

PREFACE

This paper contains the basis of a chapter of a thesis on Rhodesian missions, and deals with the relations between missionaries and white settlers in "Gazaland" - or what was then South Melssetter, the area of the American Board missions of Mount Silinda and Chikore. I have restricted my period to 1893 - 1925 for reasons of the availability of material.

Because of the "draft thesis chapter" nature of the paper I have included some background material on the mission which may not be directly relevant to the main theme, but I hope it will be of interest in presenting a prologue not generally known.

I have used the word "settler" without prejudice. It was used at the time by the missionaries and settlers alike as an ordinary noun of identification.

File references are all to National Archives Public Records. Correspondence without file reference refers to records held at Mount Silinda mission.

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3 November, 1966.

SETTLERS AND MISSIONARIES IN SOUTH MHLSETTER 1893-1925

In the eyes of many Ndaus, missionaries and settlers were of the same genus. All whites were settlers, some were vabunhu - Boers, some vangezi. Some were farmers, miners, traders or "teachers", i.e. missionaries. This view seems to have obtained particularly in areas where missionaries and farmers arrived more or less simultaneously. All Europeans were settlers, distinguished only by occupation.

There was much to be said for this view. Farmer and missionary each saw himself as a representative of white civilisation. The approach of the American Board missionaries to their work was the broad cultural one of Christianity, Civilisation and Commerce. From the foundation of their mission, following their Zululand antecedents, they established four categories of work which they saw as equal and interdependent - evangelical, medical, educational and industrial. On the whole, they saw their aim not as the salvation of a few individuals or of an unregenerate society, but the reclamation of a whole race. Acceptance of the Gospel was not to be divorced, as some missions did divorce it, from full Western civilisation, from wearing European clothes, living in a square house with a brick chimney, possessing furniture, holding land on individual tenure, being able to read, and supporting oneself by useful crafts, the practice of monogamy, the use of money, and so on. For it was only out of tribal society and in a Christian individualistic society that the African could learn the notion of individual responsibility and hence individual sin and individual salvation; he could not be a Christian in a heathen tribe. But neither was he to opt out of his tribe and form part of a separate peculiarly detribalised Christian community. The individual and the society were to be "reclaimed" together. A few reclaimed Zulu evangelists came with the missionaries, not only for evangelistic and linguistic purposes, but as an object lesson on the Possibility of Improvement. On the other hand, the settlers saw themselves as the representatives of a superior technology (although in some cases the superiority was marginal), and thus enjoyed a privileged position. In the eyes of the missionaries, therefore, however deficient the morals of an individual white settler might be, they represented as a class the harbingers of the new order. They provided opportunities for employment for Africans; they represented, if not the Christian religion or ethic, then at least some of the civilisation. And although Africans often became drunk with the vices of Western civilisation before they had smelt the rare bouquet of its virtues, nevertheless, with all its dangers, the western way of life, the ideal of which the settlers were an approximation, provided for Africans the only avenue of escape from a degraded and besotted heathen misery.

There were also ties more material than these which bound settler and missionary together in this area. The terms on which the mission was granted land were the same as the settlers, so they were bound to engage in the same sort of "effective occupation". For nearly the whole of the period under review, the area was served by the mission doctor; the services of the minister were required, especially at first, for births, deaths and marriages. The missionaries took responsibility for some years for education of the settler children, who were in grave danger of growing up ignorant or "quasi-native". In addition, the missionaries were part of the same economic community and needed the help and advice of the professional farmers. They were pioneers together - and knew it.

But these bonds of union between settler and missionary were cut across by a fundamental difference of purpose. At the risk of stating the obvious, the farmers were there in their own interest, while the missionaries believed themselves to be there in the interest of the native peoples, as they conceived it. The farmers wished to use the Africans, the missionaries to raise them from a fallen state. So while farmer and missionary both formed an equally low assessment of "heathen" society, they differed essentially in their attitude to the individuals in the society. For the missionary, the Africans were potential Europeans; for the farmer, labour, or occasionally a nuisance.

The missionaries seem to have been more conscious of this difference of attitude than the settlers, but also more concerned to maintain good relations, to gloss over these differences in public. Thus they joined the local Gazaland Farmers' Association and the Rifle Club, and tried to maintain a friendly relationship, partly in the hope of influencing the settler for the better. On the whole, fairly easy public relations existed between the two communities until the 1950s, when the postwar "new-wave" of missionaries, tainted with Communism, some said, arrived on the scene. A deterioration in social relations set in, and one or two missionaries were deported. It was suggested in a letter to the Herald that the mission schools were training grounds for militant nationalists.¹ This deterioration continued to the point where there is almost no contact and scarcely veiled hostility between the two groups. "Things were all right in the old days," say the local white community. "The natives knew their place and the older missionaries kept them there." This unsophisticated judgment of the lack of political consciousness, or 'interference' as it would have been termed, among missionaries, also finds support in more learned circles; the only outspoken critics of the fundamentals of Rhodesian society were the Methodist John White, and the Anglican Arthur Shearley Cripps, and their failure was the failure of the church.² So missionaries are alternately praised or blamed for their lack of participation in politics in central Africa, with a few exceptions.³

The main thesis of this paper is that the 'social conscience' of the mission was not undeveloped during the period under review. The American missionaries at Silinda and Chikore were frequently conscious of what they termed injustice, and though they were perhaps not 'enlightened' by present day standards, they were aware of and concerned about the situation around them. They were not in the same position as the much more vociferous Scottish missionaries of Blantyre, who had an influential home board and some opportunity of bringing to bear a moderately powerful public opinion on the British government and hence influencing policy. As Americans, they were forced to be more circumspect; they were conscious of being aliens as the Scottish missionaries were not; and hence their view of the Administration was not one of an agnostic obstructive officialdom which must be opposed, but as a fact within which they were forced to work; they were grateful for sympathy among Native Department officials when it was found (and they were fortunate in having two Melsetter M.C.'s who were

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- (1) There was a letter to the Herald which I cannot trace, saying that there was a curious and hardly coincidental connection between American Mission schools and outbreaks of violence.
 - (2) T.O.Ranger, State and Church in Southern Rhodesia 1919 to 1939, Salisbury, 1961, C.A.H.A. Local Series 4. I.Henderson & P.Warhurst, Revisions in Central African History, Salisbury 1965; C.A.H.A. Local Series 15, pp.20-21.
 - (3) R. Rotberg, Christian Missionaries and the Creation of Northern Rhodesia, 1880-1924. Princeton, N.J., 1965. For an attempt to rehabilitate the missionaries, A.C.Ross, "The African - 'A Child or a Man'" in E.Stokes & R.Brown, The Zambesian Past, Man.U.P. 1966

of broad sympathies and high character) and they tended to welcome Company administration as one which was almost certainly less oppressive than the settlers would have liked.

The attitude of the Administration and settlers towards the mission in this period was varied but never so studied. Provided the missions did not 'unsettle the native mind' as the stock phrase had it, missions were regarded most often with benevolent amusement, as a misguided philanthropy which one day would have to face hard reality. Occasionally a few officials were genuinely in sympathy with their aims of helping the Africans. Sometimes (and this was a more frequent settler attitude), they were accused of being disruptive. During the rebellion, for example, although it did not touch the Melsetter area, the N.C. criticised the missionaries for 'unsettling the native mind', pointing out that Africans had their own religious code which satisfied their limited needs and it was really disruptive gratuitously to change this.¹ And by the first world war official Administration attitudes were beginning to harden; more control over missions was acquired, over what they taught and how they taught it; over deciding who was 'reliable' enough to be allowed to enter the country; over 'native preachers'; and it was obvious that after the first world war some hard thinking was being done in official circles about the desirability of an academic education for an African which might turn him into a potential European.²

From this complex of attitudes among the whites, I want to divorce the attitude of the African peoples to the missionaries, although this is an artificial distinction, and look in some more detail at those factors, outlined above, which tended to unite or divide missionary and settler.

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Land and labour questions were the two spheres in which differences between missionary and settler were more pronounced. Medical work and educational work tended to strengthen the ties between them, at least until the Administration assumed responsibility for the European side. Whether or how Africans were educated or evangelised was of little concern to settlers unless it raised questions of the docility of labour, or independent African pastors not being under 'proper' European supervision.

The first and most bitter conflict between missionaries and settlers came over land. The missionaries arrived to make their final settlement in the Silinda area just after the arrival of the Moodie trek; two simultaneous, unco-ordinated advances on the same piece of land, the only factor in common being that Rhodes had wanted the area settled to keep out the Portuguese. I want to look first at the background to the arrival of the mission and show how it was that the mission arrived in this area at all, and why they did so at this particular juncture, and under the aegis of the B.S.A. Company.'

The American Board of Commissions for Foreign Missions, being the first mission society in America, was world-wide and interdenominational, but drew most of its strength from congregational churches in America particularly after other denominational

(1) N.C. Melsetter to C.N.C., 21.xi.96. NUC 2/1/2.

(2) Ranger, State and Church, pp.1-8.

missionary societies were formed. Its original plan for Africa was grandiose - two great intersecting chains of stations, North to South, west to east, intersecting around the mountains of the moon.¹ But an early penetration (1836) to the interior around Mafeking failed as a result of a Native War, and by the late 1870s, with many other societies expanding in Africa, the northern axis had not progressed much beyond a few American Zulu mission stations in Natal, with shortage of finance and personnel restricting expansion.

A renewed attempt at the interior, this time to Mzila, was made in 1879 when Rev. Myron Pinkerton set off for Manhangazi in the Highlands, but he died of fever in November 1879. In the following year Rev. Edward H. Richards reached Mzila and obtained permission to start a mission; but eventually one was started in the lowlands at Inhambane, apparently on the strong recommendation of Wilcox, one of the missionaries. This seems to have been against the better judgment of the Natal missionaries, if later allegations are to be believed.² Certainly the lowland sites did not prove healthy, and renewed pressure within the mission was brought in favour of a highlands mission. So in 1888 a second approach was made to the Shangaans, when Wilder and the newly arrived Butler visited Ngungunyana. By this time Richards, having a vested interest in the continuation of the Inhambane mission, was raising all sorts of objections. There was not sufficient staff or money, he said, and the Free Methodists would encroach on their field. "So then if we go and explore and then return and make report as we did in '81 we shall have had as much expense and as much 'benefit' to the mission, and no more, unless a strong reinforcement is on hand.... I felt while in Natal, and I feel it more now, that you good people are in gross darkness, or deep prejudice concerning this mission (Inhambane), and that you should regard it with more parental feeling...."³ Initially his pessimism was justified. The expedition found at Ngungunyana's a resident Portuguese 'missionary' and were told by the chief that they had come too late.⁴ Wilder and Bates returned to report a fruitless expedition, and for a time the lowlands mission was safe.⁵ Ngungunyana's move from old Manhangazi in the highlands to Baleni was a further earnest for the future of the lowlands mission and the abandonment of the highlands project. Perhaps, wrote the Boston Secretary to the Zulu mission, this would bring the Shangaans within reach of the East Central Africa Mission. "I long to see a missionary force ... sufficient to press inland to Baleni"; but then he counselled patience: "The mission is, we hope, to have a history of many long years and its work will not even be begun within the next year or within the next five years. The history of our work there, as elsewhere, has been one of gradual growth ... it seems to me plainly wise for the men who are on the field to do the work they are able to do vigorously and hopefully, and lay secure foundations, and expect a larger force and a wider work in the years to come."⁶

This was the perpetual debate in missions everywhere - intensive versus extensive work? The urge for extensive work, or the inability to fit into the 'residential' mission station pattern, had sent Livingstone into the interior, and this had sparked off a great penetrative drive among mission societies.

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- (1) E.W. Smith, The Life and Times of Daniel Lindley, Epworth Press, 194
 - (2) Bates and Thompson, Sketch of the East Central Africa Mission, Boston, 1903, Ch.2. C. Lord, The Background and Early History of the Rhodesian Mission of the American Board. M.A. Thesis, Iowa, 1961, Ch.3. Article by Myers, 25.9.23 on 30th anniversary of Mt. Silinda.
 - (3) Richards to Pixley, 4.v.88.
 - (4) Bates and Thompson, Ch.2.
 - (5) Judson-Smith to Bates, 9.1.89.
 - (6) Judson-Smith to Bates, 25.xi.89. 16 vii 89

So the Boston Board counsel of patience was not very well received among the American Zulu missionaries, and in the end they pushed ahead with their local expansionist policies. Missionaries in the field, who were often incurable optimists, tended to stretch their societies' resources to the absolute limit in pioneering ventures, and then demand support as an alternative to retrenchment. The Boston Board, while theoretically only advisory and leaving a great deal of initiative in the hands of the missionaries in the field, nevertheless held the purse strings and could thus sanction forward movements. It tended to emphasise its world-wide responsibilities, and its inability to give preference to one field over another.

During 1890 a fierce controversy about expanding the Inhambane field in a series of outstations to reach the Shangaans broke out, the Inhambane missionaries being in general opposed to the move and the American Zulu missionaries advocating it; finally in 1890 a further interior expedition set out consisting of Wilcox and the newly arrived Dr. Thompson. This was originally intended to try Ngungunyana again, and they apparently had obtained his permission through Mrs. Fels, a resident missionary there, for a mission.¹ While on the boat from Durban, however, they met Rhodes, who persuaded them to go to Gazaland, and made a mark on a map to show them. He would square things with Ngungunyana, he said. So they pressed inland to where Mount Silinda is now, and toured the country, while Wilder, a Natal missionary, put pressure on the Board to sanction this forward movement.²

The prospects revealed by this 1891 trip were encouraging: entry to the Eastern Highlands of Rhodesia under the wing of the B.S.A. Company would simultaneously remove the Portuguese and health problems which had beset Inhambane. There was either no consciousness of or no objection to being a part of Rhodes' wider political plans.³ The Zulu mission was enthusiastic and appointed a formal expedition to select a site - Wilder, Bunker and Dr. Thompson. This expedition "thoroughly explored the country and selected a site for a station at Mt. Silinda, among the people of chief Kapungwana".⁴ They also visited the other Ndau chiefs of the area, Musikavantu and Mutema, and saw a large number of their villages. They estimated the population to be about 10,000 in an area of some 4,000 square miles, and explored the Sabi and Buzi rivers;⁵ the prospects for a mission seemed excellent.

It was therefore recommended on their return to Natal that the Inhambane mission be abandoned, the property there sold and the Inhambane missionaries moved to Gazaland, and that Rhodes be approached for a land grant.⁶ Letters were therefore written - in December 1892, and in March and April 1893, giving details; documents were requested as it was noticed that the Moodie trek was also proposing to enter the area.

Some bargaining with Rhodes provided the mission with land on the same conditions as the other settlers - 3,000 morgen per

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- (1) Minute Book 1, p.18. The activities of Mr. and Mrs. Fels would be instructive to examine.
 - (2) Bates and Thompson to Jameson? March 1894.
 - (3) Although Wilder later refused a money grant from Rhodes lest this should compromise the mission. Wilder, Ch.10.
 - (4) Bates and Thompson to Jameson? March 1894.
 - (5) Minute Book I, pp.3, 4.
 - (6) Ibid, pp.10-11.

family, with effective occupation,¹ for four families, which was duly done, the site selected conforming to the provisional Anglo-Portuguese delimitation.² By July the little expedition was on its way up the Buzi, by boat and on foot, arriving on 21 September 1893.³ On October 5th, soon after they arrived, they were approached by Mr. Moodie who told them to leave the land as it had been reserved for Swanepoel, a Free State friend, represented by his son, Martinus Swanepoel, who had come to take up the claim. This was the beginning of a dispute lasting for several years.

Whereas the American Board occupation of the highlands of Gazaland was originally planned and conceived independently of the B.S.A. Company's territorial ambitions (indeed this had been put forward as a reason for keeping out of Mashonaland)⁴ and only gradually, almost involuntarily, moved their centre of emphasis more and more into Rhodesia, the settler occupation had been much more closely associated with Rhodes' expansionist plans from the start. G.B.D.Moodie had been manager of the Sabi-Ophir Gold Mining Company in Mashonaland in 1890, and had gone with Jameson on a concession-hunting trip to Ngungunyana to try to bolster up the rather shaky Schultz Concession, when Rhodes defied international law and ran guns up the Limpopo. This typically filibustering expedition characterised much of the B.S.A. Company activities in this period and Moodie's operations in particular. On this trip his imagination was fired by the prospects of settlement, and while Jameson was lukewarm towards the idea, Rhodes agreed, and Moodie made arrangements accordingly with Jameson.⁵

It was an economic depression in the Orange Free State which produced the incentive to trek north. Far from being 'an excellent class of settler'⁶ many of them were in debt and the size of the trek was greatly reduced when Rhodes refused to give a subsidy of £75 to each man to settle his debts.⁷ The Orange Free State farmers, working on the minimum amount of capital, were forced to use extensive farming methods, and their fecundity meant a large number of sons also needing farms. These depressing circumstances combined to give the Moodie trek something of its character of a desperate gamble, and which explains much of the unscrupulous land-grabbing on the arrival of the trek. Thus the conflict with missionaries arose on two (connected) counts - directly, because of the fact that missionaries and settlers both claimed the same piece of land; and indirectly, because far from the settlers selecting 'vacant land' which had

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- (1) B.S.A. Coy. Regulations for land grants 1892. The conditions applied "without distinction of race" to all persons of European descent.
 - (2) L2/1/4/4, p.7.
 - (3) Bates and Thompson to Jameson? March 1894. . .
 - (4) Bates to Judson Smith, 7.i.1890.
 - (5) L. Gann, A History of Southern Rhodesia, 1965, p.163.
E.H.Burrows, The Moodies of Melsetter, Cape Town, 1954.
 - (6) Moodie to Jameson, 28.i.92, in Burrows, p.122.
 - (7) Ibid.

been one of the conditions of their grants, they took land already heavily populated.¹

Burrows has shown how G.B.D.Moodie, armed with Jameson's permission, became the 'Pooh Bah' of the region, holding a number of official posts, all the best land, (two-thirds of the area surveyed went to members of his family), and how debts unpaid in the Free State were now cancelled by reserving for friends in the Free State unoccupied farms, again in contravention of B.S.A. Company regulations.² It was a farm claimed for one of his friends which was also claimed by the missionaries. Moodie's dispute with the missionaries was by no means his only dispute over land. Most of the other settlers who were not members of his family were angered when he allocated them 'second best' land and because of his 'expensive' charges for surveying. Was this dispute with the missionaries not of the same kind? From his diaries³ one might conclude that it was just such.

In fact there was a good deal more in it than this; behind the dispute lay Boer attitudes to missionaries, and mission attitudes to the problem of white settlement in a country populated by Africans. Land was the occasion of the dispute, but Moodie and some of the other settlers were opposed to the presence of missionaries as such, and the missionaries were no lovers of the Boers. "To this day," wrote Wilder some thirty years later, "most of the South African Boers argue that all men except the Negro are born free and equal. These people and their friends in the United States are not quite so unfortunate and false in their ideal as the Ku Klux Klanners, but they are bad enough."⁴ "For the sake of all that is good," Moodie wrote to the Surveyor General, "don't give the Missionaries any more land we are trying to choke them out every bit of open land they see they apply for but I generally manage to have an 'applicant' for it so keep them off as much as possible.... I am confident the Dutch population surrounding them will make it quite warm enough for them."⁵ "The larger these missionary reserves become the more trouble they will give in future as they are generally nothing more than protected reserves for stock thieves and other disreputable characters."⁶ Moodie "told me personally that he determined from the first to damage and thwart and break up the mission,"⁷ wrote J.M.Orpen, later Surveyor General.

The subsequent course of the dispute in land is too long and tortuous to examine in detail - it was gone into at length by a one-man commission of enquiry.⁸ The missionaries claimed that they had prior right to the land by virtue of first claim (site pegged in 1892), or, alternatively, prior occupation, since Swanepoel never arrived to take up his land. The Surveyor General was at first disposed to accept their claim, but then claimed he had been blackmailed and withdrew his guarantee. Moodie then

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- (1) Gann, p.163, n.1, quotes the condition but characteristically glosses over its violation.
 - (2) Burrows, p.147 ff.
 - (3) MO 11/2/5, entries for 3.x.93, 28.xii.93, 7.i.94, 22.i.94. Moodie-Swanepoel, 19.x.93. Translation in L2/1/4/4.
 - (4) G.A.Wilder, The White African
 - (5) Moodie-Surveyor General, 2.v.95, L2/1/4/4 (Copy).
 - (6) Moodie-Nicholls, 1.ix.94. L2/1/4/4 (Copy)
 - (7) L2/1/4/4, § 29
 - (8) J.M.Orpen, Government Surveyor, L2/1/4/4 (1907).

arranged with young Swanepoel to sell his claim to the missionaries for £175, so that they might remain where they were. "I have arranged the humbug with the missionaries without expense," Moodie wrote to Swanepoel senior. "Marthinus gives up his farm but for it he gets £175 from the Missionaries. Then he pegs off another farm. I think I have done a good stroke."¹ Orpen thought Moodie got £50 of this. Thus, instead of a 12,000 morgen block the missionaries got four farms of 3,000 morgen, one of which they had to pay for to a person who had no right to demand it, and some of which was land they did not want. The Surveyor General offered them two farms in compensation and Wilder chose two, which Moodie immediately claimed were occupied. It was only a special donation from churches in Illinois which enabled the mission to retain its land at this time, as their financial resources were stretched very thin. After the Moodie era, however, and with the establishment of a more systematic and controlled Administration, the missionaries received compensation to their satisfaction.²

What was of more permanent importance was the conclusion drawn by the missionaries: that in a situation where the settlers and local Company representative were distinctly hostile to their presence, far from being able to obtain redress from the Company Administration, the Administration was won over to the side of the settlers, when Surveyor General Duncan reversed his decision in November 1893. Duncan had written rather sarcastically:

"I had been particularly anxious to meet the wishes of the American Mission in this matter, but the threat held out by Mr. Bates that if this particular piece of land was not given the American Mission would take care to make some public charge against the Company in its dealing with the natives has prevented me in [sic] the interests of the Company from dealing otherwise in this matter than with strict regard to the rights of both parties. Were I to give the American Mission the land ... it would appear that the Company had sacrificed the interests of a farmer, who wishes to bona fide occupy his land, because we acknowledge that the Company had anything to fear from the threat held over it by the American Mission. As regards the native question there are many other natives in the country in addition to the natives adjoining this forest, and I think the American mission can therefore find an equally suitable place to carry on its humane and beneficent work..."³

Bates, the Mission Secretary, protested in vain that he had in no way intended to blackmail Duncan. After Moodie had informed the mission that he had given Swanepoel an extension of time in which to occupy the land, Bates

"then presented the argument that it was against the rule of the B.S.A.Co. to grant to farmers land occupied by natives. Mr. Moodie simply laughed at the argument saying the rule did not amount to anything. I replied that he knew that he had ignored the rule in this selection of farms but that we should insist on holding to it. I afterwards said to you that we must insist upon that argument meaning that if our other

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- (1) Moodie to Swanepoel, 30.i.94. L2/1/4/4 (Translation from Dutch.) Marthinus, not being of age, was not entitled to a farm in his own right.
 - (2) L2/1/4/4. Myers, loc.cit.
 - (3) Duncan to Bates, 13.xi.93.

reasons were set aside we would press on the notice of the Company the fact that their policy would be violated by the granting of the land in question to Mr. Swanepoel as it is thickly populated by natives who have occupied the land for years. My thought was to make a strong appeal to you ... and not in any way to threaten an appeal to the public."¹

These statements were not merely threats of pique by Bates. What underlay the problem was a fact which neither side was prepared to admit publicly - that the land policy of the Mission and the Company were in direct opposition to one another - in so far as the Company can be said to have had a land policy in the early years. Originally Wilder had asked Rhodes for a block of land ten miles square as a Special Native Location, to which Rhodes had "decidedly objected", and had granted the four settler-type farms instead. He had said "he preferred to give out land in farms to individuals who will teach civilisation to the natives".²²¹

For the mission, however, land was essential to their program of civilising the Africans. Giving evidence before the South African Native Affairs Commission of Enquiry in 1904, George Wilder, on behalf of the mission, argued that either the Africans had to be suppressed and kept as a servile caste (the typical South African solution, which he considered impractical as well as unjust), or they had to be civilised. They could not be ignored, or driven across the Zambesi. "If the Native is to be held accountable, he must be given responsibility, and if he is to be responsible he must have power, and power he cannot have without liberty. The largest power, responsibility and liberty are found for him in the individual ownership of land." Individual ownership of land was a panacea for every conceivable savage vice - the power of chiefs would be lessened; individual responsibility encouraged; belief in spirits of a particular locality dispelled; polygamy discouraged (because wealth would be in land, not wives); "the baneful practice of moving kraals and gardens from this place to that at the slightest pretext" prevented; permanent houses would be erected as development of property; sustained effort in looking after individual plots would diminish sexual appetite; testate succession would discourage polygamy. All educated Africans wanted landownership, and withholding it would cause discontent not only among them but among the rank and file who were very well aware of what was going on.² It was for these reasons that the mission had made the 100 sq. mile request to Rhodes, as a preemptive bid against the large-scale white settlement, and they had been unsuccessful; the widespread dispossession of the Africans by the white settlers was a threat to their whole policy. Orpen alluded to this in the last section of his report, but felt he was not competent to investigate it fully. "The farms which in the neighbourhood of Mount Selinda have been occupied by farmers though thickly occupied by natives should be held under some understanding that these should not be removable arbitrarily..." Since we are still subjected to statements from official quarters that settlers took vacant land, it is perhaps worth reviewing some of the evidence for this particular area (which may, of course, be exceptional - I am unable to comment on this).

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- (1) Bates to Duncan, 14.xi.93.
 - (2) Myers, loc.cit. (based on Wilder's testimony).
 - (3) Report of the South Africa Native Affairs Commission of Enquiry, Vol.5, pp.373-5. Wilder's evidence was in marked contrast to that of the nearby SAGM missionary Douglas Wood, who believed that "The Native is not ready for the anglicising that is thrust upon him", *ibid.* 375-8.

The missionaries, we have already seen, estimated a fairly high population density for the area by contemporary African standards. Moodie's diaries also illustrate that this was a thickly populated region with good crops, "mealies, pokon corn, kafir corn, millet, ground nuts, beans (five sorts) egg fruit, cabbages, tomatoes, peas, pumpkins of sorts, watermelons, cucumbers, sweet potatoes, chillies, tobacco, bananas and lemons, and these all grow to perfection.¹ As the missionaries alleged, the land was parcelled out with little initial regard either for the existing or future needs of the African population, especially if they were to be evicted from the farms. "The farms in Gazaland are all more or less occupied by Natives," wrote one N.C.,² and another, while admittedly trying to heighten the contrast between his millenium of peace and Moodie's chaos, was probably not so far off the mark. "Previous to the Establishment here, the Natives were a much abused class, they had practically no protection, and were, in my opinion, treated more like slaves than free subjects. When the first two or three treks of white settlers came in, they were allowed to peg off farms whenever they chose, and apparently without respect to the rights of the Natives. In fact, the very spots on which the Natives were most thickly situated, were, to a great extent, selected as farms. If there had been a representative of the Native Department here in those days, many of the present farms would not have been granted. The farmers, in some cases, built their houses in the midst of what may be called small native locations..."³

The first concern of the Native Department in this respect was to regulate conditions of tenancy. "If a farmer had free hold title to his land, he should make an agreement with his tenants, and if no agreement were reached, the Native Department could remove the Africans; but farmers were not to evict tenants on their own initiative.⁴ Reserves therefore had to be set up⁵ on good ground "suitable for native purposes" on to which Africans could move. On the whole, Africans preferred to stay on the better soil where they were, but more than one farmer wrote to the N.C. to ask him to make their tenants stay on their farms!⁶

Although the mission was more concerned to secure the right to freehold title for Africans, it did also take an interest in the adequacy of the Reserves, and made a general protest in 1896.⁷ Protests to the Company were rarely of effect;⁸ but in 1919, with the setting up of a Royal Commission on Company administration, a real possibility of effective pressure arose. A.A.Louw of Morgenster wrote a circular letter which would confound those who feel that D.R.C. missionaries are inevitably reactionary. "Much of the land ... ultimately declared reserves, are [sic] known to be barren wastes, and unsuitable for native habitation, much less cultivation. In our own district it is the case in two instances which I know of, and I believe that the Tuli reserve is quite useless, and that the Natives refuse to move on to it.

"With a view to mission work the matter has become most serious. Quite recently a piece of land on which we have 19 schools

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- (1) M011/2/4, 7, 12, 13,i.93. Moodie-Charter, Cape Town, 2.ii.93, quoted in Burrows, op.cit., p.145.
 - (2) N.C.Melsetter - C.N.C. Salisbury, 13.x.95. NUE2/1/1, 22/95.
 - (3) N.C.Melsetter - C.N.C. Salisbury, 20.x.97. Half-yearly report.
 - (4) C.N.C.Salisbury - N.C.Melsetter, 27.xi.95. NUEL1/1/1. NUE2/1/2, 316/97.
 - (5) Secy., Native Dept. - N.C.Melsetter, 23.x.95. NUEL1/1/1.
 - (6) See e.g. N.C.Melsetter-Olwager, 17.xi.95 NUE2/1/1 55/95. N.C.Melsetter - Markram, 23.vii.96 NUE2/1/1 220/96
 - (7) Report on Treatment of Natives (prepared by Mission Committee) Incl.2 in Wilder-Resident Magistrate and Civil Commissioner, 18.v
 - (8) Rev.A.A.Louw, Circular letter (to S.R.M.C. members?) 8.ix.19.

has been granted to a Company for ranching purposes, whereas the Reserve assigned to the Natives who will have to move from this tract is, to a large extent dry and unsuitable. I presume other missions are suffering in the same way ... we may hope to do something on behalf of the Native population now ... we must take concerted action immediately."¹ The Mount Silinda Mission agreed. Later in 1925 they took the opportunity of presenting a detailed report as a Mission to the Lands Commission on the inadequacy of existing reserves, and made specific and detailed recommendations.²

In the matter of freehold title for Africans the missionaries did take a more active interest, and here they found themselves at variance with the Boston Prudential Committee, who looked askance at missionaries who engaged in anything which smacked of commercial enterprise, and the building up of large centralised mission complexes. This called forth a long memorandum from Wilder and the other missionaries outlining their policy. The basic problem, said Wilder, was that the African in Southern Africa was virtually a serf when resident on private land, and could not hold land individually in reserves. (This was, however, possible in Transkei, Basutoland, Barotseland, etc.) "The more enlightened European population - this does not include the circle of the more sympathetic officials - is opposed to the practice of allowing natives to have land in individual title deeds. This feeling is very general. This makes it practically impossible for Natives to attain land in this way... Many of the enlightened natives and some of the raw heathen realise keenly the uncertainty [sic] of their land tenure." In addition to this major disability, there was a whole body of legislation designed to induce the black man to work for the white; (white) public opinion was almost unanimous against granting Africans the franchise; and all Africans, christian and uncivilised, were subject to stringent pass laws which hindered their freedom of movement. That this was the case had contributed greatly to the Ethiopian movement. "We cannot escape the fact that in spite of the many remarkable especial visitations of the Holy Spirit among the christian communities in South Africa, none of them have resulted in relieving the christian natives of any of the limitations enumerated above. The present extraordinary revival progressing in the S.A.G.M. at Rusitu, in this district, is not even expected to assist the christians there, socially, politically, and industrially..."³

It was a most urgent matter, therefore, that facilities for individual tenure be given to Africans through the mission. Already Zulus held land on one of the farms, and an offer of further farms would allow the mission to put into operation such a scheme;⁴ the scheme had been mooted before the war; a committee "On the question of selling land to Natives" recommended individual ownership be established on all land not required for Mission use, to be divided up in to small (10 - 20 acre) plots and given on perpetual leasehold - with strings. The mission insisted as a basic condition that all plottolders should follow christian practices (as the missionaries interpreted them) on pain of confiscation.⁵

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- (1) Rev. A.A. Louw, Circular letter, 8.ix.19.
 - (2) Address of Mission to Lands Commission, 1925. Their recommendations were not very radical - the unalienated Sabi Valley should be made a reserve. They did not suggest any European land should be turned over. But they harshly criticised contemporary attitudes: "It is dangerous to think that one white farmer may own 3,000 acres of land for his exclusive use, while hundreds of natives are grouped on the same area in reserves. Perhaps it can be done today, but some of us will live to see the fatal results of such a policy."
 - (3) G.H.Wilder, Supplementary Report on Land Tenure, n.d., incl.in Secy. Mt. Silinda to Bell (Boston), 23/6/16.
 - (4) Thompson, Wilder, Fuller - Bell, 23.vi.16. Part of the urgency

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The postwar depression was a good time to buy land, and it would be best not to delay until the granting of responsible government. To the Prudential committee's question of why the government had not been consulted about its attitude to such a scheme, they replied significantly that they had sounded out government opinion informally through the Attorney General, and that it was wise not to press the government for a formal answer. By 1925, however, the scheme still seemed to be no further advanced, although they were still trying to get land, and saw the situation as even more urgent; in the face of a prospective increase in white immigration, they saw an imperative need to protect the "land rights of the native".¹

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A corollary of large-scale ownership of land was the problem of labour. Moodie had started, even before the arrival of his trek, a system of forced labour for clearing a road. Although he received apparently willing workers for much of the time, one finds not infrequently in his diaries: "went early on horseback to Magana K[raal] to hunt out niggers - very few on road today,"² or "Had two shots at a nigger today, who refused to guide, and ran away when called..."³ and so on.

"I believe," N.C.Hulley wrote rather dryly, "Mr.G.B.D. Moodie is the strong supporter of free labour and natives to feed themselves in consequence the natives are running away from his farms as fast as they can."⁴ "The Natives were, to a great extent, kept busy guarding their crops against the owners of the ground, but [the settlers] compelled the Natives to work for them gratis, not, indeed, at intervals, but almost daily, and at least three days per week, and if they did not do the work, they were flogged, they found it useless to complain to the then Authority, because by so doing they got another flogging for daring to complain of a white man."⁵ Thus wrote Meredith, a later N.C.

The practice of compulsory labour, free or paid, was not only common practice under Moodie, but continued under later N.C.'s as the following quotes will show:

"On the arrival of a farmer on his farm he informs the natives that he has bought the farm from the Government and they must work for him when called upon. He then calls upon them to build huts make kraals fence in lands [? take] out water furrows prepare the lands for ploughing and I know an instance when one farmer had 2 spans of fat oxen and plows and the soil could have

[Notes cont'd. from previous page]:

- was due to a most bitter development in relations between the missionaries and the tenants of their station farms.
- (5) Report of Committee on the Question of Selling land to Natives, n.d. (presumably 31.v.13.).
 - (1) C.C.Fuller, Chikore Station Report, year ending 30.vi.21; address to Lands Commission. I have not yet been able to follow up the outcome of these proposals. They are mentioned here because they illustrate that the mission was concerned about the prospects of advancement of Africans in a society where settlers owned all the best land, and that they saw the mission as the means to circumvent this.
 - (2) M011/2/4, 23.xii.92. (3) Ibid, 24.ii.93.
 - (4) N.C.Melsetter - C.N.C.Salisbury, 13.x.95, NUB2/1/1, 22/95. See also N.C.Melsetter-C.N.C.Salisbury, 9.iv.96, 6.vi.96. NUB2/1/1.
 - (5) N.C.Melsetter - C.N.C., 20.x.97. Half-yearly report. NUB2/1/2.

been turned out with little trouble yet he called out the natives and made them hoe the lands for him by hand using their own tools and even carrying all the manure. And during all the time they work at these several [? tasks] they get no pay but have to feed themselves besides. No wonder the natives come to the N.C. and ask to be located elsewhere. On the other hand there are farmers in this district I am glad to say who have called their natives together and have made regular terms with them and they generally are all regular servants to be paid - the natives are only too eager to work for 10/- a month and find their own food the farmer is in a regular paradise down here compared with other parts of Rhodesia ... a farmer who will not do a hands turn himself but gets it done by natives for nothing is better out of the country."¹

"Please inform me," Meredith asked the C.N.C. the following year, "whether farmers can force women and girls ... living on their farms to work in their farm lands and leave their own to be destroyed. They force men and women, I object to the latter and have told farmers that if natives are living on their farms, they may expect six days' work per month from the men as rent, please let me know if I am right."² The C.N.C. replied that tenants were not the property of the farmer.³

It was therefore disingenuous, to say the least, that the reply of the N.C. to Sir Richard Martin's query on forced labour should have been, "I am not aware that compulsion has been used in this district in order to collect labour gangs,"⁴ when it was still going on. Sometimes the Subtler Touch was used: "Please have it published among your Natives that since they will not come to work to earn their hut tax the Government has been obliged to get 2,000 boys from over the sea and many more thousand will be got and these boys will earn all the money and take it away with them and so our natives will have to starve and the government will not help them."⁵ Sometimes it was the Direct Method: "I have tried every way to get boys. I have been obliged to fire on 2 of them but not with intention of shooting them."⁶ By 1899 the situation was still not sorted out⁷ and as late as 1904, when the position of N.C.s with regard to labour recruitment was supposed to be quite clear, the Magistrate wrote, "There seems to be an erroneous impression prevalent viz; that the Native Commissioner has authority to force the Natives on the farms to work for the owners. The instructions you must know are that we are in no way to influence the Natives or to bring any pressure

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- (1) N.C.Melsetter - C.N.C. Salisbury, 3.x.95. NUC2/1/1. It is worthy of note that Hulley was a very conservative N.C. who did not want to "become the champion of the natives against the European".
 - (2) N.C.Melsetter - C.N.C. Salisbury, 26.ii.96. NUC2/1/1, 122/96.
 - (3) C.N.C.Salisbury - N.C.Melsetter, 23.iii.96. NUC1/1/1.
 - (4) N.C.Melsetter - R.M. & C.C. Melsetter, 28.xi.96. NUC2/1/2.
 - (5) Lowenthal (N.C.Umtali) - C.C. & R.M. Melsetter, 1.viii.96. DM2/9/1.
 - (6) Fetherstone - Henry, 5.i .97. DM2/7/1 (copy)
 - (7) Ag.C.N.C. - N.C.Melsetter, 27.vi.99 (Draft PLO). NUC1/1/1.

to bear upon them to work unless they are perfectly willing and all that the Native Commissioner can do in your case is to inform the natives that the farm belongs to you..... of course if the Natives living on the farms refuse to work there appears to be no reason why the owners should not ... give them notice to quit."¹

To this the missionaries took a very Milnerian line.² Africans could be forced to work, but must be paid. It was like compulsory education. Like Garfield Todd, they saw their duty as one of dragging the African kicking and screaming into the twentieth century. Perhaps their proviso that it should not be assumed that all employers were to be white was a distinguishing feature. However, the deterioration of relations between missionaries and African tenants was perhaps a cause of a later softening of attitudes. One of the things which shook the missionaries most was a fire in November 1916 which was strongly suspected to be sabotage, and perhaps because of this they felt the need to emphasise to the Prudential Committee that labour dues were still being exacted by the local farmers in lieu of rent, and that the mission tenants were really much better off. "Notwithstanding our rule which requires all adult male natives living on the mission farms to work 3 months a year at the current rate of wages, if called upon to do so, the men on this farm do not average even one month, and many of them do not work more than one day in the year."¹ This in connection with the high wage (15/- per month) which we pay creates friction between the Mission and the other farmers."⁴ Apart from making one (invited) protest against forced labour,⁵ however, the Mission tended to disapprove of the existing labour situation in silence.

Connected with the problem of labour and landownership was the problem of the extension of mission work beyond the confines of mission property. European ownership of land was, of course, not the only factor hindering mission expansion. "I am sure that all in the Mission are in sympathy with your idea that this work should be strengthened by the establishment of more out-stations, or 'village schools', as you call them. But this meets with many obstacles. First, the farmers will not allow it on their property, next the Rhodesian Government will not allow it on unalienated land, and third, the native chiefs are very slow, at the present moment, in asking for it on the reserves. Then we are faced with the double problem of manning and financing them."⁶ Settler opposition to mission work was therefore by no means the only factor hindering mission expansion, but it was an important one, and this was partly responsible for the mission's increasing tendency to develop as a 'residential' mission station.⁷

Within 18 months of arrival the mission felt the need to expand into the farming areas and sought the permission of their

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- (1) Longden - Schater, 10.xi.04. DML/4/2.
 - (2) See Appendix I for a full statement.
 - (3) This could equally be taken, as is quite likely, as a factor to show the friction between missionaries and tenants.
 - (4) Chikore Station Report (C.C.Fuller), Year ending 30.vi.17.
 - (5) "Report on Treatment of Natives" Incl.2 in Wilder - R.M. & C.C. Melsetter, 18.vii.97, DM2/7/1.
 - (6) Secretary, Mt.Silinda - Rev.E.F.Bell, Boston, 4.xi.19.
 - (7) Professor Oliver has made the fruitful distinction between mission stations which worked within existing village communities and those which were 'residential' - i.e. drew their converts out of tribal societies into mission christian communities. As far as I can see, the Mount Silinda missions were never very sure which they wanted to do; but it is a question which needs to be dealt with much more fully than I am able to now. Cf. Taylor & Lehmann, Christians of the Copper-bolt, SCM, 1961, pp.19-24.

neighbours¹ and one of the Dutch settlers gave permission for a Zulu evangelist to settle on his farm.² This was an exception, however. Even elders of the Dutch Reformed Church refused permission for the mission to do evangelistic work on his farm,³ and as the old pioneer trekkers who felt perhaps a close bond with the missionaries drifted away (in 1923 there was only one pioneer settler left in the district)³, close individual friendships of the early years (like that between Labuschagne and Wilder) tended to break up and the opportunities for expansion diminished. In 1916, one of the settlers offered a site of up to 100 acres on his farm for an outstation. "He is the first settler in our district who has proposed to do anything in this way for mission work.... I venture to say that in the whole district there are not half a dozen farmers who would be willing to allow an evangelist on their farms. Our nearest neighbour who receives more favours from the missions than any other settler absolutely refuses to allow an evangelist on his place. Another neighbour sent over a letter a short time ago saying that he did not want any more [mission] boys because his boys are being spoiled by their influence. The real fact is that we stepped in and protected a little girl that one of his boys wanted to marry against her will." So it was deemed important to take up Mr. Brent's offer, which had been occasioned by a "feeling in his bones" that his African tenants were keen for mission work and that it would be "impossible for anyone to stop them".⁴ In fact they were so keen that a year later they had built their own school to show the mission how keen they were for education⁵ and the farm "Southdown" duly purchased.⁶ On the whole, despite such exceptions, by 1925 penetration to European farms was still very limited.

The mission naturally did not restrict its evangelical and church activities to Africans, particularly in the early days, but it gradually placed less and less emphasis on any European work in this department. This was very largely due to the fact that most of the early treks were Boer,⁷ and from a very early date (1895) a Dutch Reformed Church congregation was established⁸ to which "the majority of the population [sic] in this District belong".⁹ Some of the farmers attended the services at Mount Silinda¹⁰ but the emphasis of their church work was primarily African. When a new brick church was being built for the Silinda African congregation it was "more or less the envy of the white settlers. In showing it to one of them the other day he thought it too bad to use such a building for the "nigger". He seemed to think we ought to have put one up for the white people of the district."¹¹

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- (1) Minute Book 2, p.14. (2) Ibid, p.75.
 - (3) Myers, loc.cit.
 - (4) Report of Mt. Silinda church and Evangelistic work. Rev.T.King year ending June 30, 1917. King was one of the more pro-settler of the missionaries.
 - (5) Report of Mt. Silinda Church and Evangelistic Department, June 1, 1918.
 - (6) Orner - Elliott, 23.v.19; Elliott - Orner, 16.x.19. Mr. Brent, in fact, came and worked for some time in the industrial department of the mission, and was apparently much appreciated. "I regret to say that he is not a professing Christian but in his actions he seems to show much more of the Spirit of Christ than most of our so-called Christian neighbours. His treatment of the native is much in line with our own methods..." Secy. Mt. Silinda - Secy:ABCFM, Boston, 23.vi.17. Barton - Orner, 3.iv.18. Secy. Mt. Silinda - Bell, 19.xii.19.
 - (7) See esp. C.P.Olivier, Many Treks made Rhodesia, Cape Town, 1957.
 - (8) P.A.Strasheim, In the Land of Cecil Rhodes, Cape Town, 1896.

[Footnotes continued on next page...]

But if all these questions of land, labour and evangelisation on farms tended to divide missionary and settler - fundamentally at the basic level of purpose, not at the level of personal day-to-day relations - then there were two other factors of prime importance in forming links between the communities. These were the educational and medical work of the mission, which the settler community esteemed of the highest value. There were of course no educational facilities for the children of the Boer trekkers who arrived between 1893 and 1896 and the missionaries, and many of the more educated farmers were concerned lest, far from the 'lower' society being raised to the level of the 'higher', the children of the farmers should grow up ignorant, unable to read; and whereas in other Dutch communities D.R.C. schools were set up, the local predikant, Rev. le Roux, was unable to organise a school as he was running two others elsewhere.¹

In 1896, therefore, contacts were made and a mission committee set up for "interesting the Boers in our educational work". Between 1896 and 1899 a total of seventeen settlers' children besides missionaries' children attended the school which had been started in 1893 under Miss Jones, a negress. The other lady missionary, Miss Gibson, an ex-Stellenbosch teacher, was added to the Committee and allowed to study Dutch instead of Zulu.² By missionary accounts the school was something of a success,³ although it was almost certainly faut de mieux for the settlers. "We had to learn with the native children because there was only one classroom," said Mrs. Martin. The missionaries claimed on the whole it worked: "This plan, while far from being an ideal one, was productive of excellent results, not only in bringing the colonist and missionary into more sympathetic relation, but also in creating in the white children a juster appreciation of the needs and capabilities of a despised race." Mrs. Thompson recollected twenty years later that the elder white girls had been most earnest and some had even learned Zulu from the evangelists' wives so as to be able to teach Africans back at home.⁵

Finally, settler pressure for their own school was successful and the whites-only, fee-paying, Company subsidised Chizanimani school was opened, (at this stage the Company gave grants for European education only)⁶ and Miss Gibson was seconded by the mission to teach in it - a fact which caused the raising of an eyebrow in Boston and a slightly emotional response from Miss Gibson. "Is it not signif[icant] of God's thought for this country that the

[Footnotes continued from previous page]

- (9) C.C. and R.M. Melsetter, Report, Year ending 31.iii.99. DM5/1/1/1. Olivier, p.129 ff.
- (10) Ibid. I presume these were 'station services' in English.
- (11) Report of Mt. Silinda Church and Evangelistic dept. Year ending 31.v.18.
- (1) Olivier, loc.cit.
- (2) Minute Book I, 25, II, 36-7; MS.Notebook (copy of earlier school records made in 1931).
- (3) Bates and Thompson, ch.9.
- (4) Olivier, p.129.
- (5) Bates and Thompson, Ch.9; Myers, loc.cit.
- (6) C.C. & R.M. Melsetter, Semi-annual report, March 1899. DM5/1/1/1.

work of ed[ucating] Europeans in S.A. and Rhodesia is chiefly in the hands of missionaries...?¹ Miss Gilson was very popular among the settlers until she left in 1910.²

In medical work too, a considerable portion of the doctor's time was spent in dealing with white patients - from 100 to more than 500 attendances per year. This was commended as most valuable by the Magistrate, as the Government District Surgeon was too far away. The mission received a small allowance from the government for a horse - £60 p.a.; and their services to the local white community also helped their work among the Africans, as fees for Europeans were higher and ought in a not inconsiderable sum.³ Just how valuable these services were to the settlers may be considered by the unanimous settler petition against removing Dr. Lawrence to Portuguese East Africa.⁴

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By 1923 the Administration of the country had settled down into the firm paternalistic control which the missionaries found much more congenial to their way of thinking. The settler occupation of large tracts of land was accepted by them, albeit a little uneasily; labour recruitment and tenant relations were regularised. It was much more difficult to get heated or to protest in the stable situation of the twenties than it was in the fluid one of the nineties, when the pattern of European occupation was as yet undetermined.

But the missionaries were never at any stage disposed to question the presence of the white man in Rhodesia. "The presence of the white settler, undoubtedly, greatly complicates the work of the mission but while we may be more directly "up against it" than missionaries of some parts at the present time, it is not our situation only, it is the situation of the missionary in Africa.... If the white man, with the exception of the missionary, had been kept out of Africa for a few thousand years, until the African had become Christianized and civilized, we might then move along at a snail's [sic] pace and all would seem to be well but Providence has taken steps to put an end to this spiritual sloth on the part of the Church but the Church does not yet see the point. We are up against a pressing strenuous job and I can see only two alternatives, to tackle it and do it, or fail..... We may settle down to the work of attempting to develop a race of Christian slaves but this does not arouse my enthusiasm." And the note struck by Wilder in his speech on the 30th anniversary of the mission illustrates aptly both the degree of harmony reached and the potential tension ahead. "Although we have not quite reached the millennium, it is correct to say that the "wolf is now dwelling with the lamb".... I would go so far as to say that if a white settler cannot rise above his environment then he ought not to be permitted to stay. Some object to industrial training [of Africans] but if any man is afraid to compete with people generations behind he should get out ... civilising and Christianising is work which helps the native to overcome his environment and unless he is able and willing to overcome that on his own initiative, the missionary effort is probably worthless."⁵

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- (1) Presumably Gilson. Partial MS copy of letter, 15.v. ?1902.
 - (2) [1910-14]
 - (3) C.C. & R.M. 31.xii.1913. DM5/1/1/2; Mt. Silinda Medical reports passim.
 - (4) Swynnerton - Mount Silinda, 22/8/17.
 - (5) Report of speech by Wilder in Myers, loc.cit.

A P P E N D I X I

Report re. Native Labour

to His Honour The Administrator, Salisbury

Sir,

Living as we do in this country to preach a Gospel which says 'If a man will not work neither let him eat', the labour question is one which we deem of great importance and in which we feel the keenest interest. We fully appreciate the opportunity which you have given to us to express our views. We know too well that the natives of this country are grossly ignorant, religiously wedded to their customs, cruel, treacherous, avaricious and indolent to a degree. It seems to us that any intelligent effort to find a remedy for this indolence must first discover if possible its cause. Is not the incentive which prompts men to work, the desire to secure means of gratifying their wants? And hence must not the only way to secure permanent success in teaching the native to labour be along the line of increasing his wants and not as has been too often true in this country by physical force regardless of his personal rights. We fully agree with Mr. Thomas that the Natives in many ways is (sic) much like a child and in his dense ignorance does not know what he needs, therefore it is not only the right but the duty of the government to enforce such real needs as he does not apprehend: - in so far as possible. He needs education for his children and government would be justified in providing for the same schools, taxing him for their support. He needs protection from his enemies, if he finds that a civilised government does this effectively he will want to be under such a government and a reasonable tax for its support will be accepted and will increase his need for money. We further agree with Mr. Thomas that the governing authority which existed before the conquest should be supplanted in toto by the conquerors and that all taxes on natives should be imposed by government.

We recognise the right of government to continue the great development of the country and that without the co-operation of the natives such development is impracticable: and we see the necessity of the inauguration (sic) of some plan for securing more or less continuous labour from the natives. We would like to see every able-bodied native working not only 3 months but 12 months in each year,

. . .

and while at present the conditions of the country are such that most of the employers must be white yet we should think it would be a great error to make it a law that every native shall work for a white man. The time may not be far distant when there will be men of colour competent themselves to employ native labour, indeed at the present time we have Zulu Evangelists connected with this Mission who constantly have natives in their employ. We cannot fully agree with Mr. Thomas that the greater part of the population are idle cumberers of the ground and furnish nothing towards the general welfare of the country in which they live. They support themselves at least and until recently much of the food consumed by all classes in the country has been obtained from the Natives. From Hut-tax the Government has obtained a not inconsiderable sum. We are compelled to look with distrust upon the plan proposed by Mr. Thomas for we fail to see how it can be carried out except by the use of force which will be a constant source of irritation to the natives, such irritation as often leads to costly native rebellions. Again since the Rhodesian Government owe(s) its existence to the sanction of the English Public can any plan for compulsory labour which can be carried out only by the use of physical force be made to conform to the idea of the freedom of the individual for which Her Gracious Majesty's reign stands such a conspicuous monument (?). We beg to be allowed to present the following plan for your Honour's consideration.

Plan for the Natives of Rhodesia

Bearing in mind the comments made in the papers herewith signed by the Chairman of the E.C.A. Mission I would suggest the following plan for the treatment of the Natives. Before stating the plan I should like to point out that the Boer method of treatment for Natives, so patriotically lauded by Pres. Steyn does not prevent rebellions and supplies next to nothing to the labour market, hence must be dismissed as worse than useless. Further that the tax and let alone policy of the late Sir T. Shepstone though better does not commend himself (sic) as Natal imports most of her labour.

Better results have been obtained in the Cape Colony, not wholly due to the greater age of that Colony, but more to the intelligent interest taken in the natives by wise public men, and especially to the personal influence over the natives exerted by such leaders (as) Captain Blyth, Hon. G. Brownlee, Major Elliott, Dr. Stewart and our own esteemed fellow colonist, the Hon. J.D. Orpen the Surveyor General and men of like stamp. Glancing at the Native African states among the Bantu races one

may notice that those tribes who show the most advancement are collected in large Towns, governed directly by strong rulers. The history of the Kingdoms of Ganda and Nyamyezi to the north Dahomey and Ashantee to the west and the Bamanwato at our doors are examples in point. And as Khama's town is credited with being a constant source of labour supply and is not disturbed by internal wars let us take Palapye as a suggestion.

- I Collect the natives into communities or towns requiring those who may elect to remain on farms to live in villages.
- II Deprive all chiefs and headmen of authority and place over each community a resident civilised Administrator who among other things shall be a Government labour agent who shall register all labourers except such as work for their landlords.
- III Taxes
 - 1. Charge a general hut Tax of 10/ or more.
 - 2. Compel all to be decently clothed, not necessarily in European clothing.
 - 3. Permit labola to be paid only in commercial commodities and if ^{at all} only before marriage. All marriages to be registered.
 - 4. Compel all rebels to work at least 6 months as a war indemnity.

REMARKS

Some of the benefits which ought to come to the Natives in particular and the country in general if civilised men of intellectual and moral strength versed in the ways of the heathen, their authority backed by an efficient constabular force composed of Zulus or Basutos under white officers were to be placed over such communities of raw natives may be indicated in the following.

- 1. The security which the community would bring to the families would leave the men free to go out into the Labour market. The Government Labour Bureau would inspire confidence and through his personal influence the Resident Commissioner would induce many to seek work.
- 2. The register of all labourers in the proximity of their homes would make it easier to deal with culprits.

The compulsory clothing of the population while not calculated to be an oppressive measure would be an efficient plan whereby every native would feel himself accountable to government a matter of prime importance in dealing with ignorant dependant classes.

3. Licensed stores would readily be opened which while bringing a revenue to the government would encourage the people to use civilised things and would give a ready opportunity to dispose of the produce which the natives might raise.

4. Schools both secular and religious would in such communities have the best opportunities to flourish.

5. Moreover the Native industries would be encouraged by holding markets or fairs at which occasionally prizes might be offered. The natives might be taught to irrigate their lands, plant trees, raise coffee and rubber plants, to improve their home and to look forward to the ownership of their lots in the township.

6. All objectionable heathen customs such as beer parties, witchcraft, lobola, polygamy, and the like might be the more easily regulated or suppressed or compelled to contribute to the general revenue.

We understand Mr. Rhodes objects to "locations" but he believes in the Natives being brought into contact with the white population. We can think of no better way by which a large number of natives could be brought under the more effectual influence of the white man than the above plan contemplates. We think that some such plan would bring all the labour desired to the local market. Indeed should the Government attempt to carry out Mr. Thomas plan the collecting of the Natives into communities would be the first most effective step in carrying it out.

" We heartily rejoice that the present government desires to bring about reforms and we most earnestly desire to see the natives under a strong firm and just control - we believe the conquerors should show their right to rule by ameliorating in every practicable way the conditions of the conquered. To quote so eminent an authority as the late Hon. C. Brownlee "Whatever tends to elevate and christianise the natives whatever tends to diminish the power of the chiefs, whatever tends to

" increase the immoveable property of the natives tends to diminish the probabilities of war and to decrease its magnitude should it arise, so that as a matter of self-interest we should do all in our power to promote those objects." "

[Signed: Wilder and Gibson.]¹

¹ Incl. in Wilder-Resident Magistrate and Civil Commissioner, Melsetter, 18.vii.97. I have not been able to ascertain whether the fact that this letter is to be found in the R.M. and C.C.'s file means that it was never forwarded.

APPENDIX II

"OUR POLICY"¹

[1] Our policy should depend upon the Object in view and the conditions to be encountered.

1. The Object is the redemption of a people - a race. This means that we cannot consider the salvation of each individual apart from that of his people. Were we to do this we should probably decide, as each individual comes to us, to remove him from his present surroundings to those more favourable. But while we must deal with individuals, we must keep in view the race. This to the Christian means bringing them into the position of "joint heirs with us" of God's blessings. Our duty to the heathen can be nothing less than to bring them into fellowship with the great family of God's children in all the earth - to secure for them the benefits and help which are ours by reason of this fellowship.

2. The conditions. It is not our purpose to describe these in full but rather to emphasize certain conditions which, we think, have not been sufficiently appreciated by directors and supporters of the work. These may be grouped under the general heading: Remoteness from the Civilised World.

When those who, 15 years ago, examined this field, with reference to beginning mission work, made their [2] report they stated that unless a large strong mission could be established and maintained, including a thoroughly equipped Industrial Department, it were best not to undertake it. Their report was approved but the conditions specified have never been fulfilled. The inadequate force with which the work was begun has never been increased altho the work pressing for attention [has greatly multiplied] and great loss has been sustained from the ... [necessitated] neglect. A large part of the industrial equipment required at the beginning has finally been [? installed] but for lack of men it largely lies idle.

[We think] their decision was not unreasonable or the fruit of unwarranted ambition..... We consider that

1. A report of a committee on Mission policy. Ms. Mt. Silinda (?1907). Probably Dr. Thompson. Large parts of this are only decipherable with great difficulty, but I have indicated my suggestions where necessary.

under the circumstances a small work could not be conducted economically [? without] difficulty because we must work so far from our base of supplies, (2) many diverse forms of work must be undertaken, (3) the obstacles to be overcome were great, (4) the opportunities could not remain unimpaired [sic] and (5) only thus could there be a prospect of permanent results.

Although the conduct of the work has, thus far, been most uneconomical and we have lost many opportunities which would have been of inestimable value - (1) with a larger force we might have secured a pro [? portionately] larger amount of land, (2) much industrial equipment was lost by its [? mistreatment in] early years not only to the mechanical work but to our evangelistic influence (see [3] last Annual Report - for 1905 and 1906 - of Mt. Silinda Station, last 5 or 6 pages): (3) our printing press, urgently needed for our work from the first, lay idle for 15 years, for lack of any one to run it. (4) The great advantage [of] being able to use the Zulu language has largely been lost in the unoccupied portions of our field, because, not having need to use it, the people have been forgetting it. (5) The civilised opposition to our work is greatly increased. The white population in all S. Africa, seems determined to prevent the independent development of the black races and is hostile to any independent movement on their part. Thus the time when our native churches might be expected to enter upon foreign missionary work is postponed.

It is reasonable to suppose that here this condition of things might have been largely forestalled and avoided had we fully occupied and efficiently cultivated our whole field from the first. (6) For some time we had a monopoly of the medical work of the district. This might have been retained (to the benefit of all concerned, we believe) had we stood ready to [? minister to the] needs of the district, and (7) enough has been lost by the Mission and the community, for lack of good transport facilities, to have provided a good system. [? We] might have saved this and advanced our cause [? at] the same time (by bringing many natives under [our] influence) had we been prepared to undertake great things. (8) By failing to compete with the mines [4] in the labour market, many of our most promising, best trained pupils have been lost to us, going away to seek more remunerative employment than we could give, and dying at the mines.

Thus the loss to the work which we greatly deplored, as temporary, when they left has become permanent. Most of their deaths not only might not but probably would not have occurred, had they remained in our employ under the medical care which the mission provides. Some who thus left us for work have yielded to the overwhelming tide of evil which beset them.

Because much of the work that must be done was unconsidered and unprovided for in the place of the Mission (as carried out), each missionary has felt compelled to attend to a great variety of work, other than that which he is supposed to be especially fitted for, to the neglect of his special work. As pointed out in the last Annual report of Mount Silinda station, everyone, single ladies not excepted, has tried to provide himself with garden vegetables and farm crops, to raise chickens, pigs, sheep and cattle (if possible) for he needs these things and there is no one to provide them. Everyone, even single ladies, has had to have his own tools and, as far as possible, use them. As there is no business man provided everyone has to do business, keep a stock of barter goods, with no place to keep them, so that a large share of his time is spent in pulling things out of trunks [5] and boxes, piled one upon the other, and putting them back again, to say nothing of futile searching for things we fail to find. Every one must trade with the natives and everyone has to keep a gang of work boys and oversee them, or let them go without supervision. In general, at best, we let them continue working in such inefficient ways as would not be tolerated for a moment in a civilised country. To anyone who knows by experience, how large a share of the missionary's time is consumed by these things, outside of his special work, I need scarcely say that a great waste of time and energy results and, not only this, but the system involves great financial waste as well. There is the unnecessary reduplication of equipment and the shiftless methods inseparable from attempting so many more things than one can do well. We buy tools and equipment much needed for the work that ought to be done and which we intend to do but unforeseen hindrances prevent us from using them; we plant trees and let insects and fungus destroy them; we raise crops and let them spoil because we have no proper place to store them; we are compelled to build store huts, work sheds, stables, hen-houses, pig-pens,

servants' quarters &c, but our slender salaries (only intended to provide a living) do not permit us to build permanent substantial structures (and the thought that we may be [6] removed from them at any time has some weight even with missionaries), so we put up temporary shacks, inadequate and inconvenient, even while they last, and which give free access to rats, weevils, perhaps rain, lions, leopards, &c, with the result that much of what is thus stored is lost and the structures themselves, ever failing when most needed, soon decay and have to be replaced. Even our "permanent buildings", owing to pressure of work and lack of funds, do not get completed, with the result that, not being protected from the elements, they sustain severe injuries, costing much for repairs which would be completed promptly, not to mention the unspeakable loss in time and facility for good work involved in living year after year in an unfinished house, with only half the room required and feeling that it is useless to try to get things into any kind of order because it is hoped and expected that the work of completing the house will soon necessitate tearing everything up again. If this condition of things lasted for a year or so, mortal man might endure it, but when it drags on for 10 or 15 years and one finds his life slipping away and feels he is neither accomplishing much himself nor even getting things in shape for "the man that shall come after him", it tends to discouragement and a state of discouragement is not favourable to good service.

As we have said, we may in a general way press the difference between Africa and other mission [7] fields by saying that Africa is More Remote from Modern Civilisation both in Time and Space, and intellectually and spiritually. There may be as many who seem densely ignorant and degraded in other countries but they have leaders of intelligence to represent them. Knowledge is nearer to them. More people may die of famine in India than in Africa but there may be famines in Africa of which the world never hears and those who die know not of the relief which might be theirs. Those who are robbed and abused in other lands have a means of appeal thru their governments to the Court of the World. The African has none - perhaps does not suspect that he is wronged.

Because of this remoteness from Civilisation the adverse influences of Civilisation possess [sic] peculiar power, just as the germs of diseases often show increased virulence when they stray from those regions where they are endemic. The profound ignorance of the people and their consequent absence of national life makes them the prey [sic] of the injustice, greed, and lust of all civilised nations. There is no Native African Nation, in the political sense. The native inhabitants are helpless to resist encroachments of unscrupulous men and, just because they are ignorant and helpless, it is measureable impossible for those governments that have taken possession to secure them justice if they would. Their helpless condition serves as an attraction to those of predatory tastes and it tends powerfully to develop such influences in [8] all who are not governed by sterling Christian principle and whose attitude is not one of active benevolence towards them.

This Remoteness from the Civilised World requires that to be financially economical or spiritually successful - in large degree and in permanent results - Missions in Africa should be Large, larger, in fact, than we have yet seen, both in force and in scope. All business men are well aware that to secure a profit from overcoming large obstacles, they must do a larger business. To mine gold, profitably from a mile below the surface requires that operations be conducted on a large scale. To search a far distant object requires a long time.

It is generally conceded that the bulk of the work must be done by leaders raised up from among the natives themselves. Our work is to produce these leaders. But it is not enough, in Africa, that these leaders be Christian and superior to their fellows, so as to be able to meet the opposition of heathenism. They must reach the point of being able to cope with the adverse forces of civilisation also, if they are to stand alone, for these are here in full force. And since the adverse forces of civilisation are various, we must produce leaders of various qualifications including the ability to lead in civilised industry and the professions as well as in religion; otherwise they will be at [? the mercy of] the unscrupulous.

Failure to appreciate the essential conditions [9] of final success of mission work in Africa as compared with other great mission fields, has been the great failure

thus far. It is not a failure of our Board alone but of other great societies as well. Generally speaking there has been a conflict between missionaries in the field and their [? Directors] and supporters at home, due to differences of view-point, and those at home have prevailed, but whose view-point is best? To quote Pres. King at the "Haystack meeting": "mischief has always resulted where theory, formed away from the field, has been allowed to dominate missionary practice." True, there are differences of opinion among those on the field; hence the importance that those who direct the work should have personal observation on the field. The work has been planned with reference to the African race without considering its relations to other races, the assumption being that we are to plant the seed and let it grow, the tares of the enemy receiving little attention. It has been assumed that Africa is a nation in the political sense which is false. The mistake was more excusable in the early years. Now it is unpardonable.

If we are correct in the above, we think we are justified if, before stating our policy in precise terms, we dwell somewhat on the peculiar conditions which demand that policy.

1. Remoteness in time and space requires that the needs of the mission be more largely supplied by work on the ground - not only needs of missionaries [10] but also those of the natives as they come to acquire civilised appurtenances. This necessitates undertaking many varieties of work and demands many workers - many teachers and (for economy) many pupils. This consideration is enforced by the fact that the "availability of natural resources" is great and the "law of diminishing returns" still inoperative.

2. The work should be large, not only because many civilised industries need to be taught but because the civilised communities to support the industries must be developed. Before masons, carpenters, blacksmiths &c can be supported, there must be more than one or two customers. A considerable community must be developed (or imported) for their support, otherwise the new industries will soon die out, or continue to be supported by the missionary society. Travelers speak of seeing native carpenters &c, on the Zambesi in the neighbourhood of the R.C. Mission, employed by their fellow natives.

This is as it should be.

3. The work should be large to admit of efficient organisation. Work, to be profitable, should proceed with constancy. Two men of large experience in working for the Negro or for the "freed men" of our Southern States and the natives of S. Africa, have unbeknown to each other, expressed the belief that by dividing a school into two divisions, one to work while the other studies, thus making it possible to carry on work without interruption, efforts to supply remunerative employment to [11] students for self support might be made much more successful than has yet been done. But granting that this suggestion is one of large importance, it is evident that to render it possible, our operations must be on a larger scale than otherwise.

4. We need a large work to ensure good work in the Development of Competent Leaders.

We are apt to fail in rightly estimating the relative strength of the influences which determine our characters and theirs. We assume that they are open to the same influences which act upon us whereas this is not the case. We are supported and urged on in certain courses by the inevitable force of public sentiment around us, or behind us, in our Christian (Native) Land. They can only feel that of the community about them. They can not, for instance, feel the sentiment of the world against superstition until they have lived in a community freed from its sway or until their intelligence enables them to appreciate the grounds of that public sentiment. We can not expect to develop [sic] first class carpenters, farmers, or preachers of those who have no public sentiment back of them to stimulate to sustained effort. But we must not forget the importance of keeping the work up to the standard. No lower standard than that of civilised communities - for we are not merely furnishing individuals with useful knowledge but are training leaders of their people - against civilized [12] as well as heathen opposition. These leaders must reach the point where the Christian public sentiment of the Civilized world will appeal strongly to them, to maintain their self-respect - before said civilized world lest, otherwise, its greed and lust drag them down. It is not enough that the apprentice have a competent teacher so long as he looks upon him as outside of his sphere of existence. He must come into companionship with his teacher, or his companionship must be such as to create and maintain his standard

for him. In the absence of the public sentiment and the collective force upward which is furnished by a Christian civilised community, the work of the educator is much more difficult, if he would produce results up to the standard; hence a relatively large force of workers is necessary. We allow ourselves to be confused by names and conventionalities. Because, in a civilised land, the average child learns 9/10 of all he knows of civilized ways and civilized thought outside of what we call the school-room, we fail to realize that this 9/10 is any part of his education and it seems strange to us that, in a heathen land, the furnishing of a very indifferent quality of the 1/10 does not produce the effects of civilized education. I say indifferent, not because the teachers furnished are poor but because they have a task placed upon them, to perform, [13] which every teacher in a civilized community has a multitude of uncommissioned assistants by whose co-operation alone he is able to do - or seem to do - the admirable work accomplished. Prof. Albert B. Hart, LL.D., of Harvard, in the Independent of March 23, 1905, speaking of Conditions of the Southern Problems and the educational advantages provided for the colored people, says, "Even where children go to school, the intelligent atmosphere which backs up and enforces schools is to a great degree wanting outside the larger towns." If this remark is pertinent to conditions in any part of U.S.A., how much more so to those of most parts of Africa! A writer in the Christian Express of February 1, '05, in speaking of the work in Uganda, says: "noble as have been the achievements of the missionaries, the greater and more arduous work still lies ahead of them." We can not expect the results of civilized education when we supply but 1/10 of the process. What are we to do then? A large work will help in supplying the "intelligent atmosphere". Then the supply of workers should be ample so that they can, instead of being compelled to follow out modus operandi designed for entirely different circumstances, contrive ways and means to supply as far as possible, what, in the other case, is supplied by the community.

5. The above argument for an ample force of workers is strengthened by consideration [14] that, for efficiency, either of work or training, in case of those so completely untrained - such infants as regards education, Constant Supervision is necessary. The native sees no object in much of the work he is set to do. This is discouraging and

inclines him to shirk, even if he is naturally industrious, like the tramp who, for lack of real employment, was allowed to earn his breakfast by pounding on a log with the back of an axe. He said he would as soon do that as any thing but soon decided that he "could not chop without seeing the chips fly". So with the native, he can not see the chips fly, so lacks interest, while we failing, by ample supervision, to secure efficient work, fail [? to achieve] success - fail to make the chips appear - as when we spend money having "black-jacks" (a noxious weed) destroyed but, failing to secure thorough work, fail completely to demonstrate any benefit from our pains.

Our Mission Force should be large enough and so disposed that natives in our employ can have Constant Supervision while the work undertaken should be large enough to justify such supervision also, to justify the introduction of efficient civilized methods of work. This, in turn, can [not] be successfully attempted without said constant supervision. It is true that great benefit has been received by many of our pupils [? by] the industrial training we have been able to give but we are not doing such a work [15] as the situation demands.

Close supervision of our native evangelists is necessary because of the opposition of the whites, referred to above. This necessitates more white missionaries than might otherwise be necessary, until we can demonstrate that our native evangelists are worthy to be trusted.

Many seem satisfied to dismiss this subject by saying "It must be the work of generations". If by this is meant a real hereditary development the demand is quite impertinent as far as our relation to the work is concerned. If it is meant that gradually a civilized environment will be developed, this is true but it is no argument against doing all in our power to produce it as soon as possible, by having large strong comprehensive missions.

Many ask: Is the negro race equal to the white in intelligence and ability, the inference being, it would seem, that as soon as it is definitely determined which race stands highest, all others should receive no further attention. But, as reported in the Christian Express for April 1, '05, Mr. B.A. Burnett [? Bosnett] of the Board of Education, Whitehall, London, and who for two years filled the post of Superintendent of Education in Natal, makes a strong plea for

the education of the black children from regard to the welfare of the white children, "whose mental and moral development is inextricably involved in that of the black".

[16] Two races can not live in conjunction and one remain in the lowest depths of degradation while the other (doing nothing to uplift his fellow) climbs higher, or even holds his own - "for we are all one". With regard to the common assumption that the undeveloped state of civilisation in Africa proves the innate inferiority of the negro race, we would again suggest that, possibly, the general prevalence of Malaria in the African continent (to say nothing of the climate) has something to do with their lagging behind; and would again ask the question whether, possibly, we, as missionaries, may not have an interest in this malaria problem, quite aside from our own ability to live and work in the country.

6. We should do a large work because the case is urgent.

We have race problems before us in Africa similar to those in the Southern States in America, only on a much grander scale. Shall we wait before attempting with earnestness and energy to solve these problems, until lynchings and massacres are upon us with overwhelming strife? The Gospel of Christ is the only solution but it may be our duty, in spreading the gospel, to buy a horse and use it to facilitate our work, it may be just as truly a Christian duty to build a railroad and operate it, for the same purpose.

7. We need a large mission to Maintain Connection between the Leaders and the lowest of the [17] Community. This does not mean that the leaders have nothing to do, personally, with the lowest in the community but, without the intermediate grades, the extremes could not understand each other. This, doubtless, accounts for the lack of results in the early years of mission work.

The experiment has been tried of removing native children to a civilized country for training and it has proved a success to the extent of producing thoroughly civilized, well educated, capable men and women of them. But they were no longer in relation with their people but were strangers and foreigners. The training must be done on the field and, since the leaders must rise to the standard of modern civilization and the lowest are degraded heathen, we need a

large work to maintain an efficient connection. Furthermore, not all who come can become suitable leaders. We need a large work so that we can select the best.

8. Our work should be large To Ensure Permanence.

Mr. Peirce [?] in speaking of seeds sent to him often remarks that such and such seeds are growing but, to secure permanence of introduction, more seed is desirable. All thru Nature we see the working of the same principle. Organisms which reproduce in vast numbers maintain the species although individuals succumb to slight accident, while species of less fecundity have become extinct tho' the individual be very tenacious [sic] of life. There must be a certain relation [18] between the size as well as the quality of a Christian community which might reasonably be expected to maintain itself, and the strength of the opposing forces - heathen and civilized. It is sometimes reasonable to feel that "Naught is done while ought remains undone", as when one is rolling a heavy stone up a steep incline, feels his strength give out before he reaches the top. So in stomming the forces of evil in this dark land, it is as unreasonable to feel that our work may be measurably in vain unless we can press forward to a certain limit.

Not many years ago the conviction was expressed by members of the Zulu Mission, that if that Native Christian community were left without European help it would revert to heathenism. If a larger and better work (better because larger) had been done it might have been possible in a much shorter time to have brought the work to a self-sustaining, self-propagating basis. And it is not unreasonable to suppose that the relation between Christian and heathen and between native and European would have become so far different that the late war would have been impossible. Here again the question of economy comes in.

9. There is still another reason for a large mission in Pagan Africa. The old saying that "Two heads are better than one" applies very strongly on the African Mission field where one finds himself face to face with strange and complex problems, [19] and cut off from the guiding influence which unconsciously control his actions in a civilized land. And "Two heads" are not enough. The combined wisdom of a number is very essential to the maintenance of their work.

10. Another important reason for a large mission, which applies more strongly to Africa, perhaps, than to other fields, since its climate is so largely unhealthful, is that Furlough may not unduly Cripple the work. It is absurd to expect that the work can simply be dropped while the missionary is absent on furlough, and not suffer severely. In a mission of a few numbers, it would be very expensive to fill the place of those on furlough but, with a mission of eleven families, each can take a furlough every ten years and the force on the field be kept constant at ten families.

An important incidental advantage of this arrangement would be a Constant Representation of the Mission in the homeland by one who can speak from experience.

Specific Duties Involved in this Policy.

1. To occupy our field thru ensuing scope for a large work without playing "dog in the manger".

2. To put all departments of the work on a sound basis, consistent with self respect and deserving of the respect of all fair minded observers, Government officials, settlers, travelers, [sic] &c. We say this in no spirit of wishing to "keep up appearance" but, in the past, when our work has been criticised, we [20] have felt compelled to fall back on a statement of what we intended or hoped to do; but such excuses do not continue to appeal indefinitely to constant observers of our work, the result being that we lose much help and encouragement that might be ours for "to him that hath shall be given", and to encounter opposition that we should otherwise escape, for "from him that hath not shall be taken away even that which he hath".

Accordingly (1) we should have better schools. We begin with schools because, altho not the first or most fundamental agency, they demand the greatest expenditure of missionary money and effort.

(2) Our Evangelistic work should be extended to all parts of our field, and pushed to the extent of keeping our schools full (observe the reciprocal relation between different departments of the work). (3) Our Industrial Department should be so manned, equipped, and and [sic] organized as to become, at least, selfsupporting, and an efficient educating and civilizing agency, a most patent means of bringing, and keeping, natives under the Mission's

influence, and of bringing to our Christian community, such a practical knowledge of modern industry as will enable them to themselves in a civilized life. To accomplish this the work must be conducted "in harmony with modern business methods" (Pres Capen in Advance of June 17, '07).

(4) Our Medical Department should be put into a position to do first class work and not only in the matter of "pill peddling" but also in the work of making the people intelligent [21] regarding health and disease, directing the work of sanitation for the community, investigation of peculiar diseases and the relation between disease and degradation in this land. As the mission force increases our medical force should receive [? its] due proportion. (5) Our Mission should exercise its full influence and bear its share of responsibility for the social and Spiritual life of the Community, as a whole, in which we live. We should make the white settlers understand that we seek their best interests as well as those of the natives. To this end Melsetter School should be firmly established and made an unquestioned success and we should be ready to do our part and take the lead, if need be, in enterprises for the general prosperity of the community, such as road and path making and the introduction of telephones.

(6) We should feel, and be ready to meet, our full responsibility in politics, especially as affecting the relations between the races and classes. To this end there should be at least one missionary (in the United mission, at least) of thorough legal training and high ability to look after its legal interests, protect the weak and ignorant and see that our native leaders become intelligent enough to know when they are wronged and where to seek redress.

(7) We should have one, at least, thorough business man, to conduct the business affairs of the mission with economy and efficiency.

All these departments of work are essential in mission work in Africa and if not placed in [22] the hands of competent workers, must be undertaken by bunglers with, of course, unfortunate results. To quote Pres. King's words in the Missionary Review of the Word, speaking of educational, literacy, industrial and medical work, they "are all justified by evangelism, the course from which they spring and the end to which they tend".

Additional Reinforcements required.

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[23] Total 18 families, 7 single ladies, 7 Zulu Helpers and 7 Ndaou teachers.

This plan would require the opening of two new stations, the making of an outstation into a station, the taking over of one station from the S.A.G.M., the reinforcing of all our present stations and the opening of an outstation. This would give a force more nearly adequate to the opportunity presented on this field, 300 by [? 80] miles in extent.

Character of Force Required

They should all be actuated by the spirit of Christ. They should all be teachers - keen to [? discern] their pupils' intellectual [? constitution] so that they can "begin with the known"; of great tact and patience so that they "proceed to the unknown by easy and natural steps", those whose whole lives are governed by principle..... When we speak of a farmer we do not mean one who can raise corn, potatoes and pumpkins for all to eat. He should be fitted to occupy any class in a first class agricultural College so that he can train more for all those places, [24] as well as to make a success of the practical application of his knowledge. When we speak of a lawyer we mean more. We want a statesman for the U.S. Diplomatic Service. Some of those men, if so disposed, might provide their own salaries for their services are needed by settlers as well as by natives.

For the work in Portuguese territory we should look for those who can speak Portuguese and at least one such should be secured for each station.

[Heading illegible]

We think [it ... that as ... force is increased (to the extent proposed), the results of the work will increase in a geometrical ratio, not only in quantity [? but in quality as well]. We think it would be reasonable to suppose that we could have a thousand Natives in our school at Mt. Silinda and that with the "allotted" lifetime of the younger present numbers of

our mission the work might reasonably be expected to reach
a [? functioning] basis.

Report of Committee on
Policy and [illegible].