigated the link between insurgency in mission schools and national levels of political mobilisation. He questions whether student unrest was one of "lumpen violence over trivial issues", or whether it had a more profound meaning.<sup>40</sup> Hyslop claims that it was in the 1940s that school students established a "repertoire" of protest around their conditions of life.<sup>41</sup> The main features were physical damage to school property, class and food boycotts, and sometimes attacks on teachers. These types of action became widespread in mission schools during the mid-1940s and focussed mainly on living conditions in the institution:

these issues became an accepted form of focus for student militancy, nominal issues around which wider and deeper political and social discontents condensed. These discontents centred on the way in which the authoritarian power relations of the mission summoned up and reflected those of the wider society. After a peak of activity around 1946, the riots diminished in number but continued through the 1950s.<sup>42</sup>

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39. ABM papers A/4/64. Principal's Report on Student Unrest at Adams College.

40. Hyslop, "Food, Authority and Politics", p. 4.

41. *Ibid.*, p. 6.

42. *Ibid.*

Although this argument has validity, Mphahlele does not agree that complaints about food were "trivial" and "nominal". It is his belief that food was a major factor behind the unrest at Adams College. He recalls the food being very bad and that no care was taken in its preparation:

The food was really atrocious, it often had beetles and worms in the meat and gravy, you would see them sort of floating around... the time had come when you would have had enough of that kind of treatment, and then many students would flare up, but you flare up also because you have a sense of self more than political consciousness, political consciousness is always there anyway, particularly if you come from up country where the boys are very tough... politics was deep inside, deep inside, but you needed something to set it off.<sup>43</sup>

Matthews claimed that food served at all African educational institutions presented problems. Most of these schools were poor and could not afford to offer a more varied diet, and many schools used the excuse that they were serving food that Africans were used to eating anyway. Matthews remarked that

As a result, African students have had to subsist on an extremely starchy and monotonous diet. It was copied from that of the poorest and least well-nourished section of the population and it was actually more monotonous and poorer than most of the African students were accustomed to enjoy at home.<sup>44</sup>

In 1949 Grant expressed concern over the food at Adams College. He noted that considerable attention was being given to the feeding of the students, but the problem was that there was "not much that we can do on 10d per day per student,...".<sup>45</sup> In 1949 a special scheme 'The Kitchen Fund' was started to raise money - yet this had a slow response. A Michaelhouse student, after staying at Adams in the early 1950s, wrote in a letter to his mother:

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43. Interview with E. Mphahlele, 9/5/1988.

44. Matthews, *Freedom For My People*, p. 42.

45. ABM papers A/3/45. Annual Report, June 1949, G.C. Grant.

Mom you should see the food that I had to eat. It consisted almost entirely of raw carrots, tomatoes, cabbage, spinach, and turnips with occasionally a bit of meat to taste. They pay £20 a year for everything which is really reasonable, but the food is pretty awful.<sup>46</sup>

One can therefore argue that the problem of food at Adams College was no "trivial issue". However food was not the major cause of unrest in the school. Food riots were one of the most common forms of student protest. Yet Hyslop firmly believes that food was, "in these actions often a nominal cause which masked their real meanings".<sup>47</sup> One cannot dispute Hyslop's view that there were underlying causes for the unrest at schools such as Adams College, yet can at the same time appreciate insufficient and poor quality food as being a major problem faced by students in mission schools. However it is significant to note that the outbreaks that occurred in Adams (and other similar institutions) coincided and interacted with changes in the political arena which spurred on the various grievances that existed among students. In Hyslop's view the unrest at Adams in 1946 and 1947 was related to external problems:

The upheaval around 1946-7 can thus be linked to the urban political crisis, the radicalisation of the youth and the industrial conflict of the time; they can likewise be seen as part of the financial and credibility crisis from which the missions were suffering.<sup>48</sup>

Similarly the outburst at Adams in 1950 can also be linked to certain deeper grievances that the students may have been feeling at the time. Desmond Makhanya, who lived close to the school and went to Adams from 1951 to 1954, recalls the students as well as the local people fearing the change of government in

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46. SAIRR papers AD843 32.6. Extract from a letter of Michaelhouse student.  
 47. Hyslop, "Food, Authority and Politics", p. 16.  
 48. *Ibid.*, p. 8.

1948. Makhanya remembers a song composed by the local people living outside the college. They sung: "Malan has very tough laws" and they were aware of the political changes going on around them.<sup>49</sup> Hirson suggests that although it is not always possible to find evidence linking student militancy in the schools and colleges with events in South Africa, there are many indications to show that the students were influenced by outside events: "The outbreak of the second world war, the many strikes on the Witwatersrand during its course, the African mine workers' strike of 1946, events in Ghana in the 1950's,... all contributed to increased political consciousness and helped to precipitate student clashes with school staff."<sup>50</sup>

Unrest due to factors within and outside the school were not the only reasons for the gradual collapse of the mission school system. Inadequate finance resulting in the lack of adequate facilities also contributed. Hyslop remarks that:

Student militancy in this period must be understood in the context of a gradual collapse of the mission school system, a collapse which was on the one hand an infrastructural one, arising from the missions' inability to cope financially on their existing budgets, and on the other a crisis in the relations between white mission authorities and black students, a crisis of authority relations underpinned by the spread of African Nationalist political consciousness.<sup>51</sup>

Adams College appears to have been in a stable financial condition in the late 1930s, as in 1940 it was decided to hand over Adams College, along with all its assets and liabilities, from the American Board to a local Board of Governors, known as Adams College Incorporated. This was part of the American Board's policy of devolution of control to local people. It was believed that the time had come to relinquish responsibility for the management of the college to men and women in

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49. Interview with D. Makhanya, 23/9/1988.

50. Hirson, *Year of Fire, Year of Ash*, p. 29.

51. Hyslop, "Food, Authority and Politics", p. 10-11.

South Africa, to people both black and white and of varied religious persuasions.<sup>52</sup> Grant claimed that in handing over the college to a local board, the American Board did not completely abandon the school. It continued to support the college with missionary teachers and small grants of money. It also assumed the responsibility of providing the salary of the principal.<sup>53</sup>

However, on the whole, local control meant local funding. Before 1940 the school buildings and maintenance were funded by the American Board, later this responsibility became that of the Board of Governors. Teachers were paid by the education department except for missionary teachers whose salaries were paid by the American Board. Adams College Incorporated relied on student boarding and tuition fees, provincial grants and donations from the private sector. It was not long before the school started to face financial difficulties and from the mid-1940s "the school was always short of funds".<sup>54</sup> By the late 1940s most missionary schools in South Africa were experiencing enormous financial difficulties. According to Hyslop "the resources of the missions were insufficient for the educational task which they were addressing".<sup>55</sup>

The report of the committee appointed to enquire into disturbances at missionary institutions, recognised these financial difficulties.<sup>56</sup> From the 1940s, mission institutions were experiencing virtual financial collapse.<sup>57</sup> Mission schools

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52. Grant, "Adams College", p. 5.

53. Grant, *Jack Grant's Story*, pp. 86-87.

54. Interview with the Mr and Mrs Dahle 29/6/1988.

55. Hyslop, "Food, Authority and Politics", p. 11.

56. Report of the Committee appointed to enquire into "Disturbances at Native Educational Institutions", p. 11.

57. Hyslop, "From 'Missionary' to 'Bantu' Education", p. 17.

have been criticised for not being able to accommodate the majority of urban youth within its structures. Brookes confirmed that

Mission schools were thus unable to provide education for most of those of school age in the urban South Africa of the 1940s and 1950s. Yet in an endeavour to deal with this problem they expanded pupil intake drastically, imposing a massive strain on their existing resources.<sup>58</sup>

During the early 1950s Adams College organised a fund raising scheme called "Adams Appeals". The school stated that in order to carry on their work at Adams they needed public help. One pamphlet explained some of their difficulties,

... 230 student teachers have no proper classroom accommodation. Housing for staff is quite inadequate ... Overcrowding and ramshackle buildings are being used as boys' dormitories.<sup>59</sup>

Mission schools were responsible for paying the entire cost of their buildings, infrastructure and medical services as well as the salaries of non-teaching employees.<sup>60</sup> War-time inflation, added to this burden, caused missionary authorities to increase school fees. There was a rule at the college that students would be sent home when fees were not paid, after giving the parents many months to pay up. Not only was the school struggling financially, but parents were finding it increasingly difficult to afford school fees. A father, owing money to the school in the 1950s, wrote:

I enclose a cheque re your account for my son Jewel, and I hope that you will never send him home again, because this is very harmful and, without doubt, in a growing child will give him the impression that the proud picture which he had made of his father, falls short of his expectations. Both my wife and myself are former pupils of your

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58. Quoted in Hyslop, *Ibid.*, p. 13.

59. "Adams Appeals" Adams College, File 1, KCM 61: For examples of other brochures see ABM papers A/4/63, Adams Appeals.

60. Minutes of the "Association of Heads of Native Institutions" quoted in Hyslop, "Food, Authority and Politics", p. 11.

institution, and I am sorry that we, too, under the pressure of circumstances ... have to battle very hard to be able to let all our children have a higher education.<sup>61</sup>

The problem of finance, lack of facilities, and student unrest caused a growing exodus of white teachers from mission schools. Matthews, using the examples of Lovedale and Adams, states that there was a decline in the number of motivated white teachers at these schools.<sup>62</sup> In 1952 Grant stated the difficulties in "the finding of sufficient and suitable staff"<sup>63</sup> for Adams College.

- According to Christie and Collins during the 1930s and 1940s, educational provisions for blacks were far from adequate. In many schools there was "a shortage of teachers, many of whom were poorly qualified, or not qualified at all. School facilities were limited: buildings were usually rudimentary and inadequate, and there were shortages of furniture, books and other equipment."<sup>64</sup>

Reasons for Adam's decline have been explained in terms of student unrest and lack of finances. However political and social conditions were also influential. Here one needs to reiterate that the interconnection between wider national events and those within the school cannot be denied. The political arena did play a part in fuelling student discontent. However the immediate causes of conflict were to be found inside the school.<sup>65</sup> Certain internal tensions were found in Adams as in most institutions, especially the boarding school. These tensions, arising from strict moral codes, sexual inequality and harassment and general insecurity, were

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61. Ruth Hummel, private papers, and Interview with Ruth Hummel, 18/6/90.

62. Matthews, Freedom For My People, p. 45.

63. ABM papers A/4/63, Letter to Chairman from Jack Grant, July 1952.

64. Christie and Collins "Bantu Education: Apartheid Ideology and Labour Reproduction", p. 165.

65. Ibid., p. 50.

accentuated when aspirant members of the black elite confronted the boarding school environment for the first time.<sup>66</sup> According to Goffman it is a general characteristic that most inmates will arrive at an institution with an existing culture or a "presenting culture" derived from a "home-world". It should be understood that students were used to "a way of life and a round of activities taken for granted until the point of admission to the institution".<sup>67</sup>

Despite inside influences, the environment outside played a significant part in encouraging student awareness. During the 1940s black nationalist activists began to question the inter-relationship between African education and the political and economic status of Africans in society. The post-1948 apartheid policy provided a clearer direction for their questioning.

The coming to power of the National Party "challenged all politically minded Africans to intensify their activity".<sup>68</sup> Nationalist policy moved steadily towards the "abolition of the Natives' Representative Council; removal of the vestiges of African and other non-white representation in Parliament, and the establishment of a comprehensive and rigid racial separation, or apartheid, which denied that Africans were a national group with national spokesmen."<sup>69</sup>

Political sentiment among students increased during the late 1940s and early 1950s. No evidence has been found of any outside organisation that directly incited Adams students into protesting, but it is possible that students could have

66. See Part II.

67. E. Goffman, Asylums: Essays on the Social Situation of Mental Patients and other Inmates (Chicago, 1962), p. 12.

68. Karis and Carter, From Protest to Challenge: A Documentary History of African Politics in South Africa 1882-1964 Vol.2 : Hope and Challenge, 1935-1952, p. 73.

69. Ibid., p. 70.

come into contact with people outside the school who were linked to political organisations.

A section, devoted to 'The Missionary and the Missionary Institution', in the report of the committee appointed to enquire into the disturbances at African educational institutions, suggested the probability of outside influences encouraging student unrest.

As a result of careful enquiry, the Committee discovered traces of propaganda emanating from outside the institutions, aimed at creating disturbances, at least dissatisfaction. One or two Communist and leftist newspapers make their way into the hands of certain students ...<sup>70</sup>

An African housemaster stated "Some of these bulletins tend to undermine confidence in missionaries. 'Our so-called friends' is a favourite phrase".<sup>71</sup> Over and above this external pressure, the committee believed that there were enough disruptive influences at work within the mission schools themselves, sufficient to account for such disturbances.

The 1940s demonstrated the capacity of Africans "responding to immediately critical problems such as intolerable congestion in housing and higher bus fares, to act quite spontaneously under local African leaders..."<sup>72</sup> According to Lodge the 1940s were a watershed in the development of African politics in South Africa. He illustrates how this period saw a massive expansion of the black urban labour force, its increasing deployment in manufacturing industry, the revival of trade

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70. Report of the Committee appointed to enquire into "Disturbances at Native Educational Institutions", p. 17. See Part II, section on The Student Body, for evidence of political awareness among Adams College students.

71. Ibid., p. 18.

72. Karis and Carter, Hope and Challenge, 1935-1953, Vol. 2, p. 70.

unionism and the stimulation of class consciousness.<sup>73</sup> All these factors had a radicalising effect on African political organisations. The role of the middle-class intelligentsia was vital in this upsurge of political activity:

In an environment of developing popular militancy manifested by industrial action and informal community protest, the frustrated aspirations of an African middle class assumed a fresh significance within the context of formal political movements.<sup>74</sup>

Hyslop states that during the 1940s the black youth was increasingly influenced by African nationalist aspirations, and that students were becoming increasingly aware of national political issues.<sup>75</sup>

It was not long before the Nationalists went about suppressing opposition. During the 1950s a series of legislative enactments, all with the object of advancing apartheid, came into being: the Group Areas Act, the Immorality Act, the Separate Representation of Voters Act, the Mixed Marriage Act, the Suppression of Communism Act and the Bantu Education Act. These were to enforce and maintain racial segregation in every possible field. In 1948 Malan told parliament that apartheid would "call into being institutions for Africans in their own reserves, and to promote and further develop institutions of their own which will enable them to have a large measure of self-government and which will enable them at the same time to retain their own national character".<sup>76</sup>

During the 1950s missionaries and teachers at Adams became increasingly alert to political developments. Ida Grant wrote: "Jack and I find ourselves drawn

73. Lodge, Black Politics in South Africa since 1945, p. 1.

74. Ibid.

75. Hyslop, "Food, Authority and Politics" p. 12.

76. S. Greenberg, Race and State in Capitalist Development (Johannesburg, 1980), p. 393.

more and more into outside interests, such as attending various meetings and gatherings..."<sup>77</sup> The following year she wrote: "Among other things, we have been drawn into politics [and we are] very concerned about the condition of things in this country."<sup>78</sup> In 1952 Ida Grant joined the non-racial Liberal Party and spoke from public platforms.

In June 1953, in terms of the Riotous Assemblies Act and the Criminal Law Amendment Act, Chief Albert Luthuli was banned from attending meetings in the magisterial districts of 21 centres.<sup>79</sup> According to a 'liberal' newspaper, Contact, the banning of Luthuli was the "action of a government determined to impose by force what it cannot achieve by persuasion."<sup>80</sup> Albert Luthuli was seen as an inspiration by oppressed people. He had convinced thousands of South Africans of the possibility of integrating all races in a free and democratic society. But, as Contact points out "his persuasive powers and influence are a threat to the sterile doctrines of white nationalism. And so a Government, representing a minority of white people in South Africa, has invoked its powers to silence and suppress him."<sup>81</sup>

It was also in 1953 that the National Party introduced the Bantu Education Bill, a sinister measure that affected Adams directly. Ida Grant, now a member of the regional committee of the Institute of Race Relations and a foundation member of the new Liberal Party, attempted to fight the bill, and roused public opinion by speaking or writing through the churches and other organisations.<sup>82</sup>

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77. Letter from Ida Grant November 1951.

78. Letter from Ida Grant October 1952.

79. "Ex-Chief Luthuli banned from meetings", Bantu World, 6/6/1953.

80. "Liberals and Luthuli", Contact, 13/6/1953.

81. Ibid.

82. Letter from Ida Grant November 1953.

In August of the same year the Institute of Race Relations, concerned about the deterioration of race relations in South Africa, held a private conference at Adams College.

In 1953 Jack and Ida Grant were confronted with a number of difficult decisions as to the future of Adams College. And it seemed as if the South African government was planning to take over full control of African education. The government was proceeding with its legislative programme of racial segregation and continued "to use its arsenal of powers to mobilize and cripple the non-white and left-wing opposition, prohibiting meetings and restricting individuals through surveillance, harassment, banning, banishment, and imprisonment".<sup>83</sup> The ANC had to contend with this overwhelming police power, internal difficulties, restricted individual mobility, raising funds, and maintaining communication and morale.<sup>84</sup> African leaders were being forced, after the Defiance Campaign and the Nationalist victory in the 1953 white election, to rethink their strategy. However they received some support and encouragement from the Liberals who were committed to the support of a qualified non-racial franchise.<sup>85</sup> The Grants were among those who, openly and publicly repudiated these racial policies. Adams was a symbol of opposition:

It [Adams] could not and would not believe that apartheid was a supreme value, calling for a supreme obedience. Adams was the home of inter-racial conferences and gatherings, and its school arrangements were made, not to exemplify apartheid, but to the glory of God. Therefore it became in the eyes of the government an 'unnational' school, an alien institution; and therefore it had to go.<sup>86</sup>

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83. Karis and Carter, From Protest to Challenge, Vol. 3, p. 4.

84. Ibid., p. 5.

85. T.R.H. Davenport, South Africa A Modern History (Johannesburg, 1987), p. 386.

86. Foreword by Alan Paton in Grant, The Liquidation of Adams College, p. 2.

Adams College was not the only institution facing student disturbances and experiencing uneasiness due to the political climate of the time.<sup>87</sup> There was a crisis "within" and "around" the education order from the 1940s.<sup>88</sup> Bantu education was therefore implemented as a response by the ruling class to a social crisis of the 1940s. Both student political resistance and student discontent were signs of the growing incapacity of the missionary education order.<sup>89</sup>

### Restructuring African Education

Before Bantu education, there were many secondary and teacher training schools such as Adams run by religious bodies with a certain amount of financial assistance from the state. Each province in South Africa had its own syllabus. The secondary syllabus was the same as it was for white pupils, except that Africans could offer their own languages as examination subjects. One can argue that an encouraging feature of this old system was the interest taken in African education by large numbers of private institutions and individuals as well as the missionaries. However all this was changed by the Bantu Education Act which transferred control of African education from the provinces to the central government Department of Native Affairs.

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87. Hyslop, "From 'Missionary' to 'Bantu' Education", p. 12.

88. Ibid., p. 13.

89. Ibid., p. 9.

It can be argued that one reason for the restructuring of education was the fact that missionaries could no longer uphold the missionary structures. As Hyslop observes, "During the 1940s and 1950s great disquiet was shown by missionaries and white politicians of all stripes about their inability to exercise any form of control over urban youth. From a number of very different quarters there were calls for the expansion of schooling as an answer to this problem."<sup>90</sup> Brookes advocated compulsory education as a "preventative against delinquency and crime".<sup>91</sup> By the late forties the missionaries themselves were appealing for greater state intervention in education. A meeting of mission heads at East London in 1947 issued a statement saying that "the institutions could not bear their financial burden without greater assistance from the government".<sup>92</sup> Hyslop observes that "the resource-stretched missions were affected by a situation in which black youth was increasingly influenced by African nationalist aspirations."<sup>93</sup> It cannot be disputed that many missionaries and political leaders saw the need to change the education order, but there was a difference of opinion over the form that change should take place.

There was a widespread belief that juvenile crime was a growing threat to social order, and one that could most effectively be countered by mass schooling.<sup>94</sup> Some saw the possibilities of an educational system to suit the needs of the state. They saw a restructuring combined with high levels of political repression, as enabling the state to serve the needs of capitalist reproduction. Others, opposed to this ordering, did not want the emerging politicized African elite to be suppressed.

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90. Hyslop, "From 'Missionary' to 'Bantu' Education", p. 15.

91. *Ibid.*, p. 16.

92. Hyslop, "Food, Authority and Politics", pp. 11-12.

93. *Ibid.*

94. Hyslop, "From 'Missionary' to 'Bantu' Education", p. 16.

The restructuring of the education order from that associated with the mission churches to that associated with Bantu Education can also be seen as a necessary educational strategy of the Nationalists. Mission institutions, with limited state subsidies, were failing to perform the tasks required of a schooling system in the new situation. Hyslop maintains that

*The ruling class could thus not avoid making a drastic change in the education order. The shift was also, I would suggest, a shift into an education order of a mass schooling type: Bantu Education, I would argue, represents the South African form of the introduction of mass schooling.*<sup>95</sup>

Not long after the Nationalists came into power in 1948 the government appointed a Commission of enquiry into Native Education, out of which the Eiselen Commission emerged. The Eiselen Commission reported its findings in 1951, and it was these recommendations which formed the basis of the Bantu Education Act, which was passed in 1954. Of the commissioners not one was a member of the missionary churches. Grant maintained that "The omission of any missionary or liberal-minded educationalist was obviously deliberate."<sup>96</sup> Grant also pointed out that worst of all there was not one African on the commission: "It seems strange that a body whose main function was to investigate and make recommendations about Native Education should include no African member, especially when there were several Africans fully competent to do so."<sup>97</sup>

The Eiselen Commission's Report reflected the ideas of the National Party. The commission considered that Bantu Education should be an integral part of a carefully planned policy of socio-economic development for the African people. "It

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95. Hyslop, "From 'Missionary' to 'Bantu' Education", p. 12.

96. Grant, "The liquidation of Adams College", p. 2.

97. *Ibid.*, p. 2.

emphasized the functional value of the school as an institution for the transition and development of the Bantu cultural heritage."<sup>98</sup> The commission was chosen by a government already committed to implementing apartheid.<sup>99</sup>

The Eiselen report opposed existing educational practices and structures because, under the new philosophy of apartheid, Africans were to be treated as "an independent race, in which their past and present, their inherent racial qualities, their distinctive characteristics and aptitude, and their needs under the ever changing social conditions are taken into consideration".<sup>100</sup> The commissioners were aiming to determine

the extent to which the existing primary, secondary and vocational system for Natives and the training of Native teachers should be modified in respect of the contents and form of syllabuses, in order to conform to the proposed principles and aims, and to prepare Natives more effectively for their future occupations.<sup>101</sup>

The debates over Bantu Education started in earnest when the Minister for Native Affairs, Verwoerd, introduced the Bantu Education Bill in parliament in September 1953. "This policy was the Nationalist solution to the racial tensions which, Verwoerd argued, resulted from educated Africans' frustration at not getting jobs in white areas."<sup>102</sup>

Verwoerd claimed that a liberal education was inappropriate because it gave Africans a wrong impression of their status in society. Verwoerd argued that

98. M. Horrell, Bantu Education to 1968 (Johannesburg, 1968), quoted from the Report of the Commission on Native Education, 1949-1951, U.G. 53/1951 pp. 130-2, 164.

99. M. Nyaggah, "Apartheid and Second-Class Education in South Africa", in A.T. Mugomba and M. Nyaggah (eds.), Independence without Freedom. The Political Economy of Colonial Education in Southern Africa (California, 1977), p. 64.

100. Ibid., quoted from the Eiselen Report, p. 81.

101. Ibid.

102. Ibid., pp. 65-6.

education for blacks had to be carefully coordinated and controlled so that it should be in accord with state policy. African education had to be taken out of the hands of the missions and placed under the control of the Department of Native Affairs. He believed that such a transfer would benefit not only the country but the 'Bantu' themselves, because the state would be able to control expenditure and the type of education that would be offered. This would promote better race relations as the 'Bantu' would know where they stood in South Africa and would not aspire to unattainable positions.<sup>103</sup>

Verwoerd wanted to move away from the missionaries' close concentration on the individual needs of African pupils. According to Verwoerd it was not necessary to focus on the individual, but rather to indoctrinate the mass of African youth. By creating a separate education system, and increasing the number of black children admitted to schools, the development plans of apartheid would be met. The Bantu Education Act stated that: By some restriction of the length of the school day (from four to three hours) for the pupil, and by introducing two sessions into every teaching day, the number of children who can be admitted to the existing schools is immediately doubled.<sup>104</sup>

The promoters of Bantu Education saw missionary education as an obstacle. Evidence such as this has led liberal historians to emphasize Bantu Education as a radical break with the mission school system. This argument can be questioned as research also reveals elements of continuity from the one system to the other.

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103. White, "Lovedale 1930-1955", pp. 161-2.

104. T.B. Davie, Education and Race Relations in South Africa (Johannesburg, 1955), p. 14.

Verwoerd believed that education in the four provinces did not consider "the community interests of the Bantu nor the general policy of the country nor the policies of the other three provinces".<sup>105</sup> As far as the Nationalists were concerned, under the previous system "there was no definite policy, no uniformity in planning and no coordination with other aspects of development".<sup>106</sup>

Verwoerd's main objection to missionary education was that it could not prepare the pupil for service within the 'Bantu' community:

By blindly producing pupils trained on a European model, the vain hope was created among natives that they could occupy posts within the European community despite the country's policy of 'apartheid'. This is what is meant by the creation of unhealthy "white collar ideals" and the causation of widespread frustration among the so-called educated Natives.<sup>107</sup>

According to Verwoerd a uniform education policy had to be introduced. The mission schools were to be replaced by community schools, supervised by the state but under the control of black organisations. Verwoerd maintained that the state was taking over from the churches to prosecute the same work more efficiently. A radical reorganisation of African education would occur.<sup>108</sup>

Not only were the students and the syllabus to be restricted but also the teaching staff. According to Verwoerd,

The Bantu teacher must ... learn not to feel above his community, with a consequent desire to become integrated into the life of the European community. He becomes frustrated and rebellious when this does not take place, and he tries to make his community

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105. H.F. Verwoerd, Bantu Education: Policy for the Immediate Future: A Statement by H.F. Verwoerd, Minister of Native Affairs, 7 June 1954 (Pretoria, 1954), p. 6.

106. Ibid.

107. Ibid., p. 7.

108. Nyaggah, "Apartheid and Second-Class Education", p. 66, quoted from the Hansard debates over the Bantu Education Act, col.3585.

dissatisfied because of such misdirected ambitions which are alien to his people.<sup>109</sup>

In accordance with Bantu Education the African pupil would receive instruction in reading, writing and arithmetic through the vernacular, as well as an understanding of English and Afrikaans and the basics of Christianity. It was stated that "English and Afrikaans must be such as will render intelligible the direction or control which must be imposed on them in order that they might fit into the prescribed social structure of the community".<sup>110</sup> According to Verwoerd the students should be fed "knowledge, skills and attitudes" which would be useful both to the student and to his or her community. Thus the subject matter should be presented to the student in a manner which was easy to understand, so that both student and the community could benefit.<sup>111</sup> This meant lowering the standard of African education considerably.

As early as 1955, the South African Institute of Race Relations revealed the inferiority of African education, which was the result of the Bantu Education Act:

There can be little doubt that it is the intention of the framers of the Act that the education of the African child shall be different from that of the European and, further that this difference shall establish and perpetuate an inferior status in African education in relation to the European. The education of the child is therefore not intended to stimulate development of its intellect and character, but to prepare it for a certain service to the state: a service which is primarily that of servant of the Europeans and secondly one which carries with it no promise of advancement towards the eventual and political status which he covets in order to benefit to the full under western democracy.<sup>112</sup>

Nyaggah, who has looked closely at the influence of Apartheid on black education in South Africa, states that: "If there are any doubts left as to the meaning of the

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109. Verwoerd, Bantu Education, p. 15.

110. Davie, Education and Race Relations, p. 15.

111. Verwoerd, Bantu Education, pp. 14-15.

112. Davie, Education and Race Relations, p. 16.

apartheid education policy, these should be removed by looking into the ideas put forth by Verwoerd in 1954."<sup>113</sup> Verwoerd ended his senate speech with a summary of his position:

My department's policy is that education should stand with both feet in the reserves and have its roots in the spirit and being of Bantu society ... The Bantu must be guided to serve his own community in all respects. There is no place for him in the European community above the level of certain forms of labour. Within his own community, however, all doors are open. For that reason it is of no avail for him to receive a training which has as its aim absorption in the European community, where he cannot be absorbed. Until now he has been subjected to a school system which drew him away from his own community and misled him by showing him the green pastures of European society in which he was not allowed to graze.... It is abundantly clear that unplanned education creates many problems, disrupting the community life of the Bantu and endangering the community life of the European.<sup>114</sup>

Under the Bantu Education Act the government took over control of African primary and secondary education. Matthews stated that this meant "that the missions, which had over the years, together with the African people, built up the system of African education, were to be deprived of their share in the control of the African schools they had established".<sup>115</sup> Furthermore it was made clear that "No one was to conduct any kind of institution in which Africans were receiving instruction without the permission of the Native Affairs Department."<sup>116</sup> This transfer of African schools to the Native Affairs Department created widespread alarm amongst liberals and mission graduates. According to Matthews

Anxiety was caused both by the possibility of African education being made the handmaiden of the South African policy of 'baaskap' and by the announced intention of the Government to alter the

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113. Nyaggah, "Apartheid and Second-Class Education", p. 68.

114. Verwoerd, Bantu Education, pp. 23-24.

115. Matthews, Freedom For My People, p. 178.

116. Ibid.

system of financing African education so that the African community, the poorest section of the population, would pay for the education of their children.<sup>117</sup>

Adams College was one of those schools that the government believed was creating false hopes and leading blacks blindly into a no-mans land. Verwoerd was adamant that black education was not playing an integral part in the social and economic development of the country; in his view Africans had to be prepared more efficiently for their "future occupations". As a result, Adams College was closed in 1956.

Mission schools were unable to serve the masses. The majority of African children did not attend school, and those who did only stayed a few years. Bantu Education, on the other hand, drew in a larger proportion of pupils and the number of schools increased. According to Hyslop "Total enrollment in African schools grew from 938 211 in 1953-4 to 1 513 517 in 1960-1."<sup>118</sup> In 1945 there were 4 373 schools for Africans and by 1963 this had increased to 7 717 schools.<sup>119</sup> In the light of these statistics Bantu Education addressed the problem of how to educate the masses. Bantu Education was a system that was aimed "at the rapid expansion of black schooling on the cheapest basis possible."<sup>120</sup> Hyslop asserts that

This form of schooling had, of course, an exceptionally racist and class discriminatory character, reflecting the nature of the South African state. Nevertheless, it represented an endeavour by the state

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117. *Ibid.*, p. 179.

118. Horrell, *A Decade of Bantu Education*, quoted in Hyslop, "Let us cry for our children", p. 10.

119. "Summary of a lecture by Prof. Maré of the University College of Zululand", p. 4, in Scrap book of notes and newspaper cuttings of Adams College, housed at Amanzimtoti Zulu Training School.

120. Hyslop, "Aspects of the Failure of Bantu Education as a hegemonic strategy: School Boards, School Committees and Education Politics 1955-1976", p.1.

to achieve the same sort of goals as mass schooling attained elsewhere in the world.<sup>121</sup>

Bantu Education addressed the problems faced by mission schools such as Adams. It was these problems which encouraged the state to implement a new educational order. Kallaway states "Bantu Education did provide schooling for millions of South Africans who previously would have had no schooling at all - it put very large numbers of children into school - for good or for bad!".<sup>122</sup>

Hyslop remarks that as elsewhere, the transition to mass education coincided with the development of monopoly capitalist industrialisation. It strove to solve the same problems as mass schooling elsewhere - new labour needs, control of urban youth, the need to establish ruling class political hegemony, and the reconstruction of the working class family.<sup>123</sup> He asserts that "The most important break in the educational history of any nation certainly comes when the state accepts responsibility for channeling the bulk of the juvenile population through structured educational institutions for a substantial period of their lives."<sup>124</sup>

In conclusion one can say that by the late 1940s and early 1950s the mission school system was not controlling urban youth in an effective manner. It was also apparent that schools were not geared to providing the increased numbers of unskilled workers required by the labour market.<sup>125</sup> Many African advocated an expansion of African schooling as a solution to the predicament. Bantu Education, a form of mass schooling, came about as a consequence to the crisis, but was not necessarily the most ideal consequence.

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121. Hyslop, "From 'Missionary' to 'Bantu' Education", p. 12.

122. Kallaway, "Education and the State", p. 27.

123. Hyslop, "From 'Missionary' to 'Bantu' Education", p. 12.

124. *Ibid.*, p. 9.

125. *Ibid.*, p. 17.

### The Closure of Adams College

Grant was horrified that the Nationalist government was to deprive the provinces of their powers over 'native education'. Grant accused Verwoerd of extending his powers over education, "powers which were a little more than arbitrary..."<sup>126</sup> The Adams community was alarmed at the minister's power "to refuse or cancel the registration of any school, if in his opinion its establishment or continued existence was not in the interest of the Bantu people."<sup>127</sup> Adams College, like many other mission institutions, was closed down under the Bantu Education Act. In December 1956 Adams College had a closing service in the school chapel. Grant, after condemning the action of the government, urged the students to continue developing the traditions established by Adams College. An epoch of mission-run African education had come to an end.

Verwoerd believed that in dealing with the transfer of mission schools into state schools, certain care had to be taken: "Because the circumstances of the various mission institutions are not the same, no generally applicable condition can be laid down, and each case will require separate consideration and treatment."<sup>128</sup> However Adams College was treated by the government with little consideration, and the school's constant attempt to keep the old mission tradition alive was in vain.

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126. Grant, "The Liquidation of Adams College", p. 3.

127. Ibid., Quoted from paragraph 9 of the Bantu Education Bill.

128. Verwoerd, Bantu Education, p. 12.

Bantu Education created a sense of despondency and failure in the minds of many mission educators. Grant claimed that "...the Minister of Education at his pleasure will be able to appropriate our land. We shall therefore, if the Bill becomes law, be doing our work on sufferance rather than as a right. This is a state which will be intolerable to us".<sup>129</sup> In 1953 Grant wrote to Arthur Hopewell, M.P., about the bill:

It means that education will become primarily a weapon in the hands of the Government for advancing its political ideas. Instead of education bringing enlightenment, advancement, etc., it will be used to fit the native for 'the station in life which it has pleased God to call him': In other words, education will not bring fuller life first and foremost but the indoctrination and practice of apartheid.<sup>130</sup>

The Nationalist government, resenting criticism of the bill, soon confronted Grant. Early in 1954, just as the new school year was about to begin, five C.I.D. representatives turned up at the college with a warrant to search Grant's office and home. It was made obvious, recalled Grant, that "Adams College in general and its principal in particular were marked down for special attention. The struggle for survival had begun."<sup>131</sup>

In 1954 the newly formed Bantu Education Department issued two circulars concerning the future of all African schools. The first dealt with "The transfer of control of Teacher Training Schools to the State", and the second with "The Transfer of State Aided Schools to Bantu Community organisations, except in the case of Teacher Training Schools". According to the first circular all teacher training colleges would in the near future become government colleges. Grant

129. "Adams College: New Bill Alarms", *Mercury*, 11/9/1953.

130. Letter to Arthur Hopewell from G.C. Grant, 7/9/1953, DKC 55/1.

131. Grant, "The Liquidation of Adams College", p. 6.

maintained that "Mission institutions with Teacher Training departments had no alternative but to hand them over to the government or to cease operating them."<sup>132</sup> The second circular dealing with all other types of African schools stated that schools should become 'Bantu community schools' as soon as possible. Provision was made in this circular for those who wished to run schools other than teacher training colleges. They would have to produce the necessary funds as the government intended to reduce subsidies at the rate of 25% per annum.

At Adams College, the teachers training college was the first to go. W.A. Maree, an M.P. and member of the Native Affairs Commission specially responsible for Bantu Education, said that the college had refused to co-operate with the government in applying the Bantu Education Act, and as a consequence the government was closing its school for training 'native' teachers.<sup>133</sup> Grant was inclined to resist the new system. In 1953 he told the chairman and members of the school board that the school would not "toe the line". He saw the new government education policy as a disaster: "I advocate that it must be opposed with might and main. Therefore, as far as Adams College is concerned, it shall be handed over to the government only over my dead body."<sup>134</sup> Grant wrote many letters to various people in hope of gaining their support. The school, he said, would welcome government support but not "government handcuffs".<sup>135</sup> Grant also stated on behalf of the school:

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132. *Ibid.*, p. 7.

133. "Adams College to lose Government subsidy soon", *Daily News*, 22/6/1955.

134. ABM papers A/3/45. Letter to the Chairman and members of the Board, July 1953.

135. Letter to Arthur Hopewell, M.P., September 1953. Adams College Papers, KCM 55/1, KCAL.

"we refuse to cooperate when we are required to do things which contradict our principles".<sup>136</sup>

The board of governors, teachers and missionaries were determined not to hand Adams college over to governmental control, and once the teachers' training college was taken, they became quite assertive. Yet they were faced with many complications. The Bantu Education Act did not state directly that mission schools had to close down, but various measures made it extremely difficult for them to remain open and independent.

Besides taking over the training of teachers, the government reduced its subsidies for Adams teachers' salaries by 25 per cent and warned that these subsidies might be cut further or withdrawn at any time. Although the teachers' training college was closed down at Adams, and despite the worry of the loss of the school's subsidy, Grant decided to continue with the high school and industrial school.

In 1955 the college council received only 75 per cent of the teachers' salaries usually paid by the government. This represented a shortfall of about £7,000 a year. An appeal was made to the people of Natal for their support.<sup>137</sup> The college authorities were determined to keep Adams open, but were told that if they wished to continue operating they must apply for the college to be registered as a private school. The application would then be considered by the Native Affairs Commission.<sup>138</sup>

Grant and the board of governors tried to find legal loopholes by which to retain control of Adams College. They registered the school as a non-profit-making

136. ABM papers A/3/45 letter to the Chairman of the board, June 1954.

137. "Future of Adams College", Daily News, 10/10/1955.

138. "Adams College to lose Government Subsidy Soon", Daily News, 22/6/1955.

company, which could not be handed over to the government. But the government was able to block them through the registration clause, and after many delays they were refused registration.

It soon became apparent that there no longer seemed to be a choice in registering Adams College as a private school. The school received a letter from the Under Secretary for Native Affairs, F.J. de Villiers, suggesting that the college "reconsider its decision and explore the alternative course<sup>139</sup> whereby full subsidy may continue to be paid, a course which will have to be followed sooner or later".<sup>140</sup> Grant was embittered: "Sooner or later, we were reminded, we should be put out of action. So much for the government's declaration that a choice was available to those who ventured to run a private school".<sup>141</sup> Adams College encountered many difficulties in submitting an application for registration as a private school, as Grant recalled:

As is so often the case in correspondence with the Bantu Education Department, replies are seldom received by return of post. This time six weeks passed and still there was no acknowledgement of our application. Then we were informed in writing that 'apparently our application had gone astray' and we were requested to submit another.<sup>142</sup>

On 11 August 1955 Grant personally submitted a second application to the Regional Director in Pietermaritzberg asking him to forward it to the authorities in Pretoria. However after six weeks the application had still not arrived, and for a third time Adams had to prepare and submit an application.

139. The alternative course recommended by the government was to hand over Adams College to the state, to be run as a Bantu Education community school.  
 140. Grant, "The Liquidation of Adams College", p. 9.  
 141. *Ibid.*  
 142. *Ibid.*, p. 13.

In December 1955 two members of the Native Affairs Commission, the Regional Director of Bantu Education and the District Inspector of Schools visited Adams. Maree, the Native Affairs Commission member, commented that it was one of the aims of the government to have all schools for Africans handed over to the 'Bantu' community. He stated that although there was provision in the Bantu Education Act for private schools, these applications were considered only if special reasons could be presented. Grant recalled what Maree saw as being 'special' circumstance: "He mentioned particularly the Roman Catholics who desired that Roman Catholic children should be educated in Roman Catholic schools staffed by Roman Catholic teachers."<sup>143</sup> Maree and company attended a meeting at Adams to hear the college representatives present their case. Right from the start there was little hope of understanding on the part of the visitors. Grant remembered how "On arrival the commissioners were presented to the college representatives and shook hands with each of the Europeans, but could not bring themselves to do the same with the two African representatives present - an act of embarrassing discourtesy."<sup>144</sup>

When the commission left the college it promised to give Adams' application its immediate attention. Despite this promise months went by before the Minister made his decision. Finally in the first half of 1956 Verwoerd announced his refusal "on educational grounds" to register Adams College as a private institution.

Newspapers expressed their disapproval of the government take-over of Adams College which alarmed many and aroused widespread opposition. A newspaper article stated that:

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143. Ibid., p. 15.

144. Ibid.

In wiping out Adams and other Christian educational institutions in this country, the Government has inflicted a serious blow on the advancement of the African people. This is so because the African is denied intelligent freedom of choice. He must go to schools run by the Native Affairs Department on the principles of non-equality and apartheid.<sup>145</sup>

This same article elucidated how Adams College, now under governmental control, would provide an education which would try to condition Africans to believe in their own inferiority.<sup>146</sup> Many believed that this type of education would regress in every way from mission education.

Adams College was closed at the end of the last school term of 1956, and the school was handed over to the state on the condition that the name 'Adams College' would never be used. A new government school "The Amanzimtoti Zulu College" would be opening:

Hundreds of scholars from the Adams Mission College boarded a train yesterday which will take them home for their summer vacation ... Some of the pupils have matriculated and will not be returning. The ones who do come back will virtually return to a new school, because yesterday marked the end of the institution as an independent mission school. From next year it will come under the aegis of the Union Education Department.<sup>147</sup>

Liberal minded educationalists were dismayed by the closing of Adams College, variously described as "a shameful act", "the rejection of man and the abuse of power".<sup>148</sup> Ida Grant wrote: "This living, working community that has been welded together through the years is now to be disrupted."<sup>149</sup>

By refusing to register Adams College as a private school, the government destroyed the mission institution. The annual Conference of the African National

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145. "State Control of Education", Ilanga Lase, 1/9/1956.

146. Ibid.

147. "Old Tradition Ends", Natal Mercury, 9/12/1956.

148. A. Paton, forward written for G.C. Grant "Liquidation of Adams College".

149. "Adams Sacrificed to Apartheid", Ilanga Lase, 22/9/1956.

Congress "learnt with shattering shock, indignation and profound regret" of Verwoerd's decision.<sup>150</sup> Ilanga Lase Natal stated that by "wiping out Adams ... the Government has inflicted a serious blow on the advancement of the African people".<sup>151</sup> The removal of the missionary influence was seen by past and present students at Adams as tragic.<sup>152</sup> However, according to Brookes, Adams College could not have gone down with greater dignity. The last closing service was held in the college chapel on 2 December 1956 with an address given by Jack Grant:

Five score and four years ago our fathers brought forth on this campus a new College, conceived in liberty and dedicated to the ideal that all men were equal in the sight of God. Now, we are told, there is no longer room in South Africa for such a College.<sup>153</sup>

The take-over of mission schools by the state received bitter criticism from liberals and mission-educated Africans.<sup>154</sup> Yet, as Kallaway observes "centralisation and secularisation of state schooling was directly in line with other developments in mass schooling elsewhere in Europe, North America, and in Africa in the period of decolonisation."<sup>155</sup> Liberals and the African elite found Nationalist control of the

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150. AMB papers A/4/63. Resolution passed at Annual Conference of the African National Conference, Natal Division, 1-2 September 1956 re: Adams College Incorporated and the American Board Mission.
151. "State Control of Education", Ilanga Lase Natal, 1/9/1956.
152. Both Mr Zwane (student at Adams in 1958) and Mr Makhanya (student at Adams from 1951-1954), remember the distress of students and the local community at the government take over of the school. Interview with Mr O.L. Zwane, 30/6/1988, and with Mr D. Makhanya, 23/9/1988.
153. Grant, "The Liquidation of Adams College", p. 33.
154. See criticisms of Bantu Education from liberals such as Brookes, Grant and Paton. Brookes, A South African Pilgrimage pp. 56-70; Grant, The Liquidation of Adams College pp. 1-33; Grant, Jack Grant's Story pp. 105-112; Paton "Foreword" in The Liquidation of Adams College pp. 1-4. Criticisms from the products of mission schools can be found in Matthews Freedom For My People pp. 178-9; Luthuli Let My People Go, Luthuli papers "Manuscript" p. 31 and Kuzwayo Call Me Woman p. 10.
155. Kallaway, "Education and the State", p. 45.

mission schools unacceptable, even though many had called for state control of African education.<sup>156</sup> They had not envisaged a type of mass education where the majority of African children were disadvantaged due to race as well as class divisions. Many liberal critiques of Bantu Education stress the position of race and overlook the issue of class, which is evident when examining mass schooling under capitalism.<sup>157</sup>

Kallaway remarks:

What has been universally missed by commentators is that Bantu Education was as much about inducting black South Africans into the ideology of capitalism as it was about promoting its declared intention of promoting Afrikaner nationalism ...<sup>158</sup>

An examination of events that occurred after the implementation of the Bantu Education Act assists in evaluating Bantu Education. According to Matthews, educated Africans asked "what could be done to defeat this vast official attempt to produce a slave mentality in African children."<sup>159</sup> Many joined together to campaign against Bantu Education and to organise a mass school boycott. Matthews believed that: "As far as the government was concerned, the more uneducated children the better: they swell the vast army of cheap unskilled labourers for south Africa's mines and farms. But some argued that the proposed educational system would be worse than nothing - it would be slow poison."<sup>160</sup> However despite much debate, the ANC delegates voted in favour of a mass stayaway. They appealed to African parents to withdraw their children from all primary schools by April 1955.

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156. *Ibid.*, p. 44-6.

157. See Kallaway "Education and the State" for an analysis of the liberal critique of Bantu Education, pp. 37-48.

158. *Ibid.*, p. 48.

159. Matthews, *Freedom For My People*, p. 179.

160. *Ibid.*

The Bantu Education Act was vigorously opposed in the South African press, on various public forums and by some white and many black opposition politicians.<sup>161</sup> Despite many protest meetings there was no change in government policy. The failure of the campaign against Bantu Education could have been due to the fact that in 1953 the ANC did not have a clearly articulated ideological position.<sup>162</sup> Some have said that the campaign was initiated too soon, preventing sufficient time for necessary preparations. Many parent responses to the boycott were not enthusiastic. It was argued that Verwoerd's schools, as bad as they were, were better than having children wandering around the streets while their parents were away at work. Many did not see the school as a place of learning, but rather a place where children in need of care could be left while their guardians go to work.<sup>163</sup>

The organisers of the campaign faced many complications. The leadership disagreed over certain issues and were uncertain as to their approach to Bantu Education.<sup>164</sup> This was a time before the ANC had transformed from an elitist to a popular movement; according to Karis and Carter the ANC's strategy for opposing Bantu Education "appeared both vacillating and unclear..."<sup>165</sup> They argue that of all campaigns conducted by the ANC, the campaign against Bantu Education was the most poorly planned, the most confused, and for Africans generally, the most frustrating. Mphahlele states that those who were in the vanguard of the protest against the Bantu Education Act

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161. T. Lodge, Black Politics in South Africa Since 1945 (Johannesburg, 1983), p. 114.

162. Ibid., p. 69.

163. Matthews, Freedom For My People, pp. 179-80.

164. Lodge, Black Politics p. 121.

165. Karis and Carter, Vol. 3, From Protest to Challenge p. 31.

could easily have seen the Defiance Campaign as something that stole the thunder from the campaign to initiate a national debate on and protest against Bantu Education. This piece of legislation, probably the most sinister of all legislation at that point, could not receive as much attention as it deserved.<sup>166</sup>

Some protest action did, however, take place in different parts of the country. Lodge examines those instances in which opposition to Bantu Education did manage to transform itself into a popular movement, in the East Rand Townships and the eastern Cape urban centres.<sup>167</sup> Despite the fact that these two areas were successful in gaining support in counteracting Bantu Education, the majority of the leaders in the campaign found an absence of popular support.

The failure of campaigns against Bantu Education did not silence all people, and unrest did occur among students in the late 1950s. Some of the roots of these tensions and unrest had been evident in mission schools throughout South Africa during the 1940s.

In 1957 Adams College was reopened as "Amanzimtoti Zulu College".<sup>168</sup> Many students returned after their Christmas vacation to a school transformed into 'a Bantu community school'. None of the white staff remained: some of the black staff were unable to obtain other teaching posts and so had no other choice but to stay on, and face the changing environment.

From the late 1950s, the state began to take over the mission sector and imposed its own education model. In Hyslop's view, "as the boarding schools came under the control of the Native Affairs Department, conditions certainly worsened

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166. Manganyi, Exiles and Homecomings, p.100.

167. See Lodge, Black Politics chapter 5.

168. "Century-Old Adams College Era Ending", Natal Mercury, 3/12/1956.

there in a way that did generate new frictions."<sup>169</sup> According to Hyslop's research, there were complaints that "school authorities were now tending to call in police over trivial student offences; that African teachers found their position increasingly conflict-ridden; that Native Affairs Department officials had far more racist attitudes than the missionaries".<sup>170</sup> Hyslop provides examples of unrest in the late 1950s in other missionary institutions that had been taken over by the government.<sup>171</sup> He claims that the educational authorities of the Bantu Education Department were increasingly tending to sharpen the issues by their confrontationist stance.<sup>172</sup>

Another reason for unrest in schools at this time could have been due to the racist attitude of the Bantu Education authorities. Hyslop points out that "Official racism in black education really came into its own however, when W.A. Maree became the first Minister of an independent Department of Bantu Education in 1958. Maree was responsible for the issuing of a circular to inspectors forbidding them to shake hands with blacks."<sup>173</sup> Maree was also against inspectors drinking tea with black teachers.<sup>174</sup> Racist administration permeated to a local level. At Amanzimtoti Zulu College the dishwasher was reprimanded for washing the cups of black and white staff in the same sink.<sup>175</sup>

In October 1958, unrest broke out at Amanzimtoti Zulu College when 245 students staged a mass 'walk-out' protesting against the threatened expulsion of 20 of them. Many students who had attended the school when it was known as Adams

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169. Hyslop, "Food Authority and Politics", p. 20.

170. *Ibid.*, p. 20.

171. *Ibid.*, pp. 21-22.

172. *Ibid.*, p. 22.

173. Hyslop, "Aspects of the Failure of Bantu Education", pp. 8-9.

174. *Ibid.*, p. 9.

175. Brookes, *A South African Pilgrimage*, p. 69.

College were hostile to government-imposed changes. Rumours circulated among the students that some of them were government informers. This caused an unsettled atmosphere which led to a disturbance involving the stabbing of a student (thought to be a spy), the dormitories being damaged and windows broken.

Reasons for the unrest were explained by a student spokesperson: "...the flare-up occurred during a 'witch-hunt' for known Government informers among the students, who were passing on information to the European teaching staff."<sup>176</sup> A newspaper article stated that: "The Native students also alleged yesterday that their walk-out was a result of anti-black discrimination displayed against them by certain members of the Government-employed staff."<sup>177</sup> Another reason for student discontent was that they were being forced to sing Afrikaans songs in assembly,<sup>178</sup> and that an African man employed to make tea at the Training School had been 'manhandled'.

Observers believed that the student disturbances were "a minor 'shot in the eye' for the Bantu Education Act, under the terms of which the Government last year took over the Training school formerly known as Adams Mission College."<sup>179</sup>

Anti-Bantu Education Act feelings were evident. A reporter who arrived at the scene of the protest walk-out stated:

When I arrived at the College gates yesterday afternoon during an informal emergency meeting of the 245 students, I was greeted with the 'thumbs-up' Africa sign of the African National Congress.<sup>180</sup>

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176. "Protest by Native Students", Natal Mercury, 30/10/1958.

177. "Inquiry into school walk-out", Natal Mercury, 31/10/1958.

178. A teacher questioned as to the Afrikaans songs said it was an effective way of helping the students to learn the language.

179. "Inquiry into school walk-out" Natal Mercury, 31/10/1958.

180. "245 Native students Stage Protest 'Walk-Out'", Natal Mercury, 30/10/1958.

However a spokesman for the students denied that the Congress played a part in the protest action.

Many students refused to return to the school because they objected to the armed police on campus. The following day 236 students were still continuing their pledge of "passive resistance" and declared their steadfast intention to continue their "boycott" of the Training School. Some of the students told a Natal Mercury reporter that a special meeting would be held in Durban on the Sunday and their action would be reviewed.<sup>181</sup>

The students at Amanzimtoti Training School were not afraid to confront the school's authorities. A spokesperson for the students complained about the poor conditions in the school and referred to the inferior teaching methods and unsuitable boarding facilities.<sup>182</sup> However the students were not prepared to disclose any decisions that were made at their secret meeting.

In December, of the same year, the Native Affairs Department in Natal made an official inquiry into a "walkout" due to students' discontent with Amanzimtoti Zulu training school. Students claimed a number of grievances since the government had taken over:

1. The standard of tuition has been poor
2. Lack of attention by some teachers
3. Deterioration in quality and quantity of food
4. An increase in corporal punishment
5. Certain teachers are not competent to teach English
6. Students are treated contemptuously
7. That the Government promise to engage a number of African teachers has not been kept.<sup>183</sup>

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181. "Inquiry into school walk-out" Natal Mercury, 31/10/1958.

182. Ibid., and Interview with O.L. Zwane 30/6/1988

183. "Unrest at Zulu School. Inquiry Held: Officials Reply To Students' Grievances", Natal Mercury, 6/12/90.

Officials believed that the "walkout" by 150 students was organised by members of the ANC.<sup>184</sup>

Political sentiment, anti-government feeling and poor school conditions were without a doubt the main reasons for uniting the Amanzimtoti students in 1958. Hyslop explains that the system of Bantu Education, by drawing the mass of urban youth into a common, oppressive educational structure, provided a shared basis of experience which unified urban youth into a relatively cohesive social force. Hyslop elucidates this further:

In an analogous way, while Bantu Education subjected the youth to a far inferior education than that provided by the mission schools, it reached a far greater number of students for (on average) longer periods of time. It thus created a far bigger education system, with a far harsher character than its predecessor. The changing education system thus provided the structure which would bring youth together and give them a common frame of reference against which they would rebel. In an important sense Bantu Education was the grave digger of apartheid.<sup>185</sup>

Adams College was transformed into what is today a Zulu Training School: an institution limited to a single linguistic group, a localised seminary with Zulu as the medium of instruction.<sup>186</sup> Adams College is no more. A bleak picture of its fate is painted by Etherington:

The site of Adams College is only a few miles from the bustling centre of modern Durban. It is no longer called Adams College. In accordance with the provisions of the Bantu Education Act of 1953, the buildings and the grounds were acquired by the government from the American Missionary society which had been educating Africans there for more than a century. Under government supervision most traces of the missionary past have been obliterated. The house of the missionary pioneer Newton Adams has been

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184. Ibid.

185. Hyslop, "Let us Cry for our Children": Lessons of the 1955-6 school boycotts", p. 10.

186. Burchell "Adams College, Natal, c. 1920-1956:", p.156.

demolished and the names of buildings and streets which commemorate black and white founders of Christianity in Natal have been changed. The staff of the college has been racially segregated. Only a graveyard, separated from the college grounds by a tall barbed wire fence, remains more or less unchanged. Amidst a jumble of unkept, crumbling gravestones, Newton Adams of New York sleeps beside Mbulasi, the first Zulu Christian. Not far from the high fence a long row of missionary tombs keeps a solitary, sightless watch over what, under other circumstances, might have become a South African national monument.<sup>187</sup>

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187. Etherington, Preachers Peasants and Politics, p. 176.

## CONCLUSION

Adams College was one of the oldest educational establishments in Natal. The aim of this thesis has been primarily to write a history of the College. It has explored what the early missionaries at Adams tried to achieve, explaining how the American missionaries allowed not only for an educated elite to emerge, but also the development of an African leadership. The exact nature of education received by the students, and the liberal paternalist thinking behind that teaching has been examined. An understanding of the general character of this education reveals the extent to which it shaped the wider outlook of students at Adams. The thesis also illustrates how Adams College was affected by general pressures on mission education in the 1940s, culminating in the closure of the school.

One can see that the well-intentioned missionaries strove towards offering their students opportunity for advancement. Mission societies played the major role in the provision of formal education for blacks, and aimed at promoting 'western' values and 'enlightening' the African people. Adams College was concerned with the cultivation of the individual, the moulding of character along Christian lines and providing an education with high academic attainments.

However, the role of mission schools must be examined critically. Only the privileged few had the opportunity to attend these schools, resulting in an elitist group diverging from the mass of the black population. Secondly the mission schools gave rise to false hopes among their students. Many students left Adams with the expectation of assimilation into white-dominated society, but soon became disillusioned after encountering the hostilities and barriers of the South African racial order.

Missionary thinking at Adams College was not static and so educational policy did change, even though basic missionary ideals were never neglected. One

cannot ignore the wider influences which resulted in these changing education policies. During the early years at Adams College the school taught basic reading and writing along with Christian doctrine. However by the end of the nineteenth century South African society was changing fast and education was seen by educationalists more and more as a way into the dominant economic and social system. When Le Roy came to Adams he did not only aim to produce teachers and preachers, but also artisans and day-labourers. He was influenced by C.T. Loram and the American approach to black schooling, a system of education which was designed to produce artisans and rural teachers who would not challenge the status quo. Manual work and practical training became an important part of mission education.

After Loram left the field of education, the idea of 'separate development' and the emphasis on practical training waned. As people became more urbanised missionary work broadened; many mission institutions established a more advanced education and there was an emphasis on teacher training. The emergent black elite needed preachers and teachers, and so schools such as Adams accommodated them, aiming to gain students who would help to spread mission ideals and values.

From the 1930s, after Le Roy had left Adams College, the emphasis on manual labour lapsed, and the industrial school offered more advanced courses, such as building science. However manual work under the guise of 'campus care' continued. It was during the 1930s that Edgar Brookes became principal at Adams College, insisting on an academic education.

Brookes resigned in 1945. During the late 1940s and early 1950s unrest occurred in the school. Despite the fact that Grant was a well-liked principal, the students felt unsettled. This study also questions the causes of the unrest at Adams. Students were influenced by events in the society at large but the conflict was also due

to issues inside the school. One can argue that student unrest at Adams was triggered off by both localised domestic institutional issues, as well as by national political mobilization. Difficulties faced by the students added to the unsettled atmosphere. Strained relations and tensions within the school resulted from the varied backgrounds of students, strict moral codes and sexual inequality. All of these added to the additional pressure of the school's lack of finance.

The teachers at Adams College had a specific idea of 'progress' for their students. The liberal Christian education at Adams College resulted in students having similar ambitions. The importance of 'progress' was regularly instilled into the students stressing that their socio-political grievances would and could be ameliorated. The students acquired a belief in non-racism and humanism from missionaries and white liberals such as Brookes and Grant, who viewed African development in a gradualist and paternalistic way. Imbued with an ethic of advancement and 'progress' through education, many students created a utopian world which contrasted to the realities of the South African situation. Many students left the school with optimism and high ambitions and became frustrated when they were faced with the realities of exploitation, and when forced into inferior positions as advanced employment opportunities for blacks were scarce.

Through the implementation of the Bantu Education Act the government revealed a very different notion of progress. Verwoerd argued that education for blacks had to be carefully coordinated and controlled so that it could accord with state policy. Verwoerd saw his programme of mass education as promoting better race relations as the 'Bantu' would know where they stood in society and not aspire to positions that they could never attain. Verwoerd contended that his policy would

enable 'the African' to acquire knowledge which would "meet the demands which the economic life of South Africa will impose on him".<sup>1</sup>

When attempting to explain the transference from mission education to Bantu Education, liberal theorists have seen this change as a radical break from one educational system to another. Missionaries have been seen as promoting positive liberal thinking and encouraging integration, while Bantu Education has been seen as repressive and aiming towards separate development. This analysis stresses the racist nature of Bantu Education. Opposed to this view, it has been argued that issues such as industrial training and the meeting of labour requirements have been sequential, occurring in both missionary and Bantu educational systems. It has been suggested that the segregationism of Loram later evolved in the form of 'separate development' in 1953.

While the missionaries encouraged the advancement of the individual, created an elite class and produced African leaders, Verwoerd aimed at educating the masses, promoting a docile black working class and providing the state with required labour. In the light of this argument one can see both change and continuity.

Bantu Education was more complex an issue than an analysis based on race allows, as Kallaway shows:

Bantu Education, far from being a unique kind of schooling system, characterised by racism, is more accurately seen as an example of mass education under capitalism, with the unique feature that race distinction has coincided with the class divisions to be found in other contexts. Bantu Education is, therefore, not simply to be seen as an aberrant and unique form of schooling, but fundamentally similar in kind to other forms of mass education under capitalism.<sup>2</sup>

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1. Verwoerd, Bantu Education, p. 18.
  2. Kallaway, "Education and the State", p. 48.

This thesis reveals Adams College as an institution attempting to provide an education that could be a stepping-stone towards participation in a multi-racial society, but an education that stopped short of non-racialism. Brookes and Grant were over-optimistic in their belief that change would occur naturally through education and individual achievement. They taught their students to believe that eventual assimilation into a democratic society would be possible, later causing much disappointment and disillusionment.

Before Bantu Education, implemented in 1955, the education policy was guided by missionaries with liberal philosophies. Although the education at Adams College was less than ideal for its students, it did however develop a more promising basis for academic and professional advancement compared to the apartheid-based education.

One can find many criticisms of missionary education and for the education received at Adams College. However one can also recognise and respect what the missionaries were attempting to achieve. In the light of this argument the closing down of Adams College was truly traumatic. One should recall the words of Ida Grant in 1956:

Whenever again Christian principles such as truth, justice, mercy, freedom and love are sacrificed to the Moloch of Apartheid, remember that Adams was sacrificed. Remember Adams!<sup>3</sup>

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3. I. Grant, "Remember Adams", August 1956.

Appendix A

American Mission Stations in Natal in 1850

<u>Commenced in</u>	<u>Missionary in charge in 1850</u>	
1836	N. Adams	Umlazi Station
1844	A. Grout	Umvoti Station
1846	D. Lindley	Inanda Station
1846	W. Ireland	Ifimi (J.C. Bryant, the founder.)
1847	L. Grout	Umsunduzi (Bryant came there in 1850.)
1848	S. McKinney	Amahlongwa
1848	S.D. Marsh	Table Mountain (Dohne came there in 1849)
1849	S.D. Marsh	Itafamasi
1848	D. Rood	Ifafa
1849	M. Abraham	Empumulo
1849	M. Tyler	Isidumbini
1849	M. Wilder	Printing Press
1850	M. Butler	Printing Press

Taken from O.E. Emanuelson, "A History of Native Education in Natal between 1835 and 1927" (1927), p. 38.

Appendix BPrincipals at Adams College

1853	Rev David Rood
1865-1881	William Ireland
1882-1887	H.D. Goodenough
1887-1892	four principals in five years (names unknown)
1892-1898	Mr Bates
1899-1901	George Cowles
1901-1926	Albert Le Roy
1927-1933	C.W. Atkins (acting principal) K.R. Brueckner (acting principal) and Otto Githens
1934-1945	Edgar Harry Brookes
1946-1947	E.G. Wyatt (forced to resign)
1948	David H. Rubenstein (acting principal)
1949-1956	Jack Grant

## Appendix C

### EDGAR HARRY BROOKES (1897-1979)

Brookes was an educationalist, historian, political scientist, practical reformer, and a profoundly religious and cultured man. In 1920 he became lecturer in Political Science at the Transvaal University College in Pretoria. He served on the South African delegation to the League of Nations in 1927. Brookes was one of the founders, and later president of the South African Institute of Race Relations, and was principal of Adams College from 1933 to 1945. Brookes thinking, which had been segregationist, became liberalised in the thirties. His views in his book: The History of Native Policy in South Africa from 1830 to the Present Day (1924) are very different, both in judgement and exposition, in the revised edition in 1974. Author of many works, some of which are: Native Education in South Africa (1930), A Century of Missions in Natal and Zululand (1936), Apartheid: A Documentary Study of Modern South Africa (1968), A South African Pilgrimage (1977).

### GEORGE COPELAND GRANT (1906-1978)

George Copeland Grant, known by most as Jack Grant, was principal at Adams College from 1949 to 1956. Grant was educated at Cambridge and taught at schools in various countries. Apart from his main interests, his family and church life, Jack was involved in cricket. He captained the West Indies cricket team in Australia and England. At the age of 27 he retired from test cricket and he and his wife, Ida Grant, aimed to become active missionaries. In 1953 and 1954 Jack and Ida Grant strove to prevent the government from taking over Adams College and aimed to continue the college as a private school. Ida Grant joined the non-racial Liberal Party and spoke from public platforms. In 1954 security police searched Jack Grant's office and home looking for proof that he was engaged in "treasonable activity." In 1956 when the government took control of African education, Jack and Ida Grant went to join the All African Church Council in Nigeria. In 1958 they went to Rhodesia where they took an active interest in detainees and their families and were deported in 1972. Jack Grant died in 1978 in Cambridge where he and his wife retired. Ida Grant is living in Cambridge.

### ALBERT JOHN LUTHULI (1898-1967)

In 1920 Luthuli received a government bursary to attend the teachers' training college at Adams College and soon joined the college staff, teaching alongside Z.K. Matthews who was head of Adams high school at the time. Luthuli was on the staff at Adams College for ten years before he took up an appointment as Chief of the Amakolwa tribe in the district of Lower Tugela.

Luthuli was involved in the African Teachers' Association, the Native Representative Council, the American Board Mission in South Africa and was officer of Groutville Church. In 1951 Luthuli defeated AWG Champion in an election for Natal provincial president of the African National Congress and obtained the backing of the ANC youth league. In 1952 he was elected national president of the ANC. Luthuli participated in major opposition movements such as the Defiance Campaign of 1952, and various school boycotts. Luthuli was also one of the accused in the 1956 Treason Trial but had the charges against him withdrawn. Luthuli known for his policy of non-violence in the struggle for freedom, was a devout Christian and took an active part in the church affairs of the American Board of Missions. In 1960 Luthuli was awarded the Nobel Peace Prize. Luthuli has written an autobiography Let my People Go.

#### **ZACHARIAH KOEDIRELANG MATTHEWS (1901-1968)**

Matthews was educated at Lovedale and Fort Hare. In 1923 Matthews obtained a B.A. degree from the University of South Africa, he was the first graduate of this university from the South African Native College of Fort Hare. In 1925 Matthews was appointed head of the high school at Adams College, head over a staff of both whites and blacks, and remained in this position until 1932. In 1930 he was the first African student to receive an LL.B degree from the University of South Africa and in 1934 he went to Yale University in the United States and obtained an MA degree on "Bantu Law and Western Civilization in South Africa". Matthews returned to South Africa in 1936 and was appointed lecturer at Fort Hare in Social Anthropology and Native Law and Administration. In 1945 he was appointed Professor and Head of the Department of African Studies at the University College of Fort Hare. Matthews was a member of the Native Representative Council (1942-1949), established to advise the Union Government on projected legislation affecting Africans as well as a member of the Union Advisory Board on Native Education (1946-1949). He was president of the African National Congress in the Cape (1949-1955) and a member of the National Executive of the African National Congress (1943-1958). Matthews played a role in bridging the gap between the old guard and the more militant younger members of the ANC in the late 1940s and 1950s. He gave active support to the writing of the ANC's 1949 Programme of action and he proposed the basic idea of the Congress of the people.

Z.K. Matthews autobiography Freedom for my People (1983) was edited by Monica Wilson.

#### **EZEKIEL MPHAHLELE (1919- )**

Mphahlele was educated at St Peter's Secondary school at Rosettenville in the Transvaal. He went to Adams College in 1939 where he did the teachers' training course. In 1941 he was employed as a clerk at Enzenzeleni for the blind. In 1949 Mphahlele received a BA degree from the University of South

Africa. In 1952 Mphahlele was banned from teaching in government-controlled schools because he opposed the proposed system of Bantu Education. In 1955 he was awarded a BA Honours in English through the University of South Africa and in 1957 received an MA degree in English with distinction. In 1957 he left South Africa and became attached to the University of Ibadan in Nigeria and toured and worked in Africa in 1962-1963. Mphahlele returned to South Africa and was appointed Senior Research Fellow at the African Studies Institute of the University of the Witwatersrand, and later became Professor of African Literature. Mphahlele is author of many works, his autobiography Down Second Avenue looks at his years at two mission schools, St Peter's and Adams College.

#### ELLEN KUZWAYO (1914- )

Ellen Kuzwayo was born in the Orange Free State and attended St Paul's School for junior education. In 1930 she was sent to boarding school at St Francis' College at Marianhill in Natal. In 1932 Kuzwayo went to Adams College, and in 1935 graduated as a higher primary school teacher. In 1936 she attended Lovedale College and in 1937 had her first teaching post at Inanda Seminary in Natal. In 1946 Kuzwayo was secretary of the Youth League of the ANC. From 1953-55 Kuzwayo trained as a social worker at Jan Hofmeyr School of Social Work and worked for the South African Association of Youth Clubs in Johannesburg from 1957 to 1962. In 1964 she became secretary (for twelve years) of the Young Women's Christian Association, and a member of the Soweto Committee of Ten, a body of moderate black leaders. With other members of the committee she was detained without trial for 5 months in 1977. In 1987 Kuzwayo was appointed the first president of the Black Consumer Union and today is active in the community life of Soweto. Kuzwayo has written her story in her autobiography: Call Me Woman (1985).

#### ZEPHANIA MOTHOPENG (1916-)

Mothopeng was born in the eastern Transvaal and Matriculated at St Peter's Secondary School in Johannesburg. He Studied at the teachers training college at Adams College and later obtained a B.A. degree through the University of South Africa. Mothopeng was elected to the national executive committee of the PAC in 1959.

Appendix D

Some of the teachers at Adams College

1925-1932

Z.K. Matthews	Head of the high school 1925-1932
C.W. Atkins	Head of training College and acting principal 1926.
K.W. Br̄euckner	Head of industrial school and acting principal in 1927
Otto. B. Grithens	Principal ca. 1928-?
Albert J. Luthuli	Taught music 1926-1936
R. Guma	Teachers' Training College

1934-1945

Albert J. Luthuli	Teachers' training college, and taught music.
Reuben T. Caluza	Taught music, took over Luthuli's position 1936.
Karl R. Brueckner	Vice Principal and head of industrial school.
Mr Murry-Brown	Head of teachers training college until 1935
John Reuling	Head of teachers' training college and dean of men students (from 1935)
Donald M'Timkulu	Head of high school
June Christofersen (Dahle)	Teachers' training college, Art and blackboard work
Eric Dahle	Teachers' training college
Birdsey Mtshali	High school, maths and science.

Miss E. C. Aitken	High school, taught English and Latin.
Miss M. Hart	High school, taught biology.
Mr P. Bester	High school, taught Afrikaans.
Mr Mpumulwana	High school, taught Xhosa
Mr Bopela	High School, taught Zulu
Mr Letele	High School, taught Sotho
Miriam Janisch	High school, taught English
<b>1948-1956</b>	
Eric Dahle	Teachers' training college, taught history, geography, and education. He was also dean of men students.
R. Guma	Teachers' training college, taught education and Zulu.
Alan Evens	Industrial school (1950-1956) in charge of joinery and furniture making
Elizabeth Kaemper	Dean of women students
Dr K.H. Wilker	Head of teachers' training college
Birdsey Mtshali	Head of high school
George McNeillage	Head of industrial school (1947 -1956) and in charge of building construction
Greta Lockey	High school taught Latin and English (1951-1954)
David Rubenstein	During 1947-1956 served as Head of the Industrial school, Guidance Counselor, Vice Principal and Acting Principal.

Bill Booth	Theological school and School Chaplain
Christine Brueckner	High school (daughter of Dr Brueckner), teachers' training college, art and blackboard work.
Michael Martin	High school, taught English, Afrikaans and general method in the teachers' training college (1951-1955) and English and Latin in the high school (1955-1956)
Elizabeth Smallie	Teachers' training college, taught English, art and practical teaching (1952-1956)
Celia Mdlalose	Matron in girls department
Ted Harris	Farm manager
Ruth Hummel	Secretary 1951-1956
Eileen Stevens	Bursar

## Appendix E

### Students at Adams College

#### *Students who became politically active after leaving Adams College*<sup>1</sup>

**John Langalibelele Dube**, 1886 student, 1892 teacher. Dube was the first president-general of the African National Congress. See Karis & Carter, Vol. 4, Political Profiles, pp. 24-26.

**Allison Wessels George Champion**, expelled in 1913, trade unionist and political and civic leader, became leader of the ICU. See Karis & Carter, Vol. 4, pp. 18-19, and Marks, The Ambiguities of Dependence in South Africa pp. 74-109.

**Abert John Luthuli**, 1920-1921, became ANC president in 1952. See Karis & Carter, Vol. 4, pp. 60-63, and Luthuli, Let My People Go (1962).

**Rolphus R. R. Dhlomo**, 1921, political expression through journalism, editor of Ilanga lase Natal. See Couzens, The New African (1985).

**Selby Bangani Ngcobo**, 1923-1925, politically active in the late 1930s and early 1940s, became economic adviser to KwaZulu government in 1975. See Karis and Carter, Vol. 4, p. 112.

**Gilbert Jameson Coka**, left in 1927, journalist and politically active in 1930s, leader of ICU in Vryheid and later joined the communist party. See Karis & Carter, Vol. 4, p. 19.

**Manasseh Tebatso Moerane**, ca. 1930, journalist, educator and civic leader. Involved in the ANC Youth League in 1944, president of the African Teachers' Federation of South Africa in the 1950s and president of the Association for the Educational and Cultural Advancement of African People of South Africa in the 1960s. See Karis & Carter, Vol. 4, pp. 91-92.

**Ellen Kuzwayo**, 1932-1935, secretary of the Congress Youth League, member of the Soweto Committee of Ten, detained in 1977. See Kuzwayo, Call Me Woman (1985).

**Anton Muziwakhe Lembede**, 1933-1935, Lembede coauthored the Congress Youth League Manifesto with Ngubane - 1944 and was the first president of the Youth League. See Karis & Carter, Vol. 4, pp. 55-56.

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1. Student's name, date/s student attended Adams College and political activity after leaving school.

**Seretse Khama**, 1936, became president of Botswana.

**Jordan Kush Ngubane**, 1933-1937, politician and journalist, in early 1940 he helped to found the ANC Youth League, member of the Liberal Party in the late 1950s. See Karis & Carter, Vol. 4, pp. 114-115.

**Jacob Dumdum Nyaose**, ca. 1936-1938, trade unionist and leader in the Pan Africanist Congress during the 1950s. See Karis & Carter, Vol. 4, p. 122.

**Cromwell Diko**, 1936-1939, became cabinet minister in Transkei.

**Appolo Kironde**, ca. 1938-1939, became Uganda ambassador to the United Nations.

**Es'kia Mphahlele**, 1939, banned from teaching in 1952 as he opposed the proposed system of Bantu Education, political expression in various literary works. See Mphahlele, Down Second Avenue (1959) and Mangani, Exiles and Homecomings: A Biography of Es'kia Mphahlele (1983).

**Thomas Titus Nkobi**, 1939, member of the national executive committee of the ANC in 1950s, a leader of the 1957 bus boycott in Alexandra. See Karis & Carter, Vol. 4, p. 119.

**Zephania Lekoane Mothopeng**, 1940, became a prominent member of the national executive committee of the Pan Africanist Congress. See Karis & Carter, Vol. 4, pp.100-101.

**David Waruhiu**, 1943, during the 1950s worked in Kenya for racial reconciliation.

**Joshua Nkomo**, 1944, became Zimbabwean African nationalist politician.

**Stanlake Samkange**, 1944, Candidate in first Parliamentary elections, Central African Federation. Became Professor of history in USA writing on Rhodesian history and politics.

**Peter Papela Nthite**, 1945, joined the African National Congress during the 1952 Defiance Campaign, Treason Trial defendent and National Youth League secretary. See Karis & Carter, Vol. 4, p. 121.

**Bhekabantu Abednego Ngcobo**, ca. 1945, Natal ANC Youth League leader, Treason Trial defendent, and treasurer-general of the Pan African Congress. See Karis & Carter, Vol. 4, pp. 111-112.

**John Mwanakature**, ca. 1940s, became minister of finance in Zambia.

**Hemry Makulu**, ca. 1940s, became cabinet minister in Zambia.

**Charles Njonjo**, 1945, Barrister in Nairobi in 1955, later became Attorney General of Kenya.

**Gatha Mangosutho Buthelezi**, 1946, officially installed as chief in 1957, Chief Minister of KwaZulu government and leader of Inkatha. See Temkin, Gatha Buthelezi: Zulu Statesman (1976), Marks, The Ambiguities of Dependence in South Africa (1986) and Maré & Hamilton, An Appetite for Power (1987).

**Herbert Chitepo**, 1947, became leading member of ZANU and cabinet minister in Mugabe's government.

**Stella Sigcau**, early 1950s, became cabinet minister in the Transkei.

*List of past students, revealing the type of careers students took after leaving the school.<sup>2</sup>*

**Arnot Cele**, 1916, teacher and later at Adams industrial department.

**Mntuombi Nkuku**, 1916, teacher in Adams College Industrial School.

**Hamilton M.S. Makhanya**, 1916, teacher and later in 1950s supervisor of schools.

**I. B. Gumede Dr.**, 1917, Medical practitioner, Durban.

**Winnie Gumbi**, 1919, principal at Ellingham School, Amahlongwa.

**William Zama**, 1919, builder.

**Constance Khunalo**, 1920, nursing, ran the maternity hospital at Umbumbulu.

**Agnes Makhanya**, 1921, teacher at Nkulisa School, Lamontville.

**Don G. S. M'timkulu**, 1922, teacher, head of Adams College high school and then principal of Ohlange institute. Received honorary doctorate in 1956.

**Ellen Gaqa**, 1922, teacher at Umbumbulu.

**Elias Ndhlovu**, 1922, woodwork teacher at Adams College.

**Dunnet Myeza**, 1922, minister at Ifafa.

**Agnes Gumede**, 1924, nurse in Durban.

**Celia Ngcobo**, 1924, (Mrs Mdlalose) matron in the girls department at Adams College.

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2. Name of student, date student left Adams College and profession.

Hutchinson Zama, 1925, builder.

Henry Hlanti, 1925, principal at Ohlange Day School.

K. Edward Masinga, 1925, Zulu Announcer, S.A.B.C., Durban.

Absolom Mgobozi, 1925, secretary of Lower Tugela School Board.

Herbert I. E. Dhlomo, 1926, poet and playwright and assistant editor of Ilanga lase Natal.

Thembekile Cele, 1926, teacher at Loram Secondary School.

Birdsey Mtshali, 1927, head of high school at Adams College after M'timkulu.

Edward Mzoneli, 1927, farmer at Groutville.

Amos Shembe, 1928, teacher at Adams College high school.

Hancock Mdluli, 1929, teacher at Adams College High School.

Malcolm R. Mseleku, 1929, appointed Sub-Inspector of schools in Natal in the 1950s.

Gilbert Phewa, 1929, librarian in Johannesburg.

Gladstone Mngunyama, 1930, principal at Verulam.

Pascoe Bophela, 1931, teacher at Ohlange Institute.

Emmeline Gumede, 1932, principal at Nkulisa School, Lamontville.

Elliot Ngema, 1933, principal at Amahlongwa Combined School.

Allan Mwandla, 1934, teacher at Adams teachers' training college.

Napoleon Ngcobo, 1935, teacher at Adams College.

Alnet Zama, 1936, teacher at Umtwalumi.

Albert Ngidi, 1936, principal at Umsunduze School.

Lincoln Nyembezi, 1937, taught at Fort Hare University.

Wellington Mzoneli, 1937, court interpreter at Ubombo.

Reginald Ngcobo, 1939, solicitor in Durban.

C. G. Mbongwe, early 1940s, clerk at 'Bantu Affairs Office', Durban.

- James Africa, 1940, teacher at Loram Secondary School.
- Jack Hampson, 1940, teacher at Mariannhill.
- Adrien Khumalo, 1941, clerk at Lever Brothers, Durban.
- Charles Mbutho, 1941, teacher at various mission schools in Natal.
- Hawthorne Diomo, 1942, boarding master at Adams College.
- Clifford Khuzwayo, 1943, Minister at Maphumulo.
- Victoria Mahamba-Sithole, 1945, secretary Y.W.C.A., Durban.
- Ferris Mnjoma, 1945, principal at Umpumulo Practicing School.
- Ambrose Vezi, 1946, secretary at Pietermarritzburg Rural School Board.
- Ambrose Dhlomo, 1947, teacher at Adams College, teachers' training department.
- Cleopas Khumalo, 1948, went to the United States for postgraduate research.
- Simon Ngubane, 1948, music supervisor in natal Schools.
- Richard Mathonsi, 1948, teacher at Umbumbulu.
- Edith Sibisi, 1949, teacher at Inanda Seminary.
- Saul Dlamini, 1949, teacher at Maphumulo Combined School.
- David Khehla Tshabalala, 1949, teacher at Adams teachers' training college.
- Elliot Dhlula, 1949, boarding master at Adams College from 1951-1955.
- Theophilus Shandu, 1950, teacher at Adams College high school.
- John Nteo, 1950, teacher at Adams College high school.
- Stewart Mkhize, 1950, principal at Ekuphileni School.
- Stemer Dikgale, 1951, teacher at Potchefstroom.
- Eunice Duma, 1951, teacher at Inanda Seminary.
- Bernard Ngubane, 1951, teacher at Embonisweni, Groutville.
- Michael Mothibatsela, 1952, teacher at Umpumulu Training College.

- Cornelius Mchunu, 1952, teacher at Indaleni Day School.
- Medrie Melanemd, 1952, teacher at Amahlongwa.
- Mizraim Mthiyane, 1952, teacher at Umzinyathi.
- Africa Ndaba, 1952, teacher at Indaleni Practising School.
- Leah Mbanjwa, 1952, nurse at McCord's Hospital, Durban.
- Japhta Mahanjana, 1953, worked at Lever Brothers.
- McLeod Chitiyo, 1953, medical student at University of Natal, Durban in 1955.
- Godfrey Nyasheng, 1953, on the editorial staff of Ilanga lase Natal, Durban.
- John Kanyangarara and Meshack Nhiwatiwa 1953, teachers at Inyazura Mission, Rhodesia.
- Simeon Dlangalaia, 1953, teacher at Ekhomba School, Kranskop.
- Ephraim Mumba, 1953, teacher in Rhodesia.
- Bekisipho Diudla, 1953, Minister at the Table Mountain Mission.
- Gladys Mhlongo, 1953, teacher at Amahlongwa.
- Gertrude Mini, 1953, nurse at McCords's Hospital, Durban.
- Abel Siphika, 1953, teacher at Maphumulo Combined School.
- Mandlakhe Sithole, 1953, degree in education at Fort Hare University.
- Dexter Chavunduka, 1954, teacher at St Anne's College, Southern Rhodesia.
- Muriel Mdladla, 1954, teacher at Vryheid Junior School.
- Rhoda Gubevu, 1954, nurse at Baragwanath Hospital.
- Ruth Gumbi, 1954, nurse at Baragwanath Hospital.
- Johannes Khoza, 1954, teacher at Adams College.
- Davidson Katsere, 1954, B.A. degree University of Natal, Durban.
- Sam Mtepuka, 1954, B.A. degree University of Natal, Durban.
- Lovemore Mutambanengwe, 1954, B.A. degree at Fort Hare University.
- Obed Khumalo, 1954, teacher at Dagga-kraal Tribal School, Vlakpoort in the Transvaal.

**Rachel Khumalo, 1954, teacher at Lamontville.**

**James Macebo, 1954, Municipal Transport Department, Durban.**

**Desmond Makhanya, 1954, personal management course followed by employment as supervisor at Saiccor factory.**

**Olpah Mahlangu, 1954, teacher at New Tendega School, Vryheid.**

**Moffat Mbatha, 1954, policeman, Durban.**

**Olive Mdladla, 1954, teacher at Umhlali.**

**Arthur Monoang, 1954, employed (along with Dennis Nawa - past student) at chlorine plant, Africa Explosives Ltd., Umbogintwini.**

## Appendix F

### Other mission schools

*By the twentieth century many mission schools had been established throughout the country.*

#### Inanda Seminary

The Inanda Seminary<sup>1</sup> north of Durban, regarded as the sister school to Adams College, had also been founded by the American Board of Missions in 1869. By 1949 its enrolment had grown from an initial nineteen to 278 female students.<sup>2</sup> Etherington notes that it had been an early hope of the Americans to train black pastors at Adams College, then known as Amanzimtoti Institute, with a literary and theological education and to train wives for these men at Inanda Seminary. Those running the girls' seminary<sup>3</sup> during the early years took pride in turning out domestically capable girls.<sup>3</sup>

#### Lovedale Missionary Institution

Lovedale in the Eastern Cape was founded by Scottish missionaries in 1841.<sup>4</sup> Like Adams College, many famous Africans passed through Lovedale - John Jabavu, John Knox Bokwe, W.B. Rubusana and many others. Lovedale was similar to Adams in that it was divided into several departments. According to a handbook of information for parents and guardians during the 1950s, the institution included a high school, training school, practising school and a boys vocational school to equip the students for a trade.<sup>5</sup> In the later 1950s the schools and hostels were brought under the control of the Bantu Education Department in accordance with the Bantu Education Act of 1953.

#### St Peter's Secondary School

St Peter's Secondary School run by the Community of the Resurrection in Rosettenville, a white suburb south of Johannesburg, was also run in a similar way to Adams College. The school was co-educational with a mixed staff offering subjects such as mathematics, physics, chemistry, English and Latin. Like Adams there was strict discipline, and the students were responsible for cleaning the dormitories and classrooms, and for keeping the grounds in good order. Ezekiel Mphahlele,<sup>6</sup> writer and academic, enrolled at St Peter's in 1935 before attending Adams in 1939. He found Adams to be less free and more strict than his previous school. Mphahlele

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1. See Hughes "'A lighthouse for African womanhood': Inanda Seminary, 1869-1945", pp.197-220.
  2. ABM papers A/3/45. Annual Report of Inanda Seminary, July 1949.
  3. Etherington, Preachers Peasants and Politics p. 28.
  4. See Burchell, "A History of the Lovedale Missionary Institution, 1890-1930", and White, "Lovedale, 1930-1955: The Study of a Missionary Institution in its Social, Educational and Political Context".
  5. MS 380242 Southern African Materials Project Box 14, School of Oriental and African Studies Library, University of London. Lovedale Institution: Handbook of Information for Parents and Guardians.
  6. See Appendix C.

remembers that they were allowed to debate any kind of subject at St Peter's; this gave him "a sense of release".<sup>7</sup>

### St Francis College

Some who were educated at St Francis College,<sup>8</sup> a Catholic Mission school at Mariannhill in Natal, also came to join the ranks of the African elite: people such as Benedict Wallet Vilakazi, later a well known poet and lecturer in African languages at the University of the Witwatersrand.<sup>9</sup> Ellen Kuzwayo<sup>10</sup> known today by some as the "Mother of Soweto", also educated at Adams College, found St Francis to be far more stringent than Adams. She found that female students especially were given a narrow education; she recalled how the nuns at the mission expected them to wear blinkers and shut out any form of broader education.<sup>11</sup> Shula Marks states that a student attending St Francis would have experienced greater discipline than at Adams:

The rivalry between Catholic and Protestant schools in Natal was considerable, and they had very different attitudes towards authority. While the Protestants were thought of as being independent and critical, Catholics were thought of as more dependent and submissive; while Africans identified Protestant churches with 'progress', the Catholic churches had a reputation of inculcating ideals of obedience both to their immediate mentors and to the demands of the Church.<sup>12</sup>

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7. Mphahlele, Down Second Avenue, p. 125. See pages 123-135 on St Peter's Secondary School.
  8. For further reference see H. Gamble, Marianhill A Century of Prayer and Work (Marianhill Mission Press, 1982); J.B. Brain, "Mariannhill Monastery, 1882-1982", Contree Journal for South African Urban and Regional History 13, (January 1983), pp.27-31; J.B. Brain, "Mariannhill Century: A Look at the Early Years", Natalia 12, (December 1982), pp. 58-70.
  9. Couzens, The New African, p. 47.
  10. See Appendix C.
  11. Interview with Ellen Kuzwayo, 10/5/1988.
  12. Marks, Not Either An Experimental Doll, p. 40.

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- AAS130      Zachariah Keodirelang Matthews papers, 1933-1968.  
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ALBERT JOHN LUTHULI PAPERS

University of South Africa Library, Pretoria

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Natal Mercury 30/10/1958

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Mr T. Harris (Farm Manager at Adams College, 1951-1957), London.

Mr M.C. Martin (Teacher at Adams College, 1951-1956), Observatory, Cape.

Mr G. Mc Neillage (Teacher in Industrial School, 1947-1956), New Zealand.

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