

**‘Ignorant and idle’: Indigenous education in Natal and Western Australia,
1833-1875**

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Declaration of Authorship

I, Rebecca Swartz, hereby declare that this thesis and the work presented in it is entirely my own. Where I have consulted the work of others, this is always clearly stated.

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Schools, and education more broadly, were pivotal in constructing and maintaining racial difference in the settler colonies of Western Australia and Natal, South Africa. Education must be taken seriously as a way into understanding the intersections between the conflicting, but ultimately reconciled, discourses of humanitarianism and settler colonialism. By considering the education provided for Indigenous children between 1833 and 1875, this thesis shows that schools were essential points of contact between the local government, missionaries and Indigenous people. In examining both colonial policy on education and missionary practice, it highlights conceptions of race, educability and childhood that underpinned education provision in each place. The thesis draws on a variety of sources, including missionary correspondence and imperial and colonial government records. This project seeks to enhance our understanding of education at different scales, making a case for integrating local cases with broader imperial histories.

First, the thesis considers the connections between education policy and practice in different sites of Empire. Using case studies of educational change from Britain and the West Indies between 1833 and 1847, New Zealand and the Cape between 1850 and 1865, the thesis highlights continuities in thinking about race and education across diverse parts of the British Empire. In the 1830s, education came to be seen as the role of a humanitarian government in both metropole and colony. This idea proved foundational to the development of Indigenous education in Natal and Western Australia.

Second, the thesis builds on this context, and examines approaches to Indigenous education in Natal and Western Australia in comparative perspective. By comparing the colonies, it shows that while Indigenous education policy might have appeared quite different in these colonies, there were connections in thinking about race and the purpose of education that underpinned practice in both places. Education was central to projects of racial amalgamation in Natal and Western Australia in the 1840s and 1850s. However as the century progressed, and ideas about race changed, so too did the nature of education interventions. By the 1870s, government involvement in education was increasingly accepted, in both metropolitan and colonial cases, and its practice was more closely aligned with settler colonialism.

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Abbreviations

APS – Aborigines’ Protection Society
BL – British Library, Manuscripts and archives collection
CL – Cullen Library, Witwatersrand University
CLRU – Cory Library, Rhodes University, South Africa
CMS – Church Missionary Society
CO – Colonial Office Records at The National Archives at Kew
CSO – Colonial Secretary’s Office
CSR – Colonial Secretary’s Office, Letters Received, Western Australia
PAR – Pietermaritzburg Archives Repository
RHL – Rhodes House Library, Oxford
SLWA – State Library, Western Australia
SOAS – School of Oriental and African Studies
SPG – Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts
SROWA – State Records Office of Western Australia
TNA – The National Archives at Kew
WAGG – Western Australian Government Gazette
WAPD – Western Australian Parliamentary Debates
WMMS – Wesleyan Methodist Mission Society



Figure 1 Places mentioned in text

Introduction

In 1837, the *Report of the Select Committee on Aborigines* concluded that Indigenous education was a government responsibility in the colonies of settlement. 'It requires no argument', the Report stated, 'to show that we thus owe to the natives a debt, which will be but imperfectly paid by charging the Land Revenue of each of these Provinces with whatever expenditure is necessary for the instruction of the adults, the education of their youth, and the protection of them all'.¹ The introduction of western education, although only affecting a minority directly, had a significant impact on the lives of Indigenous children, families and communities. Two examples illustrate this. In Natal, South Africa, in 1856, Anglican Bishop John Colenso opened the Ekukhanyeni Institution for the sons of chiefs. The boarding school received government funding and contributions from the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts (SPG). As the first intake of nineteen scholars arrived, their mothers refused to leave Ekukhanyeni, sitting on the hills around the school, weeping for the loss of their children.² Two years later, and almost eight thousand kilometres away, Bessy Flower, aged seven or eight, a Noongar girl, entered Anne Camfield's school in Albany, Western Australia. Flower grew attached to Camfield over her nine years in Albany, before being sent as a teacher to the Moravian mission in Victoria in 1867. Homesick for Camfield, and her country, Flower wrote to her former teacher, who she described as 'more than mother'³:

Oh what do you think dear Missie, I thought you were coming here, & I worked myself into such a state that I was continually looking out for you across the river, & at the gate to see if I could see a carriage & I looked into the newspapers to see the names of the passengers. I hope you wont laugh too much dear Missie, for I hope you will soon come...⁴

¹ *Report from the Select Committee on Aborigines (British settlements); with the minutes of evidence, appendix and index*, HC 425 (1837), 79.

² Jeff Guy, *Theophilus Shepstone and the Forging of Natal: African Autonomy and Settler Colonialism in the Making of Traditional Authority* (Scottsville: University of KwaZulu-Natal Press, 2013), 216.

³ Bessy Flower to Anne Camfield, 24.07.1867, in *Letters from Aboriginal Women of Victoria, 1867-1926*, ed. by Elizabeth Nelson, Sandra Smith, and Patricia Grimshaw (Melbourne: The History Department, University of Melbourne, 2002), 198.

⁴ Flower to Camfield, 08.1867, in *Ibid.*, 199.

These children were dislocated and relocated both literally and metaphorically: they left their families and homes, and were relocated in ‘civilised’ space. Their minds were also relocated: they were trained to think and to engage with the world in different ways. Education in the British settler colonies had an intense and often traumatic impact on the lives of Indigenous people. As Sarah de Leeuw and Margo Greenwood succinctly state, ‘education is never neutral or benign’. Education teaches children (and adults) that some ways of doing and being are acceptable, and that some ways of thinking are superior to others.

Education is an expensive, rigorously maintained, and deeply historical project. Critically understanding and unpacking the underpinnings of education, particularly in its service to empiric efforts of dispossessing Indigenous peoples, offers insights into the operations of hegemonic social structures and systems of power.⁵

This thesis shows that schools, and education more broadly, were pivotal in constructing racial difference in the middle decades of the nineteenth century. Histories of colonial education open up very explicitly the tension between humanitarianism and the need for the creation, or maintenance, of a labour force. Examining the history of education is central to understanding the texture of colonialisms. Educational histories bring to the fore attitudes about difference, whether of class, race, gender, or age. Schools were important sites of contact between different groups of people and ideologies – whether those were imperial or local governments, missionaries or Indigenous people. Bringing education to the centre of this thesis gives a new understanding of the civilising mission and of changing conceptions of race in the nineteenth century.

Debates about Indigenous education and schooling in settler colonies raised questions about a number of issues. Firstly, what was the role of the local, or indeed the imperial, government in relation to education? Should they manage schools, teachers and curricula? Could they use education to further humanitarian or settler colonial aims? Secondly, what was the relationship between settlers and Indigenous

⁵ Sarah De Leeuw and Margo Greenwood, ‘Foreword: History Lessons: *What Empire, Education, and Indigenous Childhoods Teaches Us*’, in *Empire, Education, and Indigenous Childhoods: Nineteenth-Century Missionary Infant Schools in Three British Colonies*, by Helen May, Baljit Kaur and Larry Prochner (Surrey: Ashgate Publishing, Ltd., 2014), xv-xxii, xvi.

people? Could the correct kind of education create a labour force in a labour-starved colony? Would Indigenous people be equal to white settlers if they were Christianised and civilised? Finally, what was the role of missionaries in relation to settlers, the government and Indigenous people?

I focus on policy and practice regarding Indigenous education in Natal and Western Australia, between 1833 and 1875. There was no unified imperial policy on Indigenous education in the nineteenth century, although education policy received some attention from local and imperial government. Indigenous education in the settler colonies developed in relation to a complex set of factors, which responded to local and imperial understandings of race, education and empire. I situate the cases of Natal and Western Australia in the context of broader educational change in the British Empire. I do so by referring to the relationship between race, class, education and labour in the West Indies immediately after emancipation, metropolitan Britain in the 1830s and the 1870s, and New Zealand and the Cape in the mid-nineteenth century.

During the course of the nineteenth century there were a number of important shifts in understandings of education, and particularly the government's role in education provision in Britain and the settler colonies. In the post-emancipation era, the imperial government saw education as a humanitarian intervention in the lives of people in need of civilisation, whether the working poor at 'home', or Indigenous people in the colonies. Colonial governments relied on missionaries to provide education to Indigenous people in the colonies of settlement. However, the 1840s were characterised by a 'waning of interest and concern in Britain about the fate of indigenous peoples in the settler colonies'.⁶ As the century progressed, and ideas about race changed in relation to scientific 'advancements' in colonial and metropolitan contexts, education and educability were increasingly tied to race. Early attempts at education in Natal and Western Australia focused on 'civilising' Indigenous people to prepare them for their incorporation into settler society. By the 1870s, however, there was a growing belief that intellectual capacity was limited by

⁶ Alan Lester and Fae Dussart, *Colonization and the Origins of Humanitarian Governance: Protecting Aborigines across the Nineteenth-Century British Empire* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2014), 227.

innate racial differences, and that education should be tailored to the specific capabilities of different races.

This thesis therefore enhances our understandings of race in the settler colonies in the nineteenth century. It also contributes to a growing literature comparing settler colonies.⁷ In particular, it builds on comparative studies on Natal and Western Australia, like those by Ann Curthoys and Jeremy Martens, and Julie Evans.⁸ It is the first study to compare Indigenous education policy and practice in Natal and Western Australia during the nineteenth century. It refigures earlier work on Indigenous education in these two colonies in light of broader colonial and transnational ideas about education and Empire.⁹ It also illustrates the tensions, and connections, between humanitarianism and settler colonialism. I show that education was a tool of humanitarian colonial governance, but was also used to entrench the power of settlers in both places.¹⁰

⁷ See, for example, Julie Evans, Patricia Grimshaw, David Philips, and Shurlee Swain, *Equal Subjects, Unequal Rights: Indigenous People in British Settler Colonies, 1830s-1910* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2003); Giordano Nanni, *The Colonisation of Time: Ritual, Routine and Resistance in the British Empire* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2012).

⁸ Ann Curthoys and Jeremy Martens, 'Serious Collisions: Settlers, Indigenous People, and Imperial Policy in Western Australia and Natal', *Journal of Australian Colonial History*, 15 (2013), 121-144; Julie Evans, 'Safer as Subjects than Citizens: Privilege and Exclusion in the Transition to Nationhood in Australia and Natal', *Writing Colonial Histories: Comparative Perspectives*, ed. by Tracey Banivanua Mar and Julie Evans (Melbourne: Melbourne University Conference and Seminar Series, 2002), 165-185; Julie Evans, 'The Formulation of Privilege and Exclusion in Settler States: Land, Law, Political Rights and Indigenous Peoples in Nineteenth Century Western Australia and Natal', in *Honour Among Nations? Treaties and Agreements with Indigenous People*, ed. by Marcia Langton, Maureen Tehan, Lisa Palmer and Kathryn Shain (Carlton: Melbourne University Press, 2004), 69-82. See also Jeremy Martens, 'Pioneering the Dictation Test? The Creation and Administration of Western Australia's Immigration Restriction Act, 1897-1901', *Studies in Western Australian History*, 28 (2013), 47-67. Neville Green also points out some connections between Natal and Western Australia in 'From Princes to Paupers: The Struggle for Control of Aborigines in Western Australia 1887-1898', *Early Days*, 11:4 (1968), 446-462.

⁹ For colonial education policy in the Western Australia, see John Brown, 'Policies in Aboriginal Education in Western Australia, 1829-1897' (M.Ed thesis, University of Western Australia, 1979); Neville Green, 'Access, Equality and Opportunity? The Education of Aboriginal Children in Western Australia, 1840-1978' (PhD thesis, Murdoch University, 2004). The subject also receives some attention in Anna Haebich, *For their Own Good: Aborigines and Government in the south west of Western Australia*, 2nd edn (Nedlands: University of Western Australia Press, 1992), and Anna Haebich, *Broken Circles: Fragmenting Indigenous Families, 1800-2000* (Fremantle: Fremantle Arts Centre Press, 2000). The most comprehensive study on colonial policy regarding 'native' education in Natal remains Oscar Emanuelson, 'A History of Native Education in Natal, between 1835 and 1927' (M.Ed thesis, University of South Africa, 1927). Besides *Broken Circles*, these studies are all focused on the colony as the unit of analysis, rather than tracing comparative or connective elements.

¹⁰ On humanitarian colonial governance, see Lester and Dussart, *Colonization*.

Defining education and childhood: Colonialism as education, education as colonialism

Government, missionaries, and settlers deployed competing definitions of education that were related to ideas about race, science, religion, labour and citizenship. This thesis engages with the concept of education, showing that its definition changed across both time and space. Historians of education have been criticised for neglecting broader social and political change, focusing instead on the history of schooling.¹¹ I have chosen to take a broad view of education in this thesis, and here I follow the work of Sanjay Seth, writing about colonial Indian education. Seth argues that ‘from the early decades of the nineteenth century colonialism itself came to be seen as an essentially *pedagogic* enterprise’.¹² My research bears this out: in both Natal and Western Australia during the middle decades of the nineteenth century, there was limited apparatus for ‘formal’ schooling of Indigenous people. However, there was a set of guiding principles, both about how colonisation should take place, and how it should transform Indigenous subjectivities, that underpinned colonial expansion in these settler colonies.

I focus on formal schooling and the broader ‘cultural web of education’.¹³ Using this definition involves distinguishing between education and schooling. Schooling implies specific sets of relationships in ‘specialised institutions and professional practitioners’.¹⁴ In fact, education is better understood as more than ‘a mere institutional experience’, but rather one shaped by social context.¹⁵ This means thinking about education as a wider social phenomenon, which occurred within and beyond schools, and included familial, social and cultural arrangements and interactions, for adults and children. In both Western Australia and Natal, the

¹¹ Harold Silver, *Education as History* (London and New York: Methuen, 1983), 21; John Doherty, ‘Bureaucracy and the Education of the Poor in Nineteenth Century Britain’, *British Journal of Educational Studies*, 39:3 (1991), 325-339, 333.

¹² Sanjay Seth, *Subject Lessons: The Western Education of Colonial India* (Delhi: Oxford University Press, 2008), 2. Emph. in original.

¹³ Julia Horne and Geoffrey Sherrington, ‘Education’, in *The Cambridge History of Australia: Volume 1: Indigenous and Colonial Australia*, ed. by Alison Bashford and Stuart Macintyre (Victoria, Australia and New York: Cambridge University Press, 2013), 367-390, 367.

¹⁴ Linda McCoy, ‘Education for Labour: Social Problems of Nationhood’, in *Forming Nation, Framing Welfare*, ed. by Gail Lewis (London and New York: Routledge, 1998), 93-138, 96.

¹⁵ Hayden Bellenoit, *Missionary Education and Empire in Late Colonial India, 1860-1920* (London: Pickering and Chatto, 2007), 4.

‘civilising mission’ was predicated on the idea that Christianity and education into respectability associated with English society could be learnt. The conviction that Indigenous people should be clothed, use their bodies, and express intimacy, in particular ways, was always a subject of interest for colonial educators, government, settlers, or missionaries. As one Natal missionary, Dr Henry Callaway, put it in 1856: ‘There is not a single thing that the Kafirs do not require to be taught, from the washing of their bodies to the building of their houses.’¹⁶ Labour was a central facet of education in both colonies. This meant that the concept of education involved a combination of literacy, Christian teaching, and ‘industrial’ training. It is for this reason that this thesis has used a broad definition of education, to be teased out in the chapters that follow.

The concept of childhood as a distinct phase of life is culturally, and historically, constructed. As Shurlee Swain points out, in the nineteenth century, the idea that the needs of a child could be different to those of her parents was ‘radical’.¹⁷ Audra Diptee and Martin Klein, writing about researching African childhoods, raise the important point that ‘children are the means by which all societies not only biologically, but also culturally, reproduce themselves’.¹⁸ The residential school system for Aboriginal Indian children in Canada, for example, focused on ‘the (re)production of Indians starting at childhood’.¹⁹ This relied on the idea of childhood as a state in which children could be shaped and converted, both literally and symbolically, from ‘a colonially undesirable Indian to one who conformed to colonial expectations’.²⁰ Part of the impetus behind child removal in the Western Australian context was a hope that removing children from their families could stop this cultural reproduction.²¹ Plans to ‘civilise’ African children in Natal similarly

¹⁶ Extract from letter from Henry Callaway to Cornelius Hanbury, 13.12.1856, Enclosure in Hanbury to Labouchere, TNA CO 179/48. [Hereafter all CO references are from TNA unless otherwise specified].

¹⁷ Shurlee Swain, ‘But the Children... Indigenous Child Removal Policies Compared,’ in *Writing Colonial Histories: Comparative perspectives*, ed. by Tracey Banivanua Mar and Julie Evans (Victoria: University of Melbourne, Department of History, 2002), 133-143, 134.

¹⁸ Audra A. Diptee and Martin A. Klein, ‘African Childhoods and the Colonial Project’, *Journal of Family History*, 35 (2009), 3-6, 3.

¹⁹ Sarah de Leeuw, “‘If Anything Is to Be Done with the Indian, We Must Catch Him Very Young’: Colonial Constructions of Aboriginal Children and the Geographies of Indian Residential Schooling in British Columbia, Canada’, *Children’s Geographies*, 7 (2009), 123-140, 130.

²⁰ Ibid.

²¹ This is not unlike what has been observed about emigration schemes from Britain, which were popular during the nineteenth century, as a way of removing poor children from the immorality of

focused on the idea that children were particularly permeable, open to new knowledge and ways of life.

Nineteenth-century colonial government and missionary interventions in Indigenous people's lives often focused on the transformation of children from 'savage' to 'civilised', 'lazy' to 'industrious', 'heathen' to 'Christian'. This makes the discussion of education policy and practice particularly pertinent. Russell Smandych and Anne McGillivray argue that British colonisers hoped that 'transforming childhood' would 'transform the people. Where transforming adults failed because of the fixity of adult ways and opinion, childhood, infinitely mutable, would transform the future adult.'²² There was an assumption that 'racial learning' took place at a young age. If children were sent (or taken) to schools, removed from the influence of their families, and exposed to 'civilisation', whether Christianity, literacy, labour or practical training, it was possible for them to avoid contamination from their environment. 'Civilisation' could occur more quickly and easily for children than adults.

There was an underlying tension in plans to educate Indigenous children in colonial contexts, which heightened as the century progressed. Adult Indigenous people were often understood as perpetual children. Just as children needed to be guided through the stages of development leading them from savagery to civilisation, so did Indigenous people, with their 'total absence of forethought, self-denial and self-government'.²³ 'Colonising parents had to guide their colonised children, raise up their dependents in the hope that one day they would walk alone.'²⁴ However, Indigenous adults' inability to change contradicted the conception of Indigenous childhoods as particularly malleable and susceptible to civilisation. If adult

their parents, and in so doing, 'prevent[ing] the children from sabotaging the nation'. Rebecca Bates, 'Building Imperial Youth? Reflections on Labour and the Construction of Working-class Childhood in Late Victorian England', *Paedagogica Historica*, 45 (2009), 143-156, 146.

²² Russell Smandych and Anne McGillivray, 'Images of Aboriginal Childhood: Contested Governance in the Canadian West to 1850', in *Empire and Others: British encounters with Indigenous Peoples, 1600-1850*, ed. by Martin Daunton and Rick Halpern (London: UCL Press, 1997), 238-259, 252.

²³ Hugh Cunningham, *The Children of the Poor: Representations of Childhood since the Seventeenth Century* (Oxford: Blackwell, 1991), 128.

²⁴ Catherine Hall, *Macaulay and Son: Architects of Imperial Britain* (London: Yale University Press, 2012), 204.

Indigenous people were described as perpetual children, what kind of beliefs underpinned their children's education?

From the 1850s onwards, there was a growing belief that there was something 'innate' about race, which could not be unlearned or overcome. As race was increasingly tied to ideas of biological difference, the opportunity for Indigenous people to enter 'white' society was circumscribed. Norman Etherington points out that

Denunciations of mission education [by outsiders, settlers and officials] contained an obvious internal contradiction. On the one hand, they complained that Africans, Canadian Indians, Australian Aborigines, and other peoples were incapable of understanding or making use of 'literary education' and should therefore be given manual training suited to their limited intellects. On the other hand, they argued that mission education at the higher levels would be only too well understood by converts, who might imbibe doctrines of equality, demand equal rights, and foment insurrections.²⁵

This thesis shows that paying close attention to both government and missionaries' ideas about education sheds light not just on how education itself was used in colonial projects, but also how access to education (and its different contents) was shaped by different understandings of race and childhood.

Policy and practice: Missionaries and government in Indigenous education

Educators working 'on the ground' put colonial (or imperial) government policy about Indigenous education into practice. In both Natal and Western Australia, for the entire period under study here, and into the twentieth century, missionaries provided the majority of education for Indigenous children. However, many mission societies received funding from colonial and (less often) imperial governments, which came with particular conditions on how education should be provided. The relationship between the local government and schools provoked anxiety for

²⁵ Norman Etherington, 'Education and Medicine', in *Missions and Empire*, ed. by Norman Etherington (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2005), 261-284, 269.

missionaries, who ‘formed an uneasy alliance with colonial government agencies who funded them under certain conditions’.²⁶ Missionaries were particularly concerned about government funding favouring particular denominations, and government involvement in curricula. However, they needed government support not only to receive land and education infrastructure, but also to ward off settler hostilities regarding their role in the colonies.²⁷ Local governments relied on missionaries to provide education, and to subsidise limited government grants given to schools. Both were concerned to construct mission education as beneficial to Indigenous and settler communities. Missionaries’ goals for education differed in one key respect from those of settlers or government. For missionaries, the ‘unapologetic and unambiguous bottom line’ was conversion to Christianity.²⁸ While converting Indigenous children might have been an important part of government strategies for education in the colonies, it was not their ultimate goal.

Education was one arena for humanitarian intervention in the settler colonies. In this thesis, I explore the tensions between humanitarianism and settler colonialism, as they applied to debates about Indigenous education. Humanitarianism in the period I examine here was deeply bound to the evangelical revival at the end of the eighteenth and beginning of the nineteenth century. The evangelical doctrine emphasised a personal relationship with God, one that stressed ‘spiritual experience over doctrinal knowledge, and played down denominational distinctions’.²⁹ One way to achieve this relationship with God was through reading the Bible and other religious texts. Literacy, therefore, was central to this worldview. Evangelicalism, while espousing the equality of all people, remained compatible with settler colonialism as ‘free labour freely entered into...was the only path to personal redemption and salvation’.³⁰ There were multiple ways that government, missionaries, and colonial lobbyists drew on the idea of humanitarianism to give

²⁶ Clayton Mackenzie, ‘Demythologising the Missionaries: A Reassessment of the Functions and Relationships of Christian Missionary Education under Colonialism’, *Comparative Education*, 29 (1993), 45-66, 52.

²⁷ Felicity Jensz, ‘Missionaries and Indigenous Education in the 19th-Century British Empire. Part I: Church-State Relations and Indigenous Actions and Reactions’, *History Compass*, 10 (2012), 294-305, 296.

²⁸ Mackenzie, ‘Demythologising the Missionaries’, 55.

²⁹ Timothy Keegan, *Colonial South Africa and the Origins of the Racial Order* (London: Leicester University Press, 1996), 75.

³⁰ *Ibid.*, 76.

meaning and power to their interventions. It is important to keep in mind that while the concept of education might have been discursively aligned with humanitarianism, humanitarianism ‘was always an engagement with the politics of empire and nation’.³¹ Or, as Michael Barnett puts it, ‘Humanitarianism is a creature of the world it aspires to civilize.’³² Therefore, as Alan Lester and Fae Dussart argue, ‘humanitarianism’ must be thought of as a historical concept, encompassing ‘specific and dynamic geographies’ and ‘different registers, including interpenetration with projects of governmentality’.³³

Missionary activity in the settler colonies has been extensively explored in relation to humanitarianism.³⁴ However, as Lester and Dussart point out, the ‘settler colonies became sites for humanitarian governance in ways that have yet to be fully recognised’.³⁵ Colonial governments used the rhetoric of civilisation and Christian conversion to justify interventions in Indigenous lives. They were, however, responsible for the welfare and protection of both Indigenous and settler populations, who often had competing needs. Education, initially extended in the colonies as part of an apparatus of social reform, was, by the mid-nineteenth century, used to mark and maintain difference.

In exploring the meaning of education in settler colonies, I have grappled with what I have termed, following Lester and Dussart, the ‘ambivalent humanitarianism’ of local colonial governments regarding Indigenous education. I have drawn on their assertion that ‘humanitarian governmentality is more ambivalent, more multivalent and more personally inflected’ than simple explanations allow.³⁶ They argue that humanitarian governmentality ‘fostered cultural genocide and it enabled the beneficiaries of invasion, destruction and exploitation to feel that they were doing

³¹ Rob Skinner and Alan Lester, ‘Humanitarianism and Empire: New Research Agendas’, *The Journal of Imperial and Commonwealth History*, 40 (2012), 729-747, 731.

³² Michael Barnett, *Empire of Humanity: A History of Humanitarianism* (Ithaca and London: Cornell University Press, 2011), 9. Barnett urges us to think of humanitarianisms rather than humanitarianism, 10, 21.

³³ Lester and Dussart, *Colonization*, 7.

³⁴ An excellent example is Elizabeth Elbourne, *Blood Ground: Colonialism, Missions, and the Contest for Christianity in the Cape Colony and Britain, 1799-1853* (Montreal & Kingston: McGill University Press, 2002).

³⁵ Lester and Dussart, *Colonization*, 14.

³⁶ *Ibid.*, 273.

good'.³⁷ Local governments' approach to education was profoundly shaped by competition between the concerns of settlers, who experienced economic and political vulnerability, and the more 'humanitarian' outlook of the imperial government in the post-emancipation era. Local governments' caution to act on behalf of Indigenous people became more pronounced as the century progressed.

Violent dispossession of Indigenous people was foundational in Natal and Western Australia. Access to education was tied to the inequalities of power in settler colonial situations. Lorenzo Veracini points to the centrality of competition over land to settler colonialism: settler colonialism is distinct from other forms of colonisation because settlers "'remove" to establish a better polity, either by setting up an ideal social body or by constituting an exemplary model of social organisation'.³⁸ Patrick Wolfe argues that settler colonialism's 'primary logic' is 'one of elimination', articulated through 'a zero-sum contest over land on which conflicting modes of production could not ultimately coexist'.³⁹ Settler colonialism, therefore, operates in 'dialectical tension and in specific contradistinction' to colonialism.⁴⁰

While keeping the dispossession of Indigenous land in focus, I also highlight the centrality of the exploitation of Indigenous labour to both colonies. While the South African experience has been explored in relation to the exploitation of labour, this approach is less prevalent in the Australian case, where the focus has more often been on the dispossession of Indigenous land. Yet before the introduction of convict labour in 1850, Aboriginal people in Western Australia were looked to as a labour force. As Wolfe points out, 'Indigenous people guided, interpreted for, and protected explorers. They cut bark, built fences, dug, planted, maintained, shepherded, stock-rode, mined, pearl-dived, sealed and performed every conceivable settler-colonial task except governance.'⁴¹ Therefore, in both Natal and Western Australia, while the 'primary object of settler-colonization [was] the land itself rather than the surplus

³⁷ Ibid.

³⁸ Lorenzo Veracini, *Settler Colonialism: A Theoretical Overview* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2010), 4.

³⁹ Patrick Wolfe, 'Land, Labour and Difference: Elementary Structures of Race', *The American Historical Review*, 106 (2001), 866-905, 868.

⁴⁰ Veracini, *Settler Colonialism*, 7.

⁴¹ Patrick Wolfe, *Settler Colonialism and the Transformation of Anthropology* (London: Cassell, 1999), 29.

value to be derived from mixing native labour with it', settlers remained reliant on Indigenous people for labour.⁴² As Chapter Three shows, changing Indigenous relationships to land and labour was central to teaching colonialism.

This thesis focuses on two colonies that historians have viewed as more associated with rampant settler colonialism than humanitarianism. However, humanitarianism and settler colonialism were not distinct ideologies, belonging exclusively to government, missionaries or settlers. Missionaries were affected by their local contexts, as well as the broader sectarian beliefs of their home societies and British imperial thinking. As Esme Cleall argues, missionary responses to changing racial ideas during the nineteenth century were 'inconsistent, atomised and ultimately failed to construct a coherent rebuttal to harsher racial theorising'.⁴³ Similarly, colonial politicians (and settlers) could hold 'humanitarian' views, while simultaneously dispossessing Indigenous people.⁴⁴ It is important to stress that neither definition is timeless, nor can either be understood without particular reference to the local context where it manifested. In other words, there is no 'settler colonialism', or 'humanitarianism', but rather contingent definitions that were rooted in time and space.

The thesis shows that focusing on education is a useful way to understand ideas about humanitarian colonial governance, and the competing (and sometimes mutually constituting) ideas about settler colonialism and humanitarianism. I trace discourses of education as a humanitarian intervention through different sites of Empire, at different points in the nineteenth century. I begin by discussing education at the time of emancipation in the West Indies in the 1830s. Here, education was seen as an important intervention in the lives of free people. However, this idea gave way to a concept of education increasingly influenced by the labour needs of planters by the mid-1840s. In later chapters, I trace similar ideas in the settler colonies, and show how these interventions drew on the language of humanitarianism to justify their aims.

⁴² Ibid., 163.

⁴³ Esme Cleall, *Missionary Discourses of Difference: Negotiating Otherness in the British Empire, 1840-1900* (Hampshire: Palgrave Macmillan, 2012), 163.

⁴⁴ Lester and Dussart, *Colonization*, 1-2.

My focus on both policy and practice addresses some gaps in the literature on Indigenous education in the nineteenth century settler colonies. The first is the tendency of historians of education to conduct studies with the nation-state as the primary unit of analysis.⁴⁵ There was no uniform policy on Indigenous education from the imperial government, and this has meant that in the historiography on colonial education, education is seen to respond to the particularities of colonial locations. Clive Whitehead, for example, points to the importance of the ‘man on the spot’ in the provision of education, saying education policies were primarily under the control of each colony’s governor, who often paid them little attention. Writing on colonial education in India, and within the British Empire more broadly,⁴⁶ he argues that there was never a coherent set of policies about education emanating from an organised colonial centre, and in fact, that due to the size of the British Empire ‘no one really ruled it in any direct sense’.⁴⁷ Whitehead’s conception of the British Empire as an almost haphazard set of relationships overlooks the continuities that existed across colonial territories. The fact that no one set of policies emanated from an imperial centre is not evidence that there were no common beliefs and practices which underpinned the way local governments responded to education.⁴⁸ This thesis examines two contexts in detail, showing how ideas about race, class, civilisation and status were not particular to those colonies, but responded to both metropolitan and other colonial contexts.⁴⁹ Using a broad definition of education

⁴⁵ Eckhard Fuchs, ‘History of Education beyond the Nation? Trends in Historical and Educational scholarship’, in *Connecting Histories of Education: Transnational and Cross-Cultural Exchanges in (Post-)Colonial Education*, ed. by Barnita Bagchi, Eckhard Fuchs and Kate Rousmaniere (New York and Oxford: Beghan Books, 2014), 11-26, 12.

⁴⁶ See Clive Whitehead, *Colonial Educators The British Indian and Colonial Education Service, 1858-1983* (London: I.B. Taurus, 2003); ‘The Historiography of British Imperial Education Policy, Part I: India’, *History of Education*, 34 (2005), 315-329; ‘The Historiography of British Imperial Education Policy, Part II: Africa and the Rest of the Colonial Empire’, *History of Education*, 34 (2005), 441-454.

⁴⁷ Clive Whitehead, ‘The Concept of British Education Policy in the Colonies 1850-1960’, *Journal of Educational Administration and History*, 39:2 (2007), 161-173, 162.

⁴⁸ Jensz has criticized Whitehead’s approach, stating that his neglect to reference to works from the 1990s and 2000s shows a lack of engagement with educational work coming out of the field of new imperial histories. See Jensz, ‘Missionaries and Indigenous Education, Part I’, 300.

⁴⁹ For calls to rethink this nation-state focus, see António Nóvoa, ‘Empires Overseas and Empires at Home’, *Paedagogica Historica*, 45 (2009), 817-821; Felicity Jensz, ‘Missionaries and Indigenous Education in the 19th-Century British Empire. Part II: Race, Class, and Gender’, *History Compass*, 10 (2012), 306-317, 311. See also the special issue of *Paedagogica Historica* in 2009, especially Joyce Goodman, Gary McCulloch and William Richardson, “‘Empires Overseas” and “Empires at Home”: Postcolonial and Transnational Perspectives on Social Change in the History of Education”, *Paedagogica Historica*, 45 (2009), 695-706. Patrick Walsh’s work on Irish National School books used in Ireland and Ontario is an excellent example of how fruitful tracing educational connections can be to understanding the role of education in the creation of nationalisms. Patrick Walsh,

also highlights other areas of continuity between colonial education practices, even where schooling might look quite different at first glance.

A second focus by historians of education has been on the way that education transformed Indigenous people into ‘manageable’ subjects. Many studies of mission education have produced polarised views of mission education as either an imperial project in itself, negatively affecting all who entered mission schools, or as an emancipatory project, giving pupils a set of tools for dealing with colonial change. Martin Carnoy argued in *Education as Cultural Imperialism* that schooling was an essential part of imperial domination. ‘[S]chools functioned to control social change (to maintain order), to produce better labour inputs for more material output, and to transform individuals into competitive men and women who functioned well and believed in the capitalist system.’⁵⁰ This thesis moves beyond an evaluation of the moral position of education, whether missionary or government funded. In doing so, it provides a picture of education as nuanced, responding to the different motivations of local actors and broader global changes.

On the other hand, when historians of (missions and) empire discuss education, it is often in the context of describing the ‘civilising mission’ more broadly.⁵¹ The role of missionaries in education has been neglected as a topic of scholarly enquiry from

‘Education and the “universalist” Idiom of Empire: Irish National School Books in Ireland and Ontario’, *History of Education*, 37 (2008), 645-660.

⁵⁰ Martin Carnoy, *Education as Cultural Imperialism* (New York: John Wiley, 1974), 5.

⁵¹ For example, the Comaroff’s two-volume study of mission activity amongst the Tswana. While they do refer to education they position it firmly as part of a broader process of social and cultural change. See John Comaroff and Jean Comaroff, *Of Revelation and Revolution: Christianity, Colonialism and Consciousness in South Africa, Volume 1* (Chicago and London: University of Chicago Press, 1991), Ch. 6 esp. 230-236. For example, they write about the ‘didactic spirit of evangelical agriculture’. John Comaroff and Jean Comaroff, *Of Revelation and Revolution: The Dialectics of Modernity on a South African frontier, Volume 2* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1997), 134. In doing so, the education practices that missionaries used become divorced from broader ideas about education both at the colonial government level, but also globally. Elizabeth Elbourne also discusses mission activity in South Africa in the early decades of the nineteenth century, but her references to education are scant beyond her discussion of the importance of literacy (270-1) and agriculture (295-310). Elizabeth Elbourne, *Blood Ground*. In both of these examples, agricultural or industrial training is constructed as different to literary training, although these two goals were often unified in the minds of missionaries. See also Brian Stanley, *The Bible and the Flag: Protestant Missions and British Imperialism in the Nineteenth and Twentieth Centuries* (Leicester: Apollos, 1990); Andrew Porter, *Religion Versus Empire?: British Protestant Missionaries and Overseas Expansion, 1700-1914* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2004); Anna Johnston, *Missionary Writing and Empire: 1800-1860* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2003).

historians outside the sub-discipline of the history of education.⁵² Mission education was more than just schooling. Missionaries understood Christian conversion, education, literacy, work, transformation of home life, cleanliness, language, and so on, as complementary parts of their roles as spiritual guides and educators. Given the breadth of scope of missionary work, historians of mission and empire have tended to explore expansive issues, and not to examine the specificities of the role of education itself within this broader context. This relative neglect of education has had consequences for the history of the field as a whole. Etherington notes that he was unable to find a suitable person to write on 'Missions and Education' for his companion volume to the *Oxford History of the British Empire*, so he wrote this chapter himself.⁵³

Education needs to be taken seriously as a central arena where colonial policy and missionary practice collided. Understanding educational policy and practices is useful in understanding broader colonial processes. As Elbourne argues, missionaries 'sought to extend hegemonic control over Indigenous peoples by changing their worldviews to a point that new ways of behaving and seeing the world were completely internalized'.⁵⁴ The transformation of worldviews was an essential part of missionary teaching. Moreover, placing the history of mission education in the context of broader educational change, both in metropolitan and colonial contexts, highlights continuities between pedagogic practices in different places.

Helen May, Baljit Kaur and Larry Prochner's collaborative work on infant schools in New Zealand, India and Canada in the nineteenth century provides an essential model for thinking about how histories of education might benefit from adopting a transnational or comparative approach, and indeed, how historians of colonialism might think about education as part of colonial interactions. Their book reveals 'the pervasiveness of missionary endeavour, the diversity of contexts to which these ideals were applied, and the dynamics of its engagement'. The authors argue that '[t]here were evident synergies between the religious and educational blueprints for

⁵² Jenz, 'Missionaries and Indigenous Education, Part I', 295, 299.

⁵³ Norman Etherington, 'Missions and Empire Revisited', *Social Sciences and Missions*, 24 (2011), 171-189, 176. Etherington also notes the lack of research on Missions and Medicine. Thus, 'Education and Medicine' appeared as one chapter in *Missions and Empire*.

⁵⁴ Elizabeth Elbourne, 'Word Made Flesh: Christianity, Modernity, and Cultural Colonialism in the Work of Jean and John Comaroff', *The American Historical Review*, 108 (2003), 435-459, 442.

“saving the heathen” child of the colonies and “civilizing” the young street child of Britain.”⁵⁵ In balancing local cases and broader trends in the histories of infant schools in the colonies, they provide a useful example of how histories of colonial education can be done. Shurlee Swain and Margaret Hillel’s work on child rescue in Britain and the settler colonies also provides a useful example of the connections in thinking between metropolitan and colonial contexts, for both white and Indigenous children.⁵⁶ This thesis builds on these works that emphasise connections and comparisons between metropolitan and colonial sites.

Methods: Comparisons and connections in local and global perspective

This thesis assumes that ‘Natal’ and ‘Western Australia’ are best thought of in terms of connections, mobility, change and reconfiguration. As James Campbell puts it in his comparative study of industrial education in South Africa and the United States, ‘we do not begin with two discrete sites, but with complexly interrelated societies, bound together by a myriad of direct and imaginative exchanges’.⁵⁷ Awareness of these ‘exchanges’ between sites of Empire has led me to use two complementary methodologies to explore the themes discussed above. Firstly, I trace connections in thinking about education in metropolitan and colonial sites. I do this by looking at the movement of expertise, policy and practices between different places. According to Catherine Hall, thinking about Empire does not make sense ‘either theoretically or empirically through a binary lens: we need the dislocation of that binary and more elaborate, cross-cutting ways of thinking’.⁵⁸ Zoë Laidlaw and Alan Lester’s respective theorising of networks has been informative: both argue that imperial histories are best understood through tracing material and discursive connections between different sites of Empire.⁵⁹

⁵⁵ Helen May, Baljit Kaur and Larry Prochner, *Empire, Education, and Indigenous Childhoods: Nineteenth-Century Missionary Infant Schools in Three British Colonies* (Surrey: Ashgate, 2014), 8.

⁵⁶ Shurlee Swain and Margaret Hillel, *Child, Nation, Race and Empire: Child Rescue Discourse, England, Canada and Australia, 1850-1915* (Manchester and New York: Manchester University Press, 2010).

⁵⁷ James Campbell, ‘Models and Metaphors: Industrial Education in the United States and South Africa’, in *Comparative Perspectives on South Africa*, ed. by Ran Greenstein (Basingstoke: MacMillan Press, 1998), 90-134, 92.

⁵⁸ Catherine Hall, *Civilising Subjects: Metropole and Colony in the English Imagination, 1830-1867* (Oxford: Polity, 2002), 16.

⁵⁹ Zoë Laidlaw, *Colonial Connections 1815-1845: Patronage, the Information Revolution and Colonial Government* (Manchester and New York: Manchester University Press, 2005); Alan Lester,

The first two chapters of this thesis focus on connections. They show, by pointing to other places where education, race and Empire were debated, that educational change at the local level in Natal and Western Australia is better understood in the broader British imperial context. For example, Chapter One shows that James Kay-Shuttleworth, Secretary of the metropolitan Committee of Privy Council on Education, used evidence about education from the West Indies to make a set of suggestions regarding industrial education for the British settler colonies. He saw connections between his experiences at ‘home’, and those reported of the West Indies. Similarly, as Chapter Two shows, Sir George Grey believed that ideas about industrial training from New Zealand could be applied at the Cape and in Natal. Ideas about education and Empire were not confined by national boundaries, and for this reason, this study takes connections and comparisons seriously. Understanding other metropolitan and colonial contexts in which the control and maintenance of a labour force was being debated sheds light on my two primary cases. Policies and practices in New Zealand, the eastern Australian colonies and further afield, impacted on the local reality of Western Australia. The movement of personnel and expertise between the Cape and New Zealand shaped Natal’s education system.

Secondly, I use comparisons between two settler colonies to point to similarities and differences in their treatment of Indigenous education. The comparative approach throws light on peculiarities of colonial sites and highlights continuities between them. As Ann Stoler argues, comparative histories can ‘identify unexpected points of congruence and similarities of discourse in seemingly disparate sites’.⁶⁰ Rather than thinking about a place as primarily shaped by local or national policy and practice, comparisons can open up ‘more general explanatory models’ for what might at first glance seem like local phenomena.⁶¹ On the face of it, Indigenous education in Natal and Western Australia looked very different during the middle decades of the nineteenth century. However, as Chapters Three, Four and Five show, similar debates about the status of Indigenous people in these two settler colonies shaped the

Imperial Networks: Creating Identities in Nineteenth-century South Africa and Britain (London: Routledge, 2001).

⁶⁰ Ann Laura Stoler, ‘Tense and Tender Ties: The Politics of Comparison in North American History and (post) Colonial Studies’, *Journal of American History*, 88 (2001), 829-865, 847.

⁶¹ Lisa Ford, *Settler Sovereignty: Jurisdiction and Indigenous Peoples in America and Australia, 1788-1836* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2010), 10.

outcomes of policy in these sites. By juxtaposing these cases, and reading them alongside and in conversation with one another, I show that there were broader webs of ideas informing colonial policy and practice. Divergences between the cases do not make them unsuitable for comparison: comparative histories are useful in ‘tracing similarity through difference’.⁶² As Hall argued, ‘in order to understand the specificity of the national formation, we have to look outside it’.⁶³

Historians have looked at connections and comparisons between South Africa and Australia. Kirsten McKenzie’s work on scandal and status in the Cape Colony and New South Wales shows how colonial cities were ‘spaces of transience, designed for the movement of people, goods and information’.⁶⁴ Marilyn Lake and Henry Reynolds’s work on the concept of ‘whiteness’ in South Africa, Australia and the United States shows that discourses about race, in particular, were not always the products of nationally-focussed phenomena, but rather resulted from the movement of ideas, people and discourses through different parts of the world.⁶⁵ Particularly influential to my approach is Giordano Nanni’s work on the concept of time in the Cape colony, and Victoria, Australia. Nanni argues settler colonialism brought with it changing conceptions of time. Bringing these colonies together provides a useful model for the way in which reading case studies in parallel can explain a phenomenon that transcends national boundaries. Nanni argues that

Time effectively helped construct a ‘trans-imperial discourse of colonialism’, as representations of reformed, time-disciplined natives travelled between colonies through imperial and humanitarian networks of information, generating a collective consciousness of Britain as the exporter of the virtues of clock-governed order and Christian regularity amidst the perceived wilderness of the ‘irregular world’ at large.⁶⁶

Nanni indicates here that while good comparative histories focus on multiple discrete sites, they can also illuminate the ways in which ideas ‘travelled between colonies’. This thesis takes up Nanni’s approach, placing Natal and Western Australia in

⁶² Ibid.

⁶³ Hall, *Civilising Subjects*, 9.

⁶⁴ Kirsten McKenzie, *Scandal in the Colonies: Sydney and Cape Town, 1820-1850* (Carlton, Victoria: Melbourne University Press, 2004), 1.

⁶⁵ Ibid.; Marilyn Lake and Henry Reynolds, *Drawing the Global Colour Line: White Men’s Countries and the International Challenge of Racial Equality* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2008).

⁶⁶ Nanni, *The Colonisation of Time*, 223.

conversation with each other, while considering broader influences on each colony's development.

Using comparisons and connections has also raised questions of scale. I have been interested in showing the extent to which everyday practices of education were influenced by broader ideas and practices. As Alan Lester argues, scales have been reconceptualised to explore the relationships between 'vertical' structures of the 'local-urban-regional-national-global'.⁶⁷ While comparative histories may have a broader scope than regional or national studies, they can shed light both on broader trends shaping the experience of the local, and highlight the specificity of a given place and time. Lisa Ford's work on settler sovereignty addresses the question of scale. Settler sovereignty, she argues, was global 'because settler polities redefined sovereignty at the same time as it was recast in other centres, peripheries, and places in between'. At the same time, settler sovereignty was explicitly local, relating to the 'daily struggles of indigenous peoples for resources, for dignity, and for survival' and settlers for their autonomy.⁶⁸ 'Tracing similarity through difference', Ford argues, can reconfigure insular national or state-based histories.⁶⁹

It is sometimes difficult to balance these different scales, and to pay sufficient attention to lived experience while reflecting the nuance of colonial discourses. Clare Anderson's approach to coerced labour in the British Empire is informative. 'The challenge in presenting such a broad view of the history of labour and Empire,' she argues, 'is to present a rigorous comparative method which remains attentive to locality without losing sight of the larger imperial framework.'⁷⁰ For this reason, I have chosen to focus on two schools in Chapter Four, one in Natal and the other in Western Australia. At each school, ideas about race, education and civilisation, were articulated in different ways that had as much to do with the local as the global. We need to be as attentive to local contexts and to disconnections as to global trends and

⁶⁷ Alan Lester, 'Spatial Concepts and the Historical Geographies of British Colonialism', in *Writing Imperial Histories (Studies in Imperialism)*, ed. by Andrew Thompson (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2013), 118-142, 132.

⁶⁸ Ford, *Settler Sovereignty*, 4.

⁶⁹ *Ibid.*, 10.

⁷⁰ Clare Anderson, 'After Emancipation: Empires and Imperial Formations,' in *Emancipation and the Remaking of the British Imperial World*, ed. by Catherine Hall, Nick Draper and Keith McClelland (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2014), 113-127, 122.

continuities.⁷¹ I have also attempted to show that the metropolitan case, often assumed in comparative colonial histories to provide a ‘normative’ context or site for comparison, was also undergoing unprecedented changes in terms of education provision during the nineteenth century. As Laura Ishiguro argues, a weakness of comparative history is that it can ‘reify sites in place and time in order to compare them’.⁷² Destabilising the ‘centre’ in this way sheds light on how educational discourse and practice moved between colony and metropole in both directions, and indeed, as Chapter One and Two show, between colony and colony. A focus on connections and comparisons can address this tendency to reify sites by linking them to local histories and placing them within broader chronologies.

In balancing local and global scales in this way, I have also been interested in differing conceptions of place and space. Using comparisons and connections allows places to be read as ‘constellations of multiple trajectories’, ranging from the intimately local to broad colonial discourse.⁷³ Tony Ballantyne argues that places should be thought of as ‘knot-like conjunctures where the ceaseless small-scale mobilities of life in the location interlocked into the more extensive networks that enabled the regular movement of people, things and words in and out of the location’.⁷⁴ Knots also imply entanglements, uneven weaving together of different elements in peculiar and particular ways. Doreen Massey’s work on space urges us to ‘recognise space as a product of interrelations; as constituted through interactions, from the immensity of the global to the intimately tiny’.⁷⁵ The local and the global were, therefore, constantly in conversation with each other (although certain voices dominated some conversations). As Alan Lester argues,

Places are defined no more authentically by stasis than by mobility. In any sophisticated networked account, places are never simply interchangeable nodal

⁷¹ Catherine Hall, Nick Draper and Keith McClelland, ‘Introduction’, in *Emancipation and the Remaking of the British Imperial World*, ed. by Catherine Hall, Nick Draper and Keith McClelland (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2014), 1-16, 7.

⁷² Laura Mitsuyo Ishiguro, ‘Relative Distances: Family and Empire between Britain, British Columbia and India, 1858-1901’ (PhD thesis, University College London, 2011), 19.

⁷³ David Lambert and Alan Lester, ‘Introduction: Imperial Spaces, Imperial Subjects’, in *Colonial Lives across the British Empire: Imperial Careering in the Long Nineteenth Century*, ed. by David Lambert and Alan Lester (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2006), 1-31, 13.

⁷⁴ Tony Ballantyne, ‘On Place, Space and Mobility in Nineteenth-Century New Zealand’, *New Zealand Journal of History*, 45 (2011), 50-71, 61.

⁷⁵ Doreen Massey, *For Space* (London: Sage, 2005), 9.

points in an abstract system. Rather they are rich and complex intersections of components with varying trajectories and mobilities.⁷⁶

‘Solutions’ to Indigenous ‘problems’ often had their roots in connected thinking from different policy makers and actors in widely separated parts of the British imperial world. Ideas about race, educability, labour and civilisation were not unique to individual locations, but rather, were reflected in distinct ways in different parts of the Empire, and often referenced ideas that held currency in imperial Britain. Tracing the movement of people through the networks of Empire, but more importantly, the movement of discourses about the relationship between race, labour and education through both space and time, has given me a more nuanced understanding of Indigenous education.

I have found it useful to think of schools as ‘frontiers’. The idea of the frontier has an important spatial element: it brings to mind the idea of pushing forward into unchartered land, especially through (masculine) pioneering. Often associated with the violence of colonisation, the frontier has been reconceptualised in important ways in the past decade by historians of settler colonialism. Wolfe argues for a more nuanced, and porous construction of the frontier that is particularly useful in my analysis. Referring to the Australian context, he argues the

“frontier” was shifting, contextual, negotiated, moved in and out of and suspended ... In short, it is necessary to distinguish between the misleading or illusory nature of the concept of the frontier as a representation and the social effects that were sustained by the currency of that representation.⁷⁷

In the settler colonial context – ‘space is not shared – ...the Aborigines are always somewhere else. Thus the frontier’s loss of empirical reference simply made it entirely, rather than partly, mythic.’⁷⁸ Penelope Edmonds also reconsiders the idea of the frontier by looking at the ‘urban frontiers’ of Victoria, British Columbia, and Melbourne, Victoria. She argues that ‘colonial frontiers did not exist only in the bush, backwoods, or borderlands; they clearly sat at the heart of early town and city

⁷⁶ Lester, ‘Spatial Concepts’, 129.

⁷⁷ Wolfe, *Settler Colonialism*, 165.

⁷⁸ *Ibid.*, 173.

building, a process crucial to the settler-colonial project'.⁷⁹ By focussing on race and space, two historical concepts traditionally seen as 'natural, given, and elemental', Edmonds points to the historical location of these concepts within two different parts of the Empire.⁸⁰ Edmonds conceives of colonial frontiers as 'mosaic-like - mercurial, transactional, and, importantly, intimate and gendered'.⁸¹ As Lester and Dussart put it, colonial frontiers 'were the sites where "race" and its relation to Britishness was produced and entered the complex of social problems to which governing individuals had to respond'.⁸² These readings challenge the idea of the frontier as a linear movement in both time and space. Colonial schools, which were structured by unequal relations of power, can be understood as spaces where there was a degree of exchange between people, ideologies, and discourses. The school, and the government or missionary policy that underpinned it, was a space where anxieties over colonialism surfaced.

Contexts and chronologies

As the discussion above shows, comparative and connective histories can 'challenge and modify' ideas about particularism.⁸³ 'Historical peculiarities only become clearly visible when one refers to comparable examples, which are sufficiently similar in some respects, but differ in other respects.'⁸⁴ In the section that follows, I highlight the broad chronology and contexts under discussion in this thesis, and some similarities and differences between Natal and Western Australia.

Initially, my intention was to focus on education provision in the period between responsible government in the early 1890s and Federation in 1901, or Union in 1910, in Australia and South Africa respectively. However, I found that the period between emancipation and the 1870s saw a dramatic reconfiguration not only of the meaning

⁷⁹ Penelope Edmonds, *Urbanizing Frontiers: Indigenous Peoples and Settlers in 19th-Century Pacific Rim Cities* (Vancouver: University of British Columbia Press, 2010), 5.

⁸⁰ *Ibid.*, 10.

⁸¹ *Ibid.*, 6.

⁸² Lester and Dussart, *Colonization*, 23.

⁸³ Jurgen Kocka, 'Comparison and Beyond', *History and theory*, 42 (2003), 39-44, 40.

⁸⁴ Jurgen Kocka, and Heinz-Gerhard Haupt, 'Comparison and Beyond: Traditions, Scope and Perspectives of Comparative history', in *Comparative and Transnational History*, ed. by Heinz-Gerhard Haupt and Jurgen Kocka (New York and Oxford: Berghen Books, 2009), 1-30, 4.

of race and class, but also of the relationship of these categories to education. By beginning my research in the period immediately after emancipation, I was able to explore how ideas that were firmly entrenched by the last decades of the nineteenth century developed in the years before. For example, by the 1890s, most African children in schools in Natal were receiving ‘practical’ industrial training, believed to be better suited to their innate racial capabilities. I wondered if this curriculum had been promoted since mission activity in the area began, and how the concept might have changed over time. By looking outside of the national, to connected changes in other parts of the British Empire, I was able to situate this case in context of broader shifts in thinking about race, labour and education.

In the metropolitan case, the period I consider is delimited by the Reform Acts of 1832 and 1867 in England. These Acts transformed ideas about the relationship between the state and individuals, and called into question notions of who counted as ‘citizens’, and by what measure. At the same time as political rights were negotiated, the issue of popular education came up in the metropolitan context. The first government grants were made to voluntary societies for education in 1833. In 1870, Forster’s Elementary Education Act made education compulsory for all children between the ages of five and twelve who lived in a school board district. The connections between the extension of political rights and education are clear here.

These metropolitan changes occurred at the same time, and were influenced by, changes in the Empire. Particularly notable as a high point of humanitarian intervention in the British Empire was the emancipation of slaves in 1834. In Chapter One, I examine the West Indian context, showing how education came to be positioned as a central humanitarian imperative in the colonies. The Negro Education Grant of 1835 to 1845 was given by the imperial government to the West Indian colonies specifically for the ‘moral and religious education’ of the free population. However, by mid-1840s, the grant had been terminated and local legislatures increasingly favoured (race-specific) industrial education. Similar debates were occurring contemporaneously in the settler colonies. Understanding a colonial context where the use of labour was a matter of serious concern for the local government deepens our understanding of Natal and Western Australia, where Indigenous people were also viewed as a source of labour.

Between the 1830s and 1875, when this study terminates, there was a change in thinking about race and education. In both metropolitan and colonial contexts after emancipation, racial attitudes hardened in response to local and global events. Violence between settlers and Indigenous people reinforced ideas about racial difference. In the 1830s and 1840s, and sometimes into the early 1850s, the belief that all races could be civilised underpinned education policy and practice in the settler colonies. These policies stressed the transformative power of education: children educated in the correct (British) Christian schools, and could be ‘amalgamated’ with settler society.

In the mid 1840s, however, there was a ‘marked shift in the discursive terrain’ which led to an ‘increasing turn to the language of race to explain and justify the inequalities and persistent differences between people’.⁸⁵ This had a significant impact on education given to Indigenous children. The growth of a ‘scientific’ racial lexicon also served to entrench racial difference in the 1840s and 1850s. Nancy Stepan argues that by the late 1860s, following the immense impact of Darwin’s *Origin of the Species*, ‘evolutionary thought was compatible with the idea of fixity, antiquity, and hierarchy of human races’.⁸⁶ Biological understandings of race began to have greater influence on both missionaries and government. These theories used a ‘more explicit language of race, forged in frontier conflict as well as in the academic libraries of Europe, [which] was increasingly widely used to maintain boundaries between colonized and colonizers’.⁸⁷ This meant that there were particular things that certain races were believed capable of, and others that would always be out of their reach. The idea that African people could be civilised and incorporated into settler society, ‘became quite quickly suffused with notions of the innate inferiority of Africans once the initial flush of humanitarian enthusiasm had worn off’.⁸⁸ Conveniently, African races were particularly suited to labour. Aboriginal people in Australia, by contrast, were ‘dying out’, and their education could do little more than convert them to ease the consciences of colonial politicians

⁸⁵ Hall, *Civilising Subjects*, 338.

⁸⁶ Nancy Stepan, *The Idea of Race in Science: Great Britain, 1800-1960* (London and Basingstoke: Macmillan, 1982), 49.

⁸⁷ Elbourne, *Blood Ground*, 378.

⁸⁸ Keegan, *Colonial South Africa*, 283.

and missionaries. Perceived differences between races also influenced their education: in New Zealand, Maori people, with their superior law, customs, and language, were thought more susceptible to conversion and civilisation than nomadic, irreligious Aboriginal Australians.⁸⁹ By the mid-1870s, when this study concludes, the idea that race determined both intellect and educability was more firmly entrenched. ‘The empire and its inhabitants were divided into ever more rigidly demarcated categories, with each thought amenable to particular forms of colonial rule, which in turn determined future opportunities.’⁹⁰

I trace these shifting ideas about race through education policy and practice, ranging from the exploration of individual missionaries’ approaches to education, to broader government interventions in different societies. These ideas about race did not follow a clear trajectory, and there were multiple, sometimes contradictory, nuances in understandings of race in the nineteenth century. One of the challenges in the thesis has been to provide commentary on broad themes and changes across the middle decades of the nineteenth century, while still keeping in focus that these ideas were moulded, reinterpreted and reconstructed in distinct and variable ways according to time and place. For example, it is common to think of the humanitarian fervour of the 1820s and 1830s giving way to a different brand of colonisation in the 1840s and 1850s, which finally resulted in the scientific racism of the post-Indian Mutiny era. While this periodisation is useful in charting broad sets of changes and shifts in imperial paradigms, it can gloss over unique and localised ways of understanding change over time rooted in individual contexts. For example, as Chapter Four shows, educators working in Natal and Western Australia could simultaneously argue that there were innate differences between the races, while identifying particular Indigenous people whose ‘progress’ disproved this theory. Local particularities, ranging from who was in power, to the personality of individual missionaries, and the way that local communities responded to education, shaped the way that these ideas were understood. It is important to stress that while connections between places and continuities in thinking did exist, these do not

⁸⁹ Damen Ward, ‘The Politics of Jurisdiction: British Law, Indigenous Peoples and Colonial Government in South Australia and New Zealand, c.1834-1860’ (DPhil thesis, University of Oxford, 2003), 38.

⁹⁰ Zoë Laidlaw, ‘Slavery, Settlers and Indigenous Dispossession: Britain’s Empire through the Lens of Liberia’, *Journal of Colonialism and Colonial History*, 13 (2012), n.p.

account for all local formations and relationships. As Damon Salesa reminds us, writing on discourses about racial mixing,

It is worth stressing the materiality of these discourses, which were physically located, occurring in actual places and not divorced from social practices. Discourses were not ethereal or disembodied, but occurred in actual places, whether in parliaments, the Colonial Office, missions and scientific societies, or in newspapers, journals, to the readerships that publishing and writing constructed.⁹¹

Western Australia

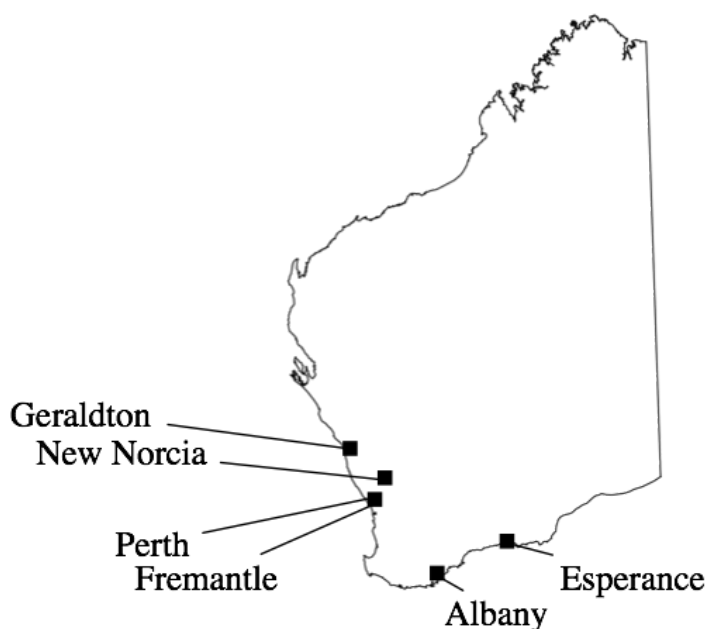


Figure 2 Map of Western Australia showing places mentioned in text⁹²

Noongar people inhabited the southwest of Australia, where European settlement in Western Australia began.⁹³ The triangular corner of the continent, between Geraldton in the north to Esperance in the south, was Noongar country for about 47,000 years before European settlement.⁹⁴ There were around 6,000 Noongar

⁹¹ Damon Ieremia Salesa, *Racial Crossings: Race, Intermarriage, and the Victorian British Empire* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2011), 10.

⁹² Map not to scale.

⁹³ Sometimes also spelled Nyungar, Nyoongar, Nyoongah, Nyungah, or Noonga.

⁹⁴ Tiffany Shellam, “‘Our Natives’ and ‘Wild Blacks’: Enumeration as a Statistical Dimension of Sovereignty in Colonial Western Australia”, *Journal of Colonialism and Colonial History*, 13:3 (2012), n.p.

Aboriginal people in the area in 1829.⁹⁵ In 1826, the British established a military garrison at King George's Sound, later renamed Albany, and Lieutenant-Governor James Stirling proclaimed the Swan River Colony a British territory in 1829.⁹⁶ The colony started as a free enterprise: the British government would not sponsor immigration or send convict labour to the young colony. In spite of the fact that Western Australia had been sold to settlers as comprising vast tracts of fertile land, settlers in the 1830s were soon frustrated in their efforts at cultivation.⁹⁷ This meant that settlement in the 1830s was slow. From the late 1840s, as settlement continued northwards, struggles over land heightened racial tensions.⁹⁸

Between 1829 and 1850, there were fewer European settlers than Aboriginal people in the colony, although exact numbers are debated.⁹⁹ In 1850, the white population was 5,866 people: 3,576 men and 2,310 women.¹⁰⁰ The labour shortage in the early years of the colony, with small numbers of settlers and no convict labour, meant that the Aboriginal population was approached as a source of labour.¹⁰¹ The use of Aboriginal labour provides a useful point of comparison to Natal, where Natal Africans were educated for labour, as I will show in Chapter Three. Debates about the potential of Aboriginal labour continued in the north of the colony, particularly in the pearl shell industry. In 1850, convict labour was introduced to Western Australia, and lasted until 1868. The records of the Colonial Office show that this fundamentally shifted focus away from the welfare of the Aboriginal population, as

⁹⁵ Louis Tilbrook, *Nyungar Tradition: Glimpses of Aborigines of South-Western Australia 1829-1914* (Crawley: University of Western Australia Press, 1983), 3.

⁹⁶ On first encounters between the Aboriginal population and Europeans, see Tiffany Shellam, *Shaking Hands on the Fringe: Negotiating the Aboriginal World at King George's Sound* (Crawley: University of Western Australia Press, 2009).

⁹⁷ Ann Hunter, *A Different Kind of 'Subject': Colonial Law in Aboriginal-European Relations in Western Australia 1829-61* (Melbourne: Australian Scholarly, 2012), xvi.

⁹⁸ Neville Green, 'Aborigines and White Settlers in the Nineteenth Century,' in *A New History of Western Australia*, ed. by Charles Tom Stannage (Redlands: University of Western Australia Press, 1981), 72-123, 95; Peter Biskup, 'The Royal Commission that never was: a Chapter in Government-Missions Relations in Western Australia', *University Studies in WA History*, 5:1 (1967), 89-113, 97.

⁹⁹ See Penelope Hetherington, *Settlers, Servants & Slaves: Aboriginal and European Children in Nineteenth-century Western Australia* (Crawley: University of Western Australia Press, 2002), Ch. 5 and Shellam, "'Our Natives' and 'Wild Blacks'".

¹⁰⁰ Francis Crowley, *Australia's Western Third: A History of Western Australia from the First Settlements to Modern Times* (London: Macmillan; New York: St Martin's Press, 1960), vii.

¹⁰¹ Hetherington, *Settlers, Servants & Slaves*, 101. The 1848 census listed 548 aborigines as employed, with only 6530 white settlers present in the colony. Penelope Hetherington, 'Aboriginal Children as a Potential Labour Force in Swan River Colony, 1829-1850', *Journal of Australian Studies*, 16 (1992), 41-55, 47.

exemplified by the termination of the office of Protector of Aborigines in 1854.¹⁰² There was less need for settlers to employ Aboriginal people, as by 1861, the white population (including convicts) had risen to 15,936.¹⁰³

As settlers arrived in Western Australia, they began to set up institutions for themselves, replicating similar infrastructure at 'home'. A few schools for white children received government subsidies in the 1830s, but were privately run until 1846. Rivalries between Protestant and Catholic settlers spurred government involvement in education.¹⁰⁴ Governor Andrew Clark set up a network of government schools, under a General Board of Education in 1847.¹⁰⁵ The schools used the Irish national (non-denominational) system.¹⁰⁶ In the 1850s and 1860s, by contrast to schools for Aboriginal children, provision for white children grew. There were six schools for white children at the end of 1847, with 168 pupils enrolled, and by 1869, fifty-five government schools catered for 2,188 students.¹⁰⁷

Western Australia, unlike the other Australian colonies that received responsible government in the 1850s, was granted representative government in 1870. This gave the colony a one-third nominated and two-thirds-elected Legislative Council.¹⁰⁸ Representative government was delayed because Western Australians had wanted to keep high property qualifications on voting, and because of the late introduction of convict labour. Curthoys and Jessie Mitchell show that self-government had a 'shadow-side: Aboriginal dispossession, loss of self-government and enforced dependence on colonial charity'.¹⁰⁹

¹⁰² Paul Hasluck, *Black Australians: A Survey of Native Policy in Western Australia*, 2nd edn (Carlton: Melbourne University Press, 1970), 79-80.

¹⁰³ Hunter, *A Different Kind of 'Subject'*, xv.

¹⁰⁴ Laaden Fletcher, 'Education of the People', in *A New History of Western Australia*, ed. by Charles Tom Stannage (Redlands: University of Western Australia Press, 1981), 551-573, 554.

¹⁰⁵ Brian K De Garis, 'Political Tutelage', in *A New History of Western Australia*, ed. by Charles Tom Stannage (Redlands: University of Western Australia Press, 1981), 297-325, 320.

¹⁰⁶ *Ibid.*, 323.

¹⁰⁷ Fletcher, 'Education of the people', 555.

¹⁰⁸ Curthoys and Martens, 'Serious Collisions', 130.

¹⁰⁹ Ann Curthoys and Jessie Mitchell, 'The Advent of Self-Government, 1840s-90', *The Cambridge History of Australia: Volume 1: Indigenous and Colonial Australia* (Victoria and New York: Cambridge University Press, 2013), 149-169.

There was no official policy on Aboriginal education during the nineteenth century, and schooling was reliant on local initiatives and interventions.¹¹⁰ Governor John Hutt's period in government, between 1839 and 1846, as Chapter Three shows, was shaped by attempts to amalgamate Aboriginal people into settler society. Hutt wished to settle Aboriginal people in towns, where they would have contact with civilisation, and to teach children manual and industrial skills, in order to introduce them to the civilising force of commerce. Between 1850 and 1870, there was no new legislation regarding Aboriginal people in the colony, besides the amendment of laws regarding Aboriginal evidence in court in 1859. There was no official Aboriginal Affairs administration from 1855 to 1886. This meant that the fate of Aboriginal people in the colony increasingly lay with Resident Magistrates and the police.¹¹¹ 'By the 1850s any formal acknowledgement of Indigenous customs, laws and inter-relationships had disappeared, and the government had lost interest in civilising through training and education.'¹¹² In the 1870s, Aboriginal policy was beginning to receive some more attention. Governor Weld, in office between 1869 and 1875, passed legislation for the increased control and 'protection' of the Aboriginal population. This legislation focused on the regulation of employment in the pearl shell industry, the ability of Aboriginal people to give evidence in court and the removal of Aboriginal children to industrial schools.

Mission activity in the colony was fairly limited, particularly so in comparison to Natal. Dr Louis Giustiniani, the first missionary to Western Australia, between 1836 and 1838, was expelled from the colony for publicly defending the rights of Aboriginal people.¹¹³ The Reverend John Smithies of the Wesleyan Methodist Mission Society (WMMS), who I discuss in Chapter Three, was the next missionary to arrive in the colony, in 1840. Smithies was involved with various projects for the conversion and civilisation of Aboriginal people before being transferred to Van Diemen's Land in 1855.¹¹⁴ Archdeacon John Ramsden Wollaston, Church of

¹¹⁰ Green, 'Access, Equality and Opportunity?', 86; Brown, 'Policies in Aboriginal Education', iii.

¹¹¹ Jennie Carter, *History of the Removal of Aboriginal Children from their Families in Western Australia, 1829-1972* (Perth: Aboriginal Affairs Department, 1996), 5.

¹¹² Hunter, *A Different Kind of 'Subject'*, 192.

¹¹³ See Report of the Committee to investigate 'alleged aggressions on the Aborigines by the colonists and military at the Swan River settlement', Encl. in Joseph Freeman and John Tredgold to Glenelg, 12.10.1838, CO 18/21 Misc.

¹¹⁴ See William McNair and Hilary Rumley, *Pioneer Aboriginal Mission: The Work of Wesleyan Missionary John Smithies in the Swan River Colony 1840-1855* (Nedlands: UWA Press, 1981).

England missionary and pastor, and missionary George King, supported by the SPG, also arrived at the beginning of the 1840s. The Reverend George King opened a school for Aboriginal children at Fremantle, which ran between 1842 and 1848. The Sisters of Mercy began a small school in Perth in 1846, for white orphans and Aboriginal girls. The school received some government funding during the 1850s, but by the 1860s, Aboriginal children were more likely to be sent to New Norcia.¹¹⁵ Spanish Benedictine Catholic missionaries arrived during the course of the 1840s. In 1846, the Benedictine monks, Rosendo Salvado and Joseph Serra, began a mission at New Norcia, which ran until the 1970s.¹¹⁶ The New Norcia School fell outside of the 'amalgamation' model pursued by the other schools during this early period.¹¹⁷ Salvado promoted the isolation of Aboriginal people from settler society, as he believed exposure to it would be dangerous and degrading for them. Finally, Anne Camfield, sponsored by the SPG and the local government, ran a school at Albany between 1852 and 1870.

Missionaries were able to apply for government grants to supplement contributions made by their home missionary societies. From the mid-1850s until the early 1870s few attempts to open new schools for Aboriginal children were made.¹¹⁸ This indicated both a loss of faith in the impact of education, and also government and settler concerns over spending on Aboriginal affairs. Missionaries continued to be hopeful about Aboriginal civilisation, although their discourse was increasingly inflected with the pessimism of biological explanations for Aboriginal depopulation.

Some of these features of the Western Australian context have seen it characterised as exceptional or distinctive in relation to its national context. The historiography of the region has, according to Ruth Morgan, overlooked connections between the

¹¹⁵ Anne McLay, *Women out of their Sphere: A History of the Sisters of Mercy in Western Australia* (Northbridge: Vanguard Press, 1992), 75.

¹¹⁶ Anna Haebich has a full list of institutions for Aboriginal children in Western Australia from the 1840s into the twentieth century. See *Broken Circles*, 229-230. On New Norcia see Edward James Stormon (ed. and transl.), *The Salvado Memoirs*, 2nd edn (Crawley: University of Western Australia Press, 1978); George H. Russo, *Lord Abbot of the Wilderness: The life and times of Bishop Salvado* (Melbourne: Polding Press, 1980).

¹¹⁷ Green, 'Access, Equality and Opportunity?', 89.

¹¹⁸ See Haebich, *Broken Circles*, 229-230.

colony and the eastern Australian context, and with the Indian Ocean world.¹¹⁹ Charlie Fox describes Western Australia as a 'peripheral state' geographically, but also removed from the 'political and cultural action' in the eastern states.¹²⁰ The sense of Western Australian distinctiveness is fostered by geographical isolation, which has seen historiography preoccupied with the 'pioneer myth'.¹²¹ Western Australia's foundation as a free enterprise rather than a penal colony served to enhance the 'ambivalence about the east'.¹²² In some ways, as shown, Western Australia was different from the eastern colonies. However, that does not mean its history should be examined in isolation from broader imperial contexts.

Natal

The area that is present day KwaZulu-Natal was occupied by a number of different African groups during the eighteenth and nineteenth century. These were not unified under one chieftainship, but from the late eighteenth century, they began to consolidate into a larger group known as the Zulu. The Zulu kingdom, led by Shaka, had increased control over the smaller chieftains in what became the Natal area in the 1820s. Historians have debated the level of dispersal and violence during the *mfecane* in the early nineteenth century, with Julian Cobbing arguing that the idea was an 'alibi' used by liberal historians to divert attention from white colonisation.¹²³ Regardless, it is important to note that contemporary European settlers believed that the area that became Natal was newly settled by Nguni-speakers, who did not have a legitimate right to it. Dingane, Shaka's half-brother, ruled from 1828, following Shaka's assassination. The Voortrekkers, a group of Afrikaners, defeated Dingane in 1838, to establish the independent Boer republic of Natalia in 1838. In 1840,

¹¹⁹ Ruth Morgan, 'Western Australia in the Indian Ocean World - A Land looking West?', *Studies in Western Australian History*, 28 (2013), 1-11, 2-3. See also Cindy McCeery, 'Naval Gazes: HMS *Challenger*, Swan River and the Indian Ocean World c.1832', *Studies in Western Australian History*, 28 (2013), 13-26, 15.

¹²⁰ Charlie Fox, 'The View from the West', in *Australia's History: Themes and Debates*, ed. by Martyn Lyons and Penny Russell (eds) (Sydney: University of New South Wales Press, 2005), 81-97, 82.

¹²¹ *Ibid.*, 85.

¹²² *Ibid.*, 88.

¹²³ Academics continue to debate the significance of the *mfecane*, particularly regarding the role of Shaka and the broader socio-political changes in the early nineteenth century. See Carolyn Hamilton, *Terrific Majesty: The Powers of Shaka Zulu and the Limits of Historical Invention* (Cape Town: David Philip, 1998), 15-16; Julian Cobbing, 'The Mfecane as Alibi: Thoughts on Dithakong and Mbolompo', *The Journal of African History*, 29 (1988), 487-519.

Mpande overthrew Dingane.¹²⁴ The British annexed Natal in 1843, taking over the Boer republic. This was almost forty years after the British had finally taken the Cape from the Dutch in 1806. British recognition of pre-existing political authority amongst Nguni people had a fundamental impact on colonial education.

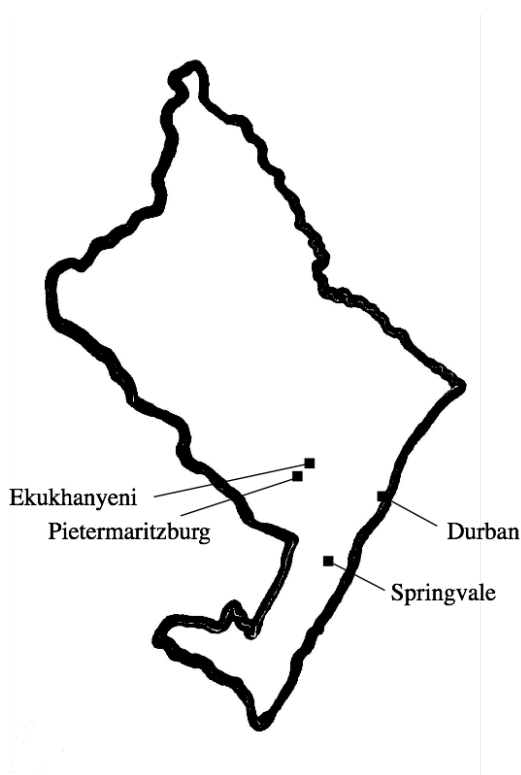


Figure 3 Map of Natal showing places mentioned in text¹²⁵

By 1850, the African population of Natal amounted to some hundred thousand people. Five thousand white British and Irish settlers arrived under the Byrne Emigration scheme between 1849 and 1852.¹²⁶ These settlers had political influence ‘out of all proportion to their numbers’.¹²⁷ Land and labour were, as more generally in settler colonies, always at the forefront of policy decisions for the colonial government in Natal. The white population had similar concerns to the Western Australian settlers about the ‘management’ of the African population, although the

¹²⁴ Robert Morrell, John Wright, and Sheila Meintjes, ‘Colonialism and the Establishment of White Domination 1840-1890’, in *Political Economy and Identities in KwaZulu-Natal: Historical and Social Perspectives*, ed. by Robert Morrell (Durban: Indicator Press, 1996), 33-62, 34.

¹²⁵ Map not to scale.

¹²⁶ John Lambert, *Betrayed Trust, Africans and the State in Colonial Natal* (Pinetown: University of Natal Press, 1995), 8, 10.

¹²⁷ Norman Etherington, Patrick Harries and Bernard Mbenga, ‘From Colonial Hegemonies to Imperial Conquest, 1840-1880’, in *The Cambridge History of South Africa: From Early Times to 1885 (Vol.1)*, ed. by Carolyn Hamilton, Bernard Mbenga and Robert Ross (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2010), 319-391, 362.

numbers of African people in the colony made the situation there more pressing. Debates about 'native affairs' in the 1840s and 1850s centred on whether the African population should be integrated with white settler society and treated as equal subjects under British law, or if they should be isolated in locations and governed under native law and 'custom'. The locations system won out, and Africans were increasingly confined to locations or mission reserves, where land was generally of poor quality. Theophilus Shepstone, Diplomatic Agent to Native Tribes from 1845 to 1853, and then Secretary of Native Affairs from 1853 to 1876, was influential in constructing a system of law in which Africans were ruled through local chiefs, by oral, customary law.

Early settlers developed a 'parasitic relationship' with African suppliers of produce, labour, and revenue through taxes.¹²⁸ The failure of many of Natal's first economic ventures, and lack of returns on settler investments, only solidified racial beliefs that Africans would not, or could not work steadily and reliably.¹²⁹ Settler labour needs, and their growing understanding that Africans were not flocking to white employment, led to the decision to import indentured labourers from India.¹³⁰ Between 1860 and 1911, 152,000 Indian people arrived in the colony, primarily to work on sugar cane plantations in Natal. This made for a varied and complicated social, economic and religious landscape, which included indentured Indian labourers, Zulu *kholwa* (converts), Zulu people who were not converted and were resisting the shift to an agricultural economy, Dutch-descended or Boer farmers (although their numbers were small, and they were concentrated in the north of the colony), and English settlers. Like Western Australia, the beginning of European education in the colony was slow. In 1849, a public, or government, primary school was opened in Pietermaritzburg. Another opened in Durban in 1850. High schools opened in 1863 and 1866 in Pietermaritzburg and Durban respectively.¹³¹

Natal was granted representative government in 1856, separating the colony's administration from the Cape, which gained representative government in 1853.

¹²⁸ Keegan, *Colonial South Africa*, 207.

¹²⁹ *Ibid.*, 78.

¹³⁰ Keletso Atkins, *The Moon is Dead! Give us our money! The Cultural Origins of an African Work Ethic, Natal, South Africa, 1843-1900* (London: James Currey Ltd, 1993), 2.

¹³¹ Abraham Behr and Ronald Macmillan, *Education in South Africa* (Pretoria: Van Schaik, 1971), 128.

Natal's constitution allowed for an elected majority in a unicameral legislature. The Legislative Council consisted of four officials and twelve representatives elected on a property qualification. The Crown, concerned about the treatment of Africans, refused to give the Legislative Council control of a reserve fund of £5,000, specifically for 'native purposes' and administered at the discretion of the governor. Conflicts over the fund meant that the Council was dissolved twice, in 1858 and 1861 respectively. In 1856, the first legislation for African education was passed. Missionaries were compelled to provide industrial training in their schools in order to receive government funding for education.

In contrast to Western Australia, where policy regarding Aboriginal people effectively stagnated during the 1850s and 1860s, the 1850s in Natal saw increasingly repressive laws passed to deal with the 'labour crisis'. Coercive labour, in the form of the *isibhalo* system, compelled chiefs to send a certain number of people living on locations or Crown lands to work for the government each year.¹³² In 1854, a Refugee Law was passed which made all (African) 'refugees' entering the colony liable to three years of labour for white employers. Africans native to Natal had to carry passes to be legally allowed in towns.¹³³ Ideas about the education of the native population were in constant conversation with fears over lack of labour in Natal's growing industries.

Natal was 'one of the most heavily missionized regions on earth' during the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries.¹³⁴ Between the 1830s and 1850s, groups from the American Board of Missions, Berlin Mission Society, Hermannsburg Mission Society, Wesleyan Methodist Mission Society, United Free Church of Scotland, and Society for the Propagation of the Gospel for Foreign Parts arrived in

¹³² Sheila Meintjes, 'Edendale 1850-1906: A Case Study of Rural Transformation and Class Formation in an African Mission in Natal' (PhD thesis, School of African and Oriental Studies, 1988), 92.

¹³³ Norman Etherington, 'The "Shepstone System" in the Colony of Natal and Beyond the Borders', in *Natal and Zululand from earliest times to 1910: A New History*, ed. by Andrew Duminy and Bill Guest (Pietermaritzburg: University of Natal Press, 1989), 170-192, 180.

¹³⁴ Norman Etherington, 'The Missionary Writing Machine in Nineteenth-Century Kwazulu-Natal', in *Mixed Messages: Materiality, Textuality, Missions*, ed. by Jamie Scott and Gareth Griffiths (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2005), 37-50, 37.

the colony.¹³⁵ Each of these groups began schools that followed different models for education. Unlike Western Australia, numerous day schools were opened for African children during this period.

The historiography of colonial South Africa has also been characterised by exceptionalism. As a recent edited collection comparing India and South Africa pointed out, both places have ‘tended to see themselves as exceptional, reducing social and political phenomena to the uniqueness of their respective societies’.¹³⁶ Natal was different from the Cape colony in some significant ways, which included the fact that the majority of the white population in Natal arrived after British annexation, and was British. The Indigenous population, too, was mostly made up of Zulu-speaking groups, rather than the more mixed Xhosa, Khoisan and ex-slave population of the Cape. However, there were also significant continuities between the Cape and Natal, not least because of policy connections. Using a comparative method highlights the continuities between colonies, while maintaining a focus on historical specificities in each place.

As Curthoys and Martens point out, on the face of it, Natal and Western Australia might not seem like good sites for comparison.¹³⁷ The foundation myths of each colony, and nation more broadly, do seem different at first glance, although they had some similar impacts in practice. In Australia, the land was declared a *terra nullius*. The presence of the Indigenous Aboriginal population was denied, or seen as reaching extinction. In Southern Africa, and colonial Natal in particular, the African black, or ‘native’, population was by far the largest group numerically. Their presence could not be denied, but their right to land could. As Julie Evans points out, these demographic differences meant that the presence of Aboriginal Australians was all but left out of debates about Federation in Australia in 1901, while the ‘native question’ dominated debates about the Union of South Africa in 1910.¹³⁸

¹³⁵ See Norman Etherington, *Preachers, Peasants and Politics in Southeast Africa, 1835-1880* (London: Royal Historical Society, 1978), Ch.2.

¹³⁶ Isabel Hofmeyr and Michelle Williams, ‘Introduction: South Africa-India: Historical Connections, Cultural Circulations and Socio-Political Comparisons’, in *South Africa and India: Shaping the Global South*, ed. by Isabel Hofmeyr and Michelle Williams (Johannesburg: Wits University Press, 2011), 2-21, 11.

¹³⁷ Curthoys and Martens, ‘Serious Collisions’, 121.

¹³⁸ Evans, ‘Safer as Subjects than Citizens’, 171.

The education of Indigenous people in these two colonies, partly based on numerical and social differences, often followed different lines. While child removal and the use of residential schools were favoured in the Western Australian context, in Natal, most African children were given little or no education initially, and during the earlier period of this study, were primarily provided for on mission stations in day or Sunday schools. Later, increased government involvement in educational policy and practice changed the way that education was provided in both contexts.

An awareness of these differences in context does not mean that these two colonies are not suitable as points of comparison. Both places had small numbers of settlers during the period under discussion here. Settlement in both places began in the post-emancipation era. The foundational ideologies of the colonies were, I argue, influenced by debates about the relationship between humanitarianism, settler colonialism and labour. While most Australian colonies gained self-government in the 1850s, 'in the Cape Colony, Western Australia and Natal, only residual metropolitan concerns about settlers' treatment of indigenous peoples delayed it until the 1870s and 1880s'.¹³⁹ Evans argues that in Natal and Western Australia during the nineteenth century, 'race had to be coded in other ways if colonial politicians were to avoid disallowance of their legislation', and that 'discrimination had to be carefully managed, as categorical exclusion could not be seen to infringe Britain's commitment to equality between its subjects'.¹⁴⁰ Education was one of the ways that racial difference was constructed and maintained in these settler colonies. Natal's Shepstonian system, based on keeping Africans in reserves and on mission stations, under a 'culturally-appropriate' system of native law, was a way of denying them equality, while still observing some of the 'humanitarian' principles of the imperial government. In Western Australia, where there was no recognition of Aboriginal systems of law to parallel that of the South African 'native' races, Aboriginal people were entitled to equal status under British law. However, in the 1840s, Governor John Hutt argued that rather than submitting Aboriginal people to trial, their cases

¹³⁹ Zoë Laidlaw, 'The Victorian State in its Imperial Context', in *The Victorian World*, ed. by Martin Hewitt (London and New York: Routledge, 2012), 329-345, 332.

¹⁴⁰ Evans, 'The Formulation of Privilege', 75.

should be dealt with by local magistrates. This too was posed as a 'fairer and more efficient means' of bringing Aboriginal people under British law.¹⁴¹

The proportion of Indigenous children in schools in both Natal and Western Australia was small throughout the period under study. In 1865, the Report of the Visitor of Native Schools in Natal recorded 1,190 adults and children receiving education in different kinds of schools.¹⁴² Missionaries ran the majority of these, with some fees paid by parents.¹⁴³ Only one per cent of the African population was in school in 1908.¹⁴⁴ It is important to stress that African parents were wary of missionaries' motives in offering schooling, and often refused to allow their children to be educated. In Western Australia, the number of Aboriginal children in school was also small. In 1860, there were only 66 Aboriginal pupils in the three schools in the colony.¹⁴⁵ In spite of the small numbers, schools and education policy are both significant in demonstrating the way that debates about race manifested.

The schools I deal with were primarily mission day schools that received some government support. These catered for children between the ages of six and fourteen, although as the chapters show, the selection of pupils varied widely across schools, stations and mission societies. I do not focus on infant schools for children under seven years old, although there were some infants in Annesfield School in Western Australia, discussed in Chapter Four. When schools included boarding facilities, I have mentioned this explicitly. I refer in Chapter One in particular to 'normal' schools, which were established to deliver teacher training to students who had already completed primary education. I discuss 'industrial schools' in some detail. It is important to point out that industrial schooling meant different things in metropolitan and colonial contexts. In the metropolitan case, as Chapter Five shows,

¹⁴¹ Ibid., 79.

¹⁴² Robert James Mann, Report on Native Schools, in Educational Returns, CO 183/15. Malherbe states that 5,263 'non-European' pupils were in school in 1855. This figure seems higher than is likely, based on later figures. Ernst Malherbe, *Education in South Africa, Volume 1: 1652-1922* (Cape Town and Johannesburg: Juta & co, Ltd, 1925), 218. This number includes Indian, 'native' and other races.

¹⁴³ Norman Etherington, 'Kingdoms of this World and Next: Christian Beginnings among Zulu and Swazi', *Christianity in South Africa: A Political, Social & Cultural history*, ed. by Richard Elphick and Rodney Davenport (Oxford: James Curry, Cape Town: David Phillip, 1997), 89-106, 99.

¹⁴⁴ Shula Marks, *Reluctant Rebellion: The 1906-1908 Disturbances in Natal* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1970), 56.

¹⁴⁵ Florence Nightingale, *Sanitary Statistics of Native Colonial Schools and Hospitals* (London: n.p., 1863), 20.

industrial schools were predominantly for poor, orphaned or criminal children. In the settler colonies, industrial schools, which combined Christianity and some manual skills training, were promoted for most Indigenous children, regardless of their class, gender or family connections. However, what constituted ‘industrial training’ was poorly defined. As Andrew Paterson argued of the Cape colony, ‘even though colonial actors [government commissioners and officials, missionaries, students of the Native Question] ostensibly agreed on the need for “industrial education” they lacked a common definition of “industrial education”...’¹⁴⁶

Note on sources and boundaries: Symmetries and silences

One challenge of this research has been incorporating a wide variety of source material, as well as attempting to find ways to combine these sources to enhance our understanding of the two areas under discussion. I am interested in local cases and everyday pedagogical practice in institutions, but also in the global dimensions of debates about race and education. This thesis makes the case for comparative studies that do not necessarily use symmetrical source material. For example, there is an abundance of missionary source material for Natal, but by contrast, in Western Australia, where mission activity was limited, missionary sources are limited as well, particularly for English-speaking historians.¹⁴⁷ For this reason, I have at times, compared education legislation with local case studies, missionary schools with government established schools, and records from humanitarian lobbyists with colonial policy. Doing so, I show, provides a richly textured picture of the position of education in different societies. Moreover, reading the cases in parallel makes the silences or ‘gaps’ in the archive more visible. These asymmetries are not reasons to avoid comparison. As Anderson’s *Subaltern Lives* shows, ‘fragmentary’ source material can be used in creative ways to reconstruct life histories in the Indian Ocean world.¹⁴⁸ Using source material that is sometimes rich and detailed, and at other

¹⁴⁶ Andrew Paterson, “‘The Gospel Of Work Does Not Save Souls’: Conceptions Of Industrial And Agricultural Education For Africans In the Cape Colony, 1890-1930”, *History of Education Quarterly*, 45 (2005), 377-404, 378.

¹⁴⁷ Much of the source material from the New Norcia mission is written in Spanish.

¹⁴⁸ Clare Anderson, *Subaltern Lives: Biographies of Colonialism in the Indian Ocean World, 1790-1920* (Cambridge and New York: Cambridge University Press, 2012), 22.

times leaves gaps in our knowledge, shows how broader questions can be read through different kinds of sources.

The second asymmetry in the sources is one of power, manifested in whose voices the sources represent or silence. I am aware that the colonial archive must be read as both a 'source' and a 'subject': containing information about Indigenous education, and reflecting 'political energies and expertise'.¹⁴⁹ Salesa shows how colonial 'archives were conduits that guided and framed policy, organized and directed action, defined and disciplined space and people, authorized, legitimated, and made illicit'.¹⁵⁰ Historians are increasingly aware of the necessity of restoring and listening to Indigenous voices and perspectives in their work.¹⁵¹ This can be difficult when sources have been created by mission societies, humanitarian lobbyists, local and imperial governments, who said a large amount *about* Indigenous education, but often did not consult or record the voices or perspectives of Indigenous people themselves. I have not been able to find records that reflect more than fleetingly what Indigenous children made of their education, teachers and schools. For this reason, I cannot claim that this thesis represents Indigenous perspectives on education. Rather, I am interested in the way that education became a site of contestation over racial policy and discriminatory practice in both Natal and Western Australia. Wherever possible, I have included the words of Indigenous people who were receiving education and have tried to indicate what their perceptions of education were. However, this thesis must be read as an account of the relationship between government and missionaries, in the first instance, rather than as an attempt to speak to Indigenous experiences.

The study does not attempt to address the impact of education on Indigenous society in detail. I have chosen this approach for two reasons. Firstly, we know relatively little about broader ideas about race, educability, and labour as articulated through education policy. The sources that I have used reveal far more explicitly the opinions and worldview of the missionaries, settlers or officials who wrote them, than the

¹⁴⁹ Ann Laura Stoler, *Along the Archival Grain: Epistemic Anxieties and Colonial Common Sense* (New Jersey: Princeton University Press, 2010), 22.

¹⁵⁰ Salesa, *Racial Crossings*, 11.

¹⁵¹ A recent collection that tries to refocus on Indigenous perspectives and agency is Jane Carey and Jane Lydon (eds) *Indigenous Networks: Mobility, Connections and Exchange* (New York and Oxon: Routledge, 2014).

Indigenous people they claim to represent. Secondly, a further limitation of the sources is that while I hoped to have detailed portraits of life for students in mission schools, these have only survived in fragmentary ways. I began this introduction by pointing to the emotional and affective ties that were disrupted or created by colonial education. Starting in this way should be seen as a commitment to thinking about the real impact of policy and practice on Indigenous people's lives.

Part of the difficulty of addressing the question of education without accessing children's voices has been that I am often working at the level of policy, where ideas can, at times, appear divorced from context. During the course of writing the thesis, it has been important for me to 'think education intimately'. By this I mean that education must be understood as intensely disruptive to children's lives, but also construed as affecting relationships between parents, children, family and community. As Ann Stoler argues, schools and education were part of the 'tense and tender ties' of colonialism:

Such colonial institutions, designed to shape young bodies and minds, were central to imperial policies and their self-fashioned rationalities. Colonial states had an abiding interest in a sentimental education, in the rearing of the young and affective politics.¹⁵²

Education was about the intimate affective ties between adults and children, but also about broader ideas about amalgamation, labour, colour and power that underlined the imperial project.

Finally, I am more interested in the relationship *between* government and missionaries than in mission activity itself. Missionaries were, as mentioned, the primary educators in the settler colonies in the period under discussion. At the risk of constructing the category 'missionary' as static and stable across space, society and time, I have chosen not to examine denominational differences. As Etherington points out in the case of missions in Natal, '[i]n the long run the similarities among

¹⁵² Stoler, 'Tense and Tender Ties', 850. See also Ann Stoler, *Carnal Knowledge and Imperial Power: Race and the Intimate in Colonial Rule* (London: University of California Press, 2002), esp. Ch. 5.

missionary operations heavily outweighed the differences'.¹⁵³ I have also not looked in detail at missionaries' own pedagogical training. This would be a fruitful area for future research.¹⁵⁴

Chapter outline

The thesis begins with two chapters that examine education in the broader British imperial context. In these opening chapters, I am interested primarily in connections. I argue that ideas about race, education and labour were moving through different metropolitan and colonial spaces, and that they were influenced by changes in both local and imperial contexts. Chapters One and Two span the chronology covered in this thesis. Chapter One focuses on the post-emancipation era, from 1833 to 1847. Chapter Two begins in 1850 and ends in the mid-1860s.

Chapter One considers government interventions in education in Britain and the West Indies. I focus on the 1833 grants for education in Britain, and the provision of the Negro Education grant between 1835 and 1845 in the West Indies. This chapter shows that educational change occurred in metropolitan and colonial contexts simultaneously. Examining other areas where the relationship between race/class, education and labour were being debated sheds light on my two primary cases of Natal and Western Australia. I point to the connections between the histories of education in Britain, the West Indies, and other British colonies in the 1830s and 1840s. Highlighting these connections, however, should not be seen as an attempt to erase very real differences between the categories of class and race, in particular, and between ways of belonging in different colonies. By 1847, when James Kay-Shuttleworth proposed a system of education for the 'coloured races' of the British colonies, the categories of class and race in metropole and colony were shifting further apart. Bringing these cases within the same framework, however, provides a space for thinking about some of the broader imperial formations that underpinned education provision in the settler colonies. Widening the lens of my project to

¹⁵³ Etherington, *Preachers, Peasants*, 46.

¹⁵⁴ On the Natal case, see Etherington, 'Kingdoms of this World and Next'.

include these sites has given me a more rounded understanding of how education was related to the need for labour in different contexts.

Chapter Two builds on the theme of connections and raises questions of scale. I examine education policy and practice from the scale of an empire-wide study, to a local mission station, between 1850 and 1865. Personal connections between individuals shaped education policy and practice in the colonies. I discuss a survey conducted by Florence Nightingale in 1860, in which she attempted to quantify the effects of ‘civilisation’ on Indigenous children. I then turn to Sir George Grey’s schemes for education in New Zealand and the Cape, and argue that his understanding of similarities between Maori and African people shaped his approach to education. Finally, I indicate how the Anglican Bishop of Natal, John Colenso, put Grey’s schemes into place at the Ekukhanyeni Institution. In each of these cases, individuals tried to define ‘civilisation’ and considered how it could be inculcated through education. By focusing on different scales of enquiry, this chapter allows us to picture how education policy was translated into practice. I argue that schools should be thought of as ‘frontiers’ as they were important sites of exchange between the local and imperial government, missionaries and Indigenous people.

The second half of the thesis takes a comparative approach, and analyses education policy and practice in Natal and Western Australia, between the 1830s and 1875. Chapter Three takes the broadest view of education, examining colonialism as a pedagogic practice.¹⁵⁵ I look at the relationship between land, labour and education in each place, between 1833 and 1856. I highlight policies of amalgamation and insulation that were central to the ‘management’ and ‘civilisation’ of Indigenous people in Western Australia and Natal. Here, I am particularly interested in colonial policy on education – both on a local and imperial scale. I argue that colonial government policy between the late 1840s and the 1850s was shaped by ‘ambivalent humanitarianism’ in which local colonial governments were caught between providing for the needs of settlers and ‘protecting’ or ‘improving’ Indigenous people.¹⁵⁶ I look at Governor John Hutt’s ideas about amalgamation in Western Australia. Hutt believed that Aboriginal people should live in close proximity to

¹⁵⁵ Seth, *Subject Lessons*, 2.

¹⁵⁶ Lester and Dussart, *Colonization*, 273-275.

settlers, and be introduced to steady labour as the best means of civilisation. This policy was extended to Aboriginal adults and children between 1839 and 1846. In the Natal case, I examine debates about the formation of native locations at the end of the 1840s and beginning of the 1850s. Two Commissions of Enquiry, one on native reserves and the other on native labour, considered the status of African land ownership, settlement and labour in the colony. I show how each Commission approached the issue of education and how central education was to understandings of both ‘amalgamation’ and ‘insulation’.

Chapter Four closely examines education in practice, between the early 1850s and 1870. Firstly, I discuss Anne Camfield’s Annesfield School in Albany, Western Australia. I then discuss SPG missionary Dr Henry Callaway’s Springvale mission. I illustrate the way that ideas about race, labour and education that had been (and were being) articulated at the imperial level played out in individual cases. Both Camfield and Callaway believed that they could successfully teach their pupils, but were also faced by pessimistic ideas about the future of Indigenous people in each colony. They each used examples of individual Indigenous people’s success in education to try to prove the intellectual capacity of different races. The chapter shows a later engagement with humanitarian ideas about education that had been articulated in the 1830s and 1840s.

The final chapter of the thesis interrogates ideas about race, class and education in Britain, Western Australia and Natal. I use diverse archival sources: in Britain and Western Australia my focus is on legislation, while in Natal, I look at one case study that highlights some tensions in the relationship between race, education and Empire. I begin by discussing the Elementary Education Act in Britain in 1870, which had significant impact on education legislation in the settler colonies. I then turn to industrial schools legislation in Britain and Western Australia. I argue that this legislation in both metropolitan and colonial contexts constructed childhood as a particularly vulnerable period of life, and positioned the state as central to the protection of children. I then turn to Natal, where in 1874, a group of St Helenian children entered the government school, generally understood to cater for white children. Their presence was a matter of concern for white children’s parents, who asked for them to be removed from the school. This case shows that white

childhood, like Indigenous childhood, was seen as a fragile time for the formation of racialised identities. By putting these diverse cases and archival sources into conversation with each other I show that comparison can open up new ways of understanding broader imperial processes.

Note on terminology

I have chosen to use the term ‘Indigenous’ to refer to Aboriginal Australians, Africans in Southern Africa, and to the original inhabitants of other places mentioned in the thesis.¹⁵⁷ I have also used the terminology that appears in the sources. In the Australian case, Aboriginal people were generally referred to as ‘aboriginal’ or ‘aborigines’. In Natal, the term ‘native’ was often used, as was ‘Kafir’ or ‘Kaffir’ which has a particularly violent legacy in colonial South Africa. I use these terms with an awareness of their historical connotations and legacies.

¹⁵⁷ See Lydon and Carey, ‘Notes on Text’, for a discussion of the term ‘Indigenous’, in *Indigenous Networks*, n.p.

Chapter One

Popular ignorance and political freedom: Education in the context of emancipation, 1833-1847

In 1835, a pamphlet written by the British and Foreign Bible Society, one of the two major voluntary education organisations working in Britain, proclaimed that ‘[p]opular ignorance is a *national* calamity; the means of instruction must therefore be afforded to all sects and parties in the nation’.¹ Two years later, the British government appointed inspector of education in the West Indies, Charles La Trobe, who went on to be the Superintendent of the Port Phillip Protectorate, and Lieutenant-Governor of Victoria, wrote that the ‘gift of education is what the Negro must claim, now that this of complete political freedom has been bestowed’.² This chapter explores the linked contexts in which education came to be seen as a national issue, and as central to social reform in both Britain and the colonies. The concept of education was reconfigured in the first half of the nineteenth century. Changing social and political circumstances, connected to industrialisation in Britain, emancipation and apprenticeship in the slave colonies, and colonial expansion more broadly, saw government involvement in education for the first time. Ideas about what education should enable, who should access it, and how, changed in relation to these developments. At the same time, teaching and inspection began to professionalize.

This chapter focuses on the connections between education in Britain, the West Indies and the settler colonies in the period 1833 to 1847. A central aim of the chapter is to point out how we might understand the civilising mission in the British settler colonies in a different way by linking it to the histories of educational change elsewhere. Or, put another way, this chapter asks how our understanding of the civilising mission changes by reading it through the lens of broader educational change in Britain and other colonies.

¹ Brief account of the British and Foreign School Society 1835, CO 318/122.

² *Negro Education, British Guiana & Trinidad, 14 August 1838*, HC 35 (1839), [Hereafter *British Guiana and Trinidad Report*], 11.

This case study provides a useful point of departure for this thesis for a number of reasons. From the 1820s to 1840s, there were remarkable changes within both Britain and the colonies, which impacted on ideas about race, civilisation, and education. In 1833, government grants were made for education in England for the first time. The Reform Act in Britain was central to the construction of British identity, which was also being produced by colonial encounters, both in the West Indies and in colonies of settlement.³ Industrialisation in Britain prompted a rethinking of the meaning of childhood, children and labour. In the slave colonies, as the conditions of emancipation were negotiated, the imperial government decided to provide funding ‘for the religious and moral education of the negro population to be emancipated’.⁴ The resulting Negro Education Grant, in place for ten years from 1835, was both modelled on, and informed, similar policy being introduced in Britain following the 1832 Reform Act.

Although the histories of, and literature surrounding, emancipation and (settler) colonialism have often been dealt with separately, there are good reasons for considering their connections as well as divergences.⁵ Zoë Laidlaw argues that ‘[b]ringing colonialism and settler colonialism into the same frame could help us to better understand imperial violence and indigenous dispossession, as well as slavery and labour exploitation.’⁶ This chapter traces discursive and material connections between these contexts. The debates about Indigenous education in the settler colonial contexts that I examine in the following chapters of the thesis are best understood in relation to other places where relationships between education and labour were changing.

Evangelical humanitarian thinking of the early nineteenth century connected Britain with the colonies. For both government and missionaries, the conversion and

³ Hall, *Civilising Subjects*, 12, 16.

⁴ Ministerial proposition for the emancipation of slaves, HC Deb 14.05.1833, vol. 17, cc.1230-1231.

⁵ See Zoë Laidlaw, ‘Heathens, Slaves and Aborigines: Thomas Hodgkin’s Critique of Missions and Anti-Slavery’, *History Workshop Journal*, 64:1 (2007), 133-161, 136, and ‘Imperial Complicity: Indigenous Dispossession in British History and History Writing’, in *Emancipation and the Remaking of the British Imperial World*, ed. by Catherine Hall, Nick Draper and Keith McClelland (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2014), 131-148. See also Catherine Hall, ‘The Slave-Owner and the Settler’, in *Indigenous Networks: Mobility, Connections and Exchange*, ed. by Jane Carey and Jane Lydon (New York and Oxon: Routledge, 2014), 29-49.

⁶ Laidlaw, ‘Imperial Complicity’, 144.

education of the poor in England and emancipated slaves in the West Indies, was essential to social reform. As Susan Thorne has put it, missionaries understood the conversion of the poor at home and of ‘heathens’ in the colonies as ‘two fronts of the same war’.⁷ Discussions of the fate of apprentices in the West Indies, their children in particular, and the working poor in Britain played off each other. Hall’s study of Baptist missionaries in Jamaica and Birmingham highlights that for missionaries,

Their struggle both at home and abroad, as they conceptualised it, was with the forces of evil, reaction, ‘dark savagery’, heathenism and superstition, all of which could as easily be met in the back streets of Birmingham as in the markets of Calcutta or the plantations of Jamaica.⁸

By the end of the 1840s, however, a shifting understanding of race and a changing relationship between the imperial and local West Indian governments, led to a divergence in education policy in the two places, and a rethinking of colonial education more broadly. As the following chapters will show, the emphasis on education for labour, and industrial education, in particular, arose out of the need to justify a social order based on different relationships to labour and, therefore, different relationships to education. The final part of this chapter highlights this divergence and outlines the implications of emancipation and apprenticeship for the language of ‘civilisation’ in the settler colonies.

The West Indian Negro Education Grant was not a blueprint for other colonial education policies. Indian and Irish education had received attention in the years before Grant was extended. From 1813, the East India Company was bound to spend £10,000 annually on Indian education. This earlier government intervention in education was a result of both evangelical Christian ideas about the civilising

⁷ Susan Thorne, “‘The Conversion of Englishmen and the Conversion of the World Inseparable’: Missionary Imperialism and the Language of Class in Early Industrial Britain”, in *Tensions of Empire: Colonial Cultures in a Bourgeois World*, ed. by Ann Laura Stoler and Frederick Cooper (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1997), 238-262, 238, 240. See also Susan Thorne, ‘Religion and Empire at Home’, in *At Home with Empire: Metropolitan Culture and the Imperial World*, ed. by Catherine Hall and Sonya Rose (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2006), 143-165, 149.

⁸ Hall, *Civilising Subjects*, 88. Alison Twells argues early nineteenth-century missionary philanthropy ‘combined an impressive and astonishingly ambitious array of concerns’, which included making ‘loyal, moral and industrious subjects out of the working classes at home’, ending slavery and the slave trade, and promoting ‘civilisation’ in the empire. Alison Twells, *The Civilising Mission and the English Middle Class, 1792-1850: The “Heathen” at Home and Overseas* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2009), 2.

potential of education, but also pre-colonial Indian traditions of education.⁹ In Ireland, the Irish National School system started in 1831, to provide grants to both Catholic and Protestant schools. Funding favoured schools catering for both denominations. These schools carefully separated religious and ‘secular’ education, and were managed by a Board that oversaw curriculum, textbooks and the management of teachers.¹⁰ In the settler colonies, however, during the 1830s and 1840s, education was generally provided for out of general ‘native affairs’ budgets, using combinations of finance and expertise from Native Protectors, government residents, and private contributions from mission societies. Although, as mentioned earlier, the *Report of the Select Committee on Aborigines* argued that education was essential to the future of Indigenous people in the British colonies, local colonial governments’ reactions to this were ambivalent at best. This makes the West Indian case even more worthy of discussion: the fact that the imperial government chose to intervene directly in education shows how central education was to conceptions of humanitarian governance.

This chapter proceeds as follows: firstly, I explore the educational milieu in Britain from the beginning of the nineteenth century until the 1840s, before turning to the West Indian context, and discussing the Negro Education Grant in detail. I highlight the similarities, connections and divergences between conceptions of education in Britain and the West Indies directly after emancipation. Finally, I show that discussions about education in Britain and the West Indies were connected to other British colonies, by considering James Kay-Shuttleworth’s memorandum on education for the ‘coloured races’ in the British colonies. Written after the Negro Education Grant terminated, and based on British and continental education models,

⁹ See Lynn Zastoupil and Martin Moir (eds), *The Great Indian Education Debate: Documents relating to the Orientalist-Anglicist Controversy, 1781-1843* (Surrey: Curzon, 1999), 6-8 and 90-92; Jana Tschurenne, ‘Diffusing Useful Knowledge: The Monitorial System of Education in Madras, London and Bengal, 1789-1840’, *Paedagogica Historica*, 44 (2008), 245-264 and Tim Allender, ‘Learning Abroad: The Colonial Educational Experiment in India, 1813-1919’, *Paedagogica Historica*, 45 (2009), 727-741. It is worth mentioning that the same year that the Negro Education Grant was extended, Macaulay wrote his famous Education Minute that promoted Anglicisation for Indian people. See Zastoupil and Moir, *The Great Indian Education Debate*, 165. Therefore, the nature and purpose of education was being debated in different parts of the Empire.

¹⁰ John Coolahan, *Irish Education: History and Structure* (Dublin: Institute of Public Administration, 1981), 13; see also Jennifer Ridden, ‘“Making Good Citizens”: National Identity, Religion, and Liberalism among the Irish Elite, c.1800-1850’ (PhD thesis, King’s College London, 1998), particularly Ch.3. On connections between the Irish National system and education in the British colonies see Walsh, ‘Education and the “universalist” Idiom of Empire’.

this underlines linked contexts of Britain, the West Indies, Europe and the colonies of settlement.

Educating the poor in early nineteenth century Britain

Following the Reform Act in 1832, the status of education in Britain changed. In the same parliamentary session as slavery was abolished, the recently elected Whig government voted for the introduction of a grant of £20,000 per year, later raised to £30,000, to provide schoolhouses for children of Britain's poorer classes.¹¹ Churches and voluntary societies had previously funded education with no government support.¹² The British and Foreign School Society (BFSS) and National Society, both started in the early nineteenth century, pioneered the monitorial education system. This relied on older students to teach younger ones, requiring less expertise and teacher training.¹³ Apart from monitorial schools, many working-class children were educated in Sunday Schools. Between 1800 and the 1830s, the number of children attending Sunday Schools in England and Wales rose from 200,000 to 1,400,000.¹⁴ These provided Christian lessons, and some basic numeracy and literacy. Working people were motivated to become literate in order to engage with new political movements.¹⁵ Evangelical Christianity fostered the need to read the Bible, and this too drove 'the remarkable spread of basic literacy through England, Scotland, and Wales'.¹⁶

The 1833 government grant provided only for building new classrooms, for fear that the voluntary societies would withdraw their subscriptions when they received government funding. The National Society, which provided primarily for Anglican

¹¹ J. Alexander, and D.G. Paz, 'The Treasury Grants, 1833-1839', *British Journal of Educational Studies*, 22:1 (1974), 78-92, 78. The Abolition of slavery was debated in the House of Commons on 03.06.1833. The Education debates took place on 14.03.1833 and 17.08.1833. See HC Deb 03.06.1833, vol. 18 cc308-60 and HC Deb 17.08.1833, vol. 20 cc732-6 and HL Deb 14.03.1833, vol. 16 cc632-9 for Commons and Lords debates about the Grant.

¹² Tschurenev, 'Diffusing Useful Knowledge', 251.

¹³ Jana Tschurenev, 'Incorporation and Differentiation: Popular Education and the Imperial Civilizing Mission in Early Nineteenth Century India', in *Civilizing Missions in Colonial and Postcolonial South Asia: From Improvement to Development*, ed. by Carey A. Watt and Michael Mann (London and New York: Anthem Press, 2011), 93-124, 99. See Twells, *The Civilising Mission*, 64-69 on the monitorial system.

¹⁴ Linda Colley, *Britons: Forging the Nation, 1707-1837* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1992, repr. 2009), 231.

¹⁵ McCoy, 'Education for Labour', 104-106.

¹⁶ Etherington, 'Education and Medicine', 261.

pupils received eighty per cent of this funding.¹⁷ Apart from this grant specifically for education, other legislative changes also impacted on the status of British children in society. The 1833 Factory Act limited the number of hours children could work in a day, making the problem of 'idle' children more visible, as more time was spent on the streets, rather than in employment.¹⁸ The 1834 Poor Law provided some education for poor children, but was connected with harsh labour conditions.¹⁹

Education was now understood as a government responsibility, and something which more children should have access to, albeit in different forms. Workhouse schools began to be opened for pauper children, industrial schools for the very poor or orphans, and reform schools for the criminal. Connections between morality, industry, and Christianity shaped the education provided in these schools. Since the poor were seen to lack discipline and morality, education would show them the advantages of hard work.²⁰ The changing British social landscape encouraged the glorification of industriousness, and 'true manhood was defined by the capacity to work for oneself in the world, to trust in the dignity of labour, and to make money, rather than to live off an existing fortune'.²¹

A central issue in the provision of education for working children was what its (longer term) effect would be on their political consciousness. Despite increased provision, there was still a firm belief amongst the middle and upper classes that education should be tailored to class, and that the education provided for working children should not interfere with their labour, or encourage them to aspire beyond their class status.²² As Patrick Brantlinger points out, mass literacy in early nineteenth-century

¹⁷ Doherty, 'Bureaucracy and the Education of the Poor', 336. Until the final third of the nineteenth century, religious charities remained largely responsible for the education of the poor, Neil Smelser, *Social Paralysis and Social Change: British Working-Class Education in the Nineteenth Century* (Oxford: University of California Press, 1991), 42.

¹⁸ McCoy, 'Education for Labour', 109.

¹⁹ Andrew Armitage highlights similarities between the New Poor Law and the *Report of the Select Committee on Aborigines*. He argues that both reports were based on 'an assumption that the purpose of policy was to bring "outsiders", whether the poor or aboriginals, within the established institutions of British society and, particularly, the wage economy (albeit at the level of the lowest paid independent labourer)'. Andrew Armitage, *Comparing the Policy of Aboriginal Assimilation: Australia, Canada and New Zealand* (Vancouver: University of British Columbia Press, 1995), 4.

²⁰ Thomas Holt, *The Problem of Freedom: Race, Labour, and Politics in Jamaica and Britain, 1832-1938* (Baltimore and London: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 1992), 35.

²¹ Hall, *Civilising Subjects*, 27.

²² William Brewer Stephens, *Education in Britain, 1750-1914* (London: MacMillan Press Ltd, 1998), 12.

England was seen as ‘at best a dubious and at worst a nefarious development’.²³ This anxiety also pervaded education provision in the colonies. Education could ‘civilise’ morally depraved children and train them into docility and acceptance of their class positions but also raise awareness of social inequalities. During the 1830s and 1840s, elementary education was advocated as a ‘means of socialising the working class’ after a period of popular disturbances.²⁴ The focus on the transformation of the character of the students and the imposition of middle-class values meant that education was intended as a way of teaching social conformity, rather than independent thinking.²⁵ However, education could also raise political consciousness, and undermine a society based on a fragile, and rapidly changing, class hierarchy. ‘Motives for educating the poor were a mix of the practical need for literate workers, philanthropic idealism, and, for some, an insurance against revolution by the poor.’²⁶ These changing ideas about intervention in the lives of the poor were ‘driven both by a sense of danger to the social order and by an Enlightenment confidence that, given the appropriate environment, people’s lives could be reshaped’.²⁷

It took several years before the 1833 education grants were successfully administered. In 1839, in a debate proposing the appointment of a Committee of Privy Council on Education, Lord John Russell, then Home Secretary, was able to remark that ‘[a]ll the inquiries which have been made show a deficiency in the general Education of the People which is not in accordance with the character of a Civilized and Christian Nation’.²⁸ The Committee on Education was officially appointed in April 1839, with James Kay, later Kay-Shuttleworth, as its Permanent Secretary. Its members included Thomas Spring Rice, who was influential in the creation of policy regarding the Negro Education Grant and a close ally of Thomas Fowell Buxton. Spring Rice was also involved in the Irish education system, and argued in the 1820s that education for Catholics and Protestants in Ireland should be provided by one government-funded

²³ Patrick Brantlinger, ‘The Case of the Poisonous Book: Mass Literacy as Threat in Nineteenth-Century British Fiction’, *Victorian Review*, 20 (1994), 117-133, 119.

²⁴ Anne Digby and Peter Searby, *Children, School and Society in Nineteenth Century England* (London: MacMillan Press, 1981), 23.

²⁵ *Ibid.*, 25, 27.

²⁶ May, Kaur, and Prochner, *Empire, Education, and Indigenous Childhoods*, 28.

²⁷ Hugh Cunningham, ‘Introduction’, in *Charity, Philanthropy and Reform: from the 1690s to 1850*, ed. by Hugh Cunningham and Joanna Innes (Basingstoke: Macmillan Press Ltd, 1998), 1-14, 4.

²⁸ Lord John Russell to the Lord President of the Council, 4.02.1839, *Papers on Education*, HC 16 (1839), 1.

scheme, and that a combination of secular and religious education was essential to Irish ‘moral improvement’.²⁹ Russell had experience as vice-president of the BFSS since 1824, and had written about Catholic emancipation through education in Ireland.³⁰ The Committee emphasised the link between morality, industry and religion. Religious teaching was to remain central to the schools receiving government aid. It was to ‘be combined with the whole matter of instruction, and to regulate the entire system of discipline’.³¹ ‘Morally corrupt’ working parents had the power to contaminate their children, and the role of both church and government was to watch over these children as their own responsibility.³² The government, in particular, was to regulate labour, and to ‘care’ for children whose parents were constructed as unfit to do so.

The first education inspectors were appointed in 1839, and began work in 1840, two years after Charles La Trobe was appointed to inspect schools in the West Indian colonies.³³ Inspectors were to ensure that voluntary contributions to schools remained steady by pointing out where money from these associations or private benefactors might best be used. They were not permitted to ‘interfere with the instruction, management or discipline of the school’.³⁴ Inspections were used to enforce ‘more uniform standards and greater curricular secularization’ and only schools that submitted to inspections were eligible to receive government grants.³⁵ Keeping this discussion of the emergence of state intervention in British education in mind, I now turn to the context of the West Indies immediately after emancipation.

²⁹ Ridden, “‘Making Good Citizens’”, 91, 98.

³⁰ Ian Newbould, ‘The Whigs, the Church, and Education, 1839’, *Journal of British Studies*, 26 (1987), 332–346, 341.

³¹ *Extracts from Minutes of Proceedings of Committee of Privy Council on Education, 13.04.1839*, HC 177 (1839), 1.

³² Paul Sedra, ‘Exposure to the Eyes of God: Monitorial Schools and Evangelicals in Early Nineteenth-century England’, *Paedagogica Historica*, 47 (2011), 263–281, 266.

³³ *Minutes of Committee of Privy Council on Education, 13.04.1839*, 3. It is noteworthy that the first education inspectors were appointed in the Cape in the same year. This shows that education policy was not emanating from a well-established centre, but rather, was responding to both local and global changes in thinking about education. In fact, as Helen Ludlow points out, the Cape had the first system of national free schools open to all of its population anywhere in the British Empire, which lasted from 1839 until the 1860s. Helen Ludlow, ‘Examining the Government Teacher: State Schooling and Scandal in a Mid-Nineteenth-Century Cape Village’, *South African Historical Journal*, 62 (2010), 534–560, 534.

³⁴ *Minutes of the Committee of Council on Education, 24.09.1839*, HC 18 (1840), 11.

³⁵ Stephens, *Education in Britain*, 7.

The Negro Education Grant: Experts, advisors and missionaries

At the same time as the first Parliamentary aid was given to voluntary educational associations working in Britain, an education grant was made to the West Indian colonies. The British government offered a Negro Education Grant of £20,000 to the West Indies, Mauritius and the Cape, between 1835 and 1845.³⁶ This Grant was specifically for the ‘religious and moral education of the negro population to be emancipated’, and to ‘train’ apprentices and their children for freedom.³⁷ Like the British Grant, this was raised to £30,000 in 1837, with an additional £5,000 for normal schools. Between 1833 and 1841, imperial government spending on education in the West Indies matched that spent on education at ‘home’.³⁸ This was in spite of the fact that the population of the Caribbean made up a twentieth of the British population.³⁹ Edward Stanley, then secretary of state for war and the colonies, pushed for this reform, likely influenced by his involvement in education in Ireland in the 1820s and 1830s.⁴⁰ The 1833 Abolition Act freed children under six years old, which meant that many who were living on plantations were no longer working.⁴¹ Similar

³⁶ The correspondence indicates that the Grant was never applied in the Cape. Extensive returns were forwarded from the West Indian colonies, but similar ones did not arrive from the Cape, and those that came from Mauritius were less full. Nigel Worden states that there was ‘no equivalent’ of the activity surrounding the Grant in the West Indies, at the Cape. See Nigel Worden, ‘Between Slavery and Freedom: The Apprenticeship Period, 1834 to 1838’, in *Breaking the Chains: Freedom and Its Legacy in the Nineteenth-Century Cape Colony*, ed. by Nigel Worden and Clifton Crais (Johannesburg: Witwatersrand University Press, 1994), 117-144, 121n. The extensive correspondence between missionary John Philip and Thomas Fowell Buxton during this period does suggest that missionaries at the Cape would have known about the Grant. See Laidlaw, *Colonial Connections*, Ch. 6 on this connection. Many freed slaves at the Cape did end up on mission stations, where it is likely that they received some literary training, although not under the auspices of the Grant. Wayne Dooling, *Slavery, Emancipation and Colonial Rule in South Africa* (Scottsville: University of KwaZulu-Natal Press, 2007), 117-8.

³⁷ Patricia Rooke, ‘A Scramble for Souls: The Impact of the Negro Education Grant on Evangelical Missionaries in the British West Indies’, *History of Education Quarterly*, 21:4 (1981), 429-447, 429. See *Abolition of Slavery. Papers in explanation of the measures adopted by His Majesty’s government, for giving effect to the act for the abolition of slavery throughout the British colonies: Part 1 – Jamaica, 1833-1835*, HC 177 (1835), 5. Shirley Gordon, *A Century of West Indian Education: A Source Book* (London: Longmans, Green and Co, 1963), Ch. 3 includes extracts from some of the important correspondence surrounding the Grant.

³⁸ Carl Campbell, ‘Social and Economic Obstacles to the Development of Popular Education in Post-Emancipation Jamaica, 1834-1863’ (University of the West Indies, Department of History, n.d.), 7.

³⁹ William Green, *British Slave Emancipation: The Sugar Colonies and the Great Experiment 1830-1865* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1976), 336.

⁴⁰ Ridden, “‘Making Good Citizens’”, especially Ch. 3.

⁴¹ Unlike adults who were automatically apprenticed, parents of freed children had to apply to special magistrates for their children to be registered as apprentices, which very few did. This meant that ‘the number of younger children with the full status of freedom was consequently large’. Shirley Gordon, ‘The Negro Education Grant 1835-1845: Its Application in Jamaica’, *British Journal of Educational Studies*, 6:2 (1958), 140-150, 146.

ideas about education as part of an apparatus of social reform informed discussions of the Grant in the West Indies as had informed similar discussions in the metropolitan context. In this section, I discuss how decisions about the Negro Education Grant were made, and how this connected with educational change in Britain.

At the time of emancipation, the Anti-Slavery Society, a London-based humanitarian lobby group, used their connections to Parliament to promote provision for ‘moral and religious instruction of the Colonies, upon liberal and comprehensive principles’.⁴² Parliamentarians and colonial lobbyists were concerned about the moral position of people who had been subjected to the immoral system of slavery, but also about the need for a continuing supply of labour in the post-emancipation colonies. In 1832, MP Thomas Fowell Buxton, a central member of the Anti-Slavery society and well-connected philanthropist, sent a circular to the mission societies working in the West Indies, emphasising the importance of a ‘plan of religious Instruction upon a scale far more extensive and more efficient than any which has hitherto been established on any part of the Globe by any Mission body’.⁴³ Buxton was clear that religious societies were only being asked to provide religious instruction, and that ‘school-masters & houses will, we hope, be provided from another quarter’.⁴⁴ It is likely that Buxton’s close relationship with Spring Rice, the colonial secretary, would have helped to see his vision for the apprentices and their children realised.

Although extra-parliamentary lobbyists and Parliamentarians agreed that education should be prioritised, government funding was limited and there was no ‘home’ model to follow on how grants should be allocated. Aberdeen, secretary of state for war and the colonies from December 1834 to April 1835, said that since his term in office had begun, he had been ‘actively engaged in devising a general scheme of education throughout the Colonies’, but that before any decisions were made, the religious societies and local legislatures needed to be asked how much they were able

⁴² Committee on Slavery Minute Book, 15.05.1835, Records of the Anti-Slavery Society, RHL [Hereafter ASS Papers], E2/4, 92.

⁴³ Thomas Fowell Buxton circular to the Secretaries of the Mission Societies, 28.11.1832, Mss. Br. Emp. S.444, vol.3, RHL [Hereafter Buxton Correspondence]. Amanda Barry refers to Buxton’s interest in West Indian education, although she does not refer to the Negro Education Grant. Amanda Barry, ‘Broken Promises: Aboriginal Education in South-Eastern Australia, 1837-1937’ (Phd thesis, University of Melbourne, 2008), 45.

⁴⁴ Ibid.

to contribute to the cause.⁴⁵ The imperial government therefore approached various ‘experts’ for advice on how best to implement the Negro Education Grant. Government-appointed ‘experts’, missionaries and metropolitan pressure groups were key players in defining what a colonial education system could look like.

The most important advisor was the Reverend James Sterling, who wrote a report on the Grant’s administration in 1835. Sterling studied at Cambridge, before spending time in Europe, where he became interested in their more developed public education system. He was an ordained minister, but left the Church in order to focus on his own literary education.⁴⁶ He also spent some time living in the West Indies.⁴⁷ As parliamentary under-secretary Sir George Grey put it, Sterling’s

practical acquaintance with the state of the Negro population, combined with his general knowledge of the most recent enquiries into the systems of education pursued in this Country and on the Continent, qualified him to be of use to His Majesty’s Government...⁴⁸

Sterling’s report was based on information collected from London representatives of mission societies already working in the West Indies in 1834. That missionaries were approached indicates their centrality to government understandings of education provision in colonial contexts, just as voluntary societies were used in Britain itself. The Secretaries of the Church Mission Society, Moravian Mission Society, Baptist Missionary Society, London Missionary Society and Wesleyan Mission Society held a meeting in London, and passed their suggestions to Sterling.⁴⁹ They expressed some concern that the Grant would cause a proliferation of schools in specific areas, which might lead to the ‘collision of the different Societies’.⁵⁰ They hoped requiring government sanction for plans to build schools would help to overcome this issue.⁵¹ Government funding was met with some ‘apathy and suspicion’ from the mission

⁴⁵ Aberdeen, HL Deb 27.02.1835, vol. 26 cc416-23.

⁴⁶ Carl Campbell, ‘Towards an Imperial Policy for the Education of Negroes in the West Indies After Emancipation’ (University of the West Indies, Department of History, 1967), 1-53, 32, 35.

⁴⁷ Gordon, ‘The Negro Education Grant’, 143.

⁴⁸ Treasury Correspondence, 21.07.1835, CO 318/122.

⁴⁹ D Coates (CMS) to T. Fowell Buxton, 3.12.1834, CO 318/122, fol.82.

⁵⁰ Ibid.

⁵¹ ‘Heads of a Plan for promoting the Education of Youth in the British West Indies’, CO 318/122, fol. 80-81.

bodies, but their cooperation, in spite of these concerns, indicates their awareness of the evangelising potential of schools.⁵²

Not surprisingly, given the evidence he used to compile the report, Sterling's primary recommendation was that grants should be administered through the mission societies already working in the West Indies.⁵³ As Patricia Rooke argues, Protestant mission activity in the West Indies was driven by the 'firm conviction that Christianisation and civilisation were synonymous and that religious instruction could not fail to improve the civil and social life of the colonies'.⁵⁴ Sterling argued that the emancipated slaves urgently needed to be taught that 'they are & are meant to be anything else than elder brothers of the lower animals'.⁵⁵ The Grant was posed as a way of improving children who were growing up in 'ignorance and idleness'.⁵⁶ Sterling asserted that apprentices' children had 'been eye witnesses of fraudulence & licentiousness to a degree hardly conceivable by persons who have not resided in those countries, & moreover been diligent observers'. Part of his argument for the widespread provision of education was that the parents' immorality would corrupt children who had been taught 'the practice of craft & falsehood', and education could correct this.⁵⁷

Sterling imagined university-educated missionaries could live in communities of emancipated slaves, to provide a good example to them. The idea that the right sort of missionaries were needed to correctly educate the emancipated people (or Indigenous people elsewhere), remained central to education in the British colonies in the nineteenth century, as the following chapters show. Sterling was not over-confident

⁵² Wallbridge Report, 21.08.1841, ASS papers, E1/13; Rooke, 'A Scramble for Souls', 442.

⁵³ At the time that the Grant was applied, the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel, Church Missionary Society, Wesleyan Methodist Missionary Society, Moravian Missionary Society, Baptist Missionary Society, London Missionary Society, Scottish Missionary Society, Ladies Negro Education Society and the Mico Charity were working in the West Indies.

⁵⁴ Patricia Rooke, 'Slavery, Social Death and Imperialism: The Formation of a Christian Black Elite in the West Indies, 1800-1845', in *Making Imperial Mentalities: Socialisation and British Imperialism*, ed. by James Mangan (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1990), 23-45, 24.

⁵⁵ Sterling Memorandum, CO 318/122, 11.05.1836.

⁵⁶ Memorandum on the continued necessity of Stipendiary Magistrates in West Indies and Mauritius, 20.11.1838, CO 318/141.

⁵⁷ Sterling Memorandum.

about the potential of existing missionaries and was critical of those who did not truly understand the ‘minds of the Negroes’.⁵⁸

Shifting ideas of education as central to social reform at ‘home’ also shaped Sterling’s, and the missionaries’, desire for education to be provided more widely. Sterling was aware of the political expediency of providing widespread education, and of the connections between changes in Britain and the slave colonies. He said that while the ‘peace and prosperity of the empire at large may not be remotely influenced by their [the recently emancipated] moral condition...the opinion of the public in Britain earnestly requires a systematic provision for their mental improvement’.⁵⁹ He compared the schools in the West Indies with those set up to educate the ‘labouring poor’ in England, saying that

most Charity schools in this Country are generally very unfit for any nobler task than that of drilling children into a familiarity with certain words and formulae. From the greater ignorance & the lower state of mental cultivation of all kinds in the W. Indies, the case there must doubtless be worse.⁶⁰

Regarding the living conditions of the majority of West Indian children, Sterling wrote that ‘here we might proceed with a tacit knowledge of the average condition of the children of the [British] poor, & not perhaps on the whole go very far wrong’.⁶¹

Glenelg, secretary of state for war and the colonies between 1835 and 1839, also made explicit some of the connections between educational developments in the colonies and in Britain. As an acquaintance of Buxton, and ally of the humanitarian cause, Glenelg helped the humanitarian lobby gain ‘extraordinary political favour’ in parliament.⁶² He thought that education should be administered through mission bodies already working in the colonies, which would be ‘similar in principle to that which has governed the application of the sums recently granted by Parliament in aid

⁵⁸ Ibid.

⁵⁹ Ibid.

⁶⁰ Ibid.

⁶¹ Ibid.

⁶² Lester and Dussart say this with reference to the Aborigines committee, but it applies equally to the education cause. Alan Lester and Fae Dussart, ‘Trajectories of Protection: Protectorates of Aborigines in early 19th century Australia and Aotearoa New Zealand’, *New Zealand Geographer*, 64:3 (2008), 205-220, 210.

of the erection of Schools in this Country'.⁶³ However, there were some differences between the families of working people in Britain and the free people and apprentices in the West Indies. Writing to Governor Sligo in Jamaica in October 1835, Glenelg told him that the upcoming meeting of the Legislature in Jamaica should consider providing compulsory education to children at schools. 'Whatever objection may exist, in more advanced societies, to the principle of compulsory education, they can have no place in reference to a colony where the great mass of the people have just emerged from Slavery...'⁶⁴ This is particularly interesting in light of similar conversations in Britain, where compulsory education was seen as an unnecessary and unwanted intervention in the life of the working family. British Dissenters were also suspicious of compulsory education as they thought it would involve the imposition of an Anglican curriculum. This kind of argument against compulsory education was certainly moderated in the West Indian context. It also reminds us that while the categories of 'race' and 'class' informed one another in the immediate post-emancipation era, they were not understood as synonymous.

On Sterling's recommendation, each mission society was given a portion of government funding of one third, to their subscription of two thirds. In some cases, this income was supplemented by grants made by local legislatures for education.⁶⁵ However, as we will see below, local legislatures often had different ideas to the missionaries and imperial government about how education should be provided, and what it should entail. It was the role of the imperial government, for the duration of the Grant, to inspect schools and provide funding, but not to control teachers or curricula.⁶⁶ The centrality of missionaries to the education being provided, whether it followed 'liberal and comprehensive' principles or not, is clear here.⁶⁷ The Grant provides a useful example of the tension between the need to rely on existing

⁶³ Treasury correspondence: Downing St, 21.07.1835, from Sir George Grey, CO 318/122.

⁶⁴ Glenelg to Sligo, 15.10.1835, CO 318/126. See Holt, *The Problem of Freedom*, 72.

⁶⁵ For example, the Grenada Legislature voted £1,000 for education in 1837, *Negro Education, Windward & Leeward Islands, 14 April 1838*, HC 520 (1837-1838) [Hereafter *Windward and Leeward Islands Report*], 48.

⁶⁶ Carl Campbell, 'Towards an Imperial Policy', 4.

⁶⁷ Buxton had suggested that the education provided should follow 'liberal and comprehensive' principles, a phrase that caused some confusion for missionaries and parliamentarians. He was asked to explain to Aberdeen in early 1835 what 'liberal and comprehensive' meant, which he defined as government sharing 'their support between the Church and Dissenters'. Priscilla Johnston to Sarah Buxton, 09.03.1835, Buxton Correspondence, Vol.13, 350. See also Rooke, 'A Scramble for Souls', 432.

missionary enterprise and infrastructure to carry out imperial projects, while balancing these with a ‘non-sectarian’ government perspective.⁶⁸ The missionaries ensured the (short-term) success of the educational intervention. They provided the imperial government with information and expertise regarding education. This relationship between government and missionaries, which was characterised both by dependence, and by suspicion of the other’s motives, is reflective of similar relationships in the colonies of settlement regarding the provision of education, as will be seen in Chapters Three and Four.

There was only one exception to the Negro Education Grant being administered through mission societies. This intervention highlights the connected contexts of humanitarian reform in Britain and the West Indies, as well as the settler colonies more broadly. Buxton applied to the Treasury for access to funds left by Lady Jane Mico for the improvement of slaves in the Barbary States back in 1710.⁶⁹ In 1835, this fund, known as the Mico charity, had amassed to £110,000. When Buxton was given access to the funds, he appointed Stephen Lushington, James Stephen, James Gibson, Thomas Pickard Warren, John Gurney Hoare, and Charles Raymond Barker to the board of the non-denominational educational charity. Members of the committee were well known for their involvement in humanitarian projects, and indeed in the abolition movement directly.⁷⁰ The ex-Church of England minister, Reverend John M’Cammon Trew, was Secretary to the London-based Mico charity. The involvement of prominent anti-slavery lobbyists with West Indian education indicates the centrality of education to projects of social reform post-emancipation.

⁶⁸ Olwyn Blouet, ‘Slavery and Freedom in the British West Indies, 1823-33: The Role of Education,’ *History of Education Quarterly*, 30:4 (1990), 625-643; Andrew Porter, ‘Religion, Missionary Enthusiasm and Empire’, in *The Oxford History of the British Empire: The Nineteenth Century, Vol III*, ed. by Andrew Porter (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1999), 222-246, 225.

⁶⁹ Note on 22.08.n.y., Buxton Correspondence, Vol. 13, 129. Zachary Macaulay, another member of the Anti-Slavery society had suggested schools for the former slave colonies in the years before. The fund was passed to the Mico Trustees in 1835. Frank Klingberg, ‘The Lady Mico Charity Schools in the British West Indies, 1835-1842’, *The Journal of Negro History*, 24:3 (1939), 291-344, 296-7.

⁷⁰ On humanitarian networks, see Laidlaw, *Colonial Connections*, Ch. 6. Buxton was also engaged with the Irish education question, saying, in spite of his own Evangelical beliefs, that Irish education should involve the ‘absolute exclusion of all peculiar or sectarian religious teaching *in the School*, at any time or under any circumstances’, but still include the ‘fundamental & practical’ means of Christian instruction. Buxton to Viscount Morpeth, 22.06.1836, Buxton correspondence, vol. 15, 149-57. Also quoted in Barry, ‘Broken Promises’, 45.

The Mico trustees occupied an important position in relation to the home government and missionary bodies working in the West Indies. Buxton's correspondence indicates his close relationships with many missionaries, but also his strong connections to other influential parliamentarians. The rhetoric of the reports of the Mico trustees was at once humanitarian and imperialist. For example, they saw the

moral influence of Christian education; which with God's blessing, is calculated to preserve these colonies no less for the aggrandizement of the State than for the interests of that generous people whose 20,000,000/ have redeemed their slave population; they, therefore, earnestly plead for the means of extending Christian education among them.⁷¹

According to Carl Campbell, many of the members of the Mico committee admired Lancaster's monitorial system that underpinned the BFSS schooling.⁷² They wanted education to be provided to all children without any distinction of religious affiliation, or ability to pay fees. One of the reasons that Sterling favoured the mission societies in his report was that they had existing infrastructure in the colonies that government grants would build upon. However, being a new, and non-denominational, organisation was an advantage for the Mico charity – since they did not need to establish religious as well as educational facilities in the colonies, they could start schools quickly and effectively in different places.⁷³

The charity focused on the 'moral' training of children between the ages of two and seven, in infant schools; and later, it began providing teacher training in normal schools.⁷⁴ For the Mico charity, 'moral' meant a system of surveillance: during lessons and when children were playing they were under constant supervision. If children broke rules, or exhibited particular 'faults' these were discussed in front of the whole school, and teachers would correct these through 'moral and religious

⁷¹ Copy of Report of the Trustees of the Mico Charity, in *Windward and Leeward Islands Report*, 159.

⁷² Carl Campbell, 'Denominationalism and the Mico Charity Schools in Jamaica, 1835-1842', *Caribbean Studies*, 10:4 (1971), 152-172, 153. Zachary Macaulay also admired that system, and referred to it in his report to the imperial government on the use of the Grant. See CO 318/122.

⁷³ Campbell, 'Denominationalism', 154.

⁷⁴ Appendix C – Examination of Alexander Stronach, Director of Mico Charity School, Barbadoes, 1837, in Report of the Trustees of the Mico Charity, in *Windward and Leeward Islands Report*, 165. On the specific use of infant schools in colonial settings see May et al., *Empire, Education, and Indigenous Childhoods*.

instruction, by reference to the Bible, which is deemed the basis of our system'.⁷⁵ They also focused on the civilising potential of the English language. Wallbridge, a Mico agent in British Guiana, wrote

there are weighty political and commercial reasons for anglicising them as completely and as rapidly as possible. An acquaintance with the English language will also afford a key to the stores of valuable knowledge contained in English books, pervaded as these are by the spirit of enlightened Christianity, and will enable the people to understand & appreciate the ministrations of the English missionaries labouring amongst them.⁷⁶

This quotation exemplifies some of the contradictions inherent to the 'civilising' mission: the self-interest of humanitarian groups as well as their altruism; and their real belief in Christianity as a civilising agent, alongside their belief in their own moral and spiritual superiority. Government funding favoured the Mico charity, and they were given a grant of £18,000 for their schools that did not come out of the £20,000 Negro Education Grant.⁷⁷ For example, in 1838, Rev Trew requested £20,000 for building and maintaining schools in the West Indies, and paying salaries of schoolmasters and mistresses to be sent out from England.⁷⁸ The Mico Charity's policy was not to build new schoolhouses itself, but rather to rent existing premises.

There was considerable 'jealousy and suspicion' between the Mico Charity and other religious bodies working in the West Indies.⁷⁹ On many occasions, Mico schools closed because of pressure from local clergy. Campbell argues that the chief difficulty in the operation of the Mico schools was that the conception of education, whether the popular, non-denominational education preferred by the Mico Charity, or the denominational religious training being given by missionaries, was very similar.⁸⁰ The Mico Charity's non-sectarian principles certainly did not mean 'secular'

⁷⁵ Appendix C in *Windward and Leeward Islands Report*, 165.

⁷⁶ Wallbridge Report, 21.08.1841, ASS papers, E1/13. This language is evocative of Macaulay's education minute, published in the Indian context six years earlier, which spoke about the civilising power of the English language. See Zastoupil and Moir, *The Great Indian Education Debate*, 165.

⁷⁷ Klingberg, 'The Lady Mico Charity Schools', 291-344.

⁷⁸ Copy of a letter from Rev. Mr Trew to Glenelg, 31.05.1838, Enclosure 3 in *Windward and Leeward Islands Report*, 152.

⁷⁹ Copy of Report of the Trustees of the Mico Charity in *Ibid.*, 159.

⁸⁰ Campbell, 'Denominationalism', 169.

education. For example, a Mico teacher reported that some pupils were ‘ignorant that they had a soul’, while one boy, ‘who seemed to have a pretty good notion as to Christ being the Son of God, told me, his business in coming down into the world was to see about all the idle people’.⁸¹ These kinds of comments speak to the centrality of Christianity to this non-denominational education charity. The idea that Jesus was interested in the ‘idle people’ also highlights the cemented relationship between religion, work and education in the post-emancipation context. The only major difference between the Mico schools and other mission schools was that Mico schools would take children regardless of their religion, and were able to make their mark in the normal schools they opened.⁸²

The provision of the Negro Education Grant saw a proliferation of schools in the West Indies during this period.⁸³ During 1835, one hundred and twenty-four schools across the West Indian colonies served approximately 18,665 pupils. The £20,000 parliamentary Grant had been matched by £11,318 in voluntary spending by the mission societies.⁸⁴ This represents a massive intervention in education, unparalleled in the settler colonies throughout the nineteenth century. As Governor Sligo reported to the Jamaican Assembly in January 1836, the Grant showed the

deep interest of the British nation in the welfare of this large class of the community, in which measure the proprietors of land in this colony are so immediately concerned, as by infusing amongst the labouring class the principles of religious instruction, good order, and a right discharge of their social duties must be affected.⁸⁵

For missionaries, the Mico Charity agents, and the British government, education was essential to the humanitarian goals of emancipation. Aberdeen, speaking to the House

⁸¹ Appendix A in Report of the Trustees of the Mico Charity in *Windward and Leeward Islands report*, 160.

⁸² Campbell, ‘Denominationalism,’ 169; Report from Bilby, Miller and Wallbridge, Antigua, 25.02.1840, ASS Papers, E2/13.

⁸³ It is worth noting that from 1823, when amelioration conditions were promoted in the West Indies, increased education was provided to enslaved people, in Sunday schools or day schools. However, as Olwyn Blouet notes, it is difficult to estimate the exact figures of children in school as planters often kept limited or incomplete records. See Blouet, ‘Slavery and Freedom’, especially 627-637.

⁸⁴ Enclosures of *Report of Select Committee on Negro Apprenticeship in the Colonies*, No. 14. in CO 318/126, Vol.3.

⁸⁵ Sligo to Jamaica Assembly, 26.01.1836, *Report from the Select Committee on Negro Apprenticeship in the Colonies; together with the minutes of evidence, appendix and index*, HC 560 (1836), Appendix 8, 106.

of Lords in 1835, said that if no provision for religious education was made to the now emancipated slaves, ‘those persons at the end of their apprenticeship would be free in body, but slaves in mind, and instead of a blessing their freedom would be a curse’.⁸⁶ For local legislatures, and planters, however, education was a way of retraining children into obedience, loyalty and hard work, and retaining them as labourers. I turn to this tension below.

The involvement of experts, missionaries and lobbyists in the creation of a policy of widespread education for emancipated slaves was the first step towards a coherent education system. The next step was to monitor the shape of the system – who would be part of it? What kind of education would be offered? Would mission societies cooperate? In 1835, a circular from Sir George Grey to the mission societies working in the West Indies reminded them that the condition of the Grant was that the schools would be inspected by ‘an officer appointed by His Majesty’s Government for that purpose, who will report on their state and efficiency’.⁸⁷ Shortly afterwards, a metropolitan inspector was appointed to answer these questions.

Inspections, education and labour

Charles La Trobe, better known for his later career in Australia, was appointed as education inspector for the West Indian colonies in 1837. La Trobe was born in 1801, to a Moravian family that had been actively involved in anti-slavery campaigns.⁸⁸ These connections saw him recommended for the education inspectorship: a letter from Buxton to Sir George Grey stated that ‘from his character & connections it is very strange if he should not prove a suitable person’.⁸⁹ La Trobe’s connection to the Clapham sect and his family’s anti-slavery credentials placed him in a position to comment on the status of education for the apprentices and their children.⁹⁰

⁸⁶ HL Deb 27.02.1835, vol. 26 cc416-23.

⁸⁷ Circular from George Grey to various mission societies, 10.09.1835, in *Select Committee on Negro Apprenticeship*, Appendix 17, 220.

⁸⁸ Alan George Lewers Shaw (ed.), *Gipps-La Trobe Correspondence 1839-1846* (Melbourne: Melbourne University Press, under Miegunyah Press Series, 1989).

⁸⁹ Thomas Fowell Buxton to Sir George Grey, 1.02.1837, CO 318/130, fol.7.

⁹⁰ In 1839, following his tour of the West Indies, La Trobe was appointed to government in Victoria, Australia. Here, he oversaw the Port Phillip Protectorate of Aborigines, where Edmonds argues his attitude towards Aboriginal people, particularly in urban settings, was ‘harsh’ and ‘impatient’. Edmonds, *Urbanizing Frontiers*, 129-130.

The imperial government instructed La Trobe to visit the West Indian colonies and report on the ‘state of education in those colonies at the present time, especially with reference to the Negro population’.⁹¹ The instructions made it clear that the inspector would not be permitted to ‘exercise any control over the religious instruction given in the Schools’, but was merely there to ensure that the societies were operating as they had reported to the government.⁹² The inspections were a particular concern of the societies, and the question was met with caution from all of the mission societies except the SPG.⁹³ Dissenting mission groups were especially wary of government intervention in education, church and welfare, and celebrated the ‘voluntary principle’ in which congregations contributed to the upkeep of their own institutions.⁹⁴ Concerns about the role of the government in education inspections meant that sub-inspectors, recruited and selected by the missionary societies themselves, were often involved in collecting information that went into La Trobe’s reports. A resident missionary of their parent societies inspected the Baptist Missionary and London Missionary Society schools, and the Church Mission Society and Wesleyans appointed their own inspectors.⁹⁵ Therefore, the data collected by La Trobe is likely to reflect the mission societies’ need to prove their success in the field, in order to maintain their funding.

The results of La Trobe’s enquiries were published in three Parliamentary reports on ‘Negro Education’ – the first on Jamaica, then the Windward and Leeward Islands, and finally British Guiana and Trinidad.⁹⁶ As Zoë Laidlaw points out, from the 1820s there was a proliferation of information collected by the Colonial Office, and by the end of the 1830s, ‘a new era of information collection and centralisation was ushered in’.⁹⁷ La Trobe’s reports show a desire to collect information about the West Indian colonies, and point to a professionalization of teaching and education. La Trobe

⁹¹ Appointment of Charles La Trobe, CO 318/130, Fol.1-2.

⁹² Ibid.

⁹³ Campbell, ‘Towards an Imperial Policy’, 3.

⁹⁴ Catherine Hall, ‘White Visions, Black Lives: The Free Villages of Jamaica’, *History Workshop*, 36 (1993), 100–132, 110.

⁹⁵ Patritica Rooke, ‘The Christianization and Education of Slaves and Apprentices in the British West Indies: The Impact of Evangelical Missionaries (1800-1838)’ (PhD thesis, University of Alberta, 1977), 241.

⁹⁶ Reports on Negro Education. *Negro Education, Jamaica, 19 October 1837*, HC 113 (1837-1838) [Hereafter *Jamaica Report*], *Windward and Leeward Islands Report*, *British Guiana & Trinidad Report*.

⁹⁷ Laidlaw, *Colonial Connections*, 46, 169.

collected information about the number of schools supported by the Grant from each society, as well as projected building costs and dimensions for any schools to be added in the next year.

Included in the statistical returns was information about who the schools primarily catered for: 'free children of apprentices', 'children of free townspeople', 'children and adults', children of emigrants, 'adult apprentices', 'children of Maroons', and, in one case 'children of free settlers and of apprentices'. Children younger than seven years old usually attended day schools. Older working children and adults were more often educated in the Sunday and Evening schools. In Jamaica in 1836, there were 12,580 children on the books for the different parishes attending day schools run by the different denominations, and a further 20,870 attending Sunday schools and 5,304 in Evening schools. Many of these used the monitorial systems outlined by the National Society or the British and Foreign School Society.⁹⁸ In the Windward and Leeward Islands in 1837, 38,947 children attended Day, Sunday and Evening schools. Almost fifty thousand, or roughly ten per cent, of apprentices and free children in Jamaica, Antigua, and British Guiana, out of a population of 583,725, received some form of education in 1839.⁹⁹ Rooke argues that slaves had often pursued their own education, and that they would often seek knowledge that they believed would be most 'useful' to them.¹⁰⁰ The high number of school enrolments suggests that this desire for education continued in the post-emancipation era.

The reports also described the kind of education the children, and some adults, received. Generally, it was what was termed the 'common branches' of instruction: reading, writing, arithmetic, geography, grammar, and catechization.¹⁰¹ In one case, needlework was taught to female students. It is significant that needlework was the only 'practical' or industrial skill being offered by one of the one hundred and eleven mission-run schools either existing or proposed for completion in 1837, as this conception of what an education should entail would change by the end of the

⁹⁸ Patricia Rooke, 'Missionaries as Pedagogues: A Reconsideration of the Significance of Education for Slaves and Apprentices in the British West Indies, 1800-1838', *History of Education*, 9:1 (1980), 65-79, 71-2.

⁹⁹ Rooke, 'The Christianization and Education of Slaves', 258.

¹⁰⁰ Rooke, 'Missionaries as Pedagogues', 72-74.

¹⁰¹ See *Ibid.* on missionary focus on literacy in the West Indies.

following decade.¹⁰² While some reports of the individual schools recorded children doing some ‘light field or garden labour’, this was an exception rather than the rule.¹⁰³

La Trobe identified a number of difficulties facing the missionaries. Some of the societies, with the prospect of being afforded government funding for the first time, had applied for grants based on ‘ill-digested or sanguine plans’ that were never enacted.¹⁰⁴ One particular concern was their lack of access to land on which to build schools.¹⁰⁵ This issue would be repeated in colonies beyond the West Indies. Sectarian rivalries meant mission societies applied for grants to build schools in close proximity to one another, which was impractical. La Trobe stated that the instructions about the Grant’s uses were unclear, which meant the grant had been used in a variety of ways. He also struggled to get accurate information from the different groups.¹⁰⁶ However, he stated

I have not forgotten that the special object aimed at by the measure adopted by Her Majesty’s Government was the moral and religious improvement of the Negro population, and that provided that was attained, the precise manner was of secondary importance.¹⁰⁷

La Trobe’s other concerns included the irregular attendance of children at schools, and the scarcity of well-trained teachers, besides those trained in the Mico Normal schools.¹⁰⁸

La Trobe’s report on the Windward and Leeward Islands raised a further concern about the development of uniform education policy throughout the West Indies, and had implications for the development of colonial education systems elsewhere. ‘There are no two islands in which the social, political, and physical features precisely

¹⁰² There was a Female Refuge run by the CMS that aimed to ‘rescue orphan and friendless female children in this city from vice and destitution’ and to give them training as servants. There was straw-hat making in one other school. See *Jamaica Report*, 75, 30.

¹⁰³ Schedule A - Report of Sligoville School, St Catherine’s, run by BMS. *Jamaica Report*, 40.

¹⁰⁴ *Jamaica Report*, 5.

¹⁰⁵ *Ibid.*

¹⁰⁶ Rooke, ‘The Christianization and Education of Slaves’, 237.

¹⁰⁷ *Jamaica Report*, 7.

¹⁰⁸ *Ibid.*, 12.

coincide; and these must all have their influence on education.¹⁰⁹ In Barbados, for example, there was concern over the education of poor white children. There had been ‘manifest repugnance in the parents of coloured children to send them to schools frequented by the poor whites’.¹¹⁰ In British Guiana, many of the apprentices and free people spoke Dutch rather than English, which posed its own set of challenges to English-speaking missionaries.¹¹¹ What education meant, whether for the children of freed people and apprentices, or the working poor in Britain, was dependent on context. However, after a few years of the grant being in place, the demand for labour in the West Indies would change the concept of mass education there.

The Negro Education Grant and its subsequent implementation were not uniformly welcomed by missionaries, property owners, colonial legislatures and the free or apprenticed populations in the West Indies. As Thomas Holt points out, the central problem of emancipation was transforming an enslaved workforce into free labourers.¹¹² Even within groups like the Mico Charity, differences of opinion existed about what education should consist of. During a tour of inspection in Jamaica in 1836, Trew wrote to Buxton saying that all Mico schools should be connected with schools of industry from the outset.¹¹³ Buxton replied, saying that Trew had been swayed by his interaction with planters, and that the society’s focus should be religious education. ‘The fact is,’ Buxton wrote, ‘we want to benefit the Negroes and not the Planters’.¹¹⁴ La Trobe’s report highlighted these concerns. ‘It is only just to remark,’ he wrote, of faltering educational progress in Barbados and Antigua

that this may spring, less from a narrow-minded dislike to see the Negro mind cultivated, than from a mistrust as to the sound views or judgment of many of the advocates of the cause; an undecided opinion as to the quality and the measure of the instruction to be given; and doubt as to the effect which education, unaccompanied by lessons of industry, may exercise over the prosperity of the colony.¹¹⁵

¹⁰⁹ *Windward and Leeward Islands Report*, 7.

¹¹⁰ *Ibid.*, 8. I pick this theme up in Chapter Five.

¹¹¹ *British Guiana and Trinidad Report*, 4.

¹¹² Holt, *The Problem of Freedom*, 33-4.

¹¹³ Trew to Trustees, 23.01.1836, ASS papers, E1/13.

¹¹⁴ Buxton to Trew, 15.n.d.1836, Buxton Correspondence, Vol.3, 89.

¹¹⁵ *Windward and Leeward Islands Report*, 13.

As the following chapters will show, La Trobe's comments resonate with the misgivings expressed by settlers in both Natal and Western Australia about the importance of education for Indigenous people. Where the colonies' social landscape was undergoing transformation, the concept of education was something that needed to be actively questioned, particularly where economies were based on now freed labour. La Trobe pointed out that none of the West Indian colonies had an adequate education system that combined literary and industrial training. In Barbados, for example, there was 'distrust on the part of the Negro, with reference to the employment of his children on the estates in agricultural labour...'¹¹⁶ However, La Trobe was also keenly aware that the majority of the free children would end up doing manual labour. He doubted the

wisdom or real kindness of any system or mode of instruction which would lead either the parent or the child to reason falsely on the subject, by not strongly impressing upon the mind the necessity of submitting to labour, not only as it yields the means of satisfying brute nature, but as it is conducive to social order, morality, and happiness.¹¹⁷

There was a central tension in the promotion of education as a project of emancipation. Education was constructed as part of an apparatus of social reform, and moral and religious education was a way of 'improving' freed slaves and their children. However, evangelical ideas about the connection between industry and religion also shaped La Trobe's interpretation of how education was best given. Further, the colonies' economic and material conditions required education to be framed in a way that would promote 'social order'. This meant justifying a system in which some would be, and remain workers, and others would be educated in order to 'rise' in society. As the nineteenth century progressed, these divisions were increasingly based on colour.

La Trobe's reports indicate his awareness of planters' and estate owners' influence in shaping the education of free and apprenticed children.¹¹⁸ La Trobe was optimistic

¹¹⁶ Ibid., 9.

¹¹⁷ Ibid., 13.

¹¹⁸ Rooke, 'Slavery, Social Death and Imperialism', 25.

that the opinions of the planters were no longer ‘tinctured with the prejudices of the old time’, but acknowledged that

the present feeling is rather one of doubt and suspicion as to the policy of the measures in favour of universal instruction, and of its ultimate effect upon the labouring population, and consequently upon their own fortunes, than one which would urge them to open hostility.¹¹⁹

Planters’ suspicion of educated workers was not new: West Indian planters had long worried about Christian slaves aspiring beyond their appropriate station. La Trobe reported that the property owners were concerned about the kind of education being offered to the children of apprentices, particularly about whether they included enough emphasis on ‘labour and industry’.¹²⁰ Clearly, planters’ anxiety over labour shaped their views of education. ‘Active industry’ and ‘useful education’ were to be promoted above all else.¹²¹ Planters did not want local legislatures to make recurring grants for education. This arose partly from the belief that there was no need for mass education, but also from fears that education would lead to social unrest, similar to conversations about education for the working-classes in Britain.¹²² The planters’ fears over losing their labour force were met with suspicion from the apprentice and free population, who did not want to see their children enslaved.¹²³

La Trobe’s concluding remarks, in his final report on British Guiana and Trinidad in 1839, spoke to the perceived benefit that education would have for all society, particularly if structured around ‘the wants of all classes of the population’.¹²⁴ Education, he wrote, should be ‘suited to the necessities and probable prospects of the class to whom it is presented’.¹²⁵

¹¹⁹ *Jamaica Report*, 11.

¹²⁰ *Ibid.*

¹²¹ *Ibid.*, 15, 94.

¹²² M. Kazim Bacchus, ‘Consensus and Conflict over the Provision of Elementary Education’, in *Caribbean Freedom: Economy and Society from Emancipation to the Present: A Student Reader*, ed. by Hilary Beckles and Verene Shepherd (London: Ian Randle, Jamaica and James Currey, 1993), 296-312, 302.

¹²³ See my discussion of the reception of Kay-Shuttleworth’s memorandum below.

¹²⁴ *British Guiana and Trinidad Report*, 7.

¹²⁵ *Ibid.*, 11.

It must never be forgotten what the Negro has been in these colonies. If he is considered by many to rank, in his natural state, low on the scale of human intellect, he has been certainly placed in circumstances to depress him yet lower; and now that the main cause of pressure is happily removed, no surprise need be excited, if, with animal powers largely developed, while his mental energies are but half roused and without improvement, he should show a disposition rather to imitate the vices and the frivolities of a superior state of society, than, discriminating at once between good and evil, to attach himself to the culture of that which is really solid, praiseworthy and excellent.¹²⁶

The planters were not at risk of forgetting what the slaves had been. They were anxious about freed people being educated, seeing education as ‘treason to the common interest’, a likely barrier to slaves cooperating in work schemes. There was ‘fear and distrust’ for planters and colonial legislatures, about how education could position their once servile work force as owners of their own labour.¹²⁷ However, from the beginning of the Grant, Sterling had noted that the apprentices and free people would be cautious of education that focused too much on practical over literary skills.¹²⁸ La Trobe believed the mission stations, and the schools in particular, could keep people with a ‘restless or an enterprising character’ within the ‘influence of society and of the laws’.¹²⁹ This resonates with metropolitan views of using education to dampen working-class protests in Britain. Yet La Trobe reported that there were some complaints about the evening schools encouraging ‘immorality among the young and vicious’.¹³⁰ Here was another tension about education provision – would it ‘calm’ or ‘excite’ immorality and political consciousness?

La Trobe knew that a good education for free children might look different for imperial government and local legislatures respectively. As the grants were administered directly by the heads of mission societies, it was possible for those in local legislatures to claim that they were

¹²⁶ Ibid., 11.

¹²⁷ Ibid., 6.

¹²⁸ M. Kazim Bacchus, *Education As and For Legitimacy: Developments in West Indian Education between 1846 and 1895* (Ontario: Wilfred Laurier University Press, 1994), 122.

¹²⁹ *British Guiana and Trinidad Report*, 2.

¹³⁰ Ibid., 10.

in a state of total ignorance of the mode in which the mother country was fulfilling her pledge to further the education of the Negro race; and [were] ready to appeal to this ignorance, as an apology for the delay or neglect which it had evinced in forwarding measures proposed to this end or, perhaps, for withholding colonial aid altogether...¹³¹

In the following chapters, we see very similar discussions in Britain's settler colonies. Colonial legislatures increasingly represented planters, farmers, and settlers. Requests for colonial grants for education were typically met either with open hostility, or, as was the case in the West Indies, 'granted in a manner which rendered it productive of but little good'.¹³² As the 1830s concluded, the debates about education continued, and developed a form that would echo through the British Empire during the mid to late nineteenth century. Murmurings of discontent from planters about the education of the children of apprentices and emancipated labourers would come to shape debates about education in the 1840s.

In 1840, the Colonial Office began reducing the Negro Education Grant by twenty per cent annually, until the imperial government aid stopped altogether and responsibility was handed over to local governments and mission bodies in 1845.¹³³ In his Circular to all of the societies receiving aid for education, the secretary of state for war and the colonies, Lord John Russell, painted the Grant as a success, which had successfully prepared the negro population to 'provide for the Education of their Children without the aid which is now specially voted by Parliament for that purpose'.¹³⁴ This left charitable societies and mission bodies in a precarious position: newly opened schools had proliferated during the period of the Grant and now faced financial shortfalls. The Mico Charity, with no parent society to assist their colonial work, was particularly hard hit. From 1842, many of their schools closed, and the charity focused on their normal schools rather than providing education for the masses.¹³⁵ As the grants reduced, local legislatures placed more emphasis on manual and industrial training,

¹³¹ Ibid., 7.

¹³² Ibid., 8.

¹³³ Green, *British Slave Emancipation*, 336.

¹³⁴ Circular from Smith to all of the Societies receiving aid, 18.03.1841, Copies of letters received by the Sec State on Negro Education, 1840-1845, CO 319/42.

¹³⁵ Green, *British Slave Emancipation*, 337.

which led to poorer quality education across the board, because, as Rooke points out, many missionaries were not trained to teach industrial skills.¹³⁶

The shifts in thinking about education that accompanied devolving responsibility for funding to the colonial level are epitomised by Lord Elgin's writing about industrial education in the 1840s.¹³⁷ In his correspondence with Stanley, the Jamaican Governor emphasised the importance of agriculture to the island, stressing the connection between education and agriculture. Elgin proposed industrial education was best suited to the 'Peasantry' because it married 'the material interest of one class and the moral interests of another, the recognition of which is an indispensable condition to the social progress in these communities'. Elgin emphasised an education system that reinforced a class hierarchy. The moral reasons for promoting agricultural and industrial training - to instil the civilised habits of 'perseverance', 'regularity', and 'steadiness' - justified the shift in emphasis from literary to manual training.¹³⁸ Jamaica's progress relied on the labour of freed people, and from this labour, would spring their 'desire to excel'.¹³⁹ Elgin went as far as to organise a competition on industrial education in 1844, attracting nineteen essays describing schemes for its implementation.¹⁴⁰

Industrial education fitted perfectly with what Thomas Holt refers to as the 'themes of the age': 'innovation, enterprise, practical education, self-reliance, the mutuality and interdependence of the different social classes'.¹⁴¹ From this point onwards, industrial education was actively promoted as a means of maintaining social order within a servile, labouring population. Giving children industrial education would show them 'that agriculture is not, as they now consider it, a debasing occupation...'¹⁴² The moral and religious training that had been promoted immediately after emancipation was 'looked to [by the apprentices] as the means of achieving political privileges and

¹³⁶ Rooke, 'The Christianization and Education of Slaves,' 247.

¹³⁷ I am indebted to Thomas Holt's *The Problem of Freedom* for the discussion of Elgin and the concept of 'progress' in post-emancipation Jamaica.

¹³⁸ Elgin to Stanley, 23.10.1844, CO 137/280, No.119.

¹³⁹ Elgin to Stanley, 20.04.1843, CO 137/273.

¹⁴⁰ Elgin to Stanley, 23.10.1844. Unfortunately these responses are not included in the correspondence. See also Holt, *The Problem of Freedom*, 192.

¹⁴¹ Holt, *The Problem of Freedom*, 182.

¹⁴² Report of the Jamaican Board of Education, 1846, CO 137/293, 14.

advancement in life'.¹⁴³ For the emancipated, the excitement and hope of social advancement that education once held was now realised as an unfulfilled promise.

'A System of Education for the Coloured Races of the British Colonies'

As shown above, ideas about the education of the British poor were applied to the West Indies, while education grants as part of an apparatus of social reform emerged in Britain and the West Indies simultaneously. In the era of emancipation, social problems within Britain were often described in terms of slavery.¹⁴⁴ Moreover, humanitarian concern with the welfare of the poor and the emancipated led to connections in terms of charitable support for education and the types of schooling thought appropriate in the West Indies and Britain. In this final section of the chapter, I outline the implications of these connected contexts for education of Indigenous people in other parts of the Empire. This discussion will be developed in the chapters that follow.

In 1846, the year after the Negro Education Grant terminated, James Kay-Shuttleworth, Permanent Secretary of the Committee of Privy Council on Education between 1839 and 1849, was asked to prepare a memorandum on industrial education in the colonies, based on the 'experience of this country [England]'.¹⁴⁵ The resulting Circular was the first comprehensive set of principles for industrial education set out for the West Indies, or any other region in the British Empire.¹⁴⁶ Although Kay-Shuttleworth's recommendations were never fully implemented, they indicate how ideas about the relationship between colour, class, labour and education were changing.

¹⁴³ Confidential: Elgin to Stanley, 03.08.1845, CO 137/284.

¹⁴⁴ Cunningham, *The Children of the Poor*, 79.

¹⁴⁵ Bacchus, *Education As and For Legitimacy*, 12. James Kay-Shuttleworth was born James Phillips Kay in 1804, in a middle-class household in Rochdale. He trained as a doctor, and began work in Manchester. He took his wife, Janet Shuttleworth's, name when they married in 1842. Richard Selleck, 'Shuttleworth, Sir James Phillips Kay-, first baronet (1804-1877)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, Oxford University Press, 2004 [<http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/15199>, accessed 27.03.2015].

¹⁴⁶ Bacchus, *Education As and For Legitimacy*, 12.

In 1832, James Kay published *The Moral and Physical Condition of the Working Classes Employed in the Cotton Manufacture in Manchester*.¹⁴⁷ Kay believed that ‘evil surroundings’ caused evil, and as a Congregationalist, strongly supported the idea that an individual should be held responsible for their own misfortunes. This meant the ‘harsh dismissal of the working-class family as vicious and improvident’.¹⁴⁸ In particular, he wrote about the Irish as a distinct race, ‘with characteristics different from those of the English, yet they had the power to pollute the English’.¹⁴⁹ He believed that Irish immigrants in Britain were to blame for social problems: ‘they had demoralised the English operatives, their habits were filthy, they multiplied without “moral check”, they were barbarians and savages’.¹⁵⁰ Irish savagery meant that they were not yet developed to the degree that they would appreciate the artificial wants of civilised society.

In 1839 he published his anonymous work, *Recent Measures for the Promotion of Education in England*, in which he described some of the barriers preventing working-class education. Writing against the backdrop of Chartism, Kay promoted the idea that working people’s labour could make them virtuous, as long as they were properly educated. They needed to understand the ‘true causes which determine their physical condition’, and government-sponsored ‘secular’ education was a way to expose them to the limits of their own morality. In particular, he worried that ‘[d]omestic virtue and household piety have little opportunity to thrive in a population alternating between protracted labour and repose, or too frequent sensual gratification’.¹⁵¹ Education, if government could intervene in the correct way, could render ‘orphan, deserted, and illegitimate children’ ‘efficient and virtuous members of

¹⁴⁷ James Kay, *The Moral and Physical Condition of the Working Classes Employed in the Cotton Manufacture in Manchester* (London: Ridgeway, 1832). See Mary Poovey, *Making a Social Body: British Cultural Formation, 1830-1864* (Chicago and London: University of Chicago Press, 1995), Ch. 3 for a detailed discussion of this work.

¹⁴⁸ Anne Digby and Peter Searby, *Children, School and Society in Nineteenth Century England* (London: MacMillan Press, 1981), 7.

¹⁴⁹ Catherine Hall, ‘The Nation Within and Without’, in *Defining the Victorian Nation: Class, Race, Gender and the Reform Act of 1867*, ed. by Catherine Hall, Keith McClelland and Jane Rendall (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000), 179-233, 210; Poovey, *Making a Social Body*, 67. Poovey’s analysis points to Kay’s construction of the Irish as a contaminating ‘other’ who could infect the English social body. The idea of contamination, particularly for children, is something I return to in Chapter Five.

¹⁵⁰ Richard Selleck, *James Kay-Shuttleworth: Journey of an Outsider* (Newbury Park: Woburn Press, 1994), 71.

¹⁵¹ James Kay, *Recent Measures for the Promotion of Education in England* (London: Ridgeway, 1839), 16.

society'.¹⁵² Kay's pamphlet on *The Training of Pauper Children*, published in the same year, claimed that 'It is important to acknowledge how far ignorance is the source of pauperism, and to show how important an agent for the removal of pauperism is a careful training in religion and industry.'¹⁵³ Kay-Shuttleworth continued to promote industrial training in the metropolitan context through the 1840s. Industrial education would, through labour and hard work, 'promote the growth of a truly Christian civilization'.¹⁵⁴

When Kay-Shuttleworth was approached to write the memorandum on education for the 'coloured races' in the British colonies, the third Earl Grey had been recently appointed as secretary of state for war and the colonies, and was enthusiastic about education in the colonies.¹⁵⁵ Grey claimed that English industrial schools that focused on both intellectual improvement and practical agricultural or labour training, had 'been found eminently useful, and a desire is very generally entertained by the most judicious friends of the working classes, that such schools be greatly extended [in Britain]'.¹⁵⁶ Benjamin Hawes, under-secretary of state for war and the colonies, advised Kay-Shuttleworth that industrial schools were 'peculiarly well adapted to the West India colonies'.¹⁵⁷ A new system of industrial education, based on 'effectual modes of employing labour upon land', could raise the ex-slaves above 'rudest modes' of labour they were exposed to during slavery.¹⁵⁸ Tied to ideas of agricultural 'progress', the system could thus be constructed as beneficial to the ex-slaves rather than perpetuating their bonded labour conditions.

The governors of the West Indian colonies sent Kay-Shuttleworth information about education in their respective colonies, and commented on the applicability of a widespread scheme of industrial education, to be funded by local legislatures. While

¹⁵² Ibid., 19.

¹⁵³ James Kay, *The Training of Pauper Children: Report published by the Poor Law Commissioners in their Fourth Annual Report* (London: William Clowes and sons, 1839), 4.

¹⁵⁴ James Kay-Shuttleworth, *The School in Its Relations to the State, the Church, and the Congregation: Being an Explanation of the Minutes of the Committee of Council on Education, in August and December, 1846* (London: John Murray, 1847), 57.

¹⁵⁵ Green, *British Slave Emancipation*, 339.

¹⁵⁶ Earl Grey to Governor of Antigua, 16.10.1846, *Labour (colonies)*. (*West Indies and Mauritius*.) *Immigration of labourers into the West India colonies and the Mauritius. State of the labouring population, &c.*, HC 325 (1847), 6.

¹⁵⁷ Hawes to Kay-Shuttleworth, 30.11.1846 in Ibid, 5.

¹⁵⁸ Ibid.

Sterling had written his 1835 report on the basis of information from missionaries, Kay-Shuttleworth's 1847 memorandum was based almost exclusively on 'official' correspondence from representatives of the British government in the colonies. Indeed, many of the returns cited religious opposition between missionary groups as barriers to the potential success of widespread government funded 'secular education'.¹⁵⁹ However, the governors generally agreed that it was 'most important to instil into the young, what neither they nor their parents possess at present, habits of quiet industry, and some degree of intelligence and knowledge respecting the common processes of cultivation'.¹⁶⁰ Industrial education had the potential to reinforce the existing social order by benefiting not only the emancipated worker but also those dependent on their labour.¹⁶¹

In early 1847, the results of the enquiry were published in a memorandum entitled 'Brief Practical Suggestions on the mode of organising and conducting day schools of industry, model farm schools, and normal schools, as part of a system of education for the coloured races of the British Colonies'.¹⁶² Apart from the extensive information received from the West Indies, and his work in the metropolitan context, Kay-Shuttleworth was also influenced by his visits to the Hofwyl School near Berne, Switzerland, in the 1840s. This agricultural school aimed to give 'undisciplined children' 'elements of an intellectual education'.¹⁶³ Run by Philipp Emanuel Von Fellenburg, Hofwyl aimed to remove children from the 'depths of misery' and remove them from the 'drunkenness and immorality [which] were rampant'.¹⁶⁴

Kay-Shuttleworth argued that his suggestions for industrial education could 'render the labour of the children available towards meeting some part of the expense of their

¹⁵⁹ Governor Lord Harris to Gladstone, 31.07.1846, in *ibid.*, 101.

¹⁶⁰ *Ibid.*, 102.

¹⁶¹ Stanley to Governor Fitzroy, 26.08.1845, *British colonies (West Indies and Mauritius). Returns relating to Labouring Populations in British colonies; Orders in Council respecting supply of labour in colonies. Part I. State of Labouring Population in W. Indies and Mauritius; Part II. Immigration of Labourers; Part III. Stipendiary Magistrates; Laws of Masters and Servants; Courts of Appeal; Tariffs*, HC 691-I; 691-II; 691-III (1846), 254.

¹⁶² James Kay-Shuttleworth, 'Brief Practical Suggestions on the Mode of Organising and Conducting Day-Schools of Industry, Model Farm-Schools and Normal Schools, as Part of a System of Education for the Coloured Races of the British Colonies', *Minutes of the Committee of Council on Education, with appendices*, HC 866 (1847), 30-37. A copy of this paper is included in Anthonie Eduard Du Toit, 'The Earliest British Document on Education for the Coloured Races' (Pretoria: Communications of the University of South Africa, 1962).

¹⁶³ Du Toit, 'The Earliest British Document on Education for the Coloured Races', 7.

¹⁶⁴ *Ibid.*, 24.

education'.¹⁶⁵ The focus of his plan was the transformation of personal and social life: to instil habits of order, cleanliness, hygiene and Christianity; to teach children English as the 'most important agent of civilization'; and to 'accustom the children of these races to habits of self-control and moral discipline'.¹⁶⁶ Kay-Shuttleworth's writing indicates that rather than seeing the British working classes and what he termed the 'coloured races' as exactly the same, there were some guiding principles by which both groups could be educated, and maintained as labourers. He knew that he was no expert on

those varieties in discipline which might be suggested by a better knowledge of the peculiarities of a race which readily abandons itself to excitement, and perhaps needs amusements which would seem unsuitable for the peasantry of a civilized community.¹⁶⁷

However, he supplied general suggestions regarding the practical elements of education. He recommended three types of schools: industrial schools; model farm schools to be run as 'a large Christian family, assembled for mutual benefit, and conducted by a well-ordered domestic economy'; and normal schools for training teachers.¹⁶⁸ Normal schools were particularly important in a context where missionaries were the primary educators, and were generally untrained in mechanical arts. For Kay-Shuttleworth, the benefits of an education based on the 'mutual dependence of moral and physical teaching' could be the 'transforming agency, by which the negro could be led, within a generation, materially to improve his habits'.¹⁶⁹ Education should be differentiated according to gender, with girls learning 'cottage economy' and boys manual labour. In combination with the syllabus on health and 'means of procuring Comfort', this would prepare them for Christian family life, and ultimately, a transition to middle-class status.¹⁷⁰

The information from West Indian governors shaped Kay-Shuttleworth's (and the Colonial Office's) approach to all of the 'coloured races.' Earl Grey circulated Kay-

¹⁶⁵ Kay-Shuttleworth, 'Brief Practical Suggestions', 30.

¹⁶⁶ Ibid., 31.

¹⁶⁷ Ibid., 30.

¹⁶⁸ Ibid., 31.

¹⁶⁹ Ibid., 30.

¹⁷⁰ Ibid., 33.

Shuttleworth's suggestions on industrial education throughout the British colonies.¹⁷¹ Earl Grey stated that he had taken every 'opportunity of rendering experience obtained at home available in the West Indies'. There were two reasons why education, and industrial education in particular, should be promoted in the colonies. Education would bring 'moral and spiritual enlightenment'. The second reason, according to Earl Grey, appealed to what he termed 'lower motives':

Instruction not only makes labour intelligent and orderly, but creates new wants and desires, new activities, a love of employment, and an increased alacrity both of the body and mind...Instruction, therefore, where provision shall be made for imparting it speedily and effectually, may be rendered the most certain of all methods for equalizing the supply of labour with the demand: and, on the other hand, the prosperity which a sufficient supply of labour would create, may well be expected, by promoting scientific and mechanical improvements, and retaining amongst the negroes a cultivated and intelligent race of proprietors, to assist civil order and the advancement of all classes.¹⁷²

The connection between labour and education was clear. Education would promote moral behaviour and social harmony, but ultimately it would train children 'in that species of cultivation in which it will be, generally speaking, most expedient that they should be afterwards employed'.¹⁷³

Grey concluded the circular by saying he hoped that 'the legislatures of the colonies will acknowledge the paramount importance of causing such schools to be established, and will make such provision as may be required for the purpose'.¹⁷⁴ Du Toit claims that Earl Grey 'failed to realise that these struggling colonial communities had insufficient funds and lacked men of enlightened vision to undertake such radical educational reforms'.¹⁷⁵ However, La Trobe's reports at the end of the 1830s predicted this lack of local interest in providing education.¹⁷⁶ It is unlikely that Earl

¹⁷¹ Amanda Barry, "'Equal to Children of European Origin': Educability and the Civilising Mission in Early Colonial Australia', *History Australia*, 5 (2008), 41.1-41.16, 41.8. Barry claims that Kay-Shuttleworth's plan was aimed at African society, when in fact it was aimed at the West Indies.

¹⁷² Earl Grey circular, 26.01.1847, in Kay-Shuttleworth, 'Brief Practical Suggestions', 37.

¹⁷³ Ibid.

¹⁷⁴ Ibid., 38.

¹⁷⁵ Du Toit, 'The Earliest British Document on Education for the Coloured Races', 14.

¹⁷⁶ *British Guiana and Trinidad Report*, 8.

Grey was unaware of the negligence of educational spending in the colonies. In the subsequent chapters, I show how this expectation that local governments would provide education played out.

In Jamaica, Kay-Shuttleworth's proposal raised some concern. Amongst one Baptist congregation, parents worried that their children were 'about to be made slaves'. The congregation was told that 'the proposal, whatever it may be or tend to, comes from the British Government and that this country has nothing to do with it...'¹⁷⁷ Apart from the immense cost of setting up day schools of industry, model farm schools and normal agricultural schools, there was widespread suspicion from ex-slaves that industrial education would only prepare their children for servitude.¹⁷⁸ In Sierra Leone, the principles were well received, but there was insufficient funding available to put any of the suggestions into place.¹⁷⁹

We can see the indirect impact of the memorandum in both the Cape and New Zealand. The document was favourably received there, and later schemes on industrial education in these colonies reinforce this assertion.¹⁸⁰ David Johnson argued that the circular showed Kay-Shuttleworth's understanding of the 'colonies as a space for testing out ways of educating/controlling the working class in England'.¹⁸¹ However, there is little to suggest that Kay-Shuttleworth's exact plans were actually put into place, and as I have indicated, Kay-Shuttleworth's work on the colonial and metropolitan cases emerged simultaneously.¹⁸² Du Toit's analysis of the reception of the memo in New Zealand indicates Governor Sir George Grey never directly referred to Kay-Shuttleworth's scheme, although he did know about its existence.¹⁸³

¹⁷⁷ John Salmon to Pilgrim, Enclosure in Charles Edward Grey to Earl Grey, 20.09.1847, CO 137/293.

¹⁷⁸ Bacchus, *Education As and For Legitimacy*, 143.

¹⁷⁹ Correspondence between Buxton and Trew indicates at Buxton wanted teachers who had been trained at the Mico Normal Schools in the West Indies to be sent to Sierra Leone, and for the Niger mission. Mico Agents did not uniformly welcome this plan. For example, J. Edmondson in Kingston, Jamaica, worried that not enough time had passed since the end of slavery for them to be suitable for the work, and said that the 'higher and better educated classes of society do not appear to be distinguished for their love of Africa'. See Edmondson to Trew, 04.05.1839, Buxton Correspondence, vol. 31, 107-110. See further correspondence with Trew in Buxton Correspondence.

¹⁸⁰ Du Toit, 'The Earliest British Document on Education for the Coloured Races', 13.

¹⁸¹ David Johnson, 'Starting Positions: The Social Function of Literature in the Cape', *Journal of Southern African Studies*, 19:4 (1993), 615-633, 624.

¹⁸² There is evidence that the memo was received in the colonies. See MS15/524, WMMS, South Africa, Cory Library, Rhodes University [Hereafter CLRU], and Colonial Office Despatches, Circulars, Con. 41/19, State Records Office Western Australia [Hereafter SROWA].

¹⁸³ Du Toit, 'The Earliest British Document on Education for the Coloured Races', 15.

Historians have overstated the impact of the memorandum elsewhere. For example, Michael Christie suggests the Merri Creek School in Victoria put some of Kay-Shuttleworth's principles into place and notes that New South Wales governor Fitzroy sent the suggestions to La Trobe, by then Superintendent of Port Phillip, and George Augustus Robinson, Chief Protector of Aborigines in Port Phillip.¹⁸⁴ Selleck argues that Kay-Shuttleworth's suggestions 'had a far greater impact on educational policies throughout the British colonies than Kay-Shuttleworth ever imagined', although he includes no evidence to support this.¹⁸⁵ That industrial training was used in various schools is not evidence that Kay-Shuttleworth's memorandum was put into place, but rather that ideas about industrial training were 'circulating in missionary and government circles within the Empire'.¹⁸⁶ As we have seen above, West Indian and British ideas about education for social reform emerged simultaneously. The underpinnings of the relationship between education, labour and work that the memorandum suggested were articulated in education schemes in the British settler colonies, and elsewhere.

Conclusion

In this chapter, I have mapped the transition from voluntary to state-aided education in two primary contexts: Britain and the West Indies. The transition from voluntary to state-aided education occurred simultaneously, if partially and hesitantly, in Britain and the West Indies during the 1830s. Both societies were undergoing unprecedented, albeit different, change, and education emerged as central to projects of social reform in each sphere.

Several factors connected the metropolitan and colonial contexts. Firstly, it was the duty of the benevolent, humanitarian government in both places to improve conditions for poor or colonised subjects. The extension of funding specifically for education in Britain and the West Indies highlights the centrality of education as an element of social reform. Secondly, the evangelical belief that each person could have

¹⁸⁴ Michael Christie, 'Educating Bungalene: A Case of Educational Colonialism', *History of Education Review*, 23:2 (1994), 46-54, 49, 54, n11.

¹⁸⁵ Selleck, *James Kay-Shuttleworth*, 235.

¹⁸⁶ R. Hunt Davis, '1855-1863: A Dividing Point in the Early Development of African Education in South Africa' (Unpublished seminar paper, Institute of Commonwealth Studies, 18, 1975), 1-15, 6.

a personal relationship to God helped education to be positioned as something that should be available to all. Once the poor and emancipated had been saved, their ability to read the Bible would transform their character. Importantly, improvement and civilisation was possible for destitute or racial others. Through education, they could be incorporated into civilised, middle-class society. For Britain's working poor, secular education was offered as an antidote to inferior living conditions.¹⁸⁷ Training the mind and training the body were inseparable, and through engaging with the many new educational institutions springing up in urban centres, working people could overcome their environment, and be trained into members of the growing middle class. If freed slaves were given 'moral and religious' education, they too could overcome their exposure to the immoral system of slavery, and become useful and productive members of West Indian society.

Another set of beliefs gaining traction at this time saw scientific advancements as the mark of a progressing society. The formation of state bureaucracies to deal with education marked education off as a 'professional' space. Inspectors were appointed in both places to create 'professional' knowledge about education. This was despite the fact that education was largely administered through voluntary organisations, often with untrained personnel. Education as a concept, therefore, was something that was still being negotiated through the relationship between government appointed inspectors and missionaries, or voluntary organisations.

However, while funding for education in Britain continued in the middle decades of the nineteenth century, the imperial government intervention in West Indian education was short-lived. By 1857, the education budget in Britain amounted to over £800,000.¹⁸⁸ There was increased focus on teacher training, as the education sector continued to professionalise. School was not yet compulsory, however, and in 1861, only an estimated one in seven children attended school.¹⁸⁹ By contrast, in the West Indies, despite the successful expansion of schools between 1835 and 1845, imperial funding was withdrawn beginning in 1840, and responsibility was passed to local governments. This shows a changing conception of the relationship between the

¹⁸⁷ Twells, *The Civilising Mission*, 172.

¹⁸⁸ Doheny, 'Bureaucracy and the Education of the Poor', 337.

¹⁸⁹ *Ibid.*, 338.

imperial and local government, but also of the meaning of race by the end of the 1840s. During the 1830s, there was a real belief that education could help people overcome the negative effects of social environment, and thus, ‘civilise’ them. In the 1840s, ‘belief in natural inequality coexisted with a more humanist, universalist tradition drawn from the Enlightenment’.¹⁹⁰

Amanda Barry argues that ‘colonial strategies for dealing with non-Christian peoples had their genesis in techniques to control Britain’s poor and rapidly urbanising populations in the wake of the Industrial Revolution’.¹⁹¹ She points to the early nineteenth-century idea of ‘progress’, arguing that the

confluence of ideas about ‘improvability’ shaped working-class Britons’ lives, but also contributed to the construction of colonial policies as the old categories of ‘poor’ and ‘slave’ were refashioned, by politics, industry and science, into the new categories of ‘working class’ and ‘race’.¹⁹²

However, this case shows that while the categories of ‘class’ and ‘race’ may well have been informing one another, in the 1840s, the concepts began to diverge in meaning and influence.

The case of the West Indies is a significant point of reference for education in the settler colonies. Understanding other metropolitan and colonial contexts in which the control and maintenance of a labour force was being debated sheds light on my two primary cases of Natal and Western Australia. Early attempts at ‘civilising’ Indigenous people in the settler colonies were contingent on similar ideas about the role of the government in ‘humanitarian’ projects. However, just as they had encountered opposition from planters in the West Indies, humanitarian ideals came up against settlers’ land hunger in the settler colonies. While planters were increasingly vocal in the West Indies about the necessity of education for labour, settlers also wanted to create and retain a labour force in both Natal and Western Australia.

¹⁹⁰ Keenan Malik, *The Meaning of Race: Race, History and Culture in Western Society* (New York: NYU Press, 1996), 90.

¹⁹¹ Barry, “‘Equal to Children of European Origin’”, 41.1.

¹⁹² *Ibid.*, 41.3.

Like the West Indies, settlers in Natal and Western Australia were suspicious of missionary education, and attempted to curtail government spending on native or Indigenous education. The discourses and anxieties about labour and education that emerged in 1830s Britain and the West Indies, and were shaped by race in the Caribbean, were also articulated in a series of policies in different settler colonies, as the following chapters show. Although the policies that were pursued in Natal and Western Australia were quite different, from one another, and from West Indian and metropolitan cases, broader understandings about the role of education and its relationship to labour were shifting in the 1830s and 1840s.

To highlight these connections is not to erase very real differences between the categories of class and race, in particular, nor between ways of belonging in different colonies. Bringing them into the same framework, however, does allow us to consider some of the broader imperial formations that underlined education provision in the settler colonies. In the next chapter, I show how global ideas about education connected to local practices in the settler colonies, focusing in particular on the Cape, New Zealand, and Natal. The debates about Indigenous education in these settler colonial contexts are best understood with reference to the post-emancipation context of Britain and the West Indies.

Chapter Two

Indigenous education and Empire: School frontiers in imperial and local perspective

This chapter discusses three case studies focused on Indigenous education. Moving from the scale of the British Empire to two colonies, the Cape and New Zealand, to a local scheme in Natal, each tells a story of the relationship between education and Empire. The cases feature people with different stakes in Indigenous education and different agendas. For Florence Nightingale, who studied the effects of education on native children's health in the British Empire in the early 1860s, her training as a nurse shaped the kinds of questions that she asked. She attempted to use school statistics to measure the effect of civilisation on the native constitution. Sir George Grey, as a colonial administrator, based his 1852 scheme for Indigenous people's industrial training on his experience in Australia and New Zealand. He believed that experience in one colony could successfully translate across colonies, and be applied to the Cape. Finally, Anglican Bishop John Colenso put Grey's scheme into practice, starting an industrial training centre for elite Zulu boys, and later girls, in Natal. His Evangelical belief in the potential for all people to be civilised, but also his understanding of Zulu society, shaped the way that he extended education in Natal.

This chapter draws these cases together, showing how imperial discourses about race, education and civilisation were embodied in local practices. Moving from the scale of a broad Empire-level enquiry into the effects of education on native children's health, to the local, colonial level of one school in Natal, the chapter highlights the kinds of conversations and thinking about education that occurred within and between different places. Historians working within the field of 'new imperial' histories have grappled with questions of scale, as they have sought to answer broad questions using detailed case studies, addressing 'the problem of balancing the quotidian and the exceptional'.¹ By narrowing the lens of analysis from the wide scale imperial study, to the local case, this chapter takes up this approach, pointing both to broad ideas that

¹ Laidlaw, 'Breaking Britannia's Bounds?', 813. Lester, 'Spatial Concepts'.

underpinned education in the settler colonies, but also examining how these were translated into ‘practice’ on the ground.

Schools should be understood as ‘frontiers’ – as sites where knowledge about Indigenous people could be created and recorded, and where schemes for their improvement could be tested out. I am drawing here on Penelope Edmonds’ reconception of the ‘frontier’ as a phenomenon existing in both urban and rural (settler-colonial) space.² Extending this concept to the school shows how these institutions acted as different kinds of frontiers: frontiers of knowledge, where missionaries and Indigenous people learned from one another, religious and cultural frontiers, imperial or political frontiers, and spaces for containing frontier wars. Like all frontiers, the boundaries between different groups were never clearly drawn, and as discussions of the effects of racial mixing, mortality and civilisation show, the blurring of these boundaries was subject to particular kinds of anxieties.

In each case discussed in this chapter, the educational space – the school, field, or boarding house – provided an important source of information *about* Indigenous people. Schools were often the only point of contact between Indigenous people, particularly children, missionaries and the colonial state. School records and reports could be used to measure the progress of civilisation, but also to define and quantify racial difference. Schools were also critical to providing information *to* Indigenous people, about what it meant to be civilised, Christian and British subjects. Across the cases, we see attempts to define how education changed Indigenous people, and to think through ways to record these changes. Schools were uniquely positioned as a site of contact between missionaries and Indigenous people, and also between conflicting ideologies associated with settler colonialism and humanitarianism. As Damon Salesa argues regarding New Zealand in the 1840s and 1850s, mission schools were central to the formation of (racialised) identities and were ‘the key conduits for colonial engagements with indigenous subjectivities, and one of the few locations where other colonial or even half-caste subjectivities might be nurtured or promoted’.³

² Edmonds, *Urbanizing Frontiers*, 6-8.

³ Salesa, *Racial Crossings*, 121. Barrington and Beaglehole also argue that in New Zealand, where there was a belief in Maori capacity for improvement, schooling was seen as a central part of effecting

Racial difference was both constructed and articulated through education. In attempting to define what kind of education should be provided to Indigenous people, each person engaged with how race affected intellectual capacity. By the mid-nineteenth century, researchers like Nightingale and colonial officials like Sir George Grey 'had to counter not only the racial theories of the day but also the pragmatic argument that all previous endeavours to civilise the Aborigines had failed'.⁴ Nightingale's study was driven by attempts to refute the 'dying race' theory that posited that Aboriginal people were dying out in the face of European civilisation.⁵ This belief, coupled with the idea that Indigenous Australians did not have recognisable tribal structure, shaped attempts at education in that context. For example, Western Australian Governor John Hutt argued that in that colony there was 'neither nation nor tribe collected together under one common head, through whom the whole can be influenced'.⁶

As Lester and Dussart point out, the Select Committee on Aborigines proposed that for Aboriginal children to be fully civilised, they needed to be removed from the negative influences of their wandering parents. 'Maori youth', however, 'could be taught to become role models upon re-integration with their own, more advanced, communities'.⁷ New Zealand Company officials in the 1840s believed that New Zealanders 'would "civilise easily" and had already shown their willingness to adopt

this improvement. John Barrington and Tim Beaglehole, "'A part of Pakeha society": Europeanising the Maori child', in *Making Imperial Mentalities: Socialisation and British Imperialism*, ed. by James Mangan (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1990), 163-183, 163.

⁴ Russell McGregor, *Imagined Destinies: Aboriginal Australians and the Doomed Race Theory, 1880-1939* (Carlton: Melbourne University Press, 1997), 11.

⁵ On this aspect of the research see Tiffany Shellam, "'A Mystery to the Medical World": Florence Nightingale, Rosendo Salvado and the Risk of Civilisation', *History Australia*, 9 (2012), 109-134. On the 'dying race' theory in Australia, see Patrick Brantlinger, *Dark Vanishings: Discourse on the Extinction of Primitive Races, 1800-1930* (Ithaca and London: Cornell University Press, 2003), Ch. 6.

⁶ Hutt to Russell, 15.05.1841, in *Aborigines (Australian colonies). Return to an address of the Honourable the House of Commons, dated 5 August 1844; - for, copies or extracts from the despatches of the governors of the Australian colonies, with the reports of the protectors of aborigines, and any other correspondence to illustrate the condition of the aboriginal population of the said colonies, from the date of the last papers laid before Parliament on the subject, (papers ordered by the House of Commons to be printed, 12 August 1839, no. 526), HC 627 (1844)* [Hereafter *Aborigines (Australian colonies)*], No. 11, 380.

⁷ Lester and Dussart, *Colonization*, 195. Judith Nathan also points out the use of Maori elites who had been taught in boarding schools. Judith Nathan, 'An Analysis of an Industrial Boarding School: 1847-1860', *New Zealand Journal of History*, 7:1 (1973), 47-59.

European customs, industries and habits'.⁸ Maori people's physical strength, exemplified during periods of warfare, showed that they would not die out in the face of European civilisation.⁹ The Cape's frontier wars underlined the same point. Embedded in Grey's thinking about industrial schools were implicit ideas about the capacity of Maori and Xhosa people to be 'civilised' and educated. Grey assumed similarities between Maori people in New Zealand and Xhosa people in the Cape. Recognition of leadership within Indigenous groups impacted on how education was extended. The use of pre-existing patterns of authority is exemplified in Colenso's attempts at elite schooling in colonial Natal.

The concepts of civilisation, and education, were historically, spatially and contextually contingent. Between the late 1840s and 1865, the period under discussion in this chapter, ideas about race and its implications for education were less fixed than later in the century. This is reflected in the way that education was spoken about. While the earlier humanitarian feeling of the 1820s and 1830s, exemplified by the Negro Education Grant discussed in Chapter One, was giving way to more biologically based understandings of race, there was still hope amongst some colonial officials and missionaries that Indigenous people could be successfully incorporated into settler society.¹⁰ The following discussion shows that racial discourses were debated across time and the colonies under examination. Ideas about the assimilation, or amalgamation, of the Indigenous populations into white society remained influential, and missionaries and government plans for their 'civilisation' reflected this.

Each of the cases that I discuss in this chapter drew on different kinds of expertise – from that of an interested medical researcher, to the secretary of state for war and the colonies, colonial politicians, missionaries and Indigenous people themselves. Expertise on native affairs was used to render Indigenous people more 'legible and governable'.¹¹ Addressing these cases together shows that while there was no uniform policy on colonial education in the British colonies, there were significant

⁸ Salesa, *Racial Crossings*, 51.

⁹ Ibid. Lester and Dussart describe missionary understandings of Maori people as 'rude but capable'. *Colonization*, 175. See also Brantlinger, *Dark Vanishings*, 118.

¹⁰ Lester and Dussart, *Colonization*, 227; Hall, *Civilising Subjects*, 338.

¹¹ Salesa, *Racial Crossings*, 152.

connections in thinking about education in different spaces. This goes some way towards refuting Whitehead's claim that education policy in the British colonies was haphazard and nationally specific.¹² While I recognise that there was no uniform policy, this chapter shows striking similarities and connections between the ideas about education being propagated by different people.

I begin this chapter using the widest scale study written by Nightingale. I am particularly interested in the way that Nightingale's study was shaped by the kinds of statistics made available to the Colonial Office about native schools. Nightingale was in correspondence with Sir George Grey, who assisted her in structuring her survey. I then move on to Grey's own scheme, highlighting the way that his position as governor shaped his education intervention, but also the way in which his movement between colonies impacted on his thinking about Indigenous education. Finally, I discuss Bishop Colenso's school at Ekukhanyeni, which drew on Grey's political influence. I outline the reception of education at the local level. The cases here, each focused on questions of different scales, challenge the binary of the local and the global, in that all were drawing on expertise and experience ranging from colony to empire level.

Sanitary statistics in native schools

In 1863, Florence Nightingale, nurse and statistician, published a survey regarding the 'Sanitary Statistics of Native colonial schools and hospitals' in the British Empire.¹³ Focusing in particular on the impact of native schools on the health of pupils, the report concluded that

The method of conducting colonial schools appears to be based on our home system, without reference to physical training or other local conditions affecting health. This

¹² See Whitehead, 'The Concept of British Education Policy'.

¹³ Nightingale, *Sanitary Statistics*. The most detailed account of this study is Tiffany Shellam's discussion of the survey, which focuses on the relationship between Nightingale and Salvado in Western Australia. Shellam highlights the importance of the survey as contributing to global debates about race and civilisation. Tiffany Shellam, "'A Mystery to the Medical World'". Lester and Dussart also discuss the survey and highlight the centrality of Indigenous schooling to projects of racial amalgamation in the post-Protection era. Lester and Dussart, *Colonization*, 267, n137. I am focusing on the information collected from schools in this chapter, which formed the bulk of Nightingale's survey. There was, however, some information collected from colonial hospitals as well.

fact, together with the high rate of mortality, is the most prominent result of our inquiry. And although there is not sufficient evidence to show to what extent the school education increases the mortality, there is strong reason to believe that it is a cause. By far the greater part of the mortality is the direct result of mitigable or preventable diseases.¹⁴

Nightingale's medical background shaped her study, in which she attempted to measure and record the effects of 'civilisation' on the health of native children. She was looking in particular for mortality rates among native children, who were, for the first time, spending large amounts of time away from their families and homes, in schools. Nightingale believed 'school training, if properly conducted, need not be injurious but the reverse'.¹⁵

Nightingale was engaging with scientific ideas about race that were gaining influence in the mid-nineteenth century. According to Kenan Malik, 'science replaced God as the guarantor of social relations' during the nineteenth century.¹⁶ Polygenecists believed that visible differences between people showed different origins and mental capacities, validating 'the idea of a hierarchy generated outside society and governed by the natural order, rather than social laws'.¹⁷ These kinds of beliefs were used to bolster the idea that some races, including Australian Aboriginal people, were inevitably 'dying out' in the face of European civilisation. Nightingale's research, focused on the conditions that led to health or illness in Indigenous children, attempted to provide evidence for a monogenetic conception of race. As Shellam argues, in correspondence with missionaries in the colonies, Nightingale wanted to prove that while there might have been 'physical and mental vulnerability' amongst Indigenous people, 'a considered regime of management could deal with it'.¹⁸ By highlighting the successful cases of 'civilisation' and emphasising how particular conditions would lead to health or illness, Nightingale engaged with these debates about race, civilisation and education.

¹⁴ Nightingale, *Sanitary Statistics*, 8.

¹⁵ Nightingale to Grey, 28.07.1863, GL/N8.6. [Last accessed online 11.02.2015, <http://www.aucklandcity.govt.nz/dbtw-wpd/msonline/>].

¹⁶ Malik, *The Meaning of Race*, 86.

¹⁷ *Ibid.*, 87-88.

¹⁸ Shellam, "'A Mystery'", 126, 124.

Nightingale's report included information from one hundred and forty-three schools in Sierra Leone, Western Australia, Natal, Ceylon and Canada and commented on the suitability of the education in the schools there.¹⁹ Comparing the mortality rates of children in native schools with those at 'home', Nightingale concluded that death rates in colonial schools were double those of England. However, she was faced with a wide variation in death rates throughout the colonies, with Natal and Western Australia presenting at the two extremes.²⁰ Mortality rates for males were at fewer than five in a thousand, and females at three per thousand in Natal, while they were at thirty-five per thousand for boys and thirteen per thousand for girls in Western Australia.²¹ Informants from Western Australia concluded that education and civilisation could be achieved, but only if it was adapted to the 'native constitution'.²² Natal's children were particularly healthy, which Nightingale attributed to the large amount of outdoor work which was included as part of the syllabus.²³ While Nightingale acknowledged that there were different sorts of illnesses leading to the deaths in the different colonies, she did state that natives were particularly prone to consumption, which was a 'main cause of the gradual decline and disappearance of uncivilized or semi-civilized races'.²⁴

Nightingale believed that 'civilisation' should take place slowly, and be adapted to local circumstances. She argued a combination of physical, intellectual and religious training was essential to civilising uncivilised people. Training the body and training the mind were inseparable – 'systematic physical training and bodily labour at useful occupations [are] an element absolutely essential and never to be neglected in the

¹⁹ Nightingale had hoped to get information from the Cape Colony, New Zealand and the other Australian colonies, but her surveys were not returned. Sir George Grey also suggested she send returns to the South Sea Islands, where there were over 800 schools in operation. See Nightingale to Newcastle, 15.06.1860, from a typed copy of a letter to the Duke of Newcastle, State Library of New South Wales 60/Q8107, in Lynn McDonald (ed.), *Florence Nightingale on Public Health Care: Volume 6 of the Collected Works of Florence Nightingale* (Ontario: Wilfred Laurier Press, 2004), 191. See Nightingale, *Sanitary statistics*, Appendix 1, 20-26.

²⁰ A measles epidemic in 1861 contributed to the high mortality rates amongst the Aboriginal population. Tiffany Shellam, '“On My Ground”: Indigenous Farmers at New Norcia 1860s-1900s', in *Indigenous Communities and Settler Colonialism: Land Holding, Loss and Survival in an Interconnected World*, ed. by Zoë Laidlaw and Alan Lester (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2015), 62-85, 67.

²¹ Nightingale's information from Natal came from missionaries working for the American, Wesleyan, Church of England and the Berlin missionary societies.

²² Nightingale, *Sanitary Statistics*, 7. See the Western Australian responses in CO 18/114 and CO 18/135.

²³ *Ibid.*

²⁴ *Ibid.*, 5.

training of uncivilized and half civilized children in civilized habits and trains of thought...'²⁵ Nightingale stated it was possible that if 'outcast native children' were educated, they would be able to 'contribute their quota to human knowledge and advancement'.²⁶ Nightingale's ideas were representative of broader beliefs about religion, education and work going hand-in-hand, as discussed in Chapter One. Civilisation could raise the individual's quality of life. However, civilisation could also be potentially harmful: if contact with civilisation was unrestrained, or if the process took place too quickly, it could lead not only to a depressed quality of life, but also to death. Religion was particularly important to the transformation of the self. '[D]isease and death' were, in Nightingale's opinion, 'produced by too rapid a change in religious habits' among the civilised, and so religion should be introduced gradually to the uncivilised.²⁷ Acquiring civilisation was a precarious, potentially dangerous, process that needed to be carefully managed.

Nightingale's ideas about physical training being an essential part of civilisation for native schools was informed by her own research and correspondence in the metropolitan context. For example, she corresponded with Edwin Chadwick, Poor Law reformer and fellow researcher of sanitation and public health, about 'children's epidemics' in metropolitan infant schools.²⁸ She believed metropolitan methods were being incorrectly applied to the colonies, and was disappointed by 'our teachers [who] go among them [Indigenous children] just as they would into English villages'.²⁹ The movement of children from the outdoors into poorly constructed buildings 'is not done without great risk, even with children of English birth,' she wrote.³⁰

This survey provides an important insight into the provision of Indigenous education in the British Empire for two reasons. Firstly, the report was created through the correspondence between Grey, Nightingale, educators and colonial officials. This highlights the networks between those invested in the project of Indigenous education and civilisation. Secondly, the content of the survey is useful in ascertaining what

²⁵ Ibid., 8.

²⁶ Ibid., 17.

²⁷ Nightingale to Grey, 16.4.1860, GL/N8.2.

²⁸ Nightingale to Chadwick, 16.02.1861, BL Add Ms 45770 f221, and Chadwick to Nightingale, 29.03.1861, BL Add Ms 45770 f222.

²⁹ Nightingale, *Sanitary Statistics*, 13.

³⁰ Ibid.

kind of information schools were collecting about their pupils, and for the way it reflects attempts to quantify the effects of ‘civilisation’ on Indigenous people. In the following chapters, we see how the concept of ‘civilisation’ resisted definition, and was constantly reformulated in relation to changing social and historical circumstances. Schools were a space where information about civilisation, and colonialism more broadly, could be collected. This survey was unique in its time for its attempt to collect and analyse a vast amount of information about Indigenous education. In collecting statistical information about the schools, Nightingale attempted to make the vague idea of ‘civilisation’ into something rigid that could be enumerated and therefore compared.

Nightingale met Sir George Grey in 1859, when he was Governor of the Cape.³¹ Both were interested in the fate of Indigenous people who were being exposed to the effects of colonialism. Nightingale wanted to measure the effects of civilisation, using the new discipline of social statistics.³² At Grey’s request, Nightingale sent Grey some notes on the depopulation of Maori people in New Zealand, which began to articulate her thinking about race and education.³³ Nightingale argued ‘Uncivilised man cannot be dealt with in the same way as civilised man.’ Before conducting her survey of native schools, she was already advocating a combination of literary and practical education. She wrote,

In an aboriginal school there should be
ample space
free ventilation
cheerfulness
half-time *at least* given to out door work or play.³⁴

Nightingale believed that education had to be conducted with sufficient reference to local circumstances.

³¹ McDonald, *Florence Nightingale*, 163. See Nightingale, *Sanitary Statistics*, 3.

³² See Shellam, “‘A Mystery’”.

³³ *Ibid.*, 117.

³⁴ Nightingale to Grey, 16.4.1860, GL/N8.2.

Nightingale was impressed with Grey's knowledge about Indigenous people, and believed that he could use his position as governor to protect and civilise Aboriginal people. Indeed, she wrote, 'The aboriginal question is still unresolved. And I believe it rests with you to solve it'.³⁵ Her research on these schools relied on this connection. She thought Grey's experience in the colonies, and his reputation as a friend of the native races would help in the enquiries.³⁶ She asked Grey if it would be possible to obtain statistics about schools in the colonies. Grey was confident that he would be able to help Nightingale with the survey, saying there would 'be no difficulty in obtaining the information you ask for'. He thought her enquiry was particularly important, as he too was searching for a 'solution' to problems with the native races.³⁷

Nightingale gave Grey a copy of the return that she had compiled for the native schools to fill in, and asked for Grey's advice on it.³⁸ He guided Nightingale in structuring her survey, encouraging her to examine the effects of mixed racial parentage on the health of children, and to be aware of the fact that in New Zealand there were many children of different races attending schools officially designated for native children.³⁹ As Salesa shows, Grey was involved with education projects for 'half-caste' children in New Zealand, and this most likely led to his promotion of this line of enquiry.⁴⁰ The final returns sent out to the schools asked about the duration of school education, what schooling involved, and the amount of time allotted to play, outdoor activities and holidays.⁴¹ Nightingale also wanted schools to record how many children failed to complete their training, whether on account of health or for other reasons. Finally, she enquired about the funding of the schools under study.⁴²

Apart from her connection with Grey, Nightingale also corresponded with Newcastle, then secretary of state for war and the colonies, to ask for help in sending her surveys throughout the Empire. In May 1860, she asked Newcastle to help 'further what I

³⁵ Nightingale to Grey, 16.04.1860, GL/N8.2.

³⁶ She was also helped by 'British sanitation and public health experts, John Sutherland, William Farr and Edwin Chadwick.' Shellam, "'A Mystery'", 118. Nightingale's correspondence with Chadwick shows another connection between metropolitan reforms in education and those colonial contexts. See McDonald, *Florence Nightingale*, 165.

³⁷ Grey to Nightingale, 13.04.1860, BL MS 45797, ff. 108-9.

³⁸ Nightingale to Grey, 12.4.1860, GL/N8.1.

³⁹ Grey to Nightingale, 27.04.1860, BL MS 45797, ff. 110-114.

⁴⁰ Salesa, *Racial Crossings*, 118.

⁴¹ Nightingale to Grey, 16.04.1860, GL/N8.2.

⁴² Ibid.

believe to be a very important interest of our country, viz., how we can civilize without destroying the natives of our colonies?’⁴³ In her explanation of the survey, Nightingale argued ‘Missionary schools have the best observable data. The [colonies’] governors are, however, the most competent judges.’⁴⁴

The use of surveys and questionnaires, sent throughout the empire, was in line with contemporary collection of information about Indigenous people.⁴⁵ Tiffany Shellam highlights the importance of the survey as an example of the developing field of social statistics.⁴⁶ Using statistics to gather information about Indigenous people ‘allowed older aspirations – of uniformity in imperial policy and metropolitan control – to be pursued by the Colonial Office’.⁴⁷ By the end of the 1830s, as my discussion of La Trobe’s Negro Education Reports showed, the amount of information collected by the Colonial Office was increasing rapidly.⁴⁸ Social statistics, and the kinds of questions which this new discipline was able to address, constructed the colonial world in particular ways. In contrast to ethnographic (or missionary) descriptions of Indigenous people, which Nightingale dismissed as less accurate than that from governors, statistical representation could make “‘otherness”...comparable and commensurable’.⁴⁹

Nightingale began her report by lamenting the state of statistics in the colonies, saying that information on mortality rates and schools ‘does not exist, or, if it does, it is in a very *undeveloped* state’.⁵⁰ The Colonial Office sent the survey out to the colonies as a circular, but the responses they received were limited.⁵¹ That Natal and Western Australia are mentioned in the report does not reflect a better education system, but rather the connections that Nightingale managed to make with missionaries and other educationalists in the colonies. For example, Nightingale was able to obtain

⁴³ Nightingale to Newcastle, 22.05.1860, University of Nottingham Nec 10,937, Newcastle Collection, as quoted in McDonald, *Florence Nightingale*, 189-190.

⁴⁴ Ibid.

⁴⁵ Shellam, “‘A Mystery’”, 118.

⁴⁶ Ibid., 109.

⁴⁷ Laidlaw, *Colonial Connections*, 189.

⁴⁸ Ibid., 169.

⁴⁹ U. Kalpagam, ‘The Colonial State and Statistical Knowledge’, *History of the Human Sciences*, 13 (2000), 37-55, 43.

⁵⁰ Nightingale, *Sanitary Statistics*, 3.

⁵¹ I have not been able to locate the circular itself, but it is mentioned in Scott to Newcastle, 01.05.1861, CO 179/58.

information about the Western Australian context because of personal correspondence with Bishop Salvado of the New Norcia mission, and Anne Camfield at Annesfield, as I discuss in Chapter Four.⁵² Her information about Natal came through the lieutenant-governor of the colony, and was sent to her by Chichester Fortescue, the under-secretary of state for the colonies. Nightingale thanked Fortescue for his help, saying she hoped the information would be ‘useful in arriving at some practical conclusion as to the best method of conducting education among the Aborigines’.⁵³ The Canadian returns were collected by the Superintendents of the Indian Department and transmitted to Nightingale through the Colonial Office.⁵⁴

A letter to Grey in April 1860 indicates that Nightingale was unsure about the kinds of schools available to Indigenous children, and so needed to obtain factual and trustworthy data through Grey and the Colonial Office connection. She also used other published material that she could access from London in her enquiry. For example, she read Arthur Thomson’s account of New Zealand. In a letter to Grey, she recounted a story from Thomson’s book, in which a Maori man, Tamihana, was chastised by missionaries for only attending Church once a week.⁵⁵ The fable, to Nightingale, illustrated why many native Christians were dying. They were not consistently *working* as they needed to. ‘What idiots the Missionaries, not the converts, must be!’, she wrote.⁵⁶ As she explained to Grey, after compiling the results of her study, ‘The education must have day-by-day reference to the past habits & history of the people. Its object should be to draw them gradually into better habits & gradually to civilize them.’⁵⁷

In spite of Nightingale and Grey’s optimism that school statistics would be readily available, the information received from the colonies was far from complete. The first line of the published report reflects Nightingale’s frustration with the lack of data. ‘If

⁵² Shellam, “‘A Mystery’”, 110. The survey was influential in Western Australia. The anthropologist, Daisy Bates, would refer to it, saying Nightingale’s question about why Aboriginal Australians were dying out remained unanswered. See ‘Australian Aborigines’, *The Australasian*, 21.05.1910, 48.

⁵³ Nightingale to Fortescue, 13.07.1861, CO 179/62.

⁵⁴ See Head to Newcastle, 04.06.1861, CO 42/627, no.37. The original returns and reports were forwarded to Nightingale and do not appear in the Colonial Office correspondence.

⁵⁵ Arthur Thomson, *The Story of New Zealand: Past and Present – Savage and Civilized, in Two Volumes*, (Vol. II) (London: John Murray, Albemarle St, 1859), 249-251.

⁵⁶ Nightingale to Grey, 26.4.1860, GL/N8.3.

⁵⁷ *Ibid.*

it is said on reading this paper, There is nothing in it, I answer, That is why I wrote it, because there is nothing in it, in order that something might come of nothing.⁵⁸ She continued, 'the only explanation is that the subject has never hitherto been considered at all'. Information on colonial schools was not being collected in any systematic manner, which meant that it was difficult to make practical suggestions about changes to the system. It is unsurprising that Nightingale was disappointed with the information that she received from the schools as her initial hope was to have a far more broad discussion of the issue. She estimated that there were 'nearly 500 native day schools' in the colonies she wanted to include in her study. As she explained to Newcastle, she needed 'a sufficient number of data to form a conclusion on the question of the causes of aboriginal decrease of population'.⁵⁹ In a letter to Grey, written after the completion of the collection phase of the research, she complained that

The project has been carried out with all the machinery in the possession of the Colonial Office. I hoped to have solved some problems for you. But here is the result. It is so imperfect that I scrupled as to making any use of the data. The result has really none but a kind of negative value, which I am giving to them.⁶⁰

Nightingale was disappointed that the survey had not been more conclusive. 'I wish I could have helped you more — you will do a noble work in New Zealand. But pray think of your Statistics. I need not say, think of your Schools.'⁶¹

In recognising how important schools were to learning about Indigenous people, but also to 'civilising' them, Nightingale picked up on an important oversight on the part of the imperial government. Nightingale understood schools as frontiers where contact between civilised and uncivilised people could take place in a controlled environment, and lead to the improvement of Indigenous people. She believed schools could be central to quantifying colonialism, and that the Colonial Office was not taking enough care to use these resources. The lack of response to many of her

⁵⁸ Nightingale, *Sanitary Statistics*, 3. Nightingale also referred to the results of the survey as 'scrofulous' in a letter to William Farr. See Nightingale to Farr, 28.04.1860, quoted in McDonald, *Florence Nightingale*, 164.

⁵⁹ Nightingale to Newcastle, 15.06.1860, in McDonald, *Florence Nightingale*, 191.

⁶⁰ Nightingale to Grey, 28.07.1863, GL/N8.4.

⁶¹ Ibid.

surveys, and the patchy information she did receive from missionaries and colonial governors indicates the fluid nature of education policy and practice during this period. When colonial schools were collecting information about their pupils it was often incomplete and did not lend itself to broad generalisations that could be made across colonies. Her survey did not have an impact on policy for Indigenous schools, and indeed, is one of her less famous works. However, the survey is illuminating because of the way in which it was constructed. Apart from recognising the value of schools as sites to collect information, Nightingale saw the value of networks of personal correspondence and expertise as a way of implementing changes. As she put it in a letter to epidemiologist and medical statistician Dr William Farr, enclosing the returns she received from Ceylon,

You may perhaps remember (or more likely you may have forgotten) that the Colonial Office employed me, or I employed the Colonial Office (which is more correct?) to come to some conclusion about the relation between education and mortality in our uncivilized colonies...⁶²

I return to Nightingale's survey in chapter Four, where I discuss how Anne Camfield, teacher at the Annesfield institution in Western Australia, responded to Nightingale's conclusions. With this in mind, I now turn to the scheme outlined by Sir George Grey, a few years earlier. With a narrower scope than Nightingale's, and with Grey's position as colonial governor, we see similar ideas about race, education and civilisation, but also some clearer arguments about the practicalities of providing education. The discussion below focuses on his ideas about race, Christianity and industrial education.

Schools, roads and hospitals: Sir George Grey's scheme for industrial education in the Cape and New Zealand

George Grey was an influential colonial governor. Although his career has been the subject of widespread research, it is worth discussing his schemes about industrial education because they had a significant impact in different parts of the British

⁶² Nightingale to Farr, 13.09.1862, BL Add MSS 43399 f77.

Empire.⁶³ Historians have debated Grey's conflicting ideological positions – both as a humanitarian reformer, and as a supporter of radical, and often violent, settler colonial development.⁶⁴ A practising Christian, he believed that education could make up for the evils of colonialism. However, contemporary thinking about race, civilisation and systematic colonisation influenced him.⁶⁵ Grey trained at Sandhurst, before serving in the 83rd regiment in Ireland.⁶⁶ His early colonial career began when he was appointed an explorer and later temporary Magistrate in Western Australia. He subsequently served as governor of South Australia from 1840 to 1844, New Zealand from 1845 to 1851, and as governor of the Cape Colony and high commissioner of South Africa from 1854 to 1861. He returned to New Zealand in 1861 to serve as governor and later as Prime Minister from 1877-1879.⁶⁷

Throughout his career, Grey was particularly interested in the status of Indigenous people: he collected materials published in Indigenous languages, and kept up correspondence with missionaries about Indigenous people and possible methods for their 'improvement'. The broad approach Grey took to the question of education in New Zealand and later the Cape shows how ideas that had been tested in one colony were applied to another, and how education and the concept of 'civilisation' could construct the category of the 'native' or 'aboriginal' as similar across different spaces.⁶⁸

⁶³ Grey's career has been the subject of widespread research. His policies embody the conflicting impulses of 'humanitarian colonial governance' – combining settler colonialism with the humanitarian imperatives of the Colonial Office. See Lester and Dussart, *Colonization*, Ch. 6; Salesa, *Racial Crossings*, particularly 107-113. On his policies at the Cape, see Lester, *Imperial Networks*, Epilogue and conclusion; Jeff Pereis, *The Dead will arise: Nongqawuse and the Great Xhosa Cattle Killing Movement of 1856-7* (London: Currey, 1989); Anthonie Eduard du Toit, *The Cape Frontier: A Study of Native Policy with Special Reference to the Years 1847-1866* (Pretoria: Archives Yearbook, Government Printer, 1954).

⁶⁴ James Rutherford, *Sir George Grey, KCB, 1812-1898* (London: Cassell and Company Ltd., 1961), 73. Pereis asserts Grey 'was a fake humanitarian and a fake explorer who did not relish being shown up by the real thing'. Pereis, *The Dead will Arise*, 51.

⁶⁵ Rutherford, *Sir George Grey*, 52.

⁶⁶ Leigh Dale argues that 'Ireland offered a young George Grey not only a model of political intervention, but a model of racial prejudice, of political domination, of land seizure and cultural genocide.' Dale, Leigh, 'George Grey in Ireland: Narrative and Network', in *Colonial Lives Across the British Empire: Imperial Careering in the Long Nineteenth Century*, ed. by David Lambert and Alan Lester (Cambridge and New York: Cambridge University Press, 2006), 145-175, 174.

⁶⁷ See Donald J Kerr, *Amassing Treasures for All Times: Sir George Grey, Colonial Bookman and Collector* (Dunedin: Oak Knoll and Otago University Press, 2006) for a timeline of Grey's 'official' life and life as a collector.

⁶⁸ See Zoë Laidlaw on the construction of racial categories in the Select Committee on Aborigines. 'Integrating Metropolitan, Colonial and Imperial Histories – the Aborigines Select Committee of 1835–

In 1837, then Captain Grey was appointed to report to the Colonial Office on the status of Western Australia and the treatment of Aboriginal people there. His *Report on the Best Means of Promoting the Civilization of the Aboriginal Inhabitants of Australia* was sent throughout the Australian colonies, and outlined some of the difficulties involved in the civilisation of Aboriginal people.⁶⁹ According to Grey, there were two important factors which would aid Aboriginal civilisation: firstly, they needed, where possible, to be brought under British law. Secondly, it was imperative that they were introduced to regular labour, preferably from childhood.⁷⁰ Aboriginal people, and young boys in particular, should be taught to work, which would not only benefit the settlers in the colony, but also improve Aboriginal people's moral and physical conditions.⁷¹ Aboriginal children were 'perfectly capable of being civilised' but it was too costly to open government-run schools.⁷² One way around this obstacle was to civilise children through work, rather than government-funded schooling, and to rely on missionary initiative for their educational needs. Across the colonies where he worked, Grey believed regular employment would improve Indigenous people.⁷³ As Lester and Dussart point out, 'Grey himself would see in his *Report* a blueprint for projects of what he called *amalgamation* in each of the colonies that he came to govern.'⁷⁴ This *Report* shows an early engagement with the idea of labour as education that Grey would articulate in New Zealand and the Cape in the years ahead.

As governor of New Zealand, Grey turned his attention to education, particularly for Maori and part-Maori children.⁷⁵ Grey used his position to pass Education Ordinance

37', in *Writing Colonial Histories: Comparative Perspectives*, ed. by Tracey Banivanua Mar and Julie Evans (Melbourne: Melbourne University Conference and Seminar Series, 2002) 75-92, 91.

⁶⁹ For a fuller discussion of the Report, see Lester and Dussart, *Colonization*, 234-237.

⁷⁰ Grey, 'Report on the best Means of Promoting the Civilization of the Aboriginal Inhabitants of Australia', Enclosure Russell to Gipps, 08.10.1840, in *Aborigines (Australian colonies)*, No.23, 101-2. This report was important in securing Grey's reputation and providing him a 'template for governmentality that he would seek to effect throughout his own gubernatorial career'. Lester and Dussart, *Colonization*, 234.

⁷¹ The report is also printed in George Grey, *Journals of two expeditions of discovery in north-west and western Australia, during the years 1837,38, and 39, under the authority of Her Majesty's Government, describing many newly discovered, important and fertile districts, with observations on the moral and physical condition of the aboriginal inhabitants, &c. &c.*, Vol. 2 (London: T. and W. Boone, 1841).

⁷² Grey, *Report on the best Means of Promoting the Civilization*.

⁷³ Rutherford, *Sir George Grey*, 53.

⁷⁴ Lester and Dussart, *Colonization*, 237.

⁷⁵ I have used the term 'Maori' here with an awareness that it only came into common use in the 1850s. See Salesa, *Racial Crossings*, 21-24.

7 of 1847, ‘for promoting the education of youth in the Colony of New Zealand’, which ensured a certain portion of money given to mission bodies for education was set apart for funding boarding and day schools for Maori and part-Maori pupils.⁷⁶ This legislation formed the blueprint for Ordinance 2 of 1856, for ‘promoting the education of Coloured youth in the District of Natal’, which I discuss below and in Chapter Four.⁷⁷ Rather than beginning a national system of government-funded education, Grey proposed that missionaries already running schools in New Zealand should be given portions of government funding, provided their curriculum included religious teaching and industrial training, and was taught in English.⁷⁸ Grey’s correspondence with the Colonial Office about Maori education continued over the following years. In 1849, Grey wrote to Earl Grey, secretary of state for war and the colonies, saying that as provision had increased, so too had Maori demands for education.⁷⁹ Missionaries spoke highly of the effects of ‘useful’ education on all native, half-caste and destitute children.⁸⁰

It is worth noting that this New Zealand Education Ordinance was passed in the same year that Kay-Shuttleworth’s suggestions on industrial education, discussed in Chapter One, were sent throughout the British colonies. Ideas about industrial training, informed by both metropolitan contexts in which the poor were introduced to work, as well as the settler and ex-slave colonies’ need for labour, were gaining influence during this period. Grey’s plans for industrial training in the Cape and New Zealand need to be understood in this context: ‘such ideas had been circulating in

⁷⁶ See Grey to Earl Grey, 09.12.1847, *New Zealand. Papers relative to the affairs of New Zealand. Correspondence with Governor Grey. In continuation of the papers presented by command in January and June, 1847.* HC 892/899/1002 (1847-1848), 48. Judith Nathan highlights Grey’s extensive correspondence with the CMS missionary, Robert Maunsell, about the position of mission education in New Zealand. Nathan, ‘An Analysis of an Industrial Boarding School’, See also Maunsell to Grey, 29.09.1847, GLNZ M31.1.

⁷⁷ See Cooper to Molesworth, 25.01. 1856, CO 179/42, No. 9.

⁷⁸ The amount given to education was not to exceed one twentieth of the colonial revenue each year. Grey to Earl Grey, 09.12.1847, *New Zealand. Papers relative to the affairs of New Zealand*, 49. This teaching in English marked a break from earlier missionary efforts in New Zealand that focused on teaching in Maori language. In 1844, the earlier discourse of preserving Maori language in schools gave way to a far more assimilationist policy, in the Native Trust Ordinance of 1844 which spoke of Maori people’s desire for English teaching and the need to assimilate them ‘as speedily as possible’. This shift to English language was driven by broader ideas about amalgamation in the New Zealand context. Barrington and Beaglehole, “‘A part of Pakeha society’”, 166.

⁷⁹ Sir George Grey to Earl Grey, 22.03.1849, *New Zealand. Further papers relative to the affairs of New Zealand*, HC 1136 and 1280 (1850), Desp. 33, 69.

⁸⁰ Sir George Grey to Earl Grey, 29.01.1851, *New Zealand. Further papers relative to the affairs of New Zealand. (In continuation of papers presented 14th August, 1850)*, HC 1420 (1851), No. 16, 124.

missionary as well as government circles within the Empire.’⁸¹ Grey knew about James Kay-Shuttleworth’s plans for education. He had forwarded that memorandum to New Zealand Church Missionary Society missionary, Robert Maunsell, who wanted to use ‘a plan recommended in the “Suggestions of Mr. Kaye Shuttleworth (sic),” which you were so good as once to send me’.⁸²

Grey’s scheme for industrial training, presented in 1852, warrants special examination here. Grey sent a despatch to John Pakington, Earl Grey’s successor, regarding what he termed a matter ‘of so much interest to the whole empire’.⁸³ The 1840s saw a series of violent colonial wars between Maori people and New Zealand settlers.⁸⁴ Grey argued education had been the deciding factor in putting down the ‘rebellion’, and rejuvenating Maori loyalty to the British government because of their ‘gratitude for benefits conferred’. In particular, Grey thanked the missionaries for their role ‘in smoothing down every difficulty and difference that arose between jealous races who had come in contact; converting, educating, and training, by hourly, unremitting watchfulness and care...’⁸⁵ Grey laid out some of his key ideas for improvement of the education system in New Zealand, and suggested a similar scheme might be applied elsewhere. In particular, Grey argued that similar education could contain frontier violence at the Cape.⁸⁶ Amalgamation of the races and their incorporation into the colonial economy through education and labour were central to Grey’s conception of the future of each colony.⁸⁷

Grey wrote about the New Zealand system in which native, half-caste and some European children were educated at (sometimes racially mixed) boarding schools. Grey favoured co-educational teaching, with separate living quarters for boys and girls. At these schools, missionaries were stationed with a carpenter, an agricultural

⁸¹ Davis, ‘1855-1863: A Dividing Point’, 6.

⁸² Maunsell to Grey, 06.08.1852, enclosed in a despatch from Grey to Pakington, 07.10.1852, *New Zealand. Further papers relative to the affairs of New Zealand*, HC 1779 (1854), No. 69, 155.

⁸³ Grey to Pakington, 08.10.1852, in *Ibid.*, No.70, 159. Original at CO 209/105.

⁸⁴ James Belich, *Making Peoples: A History of the New Zealanders, from Polynesian Settlement to the End of the Nineteenth Century* (Auckland and London: Allen Lane, 1996), 192, 204-211.

⁸⁵ Grey to Pakington, 08.10.1852, *Further papers relative to the affairs of New Zealand*, HC 1779 (1854), 159-160.

⁸⁶ *Ibid.*, 161.

⁸⁷ See Leigh Dale, ‘George Grey in Australia, New Zealand, and South Africa,’ in *Writing, Travel and Empire in the Margins of Anthropology*, ed. by Peter Hulme and Russell McDougall (New York: I.B. Taurus, 2007), 18-41, 22.

labourer and, in some cases, a teacher. The government paid salaries of the carpenters and agriculturalists, and supplied some tools for building and farming, which formed a major part of the students' curriculum.⁸⁸ It was important, Grey thought, for each institution to 'become self-supporting', and so it was essential for government to grant tracts of land to missionaries. In the future, the institutions could

at no farther cost to the empire ... be constantly either preparing the way for British commerce and for British institutions throughout the Pacific Ocean, or will be consolidating Christianity and civilization in countries recently reclaimed from barbarism; and which at the same time will, by saving from ignorance and vice the children of the Maories, or of destitute Europeans in these islands, be conferring inestimable benefits upon New Zealand.⁸⁹

Education would benefit the nation and empire, making space for increased trade within a (Christian) humanitarian framework. Grey's plans for racial amalgamation cleverly married the need for labour and the humanitarian objectives of colonial government.⁹⁰ And, as Barrington and Beaglehole show, 'Education was to be the agent of this process.'⁹¹ Grey believed 'the interests of settlers and indigenes were in fact complementary, so long as the latter were given the opportunity of acquiring the skills and education necessary to survival as equals'.⁹²

Grey also insisted on the establishment of hospitals in each location. He thought that Indigenous people should be encouraged into public works, as it would teach the value of labour and introduce them to the European economy. The concept of education was broad here – not only did it include language and basic arithmetic, but also industrial skills, information about health and the body, and religion. Work and religion together could result in the transformation of the character, and eventually, could create a labouring class able to provide for themselves through their new

⁸⁸ Grey was critical of the United Free Church of Scotland's Lovedale institution in the Cape for having a curriculum that was too 'bookish'. He ensured that government funding was given to the school for building classrooms and workshops for the practical arts. Lester and Dussart, *Colonization*, 256. For a particularly insightful account of time and mission education at Lovedale, see Nanni, *The Colonisation of Time*, Ch. 6.

⁸⁹ Grey to Pakington, 08.10.1852, *Further papers relative to the affairs of New Zealand*, HC 1779 (1854), 161.

⁹⁰ Lester and Dussart, *Colonization*, 251.

⁹¹ Barrington and Beaglehole, "'A part of Pakeha society'", 168.

⁹² Peries, *The Dead will Arise*, 50.

agricultural skills. The infrastructure of the empire would make physical and metaphorical changes to the landscape – the introduction of roads would allow for the easier movement of armies, hospitals would cure the diseased native body and schools would teach the habits and morals of civilisation.

In his despatch, Grey commented on schools already in operation in New Zealand. Run by the Church of England, the WMMS, and the Catholic Church respectively, these schools catered for about seven hundred children, and Grey saw them as fertile spaces for the growth of an Indigenous group of teachers. He argued that ‘...it is considered that a state of half civilization is as bad as no civilization at all, the children are, in respect of food, bedding, &c, brought up in quite as comfortable a manner as the children of European peasants’.⁹³ The conception of destitute Europeans being on the same level of civilisation, and in need of the same kind of ‘care’ as Indigenes is indicative of a conception of ‘race’ as less tied to physical appearance than was prevalent later in the nineteenth century. Rather, in this case, race was likened to civilisation, and just as one could become civilised, so too could one be ‘educated out’ of a state of Indigenousness through adhering to the correct manners, dress, speaking English and living in respectable western dwellings. This sort of belief was rooted in enlightenment theories of civilisation, in which progress was seen as ‘stadial’ and in which ‘all had the potential to be “civilised” and “improved”’.⁹⁴ This conception of race was also characterised as something that could be learnt in the family, and unlearned in the classroom, making it a cultural rather than a biological trait. If children could be caught before they had been contaminated with their parents’ ‘native’ ways, it was possible that they could, in time, become civilised.

The culmination of this conception of race as being learnt, rather than intrinsic, was the residential boarding school for Indigenous children, common in Australia and Canada, and trialled with less success in New Zealand, the Cape and Natal.⁹⁵

⁹³ Grey to Pakington, 08.10.1852, *Further papers relative to the affairs of New Zealand*, HC 1779 (1854), No.70, 160-1.

⁹⁴ See Cleall, *Missionary Discourses of Difference* for a discussion of the way in which ideas of race changed during the nineteenth century, and in particular, on missionary conceptions of race, 5.

⁹⁵ On the Canadian case, see John Milloy, ‘A National Crime’: *The Canadian Government and the Residential School System, 1879-1986* (Manitoba: University of Manitoba Press, 2000), 13; James Miller, *Skyscrapers Hide the Heavens: A History of Indian-white Relations in Canada* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2000).

Removal from the ‘heathen’ family could aid the process of civilisation. As Giordano Nanni has shown in the Cape context, mission schools were engaged in a process of ‘manufacturing a new “brand of native” inured to the workplace and conditioned for docility towards the clock’.⁹⁶ Taking control of the rhythms of everyday life would help Indigenous people become accustomed to routines which could properly distinguish different parts of the day from each other – there would be time for play, time for prayer, and of course, time for work.⁹⁷

When the Colonial Office received Grey’s suggestions for industrial training, there was some discussion of whether the cases of the Cape and New Zealand were, in fact, comparable. Herman Merivale, advocate of racial amalgamation, wrote a note on the memorandum,

I wish the cases were parallel. In N.Z. an excellent & self-imposing system has been introduced by a Governor of peculiar ability for such purposes, & an admirable missionary Bishop, besides the valuable cooperation of other bodies. At the Cape we inherited an evil system from the Dutch, & except the mere abolition of slavery we have not improved it. And our failure has assuredly not been from want of missionaries or missionary institutions. I suppose however that we should seek the use which Sir G. Grey desires of this and 772 [another despatch about Industrial schools], by sending copies to the Gov. stating that although the Secy. of State is fully aware of the difference between the circumstance of N.Z. and the Cape, he has thought it nonetheless his duty to transmit them at Sir G. Grey’s request & in the hope that some of the suggestions may be found valuable.⁹⁸

The memorandum was sent to the Bishop of Cape Town, and the governor of the Cape, but Grey’s plans for industrial schools were not put into place until he arrived there as governor in 1854.⁹⁹ In December 1854, in language deeply reminiscent of his description of the success of industrial schools in New Zealand, Grey argued that he could ‘restore tranquillity’ on the Cape frontier, by ‘employing [Africans] on public

⁹⁶ Nanni, *The Colonisation of Time*, 188.

⁹⁷ *Ibid.*, 189.

⁹⁸ Note by Merivale, 27.01.1853, on Grey to Pakington, 08.10.1852, separate, CO 209/105.

⁹⁹ According to Du Toit, Cathcart, Governor of the Cape before Grey, resented Grey’s suggestions for the Cape and believed that the comparison between New Zealand Maori people and Cape Xhosa people was misguided. Du Toit, *The Cape Frontier*, 239. See also Cathcart’s response to the memorandum in CO 48/338.

works', 'establishing institutions for the education of their children', and building hospitals and government institutions.¹⁰⁰

Grey was personally involved in the administration and funding of schools that focused on industrial education in New Zealand, the Cape Colony and as the following section will show, Natal. In the Cape, he had the chance to put his scheme for industrial training into practice. He did this in consultation with missionaries already working amongst Indigenous people in the colony. An imperial government grant of £40,000 towards the 'civilisation' of natives was used to finance new industrial institutions, run by missionaries from Scottish, Methodist, Congregationalist and Anglican mission societies.¹⁰¹ Clearly, Grey's ideas about education in one context were moving with him as he was employed in different capacities across the Empire.

One project that put Grey's scheme into practice in the Cape was the Kafir Industrial Institution, later the Zonnebloem School, opened in 1858. Designed to educate the sons and daughters of chiefs, the school focused on an English education, but also on instilling a solid work ethic.¹⁰² The boys were responsible for building their own classroom, and learning other trades to prepare them for work in European communities.¹⁰³ These children were seen as central allies in maintaining peace on the frontier. A similar establishment was established by Anglican Bishop Selwyn at St John's College in Waimate in New Zealand in 1846, where the best Maori and European students were trained in different branches of education together. Their curriculum included theological training, farming, printing, carpentry and shoe-

¹⁰⁰ Sir George Grey to Sir George Grey, 22.12.1854, *Cape of Good Hope. Further papers relative to the state of the Kaffir tribes. (In continuation of papers presented May 31, 1853.)*, HC 1969 (1854-55), No.20, 38.

¹⁰¹ Lester and Dussart, *Colonization*, 252; Janet Hodgson, 'A History of Zonnebloem College, 1858-1870: A Study of Church and Society' (MA thesis, University of Cape Town, 1975), 128. The British government was told that the institutions would soon be self-supporting which made the investment less risky.

¹⁰² D1.1, Zonnebloem archive BC 636, UCT Manuscripts and archives. On Zonnebloem, see Hodgson, 'A History of Zonnebloem College'.

¹⁰³ Robb to George Frere, 31.10.186[?], Zonnebloem Archive, A1.21. See Janet Hodgson, *Princess Emma* (Craighall: A.D. Donker, 1987), for a detailed description of life in the school, particularly for Princess Emma, daughter of Xhosa chief Sandile.

making.¹⁰⁴ At Zonnebloem, Grey was involved both in funding the school, and providing advice on how his scheme might be put into practice. The imperial government provided an annual grant for the school, in accordance with Grey's scheme. Grey argued that the establishment of a school in the Cape was 'considered of primary importance, with a view to the peaceable occupation of the Interior of Africa by a European Race, and the civilization and advancement in Christianity of the Races living within, or immediately beyond the borders'.¹⁰⁵ Importantly, the establishment of such an Institution in Cape Town would provide an object lesson to children who would be sent there, as they would be based in 'the Capital, where European Civilization is to be found in the most perfect form in which it exists in South Africa'.¹⁰⁶ The school's location away from the imagined heathen countryside would remove children from the 'barbarous influence' of their traditional practices and families.¹⁰⁷ As the following chapter shows, both government and missionaries were eager to locate 'civilisation' in space. They debated whether children were more likely to be civilised in urban or rural areas, and whether they would be improved or contaminated by contact with settlers. The example of Zonnebloem in Cape Town shows how one version of civilisation could be found in urban centres. The school was positioned as an important 'frontier' – civilising those who passed through it, instilling loyalty to the British imperial project more broadly, and bringing them into contact with European society.

The Zonnebloem Institution was reliant on teaching and support from the Church of England. This shows the dependence of colonial government on the networks of missionaries already working in the colonies. The first Anglican Bishop of Cape Town, Robert Gray, was an enthusiastic supporter of the Institution, Governor Grey and industrial education in general.¹⁰⁸ Of course, not everyone in the Zonnebloem Institution appreciated Grey's industrial education scheme. A telling letter from a pupil's parent, likely an elite member of Indigenous society, indicated frustration with the curriculum in the school, and ultimately the privileging of industrial training. The

¹⁰⁴ Susannah Grant, 'God's Governor: George Grey and Racial Amalgamation in New Zealand 1845-1853' (PhD Thesis, University of Otago, 2005), 201; Barrington and Beaglehole, "'A part of Pakeha society'", 170.

¹⁰⁵ Grey quoted in Gray to Wodehouse, 08.02.1869, Zonnebloem archive, A2.24.

¹⁰⁶ Ibid.

¹⁰⁷ Ibid.

¹⁰⁸ Gray, first Bishop of the Anglican Church of South Africa, arrived in 1848.

students, the parent wrote, 'have not come to learn, they have come to work. Let him who brought his child to school come and fetch him, if he loves him, because there is nothing which he will learn.' The parent also complained that the boys 'will get nothing because they are taught to work' and that because of this they 'were hired out to white man by white man'.¹⁰⁹ This letter is a rare surviving example of opposition to the system from a parent, which highlights some of the contradictions involved in a scheme designed to look like a humanitarian intervention in education, but which was understood as training for servitude in the white community. Those receiving education were clearly not passive in the process.

Sir George Grey's plans for industrial training were not unique, and similar schemes had been suggested before he arrived in South Africa in 1854.¹¹⁰ Indeed, as Davis points out, 'Industrial training for Africans in the Cape Colony fitted into the wider context of a discussion going on throughout the British Empire for the so-called coloured races' which included not only the settler colonies but also education for emancipated slaves in the West Indies.¹¹¹ As the following chapter will show, Gray outlined a scheme for industrial education in Natal remarkably similar in substance and scope to Grey's in 1850, but Grey was able to use his position in colonial government to see his plan come to fruition.

The scheme Grey put forward is a useful illustration of the ways that ideas about race and education were being transmitted across colonies. Grey's experience in New Zealand was influential in his thinking about the civilisation in South Africa. While Grey was not able to make changes at an empire-wide level, his educational schemes, and earlier promotion of education legislation, formed the basis of much of the industrial training that would be used in the South African colonies in the years to come. Grey recognised that schools could be a useful tool in the apparatus of a humanitarian colonial government.¹¹² The transmission of information between missionaries, a colonial governor, and colonial officials in this case illustrates that there was interest in the education of Indigenous people, but that people working at a

¹⁰⁹ Translated letter from Muncu, 25.05.1859, Zonnebloem archive, A1.27.

¹¹⁰ Salesa warns us against seeing Grey as a 'lone figure' advocating for racial amalgamation. Salesa, *Racial Crossings*, 113.

¹¹¹ Davis, '1855-1863: A Dividing Point', 6.

¹¹² The success of the schools was, however, short-lived. Many closed in the wake of economic depression in the Cape in the 1860s. Lester and Dussart, *Colonization*, 260.

local level were driving this training. In the final section of this chapter, I want to draw out one local context, focusing on one institution. The discussion emphasises the influence of individuals on the kinds of education provided in different contexts. This shows how the broader ideas about education, like those expressed by both Nightingale and Grey, were developed and debated at the local colonial level.

Ekukhanyeni: ‘One strong, central training Institution’¹¹³

Another missionary correspondent of Grey’s during the 1850s and 1860s was the first Anglican Bishop of the recently created Diocese of Natal, John William Colenso. Born in Cornwall in 1814, Colenso became interested in mission activity after hearing a lecture by Samuel Wilberforce, Bishop of Oxford. Colenso worked as a local organising secretary for the SPG when he lived at Fornsett from 1846 to 1853.¹¹⁴ Jeff Guy argues that Colenso’s experience editing missionary journals, and engagement with humanitarian theological debates, shaped his approach to evangelism before he reached Natal in 1854: he was already

preaching that missionary endeavour had to be based on the interchange and not the imposition of ideas, and that the missionary had to work from within existing views of the world, morality and religion, and appeal to the humanity God had given all men.¹¹⁵

After a tour of Natal in 1854, Colenso was appointed Bishop. Colenso and his wife, Sarah Frances (Bunyon), known to the family as Frances, and their four children moved to Natal in 1855. Another daughter was born in Natal in 1855.¹¹⁶

Two years before the Zonnebloem Institution opened in Cape Town, Colenso opened the Ekukhanyeni (Place of Light) Institution, about ten kilometres from

¹¹³ John Colenso, *Ten Weeks in Natal: A Journal of First Tour of Visitation among the colonists and Zulu Kafirs of Natal* (Cambridge: MacMillan and Co, 1855), 73.

¹¹⁴ Jeff Guy, *The Heretic: A Study of the Life of John William Colenso, 1814-1883* (Johannesburg: Ravan Press; Pietermaritzburg: University of Natal Press, 1983), 33.

¹¹⁵ Guy, *The Heretic*, 45.

¹¹⁶ Mandy Goedhals, “‘The Bravest Woman I have ever known’: Frances Colenso (1816-93)”, in *The Eye of the Storm: Bishop John William Colenso and the Crisis of Biblical Interpretation*, ed. by Jonathan Draper (Pietermaritzburg: Cluster publications, 2003), 326-344, 331.

Pietermaritzburg in Natal. His family's farm, Bishopstowe, was next to the school.¹¹⁷ Like Zonnebloem, the school was conceived of as an elite institution, primarily for the sons of chiefs.¹¹⁸ Colenso planned Ekukhanyeni as an important connection between the heathen masses in Natal, and the civilising effects of Christianity and mission education. Colenso imagined it as 'one strong, central training Institution' where adults and children could live under the pastoral care of a missionary Bishop.¹¹⁹

Colenso was convinced that Grey's industrial schools could civilise and 'improve the condition of the people at their own kraals.' Colenso proposed that the Church of England missionaries should

go forth into the midst of their [Zulu people's] daily life & instead of trying to get the children into our homes, whether by purchase or persuasion, for educational proceedings, we shall set up our own School in the immediate proximity of their huts, and endeavour to bring this influence of civilization and Christianity to bear upon the habits of the heathen at the fountain head.¹²⁰

Colenso highlighted the spatial location of civilising projects. A school could be a civilised space in a rural sea of heathenism. Colenso's relationship with Grey saw him advising Grey on colonial policy, and receiving grants towards his Institution. They had met when Grey was touring Natal in October 1855.¹²¹ Colenso offered Grey suggestions on Ordinance 2 of 1856, based on the 1847 New Zealand Education Ordinance.¹²² Missionaries like Colenso drew on Grey's position to seek changes within their own districts. Colenso was clearly impressed with Grey's work for the 'native races' in New Zealand, saying that he hoped that it would

¹¹⁷ Vukile Khumalo, 'Excavating A Usable Past: The Politics of Christian Missions in South Africa with Special Focus on KwaZulu-Natal, 1850-1910', in *Sights and Insights: Interactive Images of Europe and the Wider World*, ed. by Mary N. Harris and Csaba Levai (Pisa: Edizioni Plus - Pisa University Press, 2007), 109-121, 113.

¹¹⁸ Norman Etherington, 'Missionaries, Africans and the State in the Development of Education in Colonial Natal, 1836-1910', in *Missionaries, Indigenous people and Cultural Exchange*, ed. by Patricia Grimshaw and Andrew May (Eastbourne: Sussex Academic Press, 2010), 123-137, 128.

¹¹⁹ Colenso, *Ten Weeks*, 73.

¹²⁰ Colenso to SPG, 9.11.1855, SPG D8, RHL [Hereafter all Natal SPG reports and correspondence are from RHL].

¹²¹ Guy, *Theophilus Shepstone*, 241.

¹²² Charles Templeton Loram, *The Education of the South African Native* (London: Longmans, Green, and Co, 1917), 55. It is worth noting that Bishop John Colenso's cousin, William Colenso, advocated for Maori education and literacy in New Zealand.

be the happy lot of our new Governor [Grey], — in Africa, as before in New Zealand, — to aid the efforts of Christian teachers, while publishing the Name of God and the wonders of His Love among them, and to direct the energies of this spirited and intelligent people into the channels of peaceful industry!¹²³

Grey and Colenso also discussed the Natal charter, which gave the colony limited representative government, and set aside a Native Reserve fund of £5,000 exclusively for ‘native purposes’.¹²⁴ Colenso’s ability to see his plan for Ekukhanyeni come to fruition was largely because of his connections to influential people in South Africa at the time. Colenso also used Natal Secretary of Native Affairs’, Theophilus Shepstone’s, reputation amongst African leaders in Natal to get boys to attend his school.¹²⁵ Colenso had met Shepstone during his tour of the colony in 1854, when they had travelled around the colony together. Guy argues that their similar approaches to social problems in the colony cemented their friendship. Both believed that there were some parts of African traditional practices that should be maintained when they were brought into European society.¹²⁶

Ekukhanyeni opened in 1856 with nineteen African pupils. Before the school opened, Colenso considered opening it to white orphans as well as African children. He wrote about this in a letter to Grey, saying he could not

help thinking that the presence of white children may be of great advantage for the training of the young Kafirs. However, I am quite awake to the *possible* evils which might result to the former from a contaminating mixture with the latter. But I do not think there need be any fear of this with the precautions we shall take, the number of white persons concerned, & the level of intercourse which will be allowed between them.¹²⁷

¹²³ Colenso, *Ten Weeks*, xxxi.

¹²⁴ I discuss this in more detail in Chapter Four.

¹²⁵ Guy, *The Heretic*, 64.

¹²⁶ Ibid., 47. Colenso was interested in recording Zulu people’s own beliefs. For example, when travelling through the colony, William Ngidi, his assistant and interpreter, and two boys from the mission, Magma Fuze and Ndiyane, accompanied him. He asked ‘William and the two boys to make a first attempt at keeping journals in their own language, which might be useful in showing how some of our proceedings looked from a native point of view’. Bishop John Colenso, *First Steps of the Zulu Mission*, (London: Printed for the Society of the Propagation of the Gospel, 1860), 12; Bishop John Colenso, *Three Native Accounts of the visit of the Bishop of Natal, in September and October 1859, to Umpande, King of the Zulus* (Pietermaritzburg: May and Davis, 1860).

¹²⁷ Colenso to Grey, 08.12.1855, No.47, SAL, Grey collection, MSB223.

Colenso had met missionaries from the American Board of Missions on his tour of the colony back in 1854, who told him that there were ‘serious objections to allowing free intercourse between the white and black children’.¹²⁸ In particular, ‘the conversation of the latter is said to be so impure and disgusting, that a Christian parent cannot dare to commit his children to its contamination’. Both of the American missionaries, Lindley and Grout, said that their own children were not allowed to learn Zulu, because they needed to be protected from ‘such corrupting influences’.¹²⁹ This exchange between Colenso and the American missionaries highlights the centrality of schools to the formation of racial identities: while the school environment, if shared with ‘civilised’ white children, could raise up the heathen, there was an ever-present danger that heathenish ways would prove not only robust, but also potentially dangerous to the civilised.¹³⁰ Colenso’s own children were not educated with the African scholars, but he did allow them to mix with his pupils.¹³¹ Guy argues that the Colenso children ‘spent their formative years sharing in colonial life, but also apart from it.’ His children ‘were closer in many ways to the Africans on the mission station than they were to their white contemporaries’.¹³²

Grey sponsored Ekukhanyeni’s building costs and promised to give the school an annual grant of £500, which was supplemented by grants from the SPG, and the imperial government.¹³³ Grey’s contribution was contingent on the institution being run on the principles that he outlined for similar institutions in New Zealand.¹³⁴ The number of students enrolled grew rapidly to thirty-three in 1857, and forty-two in 1859. From 1858, there were nine girls enrolled in the school, who lived in the Colenso’s home, and were taught by female teachers and Colenso’s wife, Frances.¹³⁵ The first intake of scholars were all between six and fourteen years old, the majority boys between eight and nine years old. The school was included in Nightingale’s

¹²⁸ Colenso, *Ten Weeks*, 236.

¹²⁹ Ibid.

¹³⁰ I take up this point in more detail in Chapter Five.

¹³¹ See Journal written by Miss Alice Mackenzie while at Bishopstowe; the last letter written to her Brother, The Rev. Charles Mackenzie later Bishop of the Central African Mission, who died finally at his post, in Africa. MSS. Afr. R.174, RHL.

¹³² Jeff Guy, ‘The Colenso Daughters: Three Women Confront Imperialism’, in *The Eye of the Storm: Bishop John William Colenso and the Crisis of Biblical Interpretation*, ed. by Jonathan Draper (Pietermaritzburg: Cluster publications, 2003), 345-363, 346.

¹³³ Khumalo, ‘The Class of 1856’, 211.

¹³⁴ Colenso to secretary of state for the colonies, 4.4.1857, SPG D8.

¹³⁵ Khumalo, ‘The Class of 1856’, 214.

survey. The scholars were particularly healthy, with no deaths recorded. Nightingale recorded that the students' days included five hours of school instruction and seven of labour or outdoor work. Their schoolroom was 'well ventilated', and their diet included 'porridge, meat and coffee'.¹³⁶ This example highlights, once again, the connection between individual missionaries and institutions, the local colonial government, and the researcher focusing on an imperial issue.

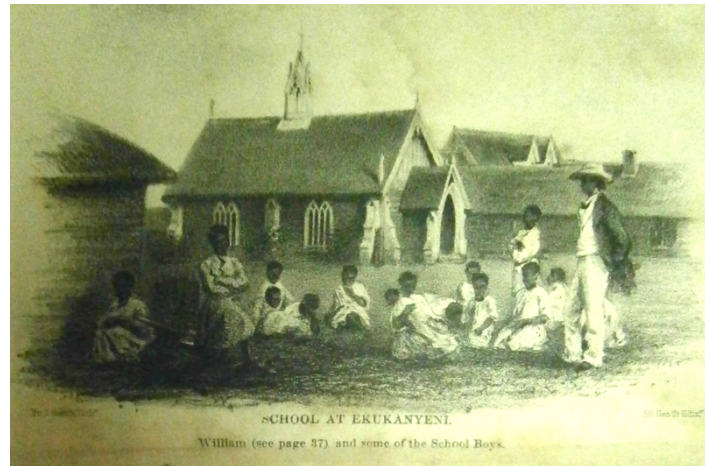


Figure 4 School at Ekukhanyeni¹³⁷

The industrial training at Ekukhanyeni consisted of ploughing and some 'elementary lessons in the Carpenter's shop', which would later be supplemented by training in printing.¹³⁸ One of the teachers at the school, Charles Grubbe, argued that exclusive teaching of the Gospel was pointless. He recognised the 'impossibility of their [the pupils] all being finally employed as teachers, Catechists, Clergy' and because of this felt it was better to give them some essential background in the 'necessary employments' than focusing on a literary education.¹³⁹ It was difficult for the school to find suitable people to train the pupils in industrial pursuits. When practical teachers were brought over from England, Grubbe complained that they soon realised that 'if they instruct the natives in their respective trades, they make competition possible to the great benefit of the Colony generally — but to their individual loss'.¹⁴⁰

¹³⁶ Nightingale, *Sanitary Statistics*, 21, 31.

¹³⁷ Image from Anne Mackenzie, *Seeing and Hearing, Second series*, 36.

¹³⁸ Colenso to Grey, 01.02.1857, Cullen Library, AB1606F.

¹³⁹ Report from Grubbe, Bishopstowe, 03.01.1859, SPG E2.

¹⁴⁰ Ibid.

Settlers, too, worried about the implications of training Africans as skilled artisans. Colenso told Grey that he could not

doubt that much of the popular cry against Industrial Schools in this very young and ignorant colony, arises from prejudice of this kind, on the part of white tradesmen or artisans, themselves too frequently, drunken, worthless, idle & incompetent, but determined to keep the native from coming into competition with themselves.¹⁴¹

Having worked at Harrow as a mathematics tutor from 1838 to 1842, the appeal to educate the Zulu elite would have sat well with Colenso. Indeed, Colenso referred to Ekukhanyeni as the 'Kaffir Harrow'. In 1857, Colenso wrote that the school was a 'success' precisely because it educated the children of chiefs in contrast to other schools who usually taught the 'children of poor or needy parents, or parents more or less under missionary influence'.¹⁴² Colenso believed education should take advantage of the fact that natives were not 'at all wanting, as a race in intelligence', and therefore, pupils were taught arithmetic, the older boys from Colenso's Euclid, languages, science and geography, as well as practical skills.¹⁴³ Unlike Bishop Gray, who favoured Anglicisation and rapid civilisation, Colenso believed civilisation should be extended slowly. In contrast to the Zonnebloem School, Colenso ensured that the teaching in the school was carried out in Zulu rather than English.¹⁴⁴

Colenso's optimism about the early success of the mission was not completely unfounded: some parents were so eager for their children to get good quality education that they sent their children to the Cape for instruction.¹⁴⁵ For example, three sons of the chief Umnini, who began their education at Ekukhanyeni, were sent to the Zonnebloem Institution in Cape Town for further education. According to SPG

¹⁴¹ Colenso to Grey, 01.04.1858, Grey collection, SAL, MSB 223, no.52.

¹⁴² Colenso to Labouchere, 4.4.1857, D8.

¹⁴³ Colenso, *Ten Weeks*, 257; Journal written by Miss Alice Mackenzie, Entry, 12.04.1859; Colenso, *The Elements of Euclid, from the text of Dr Robert Simson* (London: Longman, Brown, Green and Longmans, 1846).

¹⁴⁴ Hodgson, 'A History of Zonnebloem', 159. Interestingly, William Colenso, John Colenso's first cousin advocated for printing in Maori in New Zealand, where he worked as a missionary as well.

¹⁴⁵ Norman Etherington, 'Christianity and African Society in Nineteenth Century Natal', in *Natal and Zululand from Earliest Times to 1910: A New History*, ed. by Andrew Duminy and Bill Guest (Pietermaritzburg: University of Natal Press, 1989), 275–300, 289.

missionary Tonnesen, Umnini had ‘grown to see the advantage of education, or rather, the disadvantage of ignorance’.¹⁴⁶

Colenso’s correspondence with both the SPG and Grey highlighted the success of boarding institutions in removing children from ‘their wild heathen habits, & from any close contact with their tribes’. He claimed that the boys’ relatives were permitted to visit the Institution whenever they liked, but after a few months were ‘so thoroughly satisfied that the children are properly cared for, that they only come to the Station occasionally...’¹⁴⁷ Colenso feared that if children went home they would return ‘to the native mode of life, to lay aside their books, to forget their lessons, to throw off their clothing, and fall back into the idle habits and the vicious practices of heathenism’.¹⁴⁸ This suggests that Colenso believed ‘native-ness’ was learned and reinforced in ‘heathen’ homes. If children were removed from these influences, they would be able to learn ‘civilisation’ over ‘heathenism’, while, he hoped, retaining the more admirable parts of their own culture.

In spite of Colenso’s assertions that chiefs were eagerly seeking places for their sons at Ekukhanyeni, he also wanted to make it clear that these children would not be treated differently to the others at the school. Mkungu, son of Zulu chief Mpande, was amongst the first intake of scholars at the school. The teachers were hopeful about the influence Mkungu might have when he returned to his community. Walter Baugh, principal of the Institution, hoped that Mkungu would one day rule ‘in the Zulu country’, and that ‘he may be a wise & good Chief, & rule his people well, & have Schools all over the land, and try to have all his people well taught’.¹⁴⁹ Writing to the SPG, Baugh continued:

Should it please you that we are enabled to gain an influence over this boy, & advance his education even to the point reached by those of our Senior Class, it is impossible to say what effect our work may thus have upon the future state of the

¹⁴⁶ Tonnesen to SPG, 01.10.1864, E15.

¹⁴⁷ Colenso to Grey, 01.02.1857, Cullen Library, AB1606F.

¹⁴⁸ John Colenso, ‘On the Efforts of Missionaries among Savages’, *Journal of the Anthropological Society of London*, 3 (1865), 248-289, 262.

¹⁴⁹ Ekukhanyeni report, in Colenso to SPG, 08.08.1857, D8. Baugh was a lay superintendent of the institution, and had a background in printing. He was ordained in 1858. Hodgson, ‘A History of Zonnebloem College’, 164; Colenso to SPG, 03.03.1858, D8, Colenso to Grey, 01.04.1858, SAL Grey collection MSB 223, no.52.

Zulu nation, & of the parts of Africa beyond it. If ever the British Government interferes, as, I imagine, some day it must, in the affairs of Zululand, a youth like this, civilized, and ... Christianized would surely be the person whose claims would be most likely to receive our support, more especially as he is even now regarded, both by friends & foes, as the rightful successor to Panda's authority.¹⁵⁰

However, Baugh also said that he would not allow Mkungu to have servants: 'Ours was, in fact, a "Public School", and he must learn to help himself, as any young nobleman would at Eton or Harrow.'¹⁵¹ When Mkungu's mother, Queen and Mpande's wife, came back to see if her son was being cared for at the school, she asked if 'some special regard might be paid to his dignity,' saying that 'We must not teach the young lad, who was with him, the *same* things as we taught "Umkungu". We might teach Umkungu, if we would, but not the other boy, his inferior.' Baugh eagerly asserted that 'the reason why the English are so powerful is that all the people are taught – high and low alike – some things, such as reading, writing, & counting, which are needful for all. At least, this is our Queen's wish'.¹⁵²

Discipline was an important part of life at the Institution, and so, while Colenso attempted to have an elite institution for the children, to provide an example for the heathen masses, it was essential that all of the scholars were treated the same way. Boys in England were the benchmark against which the scholars were measured. For Alice Mackenzie, who taught 'quite manageable & most pleasant pupils' at Ekukhanyeni, the boys' discipline reminded her of Rugby.¹⁵³ She described the boys '[r]eading English so nicely, & doing sums, taking them down themselves out of the Bishop's Arithmetic books & working them without any help, & bringing their slates to Mr Grubbe for correction just like the boys at home'.¹⁵⁴ The discipline at Ekukhanyeni did not end in the classroom, but was extended to commentary on the bodies of the children in the schools. For example, both Colenso and Mackenzie commented on Mkungu's weight. Colenso wrote that 'His fatness does not appear

¹⁵⁰ Ekukhanyeni institution report, in Colenso to SPG, 08.08.1857, D8. Panda refers to Mpande.

¹⁵¹ Ibid.

¹⁵² Ibid.

¹⁵³ Colenso was, according to Guy, an admirer of the British public school system, and indeed, of Thomas Arnold, headmaster of Rugby between 1828 and 1841. It is possible that he had discussed that institution with Mackenzie. Jeff Guy, 'Class, Imperialism and Literary Criticism: William Ngidi, John Colenso and Matthew Arnold', *Journal of Southern African Studies*, 23 (1997), 219-241, 225.

¹⁵⁴ Journal written by Miss Alice Mackenzie, Entry, 12.04.1859.

unpleasant when he is drest, though it rather unfits him for *football*.¹⁵⁵ Mackenzie commented in her journal that Mkungu 'is a nice fellow & has such a sweet smile, & would be very good looking, only he is too fat'.¹⁵⁶

In Britain in the mid-nineteenth century there was an ideal of 'muscular [Christianity]' emerging in which public school boys were supposed to appear 'manly' and 'moral' at all times.¹⁵⁷ Boys in British public schools like Eton, Harrow, and Rugby were increasingly involved in games and sports, connecting their physical bodies with the social body of the community, and with the body of Christ. Muscular Christianity involved the 'association between physical strength, religious certainty, and the ability to shape and control the world around oneself'.¹⁵⁸ The idea of male self-sufficiency, and 'rejection of domesticity' would have been potent for Colenso and the teachers at Ekukhanyeni.¹⁵⁹ Indeed, in this elite school, Colenso wanted all of these things for his pupils: physical strength, religious conviction and political power.

Colenso's descriptions of children being 'voluntarily surrendered' to the school belie the level of social disruption and trauma that removing children from their families caused, whether the parents had assented to their sons being sent to the mission or not.¹⁶⁰ Guy points out that many Africans

thought that those who participated in the project had, literally, gone mad: there were rumours that they [the pupils] were to be hostages for their parents' good behaviour and it was only with the greatest difficulty that Colenso was able to drive their mothers from the precincts of the mission.¹⁶¹

¹⁵⁵ Ekukhanyeni institution report, in Colenso to SPG, 08.08.1857, SPG D8.

¹⁵⁶ Journal written by Miss Alice Mackenzie, Entry, 12.04.1859.

¹⁵⁷ James Mangan, 'Social Darwinism and Upper-Class Education in late Victorian and Edwardian England', *Manliness and Morality in Nineteenth Century Britain and America 1840-1900*, ed. by James Mangan and James Walvin (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1995), 135-159, 137-138.

¹⁵⁸ Donald Hall, 'Introduction: Muscular Christianity', in *Muscular Christianity: Embodying the Victorian Age*, ed. by Donald Hall, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1994), 3-13, 7.

¹⁵⁹ John Tosh, *Manliness and Masculinities in Nineteenth-century Britain: Essays on Gender, Family, and Empire* (New York: Pearson Education, 2005), 10.

¹⁶⁰ Colenso to Grey, 01.02.1857, Cullen Library, AB1606F.

¹⁶¹ Guy, *The Heretic*, 64.

The first intake of children was particularly difficult: '[t]he boys' mothers, until they were driven away, sat on the hills around Bishopstowe weeping to their sons'.¹⁶² Anne Mackenzie, Alice's sister and another missionary teacher at Ekukhanyeni, also mentioned this in her journal. When the children were sent home for the Christmas holidays, it was very disruptive. On returning to the school, they 'keenly felt the loss of their mothers, and of the indulgences of their homes'.¹⁶³ African pupils were actively thinking about the purpose of their education, the conditions that they lived under, and race relations in the colony more broadly. Indeed, the pupils asked Mackenzie 'what good they were to gain from all the teaching, and what white person would send *his* sons to live in a *Kraal*, &c. &c'. Colenso had warned Anne not to engage in 'such discussions with them at all' and eventually an older pupil, Ndiyane, had to stop this line of questioning. Ndiyane told the children that

it was good and right that they should love their homes, and their mothers - good and right to enjoy the holidays that had been given them - but now it was good and right that they should return to school...how good the teaching is, and how by means of it, they may be able one day, to help their own people as they never could do if untaught.¹⁶⁴

Colenso and the staff at the Institution positioned it as central to the success of the British imperial project. In this sense, the school was understood as a political frontier: in securing the loyalty of chiefs who sent their sons to the school, the school could act to shore up British hegemony in the colony. For example, Colenso wrote to secretary of state for the colonies, Henry Labouchere, in 1858, thanking him for a portrait of the Queen that he would put up in his school. He sent, in return, a series of drawings from the oldest pupil at the Station, Ndiyane, who, according to Colenso, was 'a mere wild naked savage' two years before. Colenso believed that if the Queen saw the drawings, she would understand that

Her black subjects, the natives of this land, though wild and barbarous at present, are not without intelligence, nor incapable of being raised, by a humanising and

¹⁶² Guy, *Theophilus Shepstone*, 216.

¹⁶³ Anne Mackenzie, *Seeing and Hearing, (Second series), or Three Years Experience in Natal* (Edinburgh: R Grant & Co, 1860), 32.

¹⁶⁴ *Ibid.*, 33.

Christianising education, above the degrading practices and propensities of heathenism.¹⁶⁵

If one examines some of the early scholars and African teachers at the school, it seems that Grey and Colenso's goals of educating the elite, and creating a class of Zulu people sympathetic to the colonial project, were partially successful. Besides Mkungu kaMpande, another early pupil was Magama Fuze. Fuze arrived at the station in his early teens, and was baptised in 1859. He became Colenso's printer and assistant. Later, he edited the Zulu language newspaper *Ilanga laseNatal*, and wrote the first history of the Zulu people in the Zulu language, *Abantu Abamnyama Lapa Bavela Ngakona* (The Black People and whence they came).¹⁶⁶ Fuze's literary career can be seen as evidence of the mission education he received fundamentally changing his future. Hlonipha Mokoena has written about Fuze's life and argues that while later in life Fuze spoke about missing his mother when he went to the school, he '[expressed] no nostalgia for his home, no regret at having left his parents and no sense of cognitive dissonance at having transferred his filial loyalty from his biological father to Colenso'.¹⁶⁷ As Chapter Four shows, relationships between pupils and teachers, particularly in boarding schools, could be characterised by strong affective ties.

William Ngidi arrived at Ekukhanyeni in 1856, working first as a wagon driver and later as Colenso's Zulu assistant, finally becoming a teacher.¹⁶⁸ Born in the 1830s, Ngidi learned to read and write at an American mission station.¹⁶⁹ Colenso's friendship with William Ngidi was very influential in his own life, as their theological discussions while producing Zulu grammars, Bibles and prayer-books led Colenso to question the foundations of his own Christian beliefs. This would result in Colenso's dramatic trial for heresy in 1863, where he publicly proclaimed that the Bible was not a literal representation of the Word of God. As Jeff Guy has argued, the public uproar over the missionary Bishop's beliefs highlights the effects of a colonial friendship on

¹⁶⁵ Colenso to Labouchere, 12.01.1858, CO 179/50.

¹⁶⁶ Magama Fuze, *The Black People and Whence They Came*, transl. by Henry Camp Lugg and ed. by Anthony Trevor Cope (Pietermaritzburg: University of Natal Press, 1979). Orig. published in Zulu in 1922.

¹⁶⁷ Hlonipha Mokoena, *Magama Fuze: The Making of a Kholwa Intellectual* (Scottsville: University of KwaZulu-Natal Press, 2011), 78.

¹⁶⁸ Guy, 'Class, Imperialism', 225.

¹⁶⁹ *Ibid.*, 223.

metropolitan debates over the place of religion within Victorian British society. Moreover, the disavowal of Colenso's interpretations, which he credited to his relationship with Ngidi, and the derision of these conclusions, highlight a nervousness 'at a disturbing reversal of the idea of coloniser and colonised which switched dominated for dominant, unlearned for learned, heathen for Christian, savage for civilized, the self and the other'.¹⁷⁰ This cut to the heart of the difficulties associated with educating natives. Their entering into educated society could fundamentally alter interpretations and belief systems that were foundational in the British imperial project. The relationship between Colenso and Ngidi exemplifies the centrality of the school as a frontier – a site of exchange between the missionary and his African interpreter. In producing new materials for the school, their own beliefs were called into question.¹⁷¹ The school, then, was not only a space for the transmission of imperial values but was also a pedagogic space for the missionary himself.

The reaction to Colenso and Ngidi's relationship is also interesting in relation to white missionaries not wanting their children to be educated with black children. Perhaps their fears were less about the 'heathenish' ways of the black children 'contaminating' their white offspring and more about their fears about the fragility and ambiguity of their own presence in colonial Natal.

Colenso's unorthodox ideas about the Bible also meant that Ekukhanyeni came under close scrutiny. At the school, he promoted secular over religious education, obviously highly irregular for a missionary Bishop. Colenso spoke out in favour of 'secular education' saying that it was the missionary's duty to teach converts about modern science, something that his series of textbooks promoted.

The knowledge which I possess of these would make it sinful in me to teach any heathen brother to believe in the historical truths of the scriptural accounts of the Creation and the Flood, as other scientific reasons make it equally impossible to teach them the scriptural story of the Fall, and other parts of the Bible narrative, as

¹⁷⁰ Ibid., 221.

¹⁷¹ As Tony Ballantyne has recently noted, in meetings between missionaries and Maori people in New Zealand, 'vectors of cultural transformation did not flow only one way'. Rather, missionaries who 'worked on the frontier were also transformed by the experience'. Tony Ballantyne, *Entanglements of Empire: Missionaries, Maori, and the Question of the Body* (Durham and London: Duke University Press, 2014), 4.

historical facts...The true missionary goes, as the “heir of all the ages,” to convey to his fellow man whatever blessings he himself possesses, as the good gifts of the Father of all. And thus every white man, who teaches the natives industry and cleanliness, and the arts of civilised life, may be in fact, as many a white man is, a true minister of God’s Love to his fellows.¹⁷²

Colenso’s Elementary Science textbooks, designed both to introduce African adults and children to science and to be used as a reader to teach English, show his broad approach to education.¹⁷³ Colenso began his *First lessons in Science* by explaining that it was ‘desirable that they [native students] should be gaining some information, as they read, about the state of things around them, ‘instead of wasting their energies upon the child’s story of “Dick Bell” and his doings’.¹⁷⁴ He explained that there was little point in using basic readers, but instead, wanted to introduce some Astronomy, Geology, and ‘such facts only as ought to be known to everyone’.¹⁷⁵ Colenso understood that there was merit in teaching beyond the industrial training which government increasingly favoured. Colenso was aware of contemporary scientific advancements, like the publication of Darwin’s *Origin of the Species* in 1859. He felt scientific discoveries should be reflected and commented upon by the church so that it could maintain its reputation in modern society.¹⁷⁶ This did not mean a complete disavowal of the religious aspects of his role. Colenso blended his scientific lessons with stories explaining to the reader that the earth had been created for man by God, the Sun to ‘cheer up our eyes and hearts, to bless our whole life, and more than all this, to be a sign to us of His Great Love’.¹⁷⁷

The school closed in 1861 under the threat of Zulu attack. There were rumours in the colony that Cetshwayo kaMpande, Mkungu’s older brother, would come to remove

¹⁷² Colenso, ‘On the Efforts of Missionaries among Savages’, 277–278.

¹⁷³ There was considerable competition between different mission societies in Natal regarding the printing of Bibles and textbooks in Zulu. Books were also printed in Zulu at Ekukhanyeni. For example, *Incwadi yezindaba ezi’inhlanganisela* covered topics in history and geography. These ranged from the shape of the earth, Adam and Noah, ‘Power of England, for what purpose given’, America, Napoleon at St Helena, Reindeer and the Sledge, and the spread of Christianity. Bishop John Colenso, *Incwadi yezindaba ezi’inhlanganisela* (Natal: Printed at the Industrial Training Institution, Ekukanyeni, 1860[?]), contents page.

¹⁷⁴ Bishop John Colenso, *First Lessons in Science Designed for the Use of Children and Adult Natives* (Natal: Printed at the Industrial Training Institution, Ekukanyeni, 1861), i.

¹⁷⁵ Colenso, *First Lessons in Science*, ii.

¹⁷⁶ Guy, ‘Class, Imperialism’, 229.

¹⁷⁷ Colenso, *First Lessons in Science*, 17.

his brother from the school.¹⁷⁸ Shepstone suggested the school should be closed immediately, and the inhabitants of Ekukhanyeni fled to Pietermaritzburg.¹⁷⁹ The school never reopened with the same success, for lack of teachers and funding from government and the SPG, and because of Colenso's increasing lack of faith in this mode of missionary teaching.¹⁸⁰ This discussion has shown how the broader ideas about race, education and civilisation played out on a local level. Far from direct implementation of Grey's policies, Colenso shaped the education offered at Ekukhanyeni not only to his own religious beliefs, but also to suit the needs of his pupils. Colenso drew on his scientific background, his theological beliefs, and broader trends in the education of Indigenous people to provide education in the Institution.

Conclusion: Indigenous education and Empire

This chapter has addressed three cases that highlight the education of Indigenous people ranging from the empire-wide survey, to the local colonial scheme. While there may not have been unifying colonial policies about education in the British colonies, there were continuities in thinking about education that linked local Indigenous people and missionaries to the colonial and imperial government, and other interested parties. The schemes agreed that education would lead to the civilisation of Indigenous people. In particular, it was possible, in some cases, for race to be transcended through the application of the correct education. Secondly, work – or industrial training – was intimately tied to this idea of civilisation, providing labour in settler colonial contexts.

In each scheme, we see how the concept of 'civilisation' resisted definition. Both Grey and Nightingale were searching for broad sets of principles about native races and their capacity for civilisation. The discussion of Nightingale's survey shows how difficult it could be to conduct extensive research on education. This was due to the reliance on missionary initiative in the colonies but also because of the Colonial Office's neglect to investigate the issue more broadly. Educational policy was in a state of flux during this period. As the following chapters show, these interactions

¹⁷⁸ Cetshwayo kaMpande would go on to be Zulu king, and to win the battle of Isandhlwana in 1879.

¹⁷⁹ Guy, *The Heretic*, 105.

¹⁸⁰ Ibid.

continued to shape the provision of education in the settler colonies as the century progressed. Nightingale wanted to examine the effects of education on uncivilised races in different colonial contexts. She hoped that the concept could be measured biologically and that she could trace its effects on the health of children. Unfortunately, the results of her survey showed that introducing ‘civilisation’ had variable effects in different British colonies.

Grey believed that the Cape and New Zealand had enough in common that principles outlined in one context could be translated to the other. His ideas about civilisation being inculcated through religious and industrial training sprang both from evangelical Christian beliefs about the centrality of work and industriousness to morality, and from the need for labour in settler colonial contexts. Although Grey did not serve as governor of Natal, his ideas about race and education were influential, not just to individual missionaries like Bishop Colenso, but also to the legislative context of that colony. Using a comparative approach, and one that takes into account connections between places, shows that attempting to narrow down the scope of analysis to one colony is to neglect a broader web of influences and connections between places, not confined to particular colonial territories or political appointments.

For Colenso, ‘civilisation’ was equally difficult to define. Civilising Zulu people involved providing them with a combination of superior British knowledge and ideas, while retaining those elements of their culture that he admired. For this missionary, colonialism itself was profoundly pedagogic. His own beliefs about religion, education and settler colonialism were called into question as he interacted with, and learnt from, African people.

These schemes have shown how the idea of one ‘civilising mission’ is complicated by historically and spatially contingent definitions of ‘civilisation’. Schools were an essential point of contact between colonial government, missionaries and Indigenous people, and Grey, and others, were increasingly aware of the need to use these resources as tools of colonial governance. As a source of information about the effects of civilisation, and a space in which Indigenous people could be remoulded as docile workers, the fate of these institutions was deeply connected to the political landscape

of the colonies in which they were positioned. They were also spaces where competing discourses about race, education and humanitarian interventions in the lives of Indigenous people in the settler colonies were played out. This chapter has shown that these discourses were never monolithic, and that there were always tensions involved both in ideas about what education should entail, and how this related to race.

The themes that these cases bring up are echoed in similar debates about the position of education in Western Australia and Natal. Firstly, in the 1840s and 1850s, as the following chapter shows, colonial officials differed on whether civilisation would best be inculcated in urban or rural places, or in isolation from, or amalgamation with, settler society. The need to closely define the spatial location of civilisation shows that the ‘civilising mission’ needs to be understood as rooted in place, whether the mission school, the church, the colony, or the British Empire. Secondly, Nightingale, Grey and Colenso all commented on Indigenous people’s bodies, and the regulation of these bodies through health, labour, and physical presence. Similar ideas about the capacity of different bodies to perform certain tasks – including thinking and working – were expressed in Natal and Western Australia, as Chapters Three and Four show. Finally, this chapter has indicated the fluid and fragmentary way that colonial policy was put into practice. This theme is explored in the remaining chapters of the thesis.

Chapter Three

Ambivalent humanitarianism, land, labour and education in Western Australia and Natal, 1835-1856

Early attempts at the civilisation and education of Indigenous adults and children in Western Australia and Natal focused on the reinvention of relationships to labour and land. This chapter examines government interventions in education in the context of racial amalgamation and systematic colonisation, between 1835 and 1856. During this period, there were heightened tensions between the humanitarian objectives of the colonial government and the demands of increasingly vocal, and powerful, settlers in both colonies. The chapter interrogates two aspects of the settler colonial endeavour: land and labour. The need to supply labour and land to settlers, while still ‘protecting’ and ‘civilising’ the Indigenous populations, affected education policy. I consider where education fitted into the colonial government’s agenda, looking particularly at policy regarding the amalgamation or isolation of Indigenous people. My focus on land and labour follows trends in examining settler colonialism as a distinct form of colonisation.¹

This chapter takes up the critique of histories of education that focus only on schooling.² Turning away from sources explicitly about schooling shows how central education was to broader colonial projects relating to Indigenous people in the settler colonies. I take a deliberately broad view of education and show that doing so is fundamental to understanding education in the settler colonies. The chapter illustrates how aspects of colonialism were refashioned as teaching opportunities. If Indigenous people could only understand the value of property ownership, and the benefits of hard work, they could be incorporated into settler society. As Catriona Ellis notes of the Indian context, most Indian people’s education did not occur in schools, but rather in relationships between parents and children, in homes, and in other relationships

¹ See Veracini, *Settler Colonialism*; Wolfe, ‘Land, Labour and Difference’; Wolfe, ‘Settler Colonialism’.

² Doheny, ‘Bureaucracy and the Education of the Poor’, 326.

with the state, often through work.³ Thinking about colonial practice as pedagogy is beneficial for colonial historiography more broadly: it asks us to consider which aspects of the colonial enterprise were deemed useful for Indigenous people, but also about how these things could possibly be taught, and learned.

As Lester and Dussart point out, colonial governance during this period was defined by ambivalent humanitarianism.⁴ The ideas about race, labour and education that I discussed in relation to the West Indies in Chapter One were foundational to both Western Australia and Natal. Humanitarian rhetoric of the 1830s, articulated in emancipation, the Negro Education Grant and the Select Committee on Aborigines (1835-1837) influenced the creation of policy regarding Indigenous people in Western Australia in the 1830s and 1840s. In Natal, only annexed in 1843, ideas about ‘humane’ colonisation and the duty of British colonial government to civilise Indigenous people were equally powerful. If there was one lesson that colonial officials in Western Australia and Natal learned from the earlier colonisation of New South Wales and the Cape, respectively, it was that the settlement of new colonies needed to be carefully managed to protect both settlers and Indigenous people. The comparison with these earlier colonies of settlement was particularly important for Natal and Western Australia. Local governments were eager to characterise settlement as civilising and uplifting for Indigenous people. Therefore, colonial governments constructed settler colonialism as a humanitarian intervention.⁵ This disjuncture, so aptly described by Lester and Dussart, is referred to here as ambivalent humanitarianism.

Humanitarian ideals of the earlier 1830s began to give way to a narrative of colonial progress less concerned about the fate of Indigenous people in the 1840s and 1850s. The British public was increasingly influenced by

notions of immutability derived from the politicized arguments of planters, settlers and their metropolitan supporters [which] became associated with a Darwinian-

³ Catriona Ellis, ‘Education for All: Reassessing the Historiography of Education in Colonial India’, *History Compass*, 7 (2009), 363-375, 371.

⁴ On ambivalent humanitarian governmentality, see Lester and Dussart, *Colonization*, 273-275.

⁵ Ibid.

inflected understanding that colonized races' progress towards civilization would take hundreds, if not thousands of years, rather than a generation or two.⁶

According to Catherine Hall, in the mid-1840s, there was a 'marked shift in the discursive terrain' which led to an 'increasing turn to the language of race to explain and justify the inequalities and persistent differences between people'.⁷ Nonetheless, as the discussion below shows, humanitarian ideals of the 1830s remained influential for colonial officials in Natal and Western Australia.⁸

This chapter begins by outlining ideas about systematic colonisation and racial amalgamation that were foundational in both Natal and Western Australia. These approaches to colonisation, and the management of interactions between the races, were central to schemes for the civilisation of Indigenous people in each place. It then discusses Western Australia between 1834 and 1847. I show how attempts at civilisation and education for Aboriginal people were shaped by the settler colonial context. I then take up the same themes for Natal, from the late 1840s to the mid-1850s, showing how humanitarian and settler colonial discourses confronted and competed with one another, ultimately resolving their differences in ambivalent humanitarian schemes for the civilisation of Africans.

Systematic colonisation and racial amalgamation

The Select Committee on Aborigines (1835-7), chaired by Thomas Fowell Buxton, whose role in the Mico Charity I discussed in Chapter One, was concerned with both the civilisation of Indigenous people, and colonial violence.⁹ The Report called for greater imperial government intervention in the 'protection' of Indigenous people. While condemning colonial violence, the Committee 'proposed to Christianise and educate Indigenous peoples in western ways'.¹⁰ The Committee was particularly worried about the effect of Aborigines mixing with the wrong sort of colonists, both those who would behave violently and those who would provide a poor model of

⁶ Ibid., 227.

⁷ Hall, *Civilising Subjects*, 338.

⁸ Lester and Dussart, *Colonization*, 227.

⁹ Ibid., 93.

¹⁰ Barry, 'Broken Promises', 1 and Ch.2 on the Report's comments about education.

British civilisation. They were aware of the didactic function of interracial meetings on the colonial frontier, both urban and rural, and sought ways to control this mixing in order to protect Indigenous people.¹¹

Apart from humanitarian interventions in colonial governance in the late 1830s, ideas about systematic colonisation were increasingly influential in shaping government approaches to the management of interactions between settlers and Indigenous people. Edward Gibbon Wakefield's theories on systematic colonisation influenced the *Report of the Select Committee on the Disposal of Lands* in 1836.¹² From the early 1830s, Wakefield's ideas gained traction amongst a group eager to colonise southern Australia. The National Colonisation Society, later the South Australian Association, proposed that those wanting to settle new colonial territories should be carefully selected to 'ensure a better balance between capital and labour, foster concentration of settlement, nurture stable institutions in which respectable free subjects would flourish, and avoid the moral disorder that occurred on frontiers'.¹³ Wakefield's theory of colonisation had two primary aims: firstly, land in the colonies should be sold, rather than granted, and secondly, the proceeds of these land sales should go towards encouraging further emigration, particularly to supply labour to those who could afford land.¹⁴ Promoters of systematic colonisation often saw their cause as connected with 'reform' at home. They imagined that experience in the colonies could provide solutions to social problems in the metropole, particularly urban poverty.¹⁵

This chapter examines two views on the best way to manage the relationship between settlers and Indigenous people: amalgamation and insulation. Herman Merivale, Oxford professor of political economy, and later under-secretary of state for the colonies, argued in a series of lectures published in 1842 that there were three possible outcomes to the meeting of civilised people with the uncivilised races: firstly, that the uncivilised races would be 'exterminated'; secondly, 'their insulation,

¹¹ See Edmonds, *Urbanizing Frontiers*, on interracial mixing in urban spaces.

¹² *Report from the Select Committee on the Disposal of Lands in the British Colonies; together with the minutes of evidence, and appendix*, HC 512 (1836).

¹³ Bain Attwood, 'Returning to the Past: The South Australian Colonisation Commission, the Colonial Office and Aboriginal Title', *The Journal of Legal History*, 34:1 (2013), 50-82, 54.

¹⁴ Mark Hickford, *Lords of the Land: Indigenous Property Rights and the Jurisprudence of Empire* (Oxford University Press, Oxford, 2011), 62-3.

¹⁵ Salesa, *Racial Crossings*, 29.

complete or partial, by retaining them as insulated bodies of men, carefully removed, during the civilizing process, from the injury of European contact' and finally, that they could be 'amalgamated' with settler society.¹⁶ Merivale believed that racial amalgamation was the only policy that would succeed: while insulation might protect Indigenous people in the short term, colonisation would continue nonetheless, and Indigenous people would be ill-equipped to deal with life in European societies if they had lived only amongst their own people.¹⁷

Racial amalgamation, through the incorporation of Indigenous people into settler society, as labourers, servants and sometimes through controlled sexual mixing, was seen as a way to 'protect' and 'civilise' Indigenous people. Amalgamation had to do with carefully managing the interaction of Indigenous people with settlers, and bringing Indigenous people into 'civilised' society through introducing them to work, settled patterns of life, and western education. As Damon Salesa has shown, racial amalgamation was a 'particular form of racial crossing, one to be guided and controlled by a colonial government'. It used 'processes of inclusion as ways of classifying and managing populations unequally.'¹⁸ In short, racial amalgamation could 'civilize natives by making civilization accessible'.¹⁹

In Natal, Shepstone and the Locations Commissioners, discussed below, focused for a time on 'insulation' – ruling African people through 'traditional' chiefly authorities until they could be successfully brought into settler society.²⁰ As I showed in Chapter

¹⁶ Herman Merivale, *Lectures on Colonisation and the Colonies: Delivered before the University of Oxford in 1839, 1840, and 1841* (London: Longman, Brown, Green and Longman's, 1842), Lecture XVII, 179. It is worth pointing out that the idea of settling indigenous people for their own civilisation, and using labour as part of this process, was common in other parts of the British Empire. For example, in the Canadian colonies, the 1842 Bagot Commission concluded that the only way for Indians to be civilised was through assimilation and industrial training. Milloy, 'A National Crime', 13; Miller, *Skyscrapers Hide the Heavens*, 133. The policy implemented in the wake of the Commission focused on residential, rather than day, schooling. When Lord Elgin became Governor-General in Canada, his experience of industrial schools in the West Indies shaped his approach to Indian education. Milloy, 'A National Crime', 15. In the early 1850s, the governor of Vancouver Island negotiated opening fourteen native reserves, which simultaneously gave Aboriginal people Native title, while circumscribing their access to land. Penelope Edmonds, 'Unpacking Settler Colonialism's Urban Strategies: Indigenous Peoples in Victoria, British Columbia, and the Transition to a Settler-Colonial City', *Urban History Review*, 38 (2010), 4-20, 9.

¹⁷ *Ibid.*, 180.

¹⁸ Salesa, *Racial Crossings*, 27.

¹⁹ *Ibid.*, 31.

²⁰ Shepstone's focus on 'insulation' over 'amalgamation' led to a heated debate with Sir George Grey. See Scott to Labouchere, 10.02.1858, CO 179/49, No.8.

Two, Sir George Grey was an advocate of amalgamation. He articulated his disapproval of any scheme to remove Africans to locations beyond the borders of Natal

where they will be altogether isolated from the European population, and thus cut off from all employment, – where they will be removed from all other civilizing influences, and be brought into the close vicinity of those barbarous, uncivilized Tribes, with whom we have been so constantly engaged in Wars.²¹

Amalgamation and insulation were perhaps less opposed than Merivale made them out to be – they presupposed similar outcomes and occupied the same analytical space. Both assumed the destruction of Indigenous societies in the forms that they currently existed, and privileged British notions of civilisation, and protection, while assuming settler violence.

The definition of ‘amalgamation’ in the different cases discussed below varied widely according to speaker and context. While in the New Zealand case, as Salesa has shown, amalgamation was taken, at times, to mean sexual mixing, this concept of amalgamation was not pursued in either Natal or Western Australia.²² For example, in Western Australia, debate about the status of Aboriginal people as British subjects surfaced in 1847, as the Legislative Council proposed that it would not only save money, but also be less degrading, for Aboriginal people to be flogged rather than tried under British law.²³ Merivale’s response was that there was not ‘any reasonable chance of fusion, either in blood or society between the settlers and the poor creatures who wander over that continent’. The most important thing the imperial government could do was to protect Indigenous people ‘under a kind of tutelage or guardianship’. He said that if this was the case,

then exceptional Laws, marking them, as no doubt they do, as inferiors, are, nonetheless, consistent with the whole policy being pursued towards them. They seem a natural part of it. You may treat men as equals – you may treat them as

²¹ Grey to Russell, 3.12.1855, CO 179/37, No. 41.

²² Salesa, *Racial Crossings*, 122-132.

²³ Irwin to Earl Grey, 23.12.1847, CO 18/45, No. 62.

children – but to protect them as children and subject them to the same Laws with their Protectors as equals, seems somewhat anomalous.²⁴

Merivale raised the inherent contradiction involved in amalgamation: amalgamation had to do with managing the interaction of different races, by bringing Indigenous people into ‘civilised’ settler society. However, to do this, there needed to be a construction and indeed, maintenance, of racial difference. In Natal, the idea of amalgamation was also not meant in a sexual sense. In fact, settlers and colonial government preferred a bodily isolation, but an integrative labour scheme. Thus, the idea of amalgamation in both cases was not about ‘dissolving’ racial difference, but of controlled racial mixing through hierarchical relationships between masters and servants, landholders and occupants. With this in mind, I turn to Western Australia in the 1830s.

Civilising spaces: Land and education in Western Australia

After an initial burst of settlement in the early 1830s, Western Australia struggled to attract settlers. Investment in the colony soon gave way to an economic depression in the 1830s, and many of the first settlers left for other Australian territories. The price of land made it possible for labourers to become landholders relatively quickly, which meant that the desired balance between colonisers of different classes was unattainable, and went against the popular Wakefieldian ideas about colonisation at the time. The fact that labour was hard to come by makes the schemes for Aboriginal amalgamation in the 1830s and 1840s particularly interesting, because, as Penelope Hetherington pointed out, Aboriginal people were viewed as a ‘potential source of valuable labour’.²⁵ During the 1840s, there was an ‘astonishing’ number of Aboriginal people in the employ of settlers.²⁶ The twin issues of settler occupation of Aboriginal lands, and their demands for labour, shaped the approaches to Aboriginal education in this context.

²⁴ Merivale to Hawes, 28.04.1847, note on Ibid.

²⁵ Hetherington, ‘Aboriginal Children’, 41.

²⁶ Hetherington, *Settlers, Servants & Slaves*, 101. The 1848 census listed 548 aborigines as employed, with only 6,530 white settlers present in the colony. Hetherington, ‘Aboriginal Children’, 47.

Like the eastern colonies, colonial violence, in both literal and structural forms, was widespread in Western Australia in the 1830s. Most notable was the massacre at Pinjarra in October 1834, a punitive expedition led by Governor Stirling, in which the police Captain Ellis and between fifteen and thirty Aboriginal men were killed.²⁷ The Select Committee on Aborigines highlighted this case as a particularly violent clash between Aboriginal people and settlers.²⁸ The first institution for Aboriginal people was opened shortly after the massacre, in early 1835. According to a local newspaper, the Government was, by opening the institution, showing ‘a disposition to do the natives a good’.²⁹

The institution, near Mount Eliza in Perth, was not for children in particular, but rather was run as a reserve farm where Aboriginal people could choose to stay, and receive medical treatment and protection from settler (and Aboriginal) violence.³⁰ The institution was not ‘to maintain the natives at the public expense, or support them in a state of indolence’, as settlers feared, but to introduce them to cultivation and settled life, through agricultural and pastoral training.³¹ By changing Aboriginal relationships to land, the institution would educate them into civilised society. The position of Native Interpreter was created in December 1834, and Francis Armstrong took up the position, becoming superintendent of the institution.³²

The reaction of settlers to this institution adds to the picture of settler hostility towards Aboriginal people. This highlights the disjuncture between settler colonial discourses and humanitarian discourses of protection. As Alan Lester has argued in the context of the Cape, New South Wales and New Zealand, the imperial government and settlers had ‘contested visions of colonial transformation’. The imperial government believed that civilisation and the reformation of Indigenous subjectivities, while ensuring their ‘protection’ and access to land, was essential to the colonial project,

²⁷ The exact numbers of injuries and deaths are debated, as the figures that Stirling reported, of twenty Aboriginal deaths, include only Aboriginal men. See John Harris, ‘Hiding the Bodies: The Myth of the Humane Colonisation of Australia’, *Aboriginal History*, 27 (2003), 79-104, 86.

²⁸ *Report of the Select Committee on Aborigines* 1837, Glenelg to Stirling, 23.07.1835, No.4, 138.

²⁹ *The Western Australian Journal*, 13.12.1834. John Harris suggests that this institution was opened as a result of the violence at Pinjarra. John Harris, *One Blood: 200 Years of Aboriginal Encounter with Christianity: A Story of Hope* (Sutherland: Albatross Books, 1994), 257.

³⁰ Tilbrook, *Nyungar Tradition*, 41.

³¹ *The Western Australian Journal*, 13.12.1834.

³² Meeting of Executive Council 10.12.1834, printed in *Report of the Select Committee on Aborigines*, 141. Hasluck, *Black Australians*, 69. Armstrong became Superintendent of Natives in Perth in 1838.

while settlers asserted their ownership of newly colonised territories.³³ The Western Australian settlers worried that Aboriginal people in the institution would gain skills that they wanted to be exclusive to white settler labourers. The limited finances of the new colony were under close scrutiny from settlers, who, already threatened by the Aboriginal population, suspected government favouritism towards them. A letter to the local newspaper complained that the institution offered no benefits to the settlers, and in fact, that Aboriginal people outside of the institution were 'more manageable, and less presuming, than [those in the institution] are here'. The letter continued, saying there was little use in gaining any information about Aboriginal people, as their fate was already sealed, and that the colonial government could not afford to 'support any such superfluity'.³⁴

Complaints about the institution continued. Armstrong was accused of not teaching either Aboriginal people or settlers sufficiently to communicate with one another. Settlers believed that Armstrong should be located in a rural district rather than in Perth, as there he could 'secure, by quiet means, the tranquillity and lives of the distant settlers'. Instead, he was 'stuck under Mount Eliza, and seldom seen, living in retirement and ease, - having scarcely anything to do, but receive his pay and eat his rations, at the expense of the public'.³⁵ The argument that the government-appointed Native Interpreter should do as much for the settlers as the Aboriginal people, was restated when Native Protectors were appointed at the end of the decade, and again, when the title was changed to Guardian of Natives and Protector of Settlers in 1849. As Governor Fitzgerald explained to Earl Grey, the settlers expressed 'growing discontent' regarding Aboriginal protection, 'while the Settlers in their conception are forgotten and neglected...' The altered title would prove to settlers that the 'Government is not unmindful of its duty on their behalf...'³⁶ The Native institution at Mount Eliza closed in 1838, before Hutt arrived in the colony.

Settlers were equally dubious about mission activity in the colony. Dr Louis Giustiniani, the first missionary to the colony, sent by the Western Australian

³³ Alan Lester, 'British Settler Discourse and the Circuits of Empire', *History Workshop Journal*, 54 (2002), 25-48, 30.

³⁴ Letter to the Editor of *The Perth Gazette*, 28.05.1836.

³⁵ A Traveller, 'Native Institution', *Perth Gazette*, 22.10.1836.

³⁶ Fitzgerald to Earl Grey, 19.06.1849, CO 18/51, No. 46.

Missionary Society, was ‘expelled’ in 1838, after he raised concerns about the mistreatment of Aboriginal people by settlers.³⁷ Giustiniani argued that government was not ‘adopting sufficient measures to prevent collision between them and the natives’.³⁸ He relayed ‘abundant evidence of a general carelessness on the part of the Colonists of the Rights and lives of the Savages and a lamentable want of endeavours to improve and conciliate them’ to the Aborigines Protection Society.³⁹ Although there were no witnesses to corroborate Giustiniani’s accounts, the imperial government did wonder if they could rely on the Legislative Council to ensure Aboriginal safety, and appointed Protectors shortly after the enquiry in 1840.⁴⁰

It was in this context that John Hutt arrived to serve as governor between 1839 and 1846. Like other colonial governors at the time, he was issued a list of instructions on his arrival in the colony, including his responsibility to the Aboriginal population. It was his role to ‘promote Religion and Education among the native Inhabitants of our said Territory’, to protect them from violence, and to ‘take such measures as may appear to you to be necessary for their conversion to the Christian Faith and for their advancement in civilization’.⁴¹ He was aware of, and influenced by, ideas about systematic colonisation. He initially applied for the position of governor of South Australia, where the Wakefieldian system of colonisation was pioneered, and his brother, William, sat on the Committee on the Disposal of Lands in the colonies.⁴² Ideas about ‘improving’ land coupled with humanitarian ideals shaped Hutt’s approach to Aboriginal people. Hutt’s thinking about the use of land, and in

³⁷ The Western Australian Missionary Society was started in London and Dublin in 1835. The Society was abandoned in 1837. Henry Reynolds, *This Whispering in Our Hearts* (St Leonards: Allen and Unwin, 1998), 71. See also *Perth Gazette*, 21.01.1837.

³⁸ The Aborigines Protection Society investigated this case in 1838. Joseph Freeman and John Tredgold to Glenelg, 12.10.1838, CO 18/21, Misc.

³⁹ Ibid.

⁴⁰ Hunter, *A Different Kind of ‘Subject’*, 86-87. See Russell to Hutt, 20.01.1840, in *Aborigines (Australian Colonies)* No.4 and Glenelg to Hutt, 16.01.1839, in *Aborigines (Australian colonies)* No. 5, 370.

⁴¹ Instructions to Governor Hutt, SROWA, Con.621/1.

⁴² De Garis, ‘Political Tutelage’, 301. Ann Hunter, ‘John Hutt: the Inconspicuous Governor’, *Early Days*, 13 (2009), 309-323, 310. See *Report of the Select Committee on the Disposal of Lands in the British Colonies*, HC 512 (1836). In fact, in 1849, when Wakefield published his series of letters on colonisation, he dedicated them to John Hutt, ‘who, more than any other individual known to me, has combined study and experience in learning the art of colonization’. Edward Gibbon Wakefield, *A View of the Art of Colonization with Present Reference to the British Empire; in Letters between a Statesman and Colonist* (London: John W Parker, 1849).

particular, the educative value of the settlement of Aboriginal people in towns illustrates the way that education was positioned in relation to broader racial projects.

Lord John Russell, secretary of state for war and the colonies, approached Hutt in 1840, asking for a report on what had been done for the 'improvement and welfare' of Aboriginal people in Western Australia. Russell forwarded Hutt correspondence about CMS reserves for the 'wants and civilisation of the aborigines' in New South Wales. In the early 1830s, the CMS had settled on a tract of land in the Wellington Valley, away from the intrusions of convicts and colonists.⁴³ They hoped to use the land for agricultural training, and that in doing so, the training establishment would become self-sufficient, and government could lower the grants made to the Society.⁴⁴

The Colonial Land and Emigration Commissioners, appointed by the imperial government in early 1840, were asked to determine whether the CMS Wellington District establishment should be made permanent. They argued that giving a missionary society a large land grant would undermine the goals of a mission society, as they would be making 'extensive profits' through their agricultural activities.⁴⁵ The Commissioners suggested that the government was the only 'safe trustee which the natives can have for any purpose'.⁴⁶ The tension between the needs of landed settlers and the protection of Aboriginal people was clear in that case: the Commissioners' claim that government should be the only protectors of Aboriginal people negated missionaries' and Aboriginal claims to land.⁴⁷

⁴³ See correspondence relating to the Wellington Valley at Hilary M. Carey and David A. Roberts (eds), *The Wellington Valley Project. Letters and Journals relating to the Church Missionary Society Mission to Wellington Valley, NSW, 1830-45. A Critical Electronic Edition*, 2002. <http://www.newcastle.edu.au/school/hss/research/publications/the-wellington-valley-project>, [Last accessed 12.05.2015].

⁴⁴ Coates to Russell, 14.02.1840, Encl. in Russell to Gipps, 5.08.1840, *Aborigines (Australian Colonies)*, No.10, 57-8; Coates to Russell, 17.12.1835 in Ibid.

⁴⁵ The Colonial Land and Emigration Commissioners subsumed the South Australian Colonisation Commission and the Agent-General for Emigration. The government-appointed Commissioners' role was to oversee the colonisation of new territories, providing statistical information to emigrants and the Crown, and promoting 'metropolitan control over both crown lands and emigration'. Laidlaw, *Colonial Connections*, 192.

⁴⁶ Elliot, Torrens and Villiers to Russell, Colonial Land and Emigration Office, 17.7.1840, Encl. in Russell to Gipps, 5.08.1840, *Aborigines (Australian Colonies)*, No.10, 60-64.

⁴⁷ A reserve system was only put into place in New South Wales 1850, with thirty-five small reserves being set up amidst missionary fears of settler encroachment.

In Hutt's response to Russell's enquiry, he argued that reserves were not appropriate to Western Australia. Rather, he suggested Aboriginal people should live in close contact with settlers. In contrast to New South Wales, Hutt claimed settlers in Western Australia had always treated Aboriginal people well: any conflict which had previously existed between the races was disappearing, and Western Australia would become the first colony where 'the curse which hitherto has seemed to attend the meetings of civilized and uncivilized people, will have lost its force'.⁴⁸ In noting the colony's exceptional status, as a place where settlers and Aboriginal people lived peacefully together, Hutt made a similar claim to those made about the colonisation of South Australia in the 1830s, the Port Phillip protectorate, and New Zealand in the 1830s.⁴⁹ In the picture he painted of friendly relations between the races, Hutt emphasised that settlers' kindness had led not only to lesser violence, but also to the reshaping of Aboriginal mentalities, where Aboriginal people learnt to 'appreciate and seek after the commonest necessities of life which we possess'.⁵⁰ Aboriginal adults and children would learn to become 'useful' members of European society through constant, government-controlled, interactions between the races. Hutt constructed the settled districts, and with them, the interactions between Europeans and Aboriginal people, as educational centres. Settled living in towns would promote peaceful interactions between Aboriginal and European people, and the moral improvement of Aboriginal people.

Apart from the civilising effects of urban living, Hutt also discussed some of the negative aspects of Aboriginal isolation. He argued that native reserves would be of little use to a people who, in his opinion, knew 'nothing of tillage, not even in the rudest form.' He continued,

Long before the aborigines have made much progress in the career of improvement, before they have learned or cared to cultivate the ground, the colonists will have closed round them, and the outcry against such extensive wastes being left, will

⁴⁸ Hutt to Russell, 15.05.1841, *Aborigines (Australian Colonies)*, No.34, 381.

⁴⁹ Salesa shows that the New Zealand Company constructed New Zealand as 'exceptional': the perfect place for settlers to live and with the 'best "natives"'. Salesa, *Racial Crossings*, 49-50. Richard Robert Madden, the colonial Secretary of Western Australia, repeated Hutt's assessment in 1848, saying, 'I do not believe there is any parallel case in the annals of colonization of so good a state of things existing between settlers and Aborigines in a newly occupied area as that which exists here.' WASRO, CSR 173/207 [Hereafter CSR].

⁵⁰ Hutt to Russell, 15.05.1841, 381.

compel the Government to break them up and to transplant the dwellers upon them to some other spot, as has been the case in other countries where this experiment has been already made.⁵¹

By removing Aboriginal people to reserves, they would not be able to mix freely with settlers, which would help 'some portions of their original savage rudeness to be worn away'. Working for wages and buying their own land would be the best form of 'practical education' for them.⁵² He also argued that if a missionary were to move to an isolated reserve he 'would deprive himself of half of his means of usefulness'.⁵³ Settlers, in spite of being characterised as irreligious, were eager to have their spiritual needs seen to, and were sensitive to perceived favouritism towards the Aboriginal population.⁵⁴

For Hutt, 'civilisation' had an important spatial element. He valued urban spaces as centres of education and civilisation and imagined that agricultural progress, urban living, labour, and advancement in civilisation were mutually reinforcing. Hutt likened Aboriginal people to 'the birds and the wild animals.' He continued

My earnest endeavours have been directed to dislodging the aborigines from the woods, and encouraging them to frequent our town and farming locations, because I believe that verbal arguments and wise counsel will never bring a savage to adopt industrious habits, he cannot be taught civilization, though by constant contact he may become infected with it.⁵⁵

Hutt's thinking about the civilising potential of towns was epitomised when Native Protectors were appointed in 1840.⁵⁶ As Amanda Nettelbeck has shown, Hutt's

⁵¹ Ibid., 382.

⁵² Ibid., 383.

⁵³ Ibid., 382.

⁵⁴ Similar claims were made against the Anglican church in Natal in the 1850s, and particularly around Bishop John Colenso splitting his time between colonial and mission churches. While the metropolitan mission society did not see the two branches of the church activities as opposed to one another, the reality of the same clergyman preaching to black and white congregations was deeply unsettling for white, English, 'respectable' settlers.

⁵⁵ Hutt to Stanley, 08.04.1842, *Aborigines (Australian Colonies)*, No. 18, 412.

⁵⁶ Peter Barrow was appointed as Native Protector in the York district, and Charles Symmons was based in Perth. Both travelled from London to take up these positions. Barrow served for less than two years. Symmons served in that position, and other government positions, including as the Assistant Police Magistrate, Immigration Agent, Acting-Sheriff and Assistant Superintendent of Police until he

approach to Aboriginal civilisation, through education and labour, involved many instruments of the colonial government: the Native Protectors, 'police force, magistracy and prison system worked closely together towards aboriginal reform'.⁵⁷ Hutt believed it was essential for Protectors to be based in towns, rather than in the rural parts of the colony.⁵⁸

In this early period of European settlement, the very idea of the colonial government's ability to govern was spatially located.⁵⁹ Hutt argued Aboriginal people in the settled districts might be brought under British laws, and be treated as British subjects, but that 'we have not the means to supervise and control their dealings with one another in the bush and in the wild districts...'⁶⁰ Although Aboriginal people had nomadic lifestyles like 'the birds and the wild animals', they could be civilised through racial amalgamation. Towns and farms were spaces where the seed of civilisation was growing. The dispossession of land, for settler agricultural use, was coupled with the idea that Aboriginal people could only be civilised through contact with settlers in settled districts. Perth Native Protector, Charles Symmons, agreed with Hutt about the civilising effects of town life, commenting that Aboriginal people near Perth were 'gradually acquiring ideas of the value of property and a consequent desire for its possession'.⁶¹ As Lester and Dussart argue, 'Protection and civilisation were two sides of the same coin, since only once colonized peoples were able to fend for themselves as the civilised subjects of an imperial polity, would they be freed of the need for white philanthropic guardianship'.⁶²

Aboriginal labour and racial amalgamation: Adults and children

Hutt's support for the amalgamation of Aboriginal people into settler society was reflected in his enforcement of a policy where settlers would be granted land if they

retired in 1873. Hasluck, *Black Australians*, 72-73. See also Hutt to Marquis of Normanby, 11.02.1840, *Aborigines (Australian colonies)*, No. 7, 371.

⁵⁷ Amanda Nettelbeck, "'A Halo of Protection': Colonial Protectors and the Principle of Aboriginal Protection through Punishment", *Australian Historical Studies*, 43 (2012), 396-411, 403.

⁵⁸ On Aboriginal Protectors see Lester and Dussart, 'Trajectories of Protection' and *Colonization*.

⁵⁹ See Lauren Benton, *A Search for Sovereignty: Law and Geography in European Empires, 1400-1900* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2010) on the spatial location of imperial power.

⁶⁰ Hutt to Russell, 10.07.1841, *Aborigines (Australian Colonies)*, no.45, 392.

⁶¹ Symmons' Annual Report, *Western Australia Government Gazette* (Perth: Government Printer, 1843) [Hereafter WAGG], 13.01.1843.

⁶² Lester and Dussart, 'Trajectories of Protection', 213.

could prove that they had trained an adult Aboriginal person in their home. This policy, suggested by Captain George Grey in his 1840 *Report on the best means of Promoting the Civilization of the Aboriginal Inhabitants of Australia*, discussed in Chapter Two, shows how Aboriginal ‘improvement’ could be balanced against settler needs for land and labour. As convict labour had not yet been introduced in Western Australia, Grey proposed that Aboriginal people could be introduced to good habits of work, which would benefit both them and the settlers.⁶³ As Neville Green points out, it is quite likely that Grey discussed his report with Hutt before leaving Western Australia in 1839, and indeed, ‘some of these [Grey’s] ideas were being tested before his report reached the Colonial Office in London and others are to be seen in Hutt’s proposals and legislation between 1840 and 1846’.⁶⁴

Grey’s *Report* highlighted what Hutt had argued about Western Australia’s exceptional status: that ‘[i]n modern times, with the exception of the new settlement of South Australia, no colony has been established upon principles apparently so favourable for the development of the better qualities of the Aborigines, and with so fair a chance of their ultimate civilization’.⁶⁵ However, he noted that Aboriginal people were often doing seasonal ‘irregular’ labour, returning to ‘wandering habits’ when not employed.⁶⁶ As an antidote, Grey suggested a scheme where settlers would receive a grant of land if they could prove that they had had an Aboriginal man in their employ for a continuous period of six months.⁶⁷ He argued that the scheme was most appropriate to the outskirts of settled areas, but could be equally useful in towns. Settlers would be encouraged to train Aboriginal men and boys in manual skills.⁶⁸

⁶³ In the Australian case, settlers and the local government emphasised the superiority of agriculture and pastoralism over Aboriginal nomadic lifestyles. As Veracini argues, ‘when settlers claim land, it is recurrently in the context of a language that refers to [its] “higher use”’. Veracini, *Settler colonialism*, 20. Patrick Wolfe also points out that agriculture is particularly attractive in settler societies because it is ‘inherently sedentary and, therefore, permanent’. Wolfe, ‘Settler Colonialism and the Elimination of the Native’, 395.

⁶⁴ Green, ‘Access, Equality and Opportunity?’, 78.

⁶⁵ Grey, *Journals of Two Expeditions of Discovery, Vol. 2* (London: T. and W. Boone, 1841), 365.

⁶⁶ It is worth noting that this belief remained potent for Europeans. Florence Nightingale wrote that the Aborigines of Western Australia ‘have an instinctive dread of quiescence in one place.’ Florence Nightingale, ‘Note on the Aboriginal Races of Australia: A Paper read at the Annual meeting of the National Association for the Promotion of Social Science, held at York, September 1864’ (London: Emily Faithfull, 1865), 4.

⁶⁷ Grey, *Journals*, 382-4.

⁶⁸ *Ibid.*

Hutt put Grey's suggestions into place with some minor changes. He appreciated the concept of Aboriginal people being placed in the care of a settler, who could train them in some 'useful art', creating a labouring group with different manual skills.⁶⁹ If a settler could prove that an Aboriginal employee had been in service for a period of two years, the employer would be given a grant of £18 towards land, and if the Aboriginal worker had been taught 'any trade, calling, or handicraft, of such a nature as is usually taught under the system of apprenticeship', this grant would be raised to £36. As Hutt pointed out, the government gave £18 for labourers to emigrate to the colony, and 'to teach one of the aborigines to be a useful servant or assistant, is to introduce a fresh labourer, and the benefit conferred upon the community has been considered in both cases equal and worthy of similar reward'.⁷⁰ The trained Aboriginal worker would be entitled to a certificate to prove his status as a journeyman.⁷¹ The scheme was initially designed with only Aboriginal men in mind, but was later extended to include women who learnt to be cooks, domestic labourers, seamstresses, laundresses or bonnet makers.⁷²

Native Protector Symmons believed settling Aboriginal workers in the homes of settlers would break down barriers between the Aboriginal and European races, and that 'a gradual appreciation of the comforts and luxuries of our civilization will naturally creep upon him, together with a consequent disgust of, and inability to return to his former precarious and desultory mode of life'.⁷³ A newspaper article compared the civilising effects of cultivating the land to the civilisation of adult Aboriginal people: by remaining in the towns, under the watchful eyes of Aboriginal Protectors, but also of settler society, Aboriginal adults were being introduced to 'habits of order, decorum, and regularity'.⁷⁴ Symmons reported in 1840 that measures had been put in place to monitor the presence of Aboriginal people on the streets of Perth, to protect the (white) inhabitants of the town. If Aboriginal people were found begging, committing any crimes against white, or Aboriginal, people, they and their families were 'banished' from the town 'depriving them of many of their comforts,

⁶⁹ Hutt to Russell, 10.07.1841.

⁷⁰ Ibid.

⁷¹ Colonial Secretary's notice, 23.06.1841, WAGG 25.06.1841.

⁷² Ibid.; Hutt to Russell, 21.07.1841, *Aborigines (Australian colonies)*, No. 15, 394.

⁷³ Symmons Report, 30.06.1841, WAGG 09.07.1841.

⁷⁴ George Fletcher Moore, 'On the Aboriginal Race of Western Australia', *Perth Gazette and Western Australian Journal*, 20.02.1841.

and compelling them to seek a precarious subsistence in the chase'.⁷⁵ As Jessie Mitchell highlights, Perth in the 1840s provides one of the most potent examples of how Aboriginal people 'could be rendered "deserving" of access to urban space'.⁷⁶

Besides the obvious benefit of providing labour to colonists, permanently settling Aboriginal people would also make them a 'known' entity to the colonists. As Tiffany Shellam argues, 'Aboriginal desires to travel and the significance of it were constantly misunderstood by the colonists at Swan River and the garrison at King George's Sound.'⁷⁷ Hutt was sure that the scheme would go some way towards addressing what he saw as a fundamental difficulty in the Aboriginal relationship to land. 'A great triumph would be gained over their present wandering and fickle disposition, should any of them ever settle down into the sedentary existence which the practice and nature of the mechanical arts require.'⁷⁸

By 1843, when Grey was Governor of South Australia, he reported to Lord Stanley that the scheme had been running successfully in Western Australia for two years, and he hoped that he would be permitted to trial the scheme in South Australia.⁷⁹ Stanley's reply was that while he supported the idea of the scheme in general, he felt that the recently passed Act regulating the sale of Crown lands would hinder it being put into effective use. In spite of Grey's assertion that the scheme had been a success, when Frederick Irwin became governor of Western Australia in 1847, it was deemed a failure. The colonial secretary stated that scheme had been misunderstood, and that the remission in the purchase of land would only be given if the Native was 'entirely weaned from the habits of savage life, but also voluntarily seeking, and likely to continue to seek, a livelihood of some of the occupations of civilized life...'⁸⁰ When the scheme was abolished, there had only been ten applications for land grants in the period it had been in place, and of these, only one had been successful.⁸¹ According to Irwin, the amount of land offered to settlers was insufficient for them to 'attempt such

⁷⁵ Symmons to Brown (Colonial Secretary), 31.12.1840, Encl. 4 in Hutt to Russell, 15.05.1841, No.11, *Aborigines (Australian Colonies)*, 389.

⁷⁶ Jessie Mitchell, *In Good Faith? Governing Indigenous Australia through God, Charity and Empire 1825-1855* (Canberra: ANU EPress, 2011), 103.

⁷⁷ Shellam, *Shaking Hands*, 178.

⁷⁸ Hutt to Russell, 10.07.1841, 394.

⁷⁹ Grey to Stanley, 04.03.1843, *Aborigines (Australian Colonies)*, No.1, 335.

⁸⁰ G.F. Moore, Colonial Secretary, 12.01.1847, WAGG 29.01.1847.

⁸¹ Tilbrook, *Nyungar Tradition*, 20.

a task, and unless his own interest, arising out of the pressing want of labour led him to do so, it was seldom undertaken...'⁸² Irwin argued that the employment of Aboriginal people should be undertaken on its own merits, in the 'self interest' of the settlers, rather than through some inducement by the governor. While settlers needed labour, they were dubious about their role in the process of racial amalgamation. Local reporting on Aboriginal people in the colony did note that many Aboriginal people were in the employ of white colonists, but that their state of 'barbarism' would inevitably 'give way before the advancing march of civilized man – that extermination or assimilation are the only alternatives presented'.⁸³

The plans for civilising aboriginal adults through introducing them to labour at settler farms and homes are remarkably similar to the initial plans for the first Aboriginal schools in Western Australia. However, the plans for the education of Aboriginal children were attended to with even more optimism than those designed for adults. As I will discuss in more detail in Chapters Four and Five, missionaries, government and settlers believed that civilisation could best be inculcated when Aboriginal (and indeed, other Indigenous) people were young. As Hutt argued, 'It is to the schools that we must look for any benefit to be wrought amongst the natives...'⁸⁴ He explained that the

fickle disposition of these people, in youth as in older years, incapacitate them from any long continued exertions, whether of learning or labour, whilst from the roving lives of the parents in search of food, the children, if received into the schools, must be entirely supported at the public expense.⁸⁵

From 1840, Native Protectors were tasked with finding Aboriginal pupils for the schools.⁸⁶

Hutt believed that through the right combination of Christianity and education for Aboriginal children, they could be successfully incorporated into settler society.⁸⁷ In

⁸² Irwin to Earl Grey, 17.02.1848, SROWA Con. 390/5, Desp. 28.

⁸³ Moore, 'On the Aboriginal Race'.

⁸⁴ Hutt to Stanley, 21.01.1843, No. 23, *Aborigines (Australian colonies)*, 416.

⁸⁵ Ibid.

⁸⁶ The position of Native Protector was created in 1839, and replaced the previous Native Interpreter title. Mitchell, *In Good Faith?*, 181.

his arguments against native reserves, he noted that these would be particularly detrimental to Aboriginal children, as they would be removed from the centre of civilisation. The educative functions of towns were particularly pronounced for Aboriginal children. Because Aboriginal people 'require[d] variety in their amusements and employments', any schools to be set up should be 'in the vicinity of a town, or a thickly-peopled farming locality'.⁸⁸ In this case, 'thickly-peopled' meant settled by Europeans.

The Wesleyan Perth Native School opened in 1840, and received government funding as well as contributions from the WMMS.⁸⁹ The school married the religious, moral training of children with basic education and labour. The school took pupils between the ages of three and twelve, and was run out of Francis Armstrong's house in Perth. After the Mount Eliza Institution closed in 1838, Armstrong moved to a central location in Perth. Settlers resented Aboriginal people visiting him there. Armstrong and his wife taught at the school, for an annual salary of £50.⁹⁰ It was here that the children slept and spent their Sundays in prayer, attending services at the Wesleyan Chapel. Wesleyan missionary, Rev. John Smithies, attended to the children's religious education. Smithies had recently arrived from the Family Islands, where he had been stationed after his first mission to Newfoundland.⁹¹

The school ran for two hours each day, besides Saturday. Pupils were taught to read and write, using the Bible. Girls did some needlework, and boys wrote on slates. In their remaining time, the children were employed as domestic labourers in settlers' homes.⁹² According to Protector Symmons, Smithies and Armstrong ensured 'that *surveillance* over [the children's] moral conduct which promises future most

⁸⁷ Neville Green, *Broken Spears: Aboriginals and Europeans in the Southwest of Australia* (Cottesloe: Focus Education Services, 1984), 138. See also Hetherington, 'Aboriginal Children', 47.

⁸⁸ Hutt to Russell, 15.05.1841.

⁸⁹ Giustiniani had opened a small school in Guildford in 1836, but by this stage, it had closed, making the Wesleyan school the only Aboriginal school in the colony until George King opened an SPG school in Fremantle in 1842. Archdeacon John Ramsden Wollaston would arrive in the Picton district in 1841.

⁹⁰ Smithies to the WMMS, 08.10.1840, FBN 1, Australia Correspondence, SOAS WMMS Archive. On the Wesleyan school see Harris, *One Blood*, 269-278, Mitchell, *In Good Faith?*, McNair and Rumley, *Pioneer Aboriginal Mission*.

⁹¹ Richard B. Roy, 'A Reappraisal of Wesleyan Methodist Mission in the First Half of the Nineteenth Century, as Viewed through the Ministry of the Rev John Smithies (1802-1872)' (PhD thesis, Edith Cowan University, 2006).

⁹² It is worth pointing out the parallel with the schools for Aboriginal Canadians here, as they used this method of settling Aboriginal children in white homes, known as 'planting out'. Milloy, *A National Crime*, 28.

beneficial results'.⁹³ The school in Perth fulfilled what Hutt saw as necessary for the education of the Aboriginal children: 'a change of scene or place, in the exercise of both the mind and body'.⁹⁴ Newspapers reported that the children were 'eagerly sought after as domestic servants in various capacities, and their conduct has given very general satisfaction'.⁹⁵ The settler employers who took children into their homes were urged to treat them with patience and, for the first while, to bear with 'the awkwardness and possible wayward habits of their little charges'.⁹⁶ By the end of 1842, Symmons reported that there were twenty-eight pupils in the school, fourteen boys and fourteen girls, who were 'house servants' in Perth.⁹⁷ Loitering on the streets, playing, and misconduct in the houses of settlers, were liable to punishment, and settlers who complained about the Aboriginal children working for them were permitted to have different children sent to their aid.⁹⁸ It is worth reflecting on the fact that 'play' was liable for punishment. It highlights the status of the children as transforming not only into workers but also into adults.

The location of the school in Perth, Hutt's civilising centre, was not universally appreciated. Western Australians celebrated the twelfth anniversary of the colony's foundation day on the first of June 1841, with a public celebration, marking that the settlers were there to stay. There were horse and pony races, and a display of spear throwing from Aboriginal people.⁹⁹ Smithies decided that the children should not attend the celebrations, 'keeping them from scenes of evil, and associating them with what is good'.¹⁰⁰ The children instead had a feast at Armstrong's house. The *Perth Gazette* was not pleased with Smithies' decision, saying that the children should not have been kept away on the grounds that 'as we presume, that they might not be contaminated'. According to the *Gazette*, 'This is carrying the business matter of such an institution too far, and is calculated to produce a wrong impression on the mind of

⁹³ Symmons Annual Report, 31.12.1840, WAGG 8.01.1841. Emphasis in original.

⁹⁴ Hutt to Russell, 15.05.1841, 382.

⁹⁵ George Fletcher Moore, 'On the Aboriginal Race', 2-3.

⁹⁶ 'Regulations and Arrangements relative to the Native Children who may be provided with situations in the houses of the settlers and who attend the Wesleyan Methodist School at Perth, commenced September 1840', Encl. 3 in Hutt to Russell, 15.05.1841, *Aborigines (Australian Colonies)*, No.11, 388.

⁹⁷ Symmons' Annual Report, 31.12.1842, Encl. 1 in Hutt to Stanley, 21.01.1843, 419.

⁹⁸ 'Regulations and arrangements relative to the Native Children', 387.

⁹⁹ This is interesting, especially in light of attempts to 'civilise' Aboriginal people at the time. The need for them to represent 'savage' culture to the colonists on this public occasion implies their lack of ability to adapt to the settler society. This incident is also discussed by Mitchell, *In Good Faith?*, 65.

¹⁰⁰ Smithies to WMMS, 20.09.1841, FBN 1.

the savage, when we are convinced a good effect is intended.’¹⁰¹ An article in the *Inquirer* agreed:

it surely must be ill-judged that these children should be taught, that nineteen-twentieths of the population of Perth, with his Excellency the Governor and his principal officers at their head, were doing what it would be wrong to allow them to share in! what opinion can these children have of those whom they should be taught to respect and honour?¹⁰²

Smithies replied in a letter to the editor of the *Inquirer*, saying that the decision for the children to be kept ‘out of harms way’ was made ‘deliberately, specially, pointedly, religiously’.¹⁰³ The hostility directed towards Smithies continued, with the editor of the *Inquirer* accusing him of abusing his position with the ‘ignorant children’. Smithies, the editor thought, was turning the children against the community, and by addressing the claims against him in the newspaper, was acting in a spirit not becoming of a missionary.¹⁰⁴

This incident highlights the way that education was connected to the use of space. For Smithies, protection from the outside world was important in the civilisation of the Aboriginal children, and keeping them within the school would do this. Taking them into public places could be potentially disruptive to their fragile and slowly remoulding selves. There was a tension between the need to protect children from European civilisation, which if expressed in the ‘wrong’ way could contaminate them, but also to introduce them to those ‘superior’ habits, values and morals of the settler community. Perth society was interested in the way in which the school was being carried on, not only because of their need for labour, but also because the Aboriginal children’s progress was cast as a mirror of the settler society. Living in their settled town, and interacting with settlers, would lead the Aboriginal children to become like those settlers. That Smithies kept the children away was an insult to settlers’ civilisation. The fact that Smithies chose not to include the Aboriginal children in the festivities indicates that Hutt’s, and others’, ideas about racial amalgamation were

¹⁰¹ ‘Amusements of the week’, *Perth Gazette*, 5.06.1841, 2.

¹⁰² *Inquirer*, 9.06.1841.

¹⁰³ Letter from Smithies to the Editor of the *Perth Gazette*, 17.06.1841.

¹⁰⁴ From the editor, *The Inquirer*, 23.06.1841.

tentative and were not uniformly adhered to: they constantly responded to the changing context.

This section has highlighted the centrality of land and labour to schemes for Aboriginal amalgamation in the early 1840s. Hutt's writing, firstly about native reserves and racial amalgamation, and his schemes for indenturing of Aboriginal workers to settlers, indicates his desire to reflect his humanitarian goals in the colony, but also the power of the settler lobby's need for labour. In balancing these competing positions, Hutt's approach to Aboriginal amalgamation exemplifies the ambivalent humanitarian colonial governance conceptualised by Lester and Dussart.¹⁰⁵ Hutt's writing about native reserves, and the use of labour to 'civilise' Aboriginal adults and children, indicates the centrality of these schemes to preserving the settler colonial economy. In the following section, I explore these concepts in the Natal colony, showing how industrial education came to be understood as central to the education of African people, and how this was represented using humanitarian language of civilisation.

Civilised workers: Education in colonial Natal

When Natal became a British colony in 1843, the local government was given two responsibilities regarding the native population: firstly, it was their role to slowly bring the natives under the civilising influence of British law, and secondly, to use part of the colony's annual revenue for the 'religious, moral, and industrial training' of the natives to allow them to 'attain a higher social position, and emulate ourselves in the arts of civilised life'.¹⁰⁶ This language is evocative of not only the instructions given to Hutt in the 1830s, but also discussions of religious, moral, and industrial education in other parts of the Empire at the time. As I showed for the Western Australian case, in Natal, early government interventions in education were also shaped by the desire to define, and redefine, African relationships to land and labour.

¹⁰⁵ Lester and Dussart, *Colonization*, 273-275.

¹⁰⁶ Scott's speech opening the Legislative Council, 26.04.1859, Encl. in Scott to Lytton, 09.05.1859, *Natal. Copies of correspondence between the Governor of Natal and the Colonial Office with respect to the £ 5,000 reserved from the general revenues of the colony for the disposal of the Crown; and, of correspondence on the subject of the growth of cotton as now carried on by the natives, under the auspices of the government of that colony*, HC 596 (1860), [Hereafter *Native Reserve Correspondence*], No. 15, 76.

In this section, I discuss two Commissions of Enquiry in Natal, one focused on land, and the other on labour. I show how these Commissions drew on humanitarian rhetoric about the protection and civilisation of African people to remove them from land, and position them as workers. I also highlight divergences from the Western Australian case in terms of the racial thinking that underpinned schemes for education and civilisation.

In Natal, the Wakefieldian ideas that were influential to Hutt's thinking about Western Australia were also significant. The schemes designed to bring settlers of different classes to Natal failed to attract the desired colonists, and settlers were supported by public funds. The Byrne Emigration scheme ran between 1849 and 1852, bringing out about five thousand white settlers, dramatically changing the social makeup of the colony.¹⁰⁷ There was now a significant minority of white, English speaking, settlers in Natal, who brought with them ideas about the government of native races, and their capacity for civilisation and education.¹⁰⁸ Although Aboriginal people were a majority in Western Australia until 1850, the population was scattered over a vast area. Natal Africans, and refugee populations from Zululand, amounted to some hundred thousand people, and greatly outnumbered the white settlers in Natal throughout the period under study.¹⁰⁹

From the early years of British settlement in Natal, the use of land and African labour was subject to debate in the colony. Even though the Natal African population was always a majority, settlers justified their presence in the colony by constructing the land as a *terra nullius*.¹¹⁰ This is what Veracini refers to as 'transfer by conceptual displacement': where 'indigenous peoples are not considered indigenous to the land and are therefore perceived as exogenous Others who have entered the settler space at

¹⁰⁷ Joseph Byrne had travelled throughout the British Empire before finally creating the scheme for the systematic colonization of Natal. By this point, he had written two volumes on emigration to the British colonies, based on his travels between 1835 and 1847. See Joseph Byrne, *Twelve Years' Wanderings in the British Colonies. From 1835 to 1847, Vol.1 and 2* (London: Richard Bentley, 1848).

¹⁰⁸ The origin of this population remained a matter for debate in Natal for some years. Many colonists attempted to use the fact that a large proportion of the Natal population was made up of refugees to argue against the Native Reserve Fund, as the population as not, in fact, 'indigenous' or Aboriginal. See Scott to Labouchere, 04.06.1857, *Native Reserve Correspondence*, No.47, 16.

¹⁰⁹ Lambert, *Betrayed Trust*, 8, 10.

¹¹⁰ Guy, *Theophilus Shepstone*, 247.

some point in time and preferably after the settler collective'.¹¹¹ In Natal, this impulse manifested in attempts to show that because many Natal Africans were (believed to be) refugees, they did not have a right to the land where they were currently settled.¹¹² As Byrne's *Emigrant's Guide to Port Natal* assured potential settlers, Natal was peopled with a 'large coloured population capable of field labour' who were 'not the aboriginal possessors of the soil; they have no right of previous occupancy and possession to bring forward against white settlers, they have no inalienable claim to the soil, such as all barbarous aboriginal tribes possess to a certain extent...'¹¹³ Colonial politicians and settlers used this rationale to justify schemes to remove Africans from most fertile farmlands, beyond the borders of Natal, or to native reserves. This effort became particularly potent when coupled with arguments about the 'improvement' of Africans when living amongst their own people, outside towns, or in labour reserves.

From the end of the 1840s, the twin issues of land and labour became increasingly pressing in Natal. This resulted in the argument that in order for Africans to be successfully civilised, they should be introduced to manual and industrial training. This argument – that industrial education was civilising – was not, as Chapter One and Two showed, unique. In Natal, however, the number of African people meant that the creation of reserves was keenly debated, as were competing ideas about whether Africans should be 'amalgamated' with settler society, or 'insulated' from settler incursions. In contrast to the Western Australian Aboriginal population, often believed to be 'dying out' in the face of European civilisation, Africans were understood to be particularly well adapted to their environment and were seen as physically strong, warlike people.¹¹⁴ Schemes for settler control of land and labour involved two strategies: settling African people on small tracts of land, or 'locations', which would act as centres of civilisation, and training them as workers.

¹¹¹ Veracini, *Settler Colonialism*, 35.

¹¹² See Julian Cobbing, 'The Mfecane as Alibi'. Etherington argues that the Mfecane, recent arrivals to Natal and Zululand after the *mfecane*, were more likely to adhere to Christian doctrines than the northern Nguni people who had remained settled in that area before European settlement. Norman Etherington, 'Mission Station Melting Pots as a Factor in the Rise of South African Black Nationalism', *The International Journal of African Historical Studies*, 9 (1976), 592-605, 593n.

¹¹³ Joseph Byrne, *Emigrants Guide to Port Natal* (London: Effingham Wilson, 1850), 62.

¹¹⁴ Bernth Lindfors, 'Hottentot, Bushman, Kaffir: The Making of Racist Stereotypes in 19th-Century Britain', in *Encounter Images in Meetings between Africa and Europe*, ed. by Mai Palmberg (Uppsala: Nordiska Afrikainstitutet, 2001), 54-75, 69.

The 1846 Native Locations Commission, run by William Stanger, the Surveyor General, Theophilus Shepstone, the Diplomatic Agent to Native Tribes (later Secretary for Native Affairs), Lieutenant Charles Gibb of the Royal Engineers, and the missionaries, Dr Newton Adams and Daniel Lindley, of the American Board mission, was appointed to consider the best way to locate the ‘natives now within this district, in such a manner as will best prevent any collision between their interests and those of the emigrant farmers’.¹¹⁵ As had been debated in the Australian colonies in the decades before, and in the Cape with the Queen Adelaide province in the 1830s, the Commissioners considered whether reserves or locations could act as centres of civilisation.¹¹⁶ The Commissioners suggested it would be easier to convert and civilise Africans on small locations.¹¹⁷ They proposed locations for groups of five to ten thousand Africans, to be superintended by a resident magistrate and missionaries, and a native police force.¹¹⁸ Unlike the Western Australian case, the idea of native locations was received favourably in Natal, although it would not go by without opposition from some colonial officials, and indeed, some settlers.

The proposed locations would transform Natal as a colonial space: from small pockets of white settlement in African space, to small pockets of African settlement in white space. Locations would serve a practical function of removing African people from fertile land for settler emigrants. However, ideas about humanitarian colonial governance meant that the reserves also needed to be constructed as centres of civilisation. Thus, education was promoted for the ‘moral and intellectual improvement of the natives’ in the reserves.¹¹⁹ The Commissioners commented on the ‘education, habits and associations’ of the Zulu people in Natal, arguing that their

¹¹⁵ Guy, *Theophilus Shepstone*, 97; Instructions to Commissioners, Encl. 1 in Maitland to Gladstone, 16.05.1846, *Natal. Correspondence relative to the establishment of the settlement of Natal*, [Hereafter *Correspondence relative to the establishment of Natal*] HC 980 (1847-48), no. 35, 57.

¹¹⁶ On the Queen Adelaide province, see Lester, *Imperial Networks*, Ch. 4. Shepstone was definitely aware of the developments with the Queen Adelaide province as he had acted as an interpreter for D’Urban during that period. Guy, *Theophilus Shepstone*, 97. Jeremy Martens argues that the Queen Adelaide province provided an important model for colonial rule of Africans in Natal. Jeremy Martens, ‘Decentring Shepstone: The Eastern Cape Frontier and the establishment of Native administration in Natal, 1842-1849’, *South African Historical Journal*, (2015), 1-22.

¹¹⁷ Welsh, *The Roots of Segregation*, 11. This was in contrast to what the Natal *volksraad*, the governing body of the Boer republic of Natalia (1839-1843), suggested. They proposed larger locations, that the Commissioners felt would be more difficult to control.

¹¹⁸ Instructions to Commissioners, *Correspondence relative to the establishment of Natal*, 59.

¹¹⁹ Report of the Locations Commission, 30.03.1841, Encl. 2 in Pottinger to Earl Grey, *Correspondence relative to the establishment of Natal*, No. 65, 134.

background made them both ‘superstitious and warlike’, but also amenable to ‘despotic’ rule.¹²⁰ Martens shows that enlightenment theories of societal development influenced the Locations Commissioners, and the official colonial discourse in Natal more broadly. For the Natal government, the African was, universally, ‘superstitious and warlike’ and this savagery was a result of inferior education and culture.¹²¹ The Commissioners suggested that on each location there should be missions and schools and that the Government should be responsible for funding education. They also suggested that the ‘civil and ecclesiastical departments’ of each location should be independent from one another. Finally, they recommended that each location should have its own ‘model mechanical school’ where the ‘useful arts should be taught and practically illustrated...’ The institutions, under ‘direct control and management of the Government’, would be crucial not only for the moral elevation of the individual native, but also for the future of the colony as a whole. The institutions would

furnish to the whole district competent mechanics of every description required for the development of the resources of the country. They would create artificial wants among the natives themselves, while at the same time they would provide the means for satisfying them.¹²²

As I showed in Chapter One, at the time of the Locations Commission, Earl Grey was promoting industrial education as the best means of educating the ‘coloured races’ in the British colonies. He agreed that industrial schools would be an essential aspect of the civilisation of African children in Natal. He claimed that:

The education of the children in the arts of industry is hardly less important, with a view to their being raised in the scale of civilization, than their mere intellectual improvement, while their labour, if well managed, ought to contribute very materially to the support of the establishments.¹²³

¹²⁰ Ibid., 132.

¹²¹ Jeremy Martens, ‘The Impact of Theories of Civilization and Savagery on Native Policy in Colonial Natal’, *Africa on a Global Stage Conference Paper*, 2003, 1–7, 3.

¹²² Report of the Locations Commission, 134.

¹²³ Earl Grey to Sir Henry Smith, 10.12.1847, *Correspondence relative to the establishment of Natal*, No. 66, 139.

However, as Natal was not a strategically important colony, the Colonial Office avoided spending on it.¹²⁴ Officials thought that the Locations Commissioners' proposal to have the locations acting as centres of civilisation would involve too much government spending. Rather than settling large groups of Africans with magistrates, missionaries and mechanical schools, the locations were governed through local chiefs, in what would become the system of indirect rule through Native Law. The premise of indirect rule was that as Africans were used to 'despotic' and 'tyrannical' leadership, the best way to govern them was with a system of 'decentralised despotism'.¹²⁵ Grey therefore agreed to the locations on the condition that Africans could live under their own laws and customs, provided these were not 'abhorrent from and opposed to the general principles of humanity and decency recognised throughout the whole civilised world'.¹²⁶

The first location, Zwartkops (Swartkop), was set up in November 1846, followed closely by Mlazi, Mvoti and Inanda. Guy argues that the locations established in 1847 can best be understood as 'sponges: areas of changing density and extent, absorbing surrounding populations when external pressure demanded it, extruding them when other conditions made it necessary'.¹²⁷ Three more reserves were set up before the end of the decade. These were established where there were already large numbers of settled African people, and so did not require the removal of large numbers of African people.¹²⁸ In 1855, Sir George Grey, then High Commissioner for South Africa and Governor of the Cape, pushed for the creation of Mission Reserves, and missionaries were able to apply for legal title to land for missions, farming and schools.¹²⁹ By 1856, there were over forty locations and twenty-one mission reserves. The land these

¹²⁴ Jeremy Martens, "'So Destructive of Domestic Security and Comfort': Settler Domesticity, Race and the Regulation of African Behaviour in the Colony of Natal, 1843-1893' (PhD thesis, Queen's University, Canada, 2001), 69.

¹²⁵ Jeremy Martens, 'Enlightenment Theories of Civilization and Savagery in British Natal: The Colonial Origins of the (Zulu) African Barbarism Myth', in *Zulu Identities: Being Zulu Past and Present*, ed. by Benedict Carton, John Laband and Jabulani Sithole (Pietermaritzburg: UKZN Press, 2009), 122-132, 126.

¹²⁶ Earl Grey to Smith, 10.12.1847, 137.

¹²⁷ Guy, *Theophilus Shepstone*, 113.

¹²⁸ However, in some cases Africans were given two months to move into locations, unless they had proof of employment from a white settler. Guy, *Theophilus Shepstone*, 101.

¹²⁹ Welsh, *The Roots of Segregation*, 47.

comprised amounted to roughly twelve per cent of the colony's area, housing ninety per cent of its population.¹³⁰

In contrast to the Location Commissioner's initial plan to settle small groups of Africans in locations within the borders of Natal, Secretary for Native Affairs, Shepstone, later proposed a scheme for the 'insulation' of the African population. Shepstone wanted to remove all Natal Africans to reserves south of the colony, with magistrates, native police, mechanical schools, roads and the registration (and therefore government-control) of all inhabitants. Shepstone recommended that there should be missionaries on each location, to promote a 'uniform system of teaching and management'. While he did not agree with 'advocating government interference' in education, he did think that the government, as the 'paternal head and guardian of such a mass of grown up children' should ensure educational uniformity.¹³¹ The Colonial Office also rejected this plan.¹³² Officials disapproved of the isolation of Africans, and again, wanted to avoid further spending on the colony. Merivale believed that isolated reserves would only 'perpetuate barbarism'.¹³³ Earl Grey claimed the relocation of the natives to the south west of the colony "would too probably end, sooner or later, in their expulsion or extermination," and referred to the experience of North America and Australia on the point'.¹³⁴ As he had argued earlier, reserves would prohibit the spread of religion and education, and the only way to civilise the native population was for them to be amalgamated with settler society.¹³⁵ Settlers also opposed the resettlement of Africans away from urban centres. They were desperate for labour, as the discussion below shows, and were eager for Africans to remain in close proximity to towns and agricultural districts.¹³⁶

¹³⁰ Guy, 'Class, Imperialism', 222.

¹³¹ Ibid.

¹³² Letter from Shepstone to Acting Secretary of the Government, Natal, 9.12.1851, CO 179/20, No. 20.

¹³³ Merivale's note on Pine to Governor-General, Cape Town, 27.02.1852, CO 179/20, No. 20.

¹³⁴ Earl Grey on Land Commission recommendations, quoted in *Proceedings of the Commission appointed to enquire into the past and present state of the Kafirs in the district of Natal and to report upon their future government, and to suggest such arrangements as will tend to secure the peace and welfare of the District (1852)* (Natal: J Archbell and Son, 1852-3) [Hereafter *Labour Commission*], 16.

¹³⁵ Earl Grey to Pottinger, 04.12.1846, *Correspondence relative to the establishment of Natal*, No.41, 95.

¹³⁶ They complained that African women, whose labour was used in cotton fields, were refusing to work in areas where they could not live close by. Atkins, *The Moon is Dead!*, 115-119.

The issue of native labour, like that of land, was increasingly fraught in the colony. The newly arrived settlers had begun testing crops, and sugar was found most suitable to Natal's conditions. In contrast to the other sugar colonies, like the West Indies, where there was an ex-slave population to work on the plantations, Natal Africans were often self-sufficient and initially, at least, had the power to refuse work.¹³⁷ In spite of the fact that settlers recognized the economic potential of the African population they were living with, they began to understand that many Africans were 'making no noticeable contributions to the colonial labour market'.¹³⁸ Atkins argues colonists fundamentally misunderstood pre-existing patterns of work in Natal African society, which were often based on age and status within society.¹³⁹ While some Africans willingly entered into the service of white settler farmers as agricultural labourers, or servants, in order to make money to buy cattle for *lobola* (bride price), or to afford hut taxes, many refused to work. For the Natal settlers, labour was the only thing that could redeem the African population from barbarism.

In 1852, the secretary of state called a further Commission of Enquiry, this time on native labour. The secretary of state believed the issue of African governance was pivotal to the management of a people 'whose ignorance and habits unfit them for the duties of civilised life...'¹⁴⁰ The Commission was made up of prominent colonists and politicians in Natal, and although the evidence they collected did draw on the experience of missionaries in the colony, there were no missionaries represented on the Committee, in contrast to the earlier Locations Commission.¹⁴¹ Settlers were dubious about the Locations Commission's recommendations as it had been made up of officials and missionaries and 'excluded those with real knowledge and experience - the settlers'.¹⁴² Lieutenant-Governor Benjamin Pine therefore ensured that the

¹³⁷ Patrick Harries, 'Plantations, Passes and Proletarians: Labour and the Colonial State in Nineteenth Century Natal', *Journal of Southern African Studies*, 13 (1987), 372-399, 373.

¹³⁸ Atkins, *The Moon is Dead!*, 1.

¹³⁹ *Ibid.*, 3, 57 and Ch.3.

¹⁴⁰ Royal Instructions to Labour Commissioners, *Labour Commission*.

¹⁴¹ The Commission was chaired by Walter Harding, Crown Prosecutor, and the committee members included Shepstone, John Bird, the Acting Surveyor General, J.N. Boshoff, Registrar of the District Court, field commanders of the Mooi and Klip River districts, and settlers R.R. Ryley, Addison, Otto, Milner, Henderson, Cato, Struben, Nel, Landman, Potgieter, Morewood, Uys, Spies, Labuscagne, Macfarlane, Moreland, Barter, Boast, with Edward Tatham as Secretary and Henry Francis Fynn as Interpreter.

¹⁴² Guy, *Theophilus Shepstone*, 198.

Labour Commission was made up of a more ‘representative’ sample of Natal colonists.

The Labour Commission examined the history of relations between settlers and Africans in Natal, and suggested the best mode of government for Africans. They also considered the ‘causes of the want of labour, and the remedies applicable to ensure labour’.¹⁴³ Lack of ‘colored labor’ was the major obstacle to the young colony’s economic success:

The want of colored labor is very great, the supply is also by no means regular, nor to be depended on. The effect of this is to hinder the industry of the country, and to prevent agricultural farming on a large scale. Large portions of crops are frequently lost, and seriously damaged, through want of the labor necessary to secure them; and above all, this state of affairs retards the civilization, and stops the industrial training of the young Kafir.¹⁴⁴

The primary recommendation of the Commission was that the reserve lands set aside for Africans should be reduced.¹⁴⁵ The reserves were encroaching on important farmland, which should have been reserved for incoming British settlers. The Labour Commissioners argued that Earl Grey’s comparison between the Natal, American and Australian contexts was misleading:

The North American and Australian natives refuse to embrace or accommodate themselves in any way to civilised usages. The Kafir does not refuse to do so. The coloured population usefully employed becomes intermingled with, and absorbed by, the white population, and in fact has ever formed a large part of the population in the settled parts of South Africa.¹⁴⁶

Here we see another articulation of ‘amalgamation’: the Commissioners eagerly pointed out that African people lived in urban centres already, and that they were – in

¹⁴³ *Labour Commission*, 3.

¹⁴⁴ *Ibid.*, 43.

¹⁴⁵ Edgar Brookes and Colin Webb, *A History of Natal*, 2nd edn (Pietermaritzburg: University of Natal Press, 1987), 69.

¹⁴⁶ *Labour Commission*, 16.

the correct relationship of master and servant – becoming ‘intermingled with, and absorbed by’ settler society.

The Commissioners blamed indirect rule, where Africans were located in isolated reserves, and governed under Native law, as the ‘root cause of the labour shortage’.¹⁴⁷ Rather, they suggested the creation of small locations, where seven or eight thousand people could live, and be brought into contact with civilised (white) people by acting as ‘free servants’.¹⁴⁸ They believed racial amalgamation was the best path to civilisation for Africans. As in the Western Australian case, concerns over land, labour and education for Indigenous people often overlapped. Through contact with British settlers, African men in particular would learn to be civilised workers.¹⁴⁹

The rejection of the complete isolation of Africans from settler society was, nonetheless, framed in ‘humanitarian’ terms. Again, Lester and Dussart’s description of the ambivalence of humanitarian colonial governance is useful in understanding this disjuncture.¹⁵⁰ The Commissioners characterised the native as lacking ‘judgement as regards his work’, ‘superstitious and warlike’, ‘crafty and cunning’, ‘at once indolent and excitable’, ‘averse to labour’, and ‘bloodthirsty and cruel’.¹⁵¹ This they attributed to ‘the natural indolence of the Kafir himself’.¹⁵² These contradictory characterisations of Africans went some way towards explaining to settlers why Africans were not flocking to white farms and homes to enter into service. However, posing labour as a means of civilisation not only served settlers’ labour needs, but also improved the native himself. For the Commissioners, the relationship between labour and civilisation was simple:

There can be no true civilization without labor and exertion. The Kafir, like all other races, must work out its own improvement, but as there is no probability that the

¹⁴⁷ Jeremy Martens, “‘Civilised Domesticity’”, *Race and European Attempts to Regulate African Marriage Practices in Colonial Natal, 1868-1875*, *The History of the Family*, 14 (2009), 340-355, 354.

¹⁴⁸ *Labour commission*, 52, 27.

¹⁴⁹ Jeremy Martens discusses settler intervention in African family and gender relationships, and argues that ideas about ‘civilised domesticity’ were central to Natal whites’ views of racial difference. Martens, “‘Civilised domesticity’”, 355.

¹⁵⁰ Lester and Dussart, *Colonization*, 273-275.

¹⁵¹ *Labour Commission*, 43, 26.

¹⁵² *Ibid.*, 44. It is worth mentioning that the majority of this thinking about race was directed at the male subject rather than at native females, who were often thought of as being passive victims of the oppressive systems of *lobola* and polygamy.

Kafir will ever voluntarily take the initiative, Government must do this for him, by legislating in such a manner as to induce him to betake himself to the pursuits of industry.¹⁵³

They continued:

Idleness is the root of all evil, and should be systematically discouraged by authority; habits of industry should be enforced. In the opinion of the Commissioners it is cheaper, it is infinitely preferable, to train the young Kafir now, than to exterminate him hereafter; one or other must be done.¹⁵⁴

The relationship between morality, order and labour and industry was clear. The civilisation of the 'Kafir' was essential to the economic progress of the colony and 'labour and exertion' offered the best means of imparting this civilisation. The Labour Commissioners suggested government industrial schools should be opened on all of the small native locations, and that three years attendance should be compulsory for boys and girls between seven and twelve years.¹⁵⁵ The attendance at these schools should not, they thought, be 'left to the caprice of their uncivilized parents'.¹⁵⁶ Not only was agricultural training essential to making the native industrious, but it would also contribute to the produce of the colony.¹⁵⁷ The perceived labour crisis justified an education system that focused on manual or industrial training over literary education. Teaching people who were naturally 'averse to labour' to work, while at the same time giving them some Christian (moral) teaching, would supply a labour force and satisfy humanitarian ideas about the 'improvement' of the native population. This echoes similar discussions that we encountered in the West Indian context in the mid-1840s. The Commissioners also suggested opening infant schools to teach children English and Dutch, presumably to ease communication with European employers.

While advocating Christian moral teaching, the Commissioners also saw Christianity as potentially dangerous to the African population. Many settlers claimed Africans

¹⁵³ Ibid., 45.

¹⁵⁴ Ibid., 46.

¹⁵⁵ Ibid., 53. See also, Welsh, *Origins of Segregation*, 49.

¹⁵⁶ Ibid., 53.

¹⁵⁷ Evidence of Rev James Archbell, *Labour Commission*, Part 2, 54.

could not be truly converted.¹⁵⁸ They were suspicious of missionaries, whose work with African people was often seen as a reason for Africans avoiding manual labour.¹⁵⁹ For example, an article in the *Natal Witness* urged settlers not to employ English-speaking, Christian Africans as they ‘hold in great abhorrence the idea of making themselves generally useful, and want tea and coffee, and high wages, and who show that a step or two farther in civilisation would capacitate them to like muffins and crumpets’.¹⁶⁰ At the same time as denouncing mission educated Africans, the Commissioners argued no progress had been made by the missionaries in civilising the population, although they had to admit that there had been ‘no systematic attempt’ from the Government at education of the children. ‘It was as though,’ Etherington suggests, ‘the settlers unconsciously feared that Christian Africans would have a more powerful claim to equal rights than an uneducated population devoted to their ancient beliefs.’¹⁶¹

Even though the Commissioners were eager to define the ‘character of the Kafir’, they drew on a ‘discourse of civilisation’ to justify their proposed intervention in the education and working relationships of Africans. The Commissioners proposed that the savage could become civilised, and overcome the shortcomings of his or her race, but only by accepting a position inferior to the civilised race. As Jeremy Martens has convincingly argued regarding settler views on African marriage practices in the 1860s, ‘whites continued to employ the rhetoric of liberal humanitarianism because its flexibility afforded ample justification for discriminatory policies.’ Indeed, ‘the enlightenment belief in civilisation and savagery was still prevalent, even as scientific racism began to extend its influence’.¹⁶² Whether the Commissioners truly believed that Africans could achieve civilisation is dubious, but the ‘language’ of civilisation allowed them to propose work as a convenient remedy to the native’s inferior character, and to their own labour shortage.

¹⁵⁸ Etherington, ‘Christianity and African society’, 286. It is worth pointing out that Christian converts remained subject to African customary law, even though they were resident on mission stations, and actively seeking ‘civilisation’.

¹⁵⁹ Ibid., 285. Etherington cites an example of an angry crowd of settlers accusing a Methodist missionary of stopping their servants from working, and shouting that “‘Missionary Kaffirs” were the worst in the country.’ Many *kholwa* did demand higher wages.

¹⁶⁰ No author, ‘Kafirs’, in *Natal Witness*, 06.05.1857, 2.

¹⁶¹ Etherington, ‘Christianity and African society’, 286. Similar claims against missionaries were made in the Caribbean in the years before emancipation. Hall, *Civilising Subjects?*, 77, 106.

¹⁶² Martens, “‘Civilised Domesticity’”, 342, 345.

Although the Commission's recommendations for the native reserves and industrial schools were not enforced, they highlighted some important ideas about the racial future of the colony. First, racial amalgamation through working for whites was central to African civilisation. Whether this civilisation was truly attainable remained ambiguous in the eyes of the settlers on the Committee. Second, by the 1850s, industrial education was central to the government's agenda for African education. As Guy argued, the Labour Commission's evidence shows how 'in a racially divided colonial context, the absence of capital resources and the belief that labour can create them can lead to social demands and tensions that accumulate and intensify as they transmute into further race prejudice and racial violence'.¹⁶³

One final example serves to illustrate the position that the local government occupied regarding native education in the early 1850s. It raises some of the tensions between the labour needs of settlers, local and imperial government's responsibility for the 'civilisation' of Indigenous people, and missionary endeavours. The Bishop of Cape Town, Robert Gray, mentioned in Chapter Two, toured Natal in 1850, before the Natal diocese was created. After his tour, Gray proposed a scheme for the industrial training of African children in Natal. He argued that education was central to saving the 'coloured race' in Natal not only from 'contamination' but also 'annihilation'.¹⁶⁴ Gray's scheme stipulated that there should be one institution in each native location, which would ensure the conversion of 'the Heathen to the faith of Christ', education of children, preferably in a boarding school, 'the formation of Industrial habits', and 'the relief of the sick and afflicted'.¹⁶⁵ The placement of these institutions in native locations shows an alternative vision of the spatiality of civilisation: Bishop Gray believed children would be 'contaminated' if they had too much contact with European civilisation before they were civilised. 'But these poor people are undergoing a great change,' he wrote to London, 'and unless some large and comprehensive system be adopted while they are in their present submissive & docile

¹⁶³ Guy, *Theophilus Shepstone*, 199.

¹⁶⁴ Gray to Pine, 17.6.1850, Scheme for industrial education, CL AB 1162/A1.1.

¹⁶⁵ Gray to Rev. Dr Williamson (SPG) 05.06.1850, CL AB 1162/A1.1.

state, I fear they will fall into anarchy and lawlessness, & next into a very hardened state'.¹⁶⁶

He hoped that the imperial government would sponsor each institution £300 per annum, to be supplemented by SPG funding.¹⁶⁷ The Bishop assured Lieutenant-Governor Pine that such a scheme was to the advantage of the whole Natal population, both white and black, and that the government had an important role to play in the 'moral, social, & religious regeneration' of the Heathen.¹⁶⁸ Pine told Gray that he supported the scheme, but worried about the 'jealousy that it might occasion to the various souls who were in the country, or who might come to it'.¹⁶⁹ Natal colonists complained that funding the Bishop's scheme would set a precedent for funding all mission societies. Equally, missionaries feared that the funding would unduly favour the Church of England.¹⁷⁰

Gray's scheme was never carried out because of this settler and local government opposition. A group of settlers held a meeting, at which they complained that the imperial government should not be involved in funding education, as it showed their attempts to 'interfere with the colonial revenue', and that because of this 'interference' the settlers should seek representative institutions.¹⁷¹ Colonial Office clerk, George Barrow, responded to this accusation in a note to Merivale, saying that approving a grant should not be seen as an

undue interference, especially for this object, as the Select Committee of the H. of Commons in 1837 on Aborigines, expressed their opinion that the protection of the Aborigines should be considered as a duty peculiarly belonging & appropriate to the Executive Government, as administered either in this Country or by the Governor of the respective Colonies, & that it was not a trust which could conveniently be confided to the local government.¹⁷²

¹⁶⁶ Gray to Williamson, 24.06.1850, CL AB 1162/A1.1.

¹⁶⁷ Ibid.

¹⁶⁸ Bishop Gray's Journal, CL AB 1161 1850.

¹⁶⁹ Quoted in Ibid.

¹⁷⁰ See enclosures in Preston to Pakington, 18.02.1853, *Natal. Further correspondence relative to the settlement of Natal. (In continuation of papers presented July 30, 1851.)*, HC 1697 (1852-53), No. 31, 97-100.

¹⁷¹ Encl. 3 in Ibid, 98.

¹⁷² Barrow to Merivale, 01.06.1853, on Preston to Pine, 18.02.1853, CO 179/28, No. 13.

Gray and the Church of England were finally given a land grant for the mission, but this was on the request of then secretary of state for war and the colonies, Newcastle, and went against the wishes of many Natal missionaries and colonists.¹⁷³ The imperial government was still, even in the early 1850s, committed to pursuing the humanitarian principles outlined in the *Report of the Select Committee of Aborigines*. However, the local government was caught between the need to protect and civilise Indigenous people, and provide labour and land to settlers for their vision of economic success for the colony.¹⁷⁴

This disagreement over expenditure for education connects with the broader debates about Indigenous people's status in the colony during this period. The aims of both the Lands and Labour Commissions to provide government-funded education on native reserves failed, and, as I show in the following chapter, education was largely left to missionary initiative. Some colonial officials, concerned about the treatment of Natal Africans, and in particular, about the system of indirect rule, were critical of the Natal government's lack of interest in native education. The Colonial Office's attitude towards education was not apathetic but rather shaped by the practical constraints of limited funding and the pastoral care of a large Indigenous population.

Conclusion: Ambivalent humanitarianism, education and the settler colony

This chapter has explored the contexts of race and education in Natal and Western Australia. I have highlighted the schemes put in place to 'civilise' and 'educate' Africans and Aboriginal Australians during the early years of settlement in both colonies. Reading the two cases in parallel illuminates broader questions about race, civilisation, education and colonialism. Focusing on discussions and debate around land and labour has highlighted the centrality of these resources to the two settler colonies. Education policy and practice was closely tied to the land and labour needs of incoming settlers.

¹⁷³ Newcastle to Pine, 14.07.1853, *Natal. Further correspondence relative to the settlement of Natal. (In continuation of papers presented July 30, 1851.)*, No. 36, 140.

¹⁷⁴ The Natal Native Trust was created in 1864, which gave the Lieutenant-Governor and Executive Council control of all African land. Benjamin Kline, *Genesis of Apartheid: British African Policy in the Colony of Natal 1845-1893* (Lanham and London: University of America Press, 1988), 54.

This chapter has explored the meaning of ambivalent humanitarianism in two settler colonies. I have drawn on Lester and Dussart's conception of humanitarian colonial governance encompassing competing and contradictory elements that both encouraged European settlement on Indigenous land, and constructed this as beneficial to Indigenous people.¹⁷⁵ I extended their thesis to two colonies that have been less associated with humanitarian colonial governance, and showed how humanitarian discourse was also applied to schemes for controlling Indigenous labour. Both colonies were influenced by ideas and trends in humanitarian colonial governance but also by settler colonial discourses.¹⁷⁶ The growing suspicion amongst settlers, and indeed, some missionaries and government officials, that mental capacity was tied to race, and that civilisation was not universally attainable, influenced responses to education. As I showed in Chapters One and Two, the idea of the link between labour and (Christian) morality was not unique to either context here, but rather arose out of connected metropolitan and colonial contexts, shaped by industrial change and the rise of evangelical Christianity. However, the ambivalent humanitarianism that developed in each colony was shaped by the requirement of the local (and imperial) government to negotiate between the competing needs of settlers, missionaries, the humanitarian state and Indigenous people.¹⁷⁷

The idea that Indigenous people were incapable of work, or were inherently lazy, was long established, and remained potent in many different parts of the world.¹⁷⁸ Regular employment for adults, and manual and industrial training for adolescents and children, could go some way towards addressing this inferiority. Africans were believed to be lazy because the warm climate led to indolence. As food was abundant, and was often not actively cultivated, many believed that 'their [Africans'] minds were lethargic as well'.¹⁷⁹ Atkins points out that in Natal, 'the popular rhetoric [of Africans being 'desultory and primitive'] was so interwoven with facile assumptions

¹⁷⁵ Lester and Dussart, *Colonization*.

¹⁷⁶ Alan Lester, 'British Settler Discourse and the Circuits of Empire', *History Workshop Journal*, 54 (2002), 25-48.

¹⁷⁷ Lester and Dussart, *Colonization*, 1.

¹⁷⁸ For example, Carlyle wrote about the idleness of emancipated slaves in the West Indies. Thomas Carlyle, 'Occasional discourse on the Negro Question', *Fraser's Magazine for Town and Country*, 40 (1849), 670-679.

¹⁷⁹ Lyons, *To Wash an Aethiop White*, 71.

and racist mythology that the imagery became increasingly confused in the colonists' minds until it was difficult to discern reality from fiction'.¹⁸⁰ In Australia, similar claims were made against Aborigines when they did not flock to employment with white settlers. Richard Broome points out that Aborigines were often described as 'poor or indifferent workers', and Giordano Nanni discusses similar constructions of Victorian Aboriginal people as 'lazy' and unable to work regular hours, which was often attributed to racial inferiority.¹⁸¹ Ironically, the only way to overcome this inherent laziness was to introduce steady labour.¹⁸² It was best if this could be introduced during childhood.

This chapter took a broad view of education, examining both the context in which educational change occurred and the efforts made by local governments for education. Using this broad definition indicates similar ideas that underpinned education policy and practice in each colony. Furthermore, doing so highlights just how present education was in colonial policy. Reading these documents for their commentary on education is one way into thinking about the broader context of education in the settler colonies. While there was no imperial policy on education, similar ideas about the relationship between settlers and Indigenous people's relationships to education and civilisation can be traced at the policy level. For example, both Hutt's scheme for the civilisation of Aboriginal adults, and the education of children in the Perth Native School, focused on the transformation of the individual's character through a combination of Christian education and hard work. In Natal, the Locations Commission and the Labour Commission made similar claims about the civilization of Africans through industrial training. In both contexts, settlers were hostile to government interventions in the 'protection' and 'civilisation' of Indigenous people, and claimed superior status of their local knowledge about Indigenous people. The humanitarian goals of the colonial office, and humanitarian policies put in place by early governors were often difficult to implement in the face of settler hostilities. For colonial officials in Natal and Western Australia during the early years of settlement, the idea that the colonial project in their colony would be 'different' or 'unique'

¹⁸⁰ Atkins, *The Moon is Dead!*, 78.

¹⁸¹ Richard Broome, 'Aboriginal Workers on South-Eastern Frontiers', *Australian Historical Studies*, 26 (1994), 202-220, 202; Nanni, *The Colonization of Time*, 113.

¹⁸² Henry Reynolds, *With the White People: The Crucial Role of Aborigines in the Exploration and Development of Australia* (Ringwood: Penguin Books, 1990), 88.

influenced the way that policies were put into place. The colonies, while both economically inferior to their older siblings on each continent, could claim the benefit of having learnt from their mistakes.

Pointing out these continuities, however, should not be seen as an attempt to elide the very real differences that existed between them. The following chapter explores how these broad ideas about the education and civilisation of Indigenous people in each context were negotiated and put into practice by educators. While in Natal, where there was already widespread mission activity, the government became increasingly involved in industrial training schemes and schools for the African population, in Western Australia, education policy remained underdeveloped, apart from some attempts that were made to incorporate Aboriginal children into settler society.¹⁸³ In Western Australia, by contrast, the education of Aboriginal children was characterised by stop-start attempts to provide education, most often in residential schools.

¹⁸³ Etherington, 'The Missionary Writing Machine', 37.

Chapter Four

Local cases, global concerns: Education and civilisation in Western Australia and Natal, 1856-1870

Schools were pivotal in constructing racial difference in the settler colonies. By examining two case studies in detail, this chapter shows how educators engaged with, debated and constructed racial difference through education. In contrast to Chapter Three, which took a broad view of education, this chapter focuses on two institutions in detail. It illustrates how Dr Henry Callaway, SPG missionary at Springvale, Natal, and Anne Camfield, teacher and head of the school at Annesfield, Western Australia, thought about Indigenous education. Both were educators, but also had other roles. Camfield was married to the resident magistrate at Albany, Henry Camfield. This gave her more scope than other women in the era to negotiate with the local government about the school, and to express her opinions about race, education and Aboriginal families in public forums. Callaway was a trained medical doctor. He published on the 'native races' and commented on racial type. Each educator used their 'success' in education to try to prove the educability of Indigenous people. These cases show how policies about Indigenous education were put into practice, changed and negotiated according to local circumstances.

Missionaries and educators who worked with Indigenous children in the British colonies had different aims to the Imperial and local government, and to settlers, although these goals were often discursively aligned. Previous chapters have shown that missionaries were often positioned as the civilising agents and protectors of Indigenous people.¹ The Negro Education Grant in the West Indies drew on missionary teaching and expertise. This model of education dominated the British settler colonies, with the local and imperial governments providing limited attention and funding to missionaries working with local communities. While there were some government attempts at the 'amalgamation' and 'insulation' of Indigenous people, as I discussed in Chapter Three, by the mid-nineteenth century, projections about the

¹ Porter, *Religion versus Empire?*, 144.

widespread success of the civilising mission were increasingly bleak.² In both Natal and Western Australia, where missionaries were the primary education providers, they needed to engage with broader shifts in thinking about race, and prove the necessity of their roles to local and imperial governments.

As the example of the Mico Charity in Chapter One showed, however, there were also cases where philanthropic individuals or organisations besides mission societies were involved in education. Although sometimes described as a missionary, Anne Camfield was not sent out by a mission society to start an Aboriginal mission.³ Her case provides an example of government and indeed, settler, involvement with Indigenous education, and also asks us to consider how we define who was regarded as a 'missionary'. The government and the SPG funded her institution, and she was a deeply religious woman, who believed that religious education was an essential part of her role as a teacher.

Natal and Western Australia were shaped by similar settler colonial discourses on the position of Indigenous people. Race was increasingly seen as 'innate' and insurmountable. This concept was affected by events in the British Empire, particularly the Indian 'Mutiny' in 1857 and the Morant Bay uprisings in 1865. Closer to Natal, the 1857 Cattle Killings would have had an impact on Callaway's thinking about race, mission work, and education. While earlier in the century, social and cultural features had been an important marker of difference, 'scientists after 1860 stressed the closed nature of racial formation and the fixity and persistence of racial differences'.⁴ According to Brantlinger, 'by the time *The Origin of the Species* was published in 1859, the heyday of humanitarian and missionary optimism...was over'.⁵ As Anna Haebich argued of Western Australia, the civilising mission's perceived failure, with young adults returning to their previous ways of living, or suffering early death, 'prompted a deepening pessimism over the children's potential to change'.⁶

² See Lester and Dussart, *Colonization*, Ch.6 for a discussion of humanitarian governance during this period.

³ Patricia Grimshaw, 'Interracial Marriages and Colonial Regimes in Victoria and Aotearoa New Zealand', *Frontiers*, 22 (2002), 12-28.

⁴ Stepan, *The Idea of Race*, 88.

⁵ Brantlinger, *Dark Vanishings*, 90.

⁶ Haebich, *Broken Circles*, 70.

While there was certainly a waning of humanitarianism of the type we encountered with the Negro Education Grant, both Callaway and Camfield's writing shows later engagement with a version of humanitarianism that had to take into account the 'failures' of earlier efforts in the civilising mission, and the growth of scientific knowledge about race. For both educators, these ideas were still a matter of debate, particularly regarding Indigenous children in colonial contexts. As more settlers arrived in the colonies in the 1850s, competition over resources and hostility towards Indigenous people increased.⁷ Educators found themselves embroiled in these local colonial politics, and had to engage with the settler public about the meaning of, and use for, Indigenous education. For Callaway, it was important to prove the common origin of Zulu and European people. He could advance his monogenetic interpretation of humanity by proving African educability. Camfield drew on her experience working with Aboriginal children to try to prove the capabilities of all Aborigines.

Both Callaway and Camfield spoke about specific Indigenous people who had been successfully 'civilised' to prove the common origins of different races, and therefore to make humanitarian arguments about Indigenous people's rights. As Elizabeth Elbourne has argued regarding Andries Stoffels and Dyani Tzatzoe, these Indigenous men, taken to Britain to testify for the Select Committee on Aborigines, were used to provide 'ocular proof' of the ability of humanitarian efforts to 'civilise' and reform Indigenous subjectivities.⁸ Although they did not travel 'home' the Indigenous people that Camfield and Callaway described in their correspondence could prove the success of European civilising efforts, in a period where the optimism that had shaped earlier interventions was rapidly diminishing.

In choosing to proceed with a comparative analysis of education here, it is with the understanding that the 'theatres of empire constructed different possibilities. Metropolitan society, white settler societies, sugar colonies, each provided a site for the articulation of different relations of power, different subject positions, different cultural identities.'⁹ The position occupied by education was not the same in the two settler colonies considered here. In each it was subject to negotiation and change in

⁷ Alan Lester, 'Humanitarians and White Settlers in the Nineteenth Century', in *Missions and Empire*, ed. by Norman Etherington (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2005), 261–284, 264.

⁸ Elbourne, *Blood Ground*, 288.

⁹ Hall, *Civilising Subjects*, 65.

relation to developing ideas about race. While the 1850s and 1860s saw widespread mission activity in Natal, in Western Australia enthusiasm for the ‘civilising mission’ waned as ideas about Aboriginal capacity for civilisation became more pessimistic.¹⁰ As I argued in Chapter Two, the understanding of Zulu people as strong and capable, and Aboriginal Australians as tribally disorganised, and a dying race, shaped approaches to education. An article in the *Perth Gazette* pointed out some perceived differences between these groups. It argued that not one ‘native’ at New Norcia had yet been ‘produced on a par with the celebrated Zulu, who insisted upon an explanation of certain difficult passages of Scripture, and required to be informed how such things could be proved to be correctly stated’.¹¹ The author was, of course, referring to William Ngidi, who was working closely with Bishop Colenso in Natal at this time.

If it seems that there is some slippage between the terms ‘race’ and ‘civilisation’ in this chapter, it is because the relationship between these terms was still subject to debate at this point in the century. Salesa points out that shifting understandings of race in the mid-nineteenth century were deeply enmeshed with their local contexts. He argues that understanding the ‘potency’ of a particular racial discourse in place and time is essential in writing about the historical meaning(s) of race:

How discourses were embodied and performed – not only in particular texts, but in people, societies, networks of correspondence, and practices – could never be separated from *where* they were embodied and performed. Such an approach does not produce a single coherent narrative of historical development, not even a terrain through which packaged ideas trickled down or were sent out, but it better accounts for the multiplicity of often conflicting positions, intense debates, and uneven but powerful valence for specific racial projects.¹²

¹⁰ Shellam, “‘A Mystery’”; Brantlinger, *Dark Vanishings*, Ch. 6; Haebich, *Broken Circles*, 70.

¹¹ Laicus, ‘Thoughts about the Natives: Part 1’, *Perth Gazette and West Australian Times*, 17.11.1865, 2-3.

¹² Salesa, *Racial Crossings*, 134. See also Sadiah Qureshi on racial discourses in Victorian Britain, which she argues were ‘more heterogeneous than commonly supposed’ in the mid-nineteenth century. Sadiah Qureshi, ‘Robert Gordon Latham, Displayed Peoples, and the Natural History of Race, 1854-1866’, *The Historical Journal*, 54 (2011), 143-166, 146.

This chapter extends the discussion of the ‘school as frontier’ introduced in Chapter Two. While Chapter Two focused on the school as a site of contact between missionaries, Indigenous people and the state, this chapter extends this concept in two ways. Firstly, it shows how ideas about race and education were created in schools, and transmitted through networks of correspondence. Schools, therefore, were important places to create knowledge about race. Secondly, it looks at the frontier of the mind. It shows how educators attempted to recreate Indigenous mentalities, and how they recorded their progress. If they were able to ‘successfully’ educate their pupils, this would be evidence of the mental capacity not only of the individual, but also of the whole ‘race’.

The sources used to discuss Annesfield and Springvale differ quite substantially. However, the majority of the material deployed in this chapter consists of correspondence: between pupil and teacher, teacher and the Colonial Office, and between friends, missionary and mission society, and teacher and scientific society. Networks of information and intelligence regarding race, education and civilisation were circulating through different parts of the Empire, constructing global debates as much as they shaped local realities. I begin by providing some background on education in each colony in the 1850s and 1860s. This discussion, which particularly refers to legislation and funding for Indigenous education, emphasises how important the local barriers to missionary, and other education, activities were. I then examine the Annesfield institution, before considering the Springvale institution in the final part of the chapter. The chapter shows how broader ideological shifts in the 1850s and 1860s were invented and interpreted in local situations.

Local contexts

As mentioned in Chapter Two, the first legislation specifically for promoting the education of ‘coloured youth’ in Natal was passed in 1856. Ordinance 2 of 1856 was based on Sir George Grey’s 1847 Education Ordinance in New Zealand, which allocated government funding to missionaries for Maori education.¹³ Grey, by 1856 governor of the Cape Colony and High Commissioner of South Africa, and his close

¹³ Acting Lieutenant-Governor Cooper to Molesworth, 25.01.1856, CO 179/42, No. 9.

ally, Bishop Colenso, pushed for similar legislation in Natal.¹⁴ Lieutenant-Governor Cooper believed that funding missionary education was the ‘duty which the Government may most usefully and properly undertake’.¹⁵ Settlers opposed the government spending on ‘native’ education and petitioned the secretary of state for the colonies, Labouchere, to disallow the legislation, as it applied only to ‘one section of the population’. They believed that the lieutenant-governor had neither ‘the time nor fitness’ to be involved in education. The Ordinance was, they complained, ‘injurious in its provisions [and] at variance with the principles of civil and religious liberty, and certain to engender dissension among the various denominations of Christians, who have hitherto existed in harmony in this Colony’.¹⁶ ‘[P]eace and security’ in the colony could not result from native education.¹⁷ However, the fund was approved, and £2,000 was set aside for native education, although it was never properly administered.¹⁸ John Scott, who followed Cooper as lieutenant-governor, wrote in 1857 that the Ordinance ‘had remained a dead letter’. He believed the Legislative Council would ‘endeavour to obtain its repeal’.¹⁹ It was not imperative for the funds to be used each year, and education was provided for out of the Native Reserve fund, when it was introduced later that year.

Natal achieved limited representative government in July 1856.²⁰ The Natal Charter, which constituted a representative Legislative Council, ostensibly made no distinction between the different races in the Colony: any man owning property worth £50, or renting for £10 annually, could vote.²¹ This effectively excluded all African men from

¹⁴ Loram, *The Education of the South African Native*, 55.

¹⁵ Cooper to Molesworth, 25.01.1856.

¹⁶ Memorial signed by 172 settlers to the secretary of state for war and the colonies, Encl. in Scott to Molesworth, 25.09.1856, CO 179/42, No. 7.

¹⁷ Ibid.

¹⁸ Loram, *The Education of the South African Native*, 55; Emanuelson, ‘A History of Native Education in Natal’, 46.

¹⁹ Scott to Labouchere, 03.06.1857, *Native Reserve Correspondence*, No. 46, 5.

²⁰ While most Australian colonies gained responsible self-government in the 1850s, this was delayed in the Cape, Natal and Western Australia. Laidlaw, ‘The Victorian State in its Imperial Context’, 332. The Cape achieved representative government in 1853, and similar concerns over the status of indigenous people were raised in that context, and particularly around non-racial franchise. Du Toit, *The Cape Frontier*, 72.

²¹ Scott to Labouchere, 15.10.1858, *The reports made for the year 1857 to the Secretary of State having the Department of the Colonies; in continuation of the reports annually made by the governors of the British colonies, with a view to exhibit generally the past and present state of Her Majesty's colonial possessions. Transmitted with the blue books for the year 1857*, HC Session 2, 2567 (1859), No.30, 192. Once it became a possibility that Africans would be able to meet this property requirement, non-racial franchise was removed in 1865. Brookes and Webb, *A History of Natal*, 75.

the vote. The new Legislative Council controlled the major social and political decisions in the colony, with one important exception. The Charter stipulated that a £5,000 grant would be set aside for 'native purposes' each year, over which the Legislative Council had no power.²² Grey, as High Commissioner of South Africa, pushed for the Native Reserve grant, particularly for the 'religious and moral instruction, or...the social well being of the Kafirs...'²³ Once again, he drew on his experience in New Zealand, where the extension of representative government in 1852 had been qualified by reserving £7,000 for 'native purposes', particularly the provision of English education in mission schools.²⁴

The Native Reserve fund was a source of conflict for the Legislative Council, and for the colonists more generally. The Council was dissolved twice over the issue, in 1858 and 1861. Its members proposed that the best way to improve the African population was through wage labour, as 'every farm and homestead would then become an industrial training school without any charge on the public revenue'.²⁵ In spite of these complaints, the Reserve remained in place. The imperial government claimed they had an 'obligation which circumstances seemed to have imposed on them of not abandoning the native population which has taken shelter under British protection, and on the hope of effecting their civilization and improvement'.²⁶ The Colonial Office was caught between the need to protect the native races, who 'we keep in check by our superior intelligence rather than our physical force' and the increasing desire of settlers to run the colony according to their own ideas.²⁷ As secretary of state for the colonies, Edward Bulwer-Lytton, explained in 1858, the role of the imperial government was 'two-fold. To the natives, as human beings placed under the protection of our institutions, to the colonists, with even more of an anxious thought,

²² Brookes and Webb, *A History of Natal*, 75. Political upheavals in Natal and Zululand, as well as on the Cape frontier, meant the term 'native' was subject to debate as officials and settlers attempted to define who was 'aboriginal' and who a 'refugee' in the colony. This made the already ill-defined concept of 'native purposes' even more difficult to interpret.

²³ Grey to Russell, 24.11.1855, CO 179/37, No. 34. See Welsh, *The Origins of Segregation*, 52.

²⁴ New Zealand Constitution Act, 1852, (15 & 16 Vict. c. 72). New Zealand gained responsible government in 1856.

²⁵ Legislative Council to the Queen, 10.04.1858, Encl. 2 in Scott to Labouchere, 28.04.1858, *Native Reserve Correspondence*, No. 6, 43.

²⁶ Bulwer-Lytton to Scott, 19.08.1858, *Native Reserve Correspondence*, No. 18, 88. Lytton also pointed out that a reserve fund was made in all Charters, and that the Cape had £14,000 set aside for the 'Border Department (Aborigines)'. This grant was also used for educational purposes. Du Toit, *The Cape Frontier*, 240.

²⁷ Bulwer-Lytton to Scott, 25.08.1858, *Native Reserve Correspondence*, No.4, 89.

as British fellow subjects of the same race as ourselves.’²⁸ Even within the category of ‘human beings’ Bulwer-Lytton made a revealing distinction between ‘fellow subjects of the same race as ourselves’ and ‘the natives’.

By the mid-1860s, almost forty per cent of the Reserve was given to mission societies specifically for education.²⁹ Lieutenant-governor Scott believed industrial education was essential for African civilisation, and mission schools could only apply for government grants if they provided industrial training.³⁰ ‘Experience has proved,’ he wrote, ‘and it is now almost universally admitted that Religious and industrial training must be combined in order to produce a lasting beneficial effect on a savage, and really to draw him out of barbarism, and place him in a higher social position.’³¹ He was so confident that this was the best means of improving the native population that he also made separate grants to industrial schools that were not drawn from the Reserve fund.³²

Many Africans sought education themselves, and ‘*kholwa* [converts]’ demand for education perpetually exceeded what missionaries could supply’.³³ In some schools, Africans contributed towards the salaries of teachers, which highlights a desire for education. Many parents, both converted and ‘heathen’, sent children to school hoping they would be educated beyond the industrial curriculum, and for the chance to rise in status in colonial society.³⁴ There are cases of parents actively seeking education for their children. For example, at the Wesleyan school at Edendale, parents objected to one teacher’s methods and threatened to remove their children from the school. They realised their power in this situation, saying that without their children would the teacher ‘teach the floors? & desks?’³⁵ However, as Etherington points out,

²⁸ Bulwer-Lytton to Scott, 24.03.1859, *Native Reserve Correspondence*, No. 9, 91.

²⁹ Etherington, ‘Missionaries, Africans and the State’, 130.

³⁰ Although this was not uniformly adhered to. For example, Bishop Colenso’s school for the sons of chiefs at Ekukhanyeni, discussed in Chapter Two, was exempted from the industrial training clause as it was providing ‘training of a class capable of being made useful in new institutions’. Shepstone to Colenso, Encl.1 in Scott to Stanley, 31.07.1858, *Native Reserve Correspondence*, No. 8, 50. Scott served as lieutenant-governor from 1856-1865.

³¹ Scott to Stanley, 31.07.1858, *Native Reserve Correspondence*, No. 8, 49.

³² Scott to Lytton, 29.11.1858, *Native Reserve Correspondence*, No. 9, 52.

³³ Etherington, ‘Christianity and African society’, 289.

³⁴ Frank Molteno, ‘The Historical Foundations of the Schooling of Black South Africans’, in *Apartheid and Education: The Education of Black South Africans*, ed. by Peter Kallaway (Johannesburg: Ravan, 1984), 45-107, 53.

³⁵ Henry Barton to Rev W.B. Boyce, 21.12.1869, WMMS correspondence, FBN 17.

most people who ended up on mission stations were either refugees or social outcasts, looking for protection on mission stations.³⁶

In contrast to Natal, Western Australia had only two schools specifically for Indigenous children between 1855 and 1870.³⁷ The New Norcia Catholic Mission began to receive government funding from 1859.³⁸ No legislation was passed during this period to regulate Indigenous education. Earlier hopes that Aboriginal children might be civilised and incorporated into settler society, as discussed in Chapter Three, were giving way to a harsher set of beliefs about race and educability. As Governor Arthur Kennedy put it in 1855,

The Natives of Western Australia are the lowest and most hopeless class of savages I have ever met with, and notwithstanding the efforts which have been made by Clergymen of all denominations and others since the establishment of the Colony there cannot be known a single even half civilized or christianized (sic) Native, or one dwelling under a roof of his own...Though Wesleyans and Roman Catholics have made laudable efforts in this direction and failed signally, the Roman Catholic Bishops and Sisters of Mercy still persevere, most laudably, but without any good result beyond setting an example of charity and perseverance incomprehensible to the benighted objects of their solicitude.³⁹

The introduction of convict labour to Western Australia in 1850 fundamentally altered the relationship between Aboriginal people and settlers in the south west of the colony. Aboriginal prisoners, who had been engaged in convict labour in Perth, were transferred back to the penal settlement at Rottnest Island, out of settler sight.⁴⁰ The erasure of Aboriginal presence in this decade, therefore, was both literal and discursive. Aboriginal people were believed to be dying out, and those who remained were transferred out of settler space so that their presence did not need to be acknowledged. As the discussion below shows, this does not mean that all parties

³⁶ Etherington, *Preachers, Peasants*, 87.

³⁷ The Sisters of Mercy in Perth had a small school for orphaned European and Aboriginal girls. However, by the 1860s their focus shifted away from Aboriginal girls to poor white girls. Aboriginal children were instead sent to New Norcia. See McLay, *Women Out of Their Sphere*, 75.

³⁸ Hasluck, *Black Australians*, 100.

³⁹ Kennedy to Russell, 21.12.1855, CO 18/91, No. 117. Kennedy was in office from 1855 to 1862.

⁴⁰ Kennedy to Russell, 18.10.1855, CO 18/90, No. 106.

agreed on the fate of Aboriginal people. Rather, the government's primary focus was elsewhere.

The Smithies' Wesleyan school, which we encountered in Chapter Three, closed in 1855, after moving to Alder Lake, or Wannerroo, in 1844, and then to York in 1852. When Hutt left the colony in 1846, funding for the school reduced from £75 to £30 per year. Smithies struggled to keep his pupils: high death rates at the institution meant Aboriginal parents refused to send their children there. During 1852, sixteen pupils absconded, two died, and one was imprisoned.⁴¹ Many children were encouraged to leave, as Native Protector Symmons put it, through the 'strategems and inducements of the adult bush natives'.⁴² Symmons described a 'mutual feeling of disgust and dissatisfaction' from students and teachers for the institution. The school had been a relative 'success', in spite of the high death rates, because it offered labour to settlers.⁴³ York Native Guardian, Walkinshaw Cowan, expressed his disappointment at the school's closure in 1856:

To break up this Institution therefore seemed to me virtually to abandon the attempt to educate the native children, and this would be a mark of deep regret to me, as I think the trial would in a short time be attended with no expense to the Government... It is indeed to be feared that sooner or later they will disappear before the face of the white man: but before this does occur if occur this must, many of the children at least may be instructed in and many cordially embrace the christian (sic) faith.⁴⁴

Even in Cowan's continued commitment to Aboriginal education, we can see the influence of the dying race theory. Western Australian settlers were anxious not to spend on Aboriginal people.⁴⁵ As mentioned in Chapter Three, the title of Aboriginal Protector was changed to 'Guardian of Natives and Protector of Settlers' in 1849. Settlers believed that their needs were just as important as those of the Aboriginal population. Colonial secretary for Western Australia, Richard Robert Madden, argued in 1848:

⁴¹ Cowan to Governor, 11.07.1852, CSR 231.

⁴² Symmons' annual report, 31.12.1846, WAGG 22.01.1847.

⁴³ Ann Curthoys, "'The Lying Name of Government'", 89.

⁴⁴ Cowan, York annual report, 20.02.1856, SROWA CSR348. From 1855, these reports were no longer printed for the public interest in the press and the *Government Gazettes*.

⁴⁵ The colony only gained representative government in 1870, which was delayed because of the late introduction of convict labour. Crowley, *Australia's Western Third*, 53-4.

The wishes and intentions of the home Government towards them [Aboriginal people] have been frequently frustrated, evaded, misinterpreted and successfully counteracted, opposed, not openly, in the face of positive instructions, but encumbered by a dead weight of indisposition towards them, by a covert opposition, a preserving state of obstruction, a pulling back of the wheels of Government which has proved sufficient to hinder any efforts that have been made to upraise the Aborigines.⁴⁶

As the discussion below shows, who ended up in mission schools differed significantly between Natal and Western Australia. While in Natal, there was some scope for parents to negotiate about sending their children to school, and about what their education might comprise, many Western Australian cases involved elements of compulsion. The political context needs to be kept in mind when examining the approaches, both missionary and secular, to Indigenous education in each colony.

Western Australia: Race, educability and civilisation

The Annesfield School, in what is present-day Albany, operated between 1852 and 1871. The records of the school are remarkably diverse and detailed. They give a sense of Anne Camfield as a formidable woman, willing to lobby the government for better provision of funding for her institution, as well as to use her husband's position as resident magistrate to aid her cause. Significantly, given the limited records of Indigenous pupils' views of their experience of education, they include some letters between Camfield and an Aboriginal pupil, Bessy Flower. These provide a rare glimpse of the teacher–pupil relationship. Because of these sources written from the perspective of an Aboriginal woman, Flower's case has been the subject of some research.⁴⁷ This case shows how one educator approached questions about race,

⁴⁶ Madden's writing about Western Australia was influenced by his previous work in the West Indies in the era of emancipation. Future work tracing this connection would be enlightening in connecting the histories of the treatment of Aboriginal people in Western Australia with global changes to the relationships between race, labour and freedom in this period. According to Hunter, James Stephen appointed Madden because of his anti-slavery connections. Madden memorandum, 07.11.1848, CSR173. Hunter, *A Different Kind of 'Subject'*, 185–186.

⁴⁷ See Harris, *One Blood*, 260–269; Grimshaw, 'Interracial Marriages', and 'Faith, Missionary Life, and the Family,' in *Gender and Empire*, ed. by Philippa Levine (Oxford University Press, Oxford and New York, 2004), 260–280; Evans et al., *Equal Subjects, Unequal Rights*, 83; Patricia Crawford, "'Civic Fathers' and Children: Continuities from Elizabethan England to the Australian Colonies', *History Australia*, 5 (2008), 04.1–04.16.

education and civilisation. It also highlights the centrality of schools as spaces for the construction and articulation of racial difference in the settler colonies.

Anglican Archdeacon John Ramsden Wollaston, who arrived in Western Australia in 1841, started a school in Fremantle. He appealed to the local colonial government and the SPG to provide funds to begin a school like that at the Poonindie mission in South Australia.⁴⁸ Poonindie initially aimed to provide some further education to (preferably married) Aboriginal people. Mathew Blagden Hale (later bishop of Western Australia) ran Poonindie, on a native reserve. Between 1850 and 1856, one hundred and ten Aboriginal and mixed-race people passed through it. Later, the mission efforts turned to those ‘seen to have the most “civilising” potential – young Aboriginal children’.⁴⁹ Poonindie was based on the principle of complete isolation, and Hale came to believe that the younger Aboriginal children were sent to the mission, the more likely they would be to give up their ‘bush habits’.⁵⁰ Wollaston argued that the same model would be effective in Western Australia, and that removing children from ‘the vicinity of their tribes’ was ‘the very essence – the *sine qua non* of any educational system, [which] will afford a reasonable hope of success on an enlarged scale’.⁵¹

Wollaston thought this system should be explained to Aboriginal parents, who should promise not to interrupt their children’s education. He argued that there was no ‘hardship in this – nor any disruption of natural ties – nothing more stringent than what is required in the indentures of every white apprentice’.⁵² The logic of removing children from the degrading effects of their families demonstrates that Wollaston thought childhood was the best time to ‘improve’ Aboriginal people. This kind of thinking would shape later legislation legalising child removal.

⁴⁸ Wollaston to Rev Sec of the SPG, 21.06.1851, *The Wollaston Journals Vol 3, 1845-1856*, ed. by Helen Walker Mann (Crawley: University of Western Australia Press, 2006). See Peggy Brock, *Outback Ghettos: Aborigines, Institutionalisation and Survival* (Melbourne: Cambridge University Press, 1993), for a history of the Poonindie mission.

⁴⁹ Barry, ‘A Matter of Primary Importance’, 7.

⁵⁰ *Ibid.*, 8. Hale saw this Institution as a training centre, and so wanted the pupils to have learnt to read and write before they were enrolled. Brock, *Outback Ghettos*, 26.

⁵¹ Wollaston to the Acting Colonial Secretary, 14.07.1851, *The Wollaston Journals*, 254.

⁵² *Ibid.*

The Anglican missionary Reverend George King ran the Fremantle Native School, set up by Wollaston. In 1852, its pupils were transferred to Albany, and the school was renamed Annesfield, after Anne Camfield. Following the 1850 introduction of convict labour to Western Australia, Fremantle's 'mixed and increasing population' made it 'no longer a fit place for such an establishment'.⁵³ Governor Fitzgerald was particularly concerned about female pupils. He wanted the school removed 'from a Seaport town, and at a distance I hope from the demoralising scenes which bring discredit on all such places'.⁵⁴ Wollaston asked the SPG to send out teachers for the Albany campus, but the SPG refused, saying that the plan for the school had not been sufficiently thought through.⁵⁵ When no suitable teachers could be found, Wollaston, with some hesitation, approached Anne Camfield.⁵⁶ Camfield (née Breeze), herself an orphan, had come to the colony as a governess and servant to the Mitchell missionary family.⁵⁷ Reverend William Mitchell was sent out by the SPG to start an Aboriginal mission in 1838, but gave this up almost immediately. He continued to live in Western Australia, ministering to the white population.⁵⁸ Camfield's background as a governess made her more qualified than many male missionaries in the settler colonies to work as a teacher. She married Henry Camfield, an early settler in the colony, in 1840. He took a number of government positions that decade, leading to his employment as government resident at Albany in 1848. During the 1840s, Anne Camfield worked in the Fremantle native school, and was already bringing up two mixed race children in her home.⁵⁹ As her husband wrote in 1850, 'Anne is much interested in the sable race'.⁶⁰ Her Evangelical Christian beliefs underpinned her desire to work with Aboriginal people. With the aid of a government grant of £100,

⁵³ Fitzgerald to Earl Grey, 20.02.1852, CO 18/65, No. 31.

⁵⁴ Ibid.

⁵⁵ Hawkins to Wollaston, 20.01.1852, *The Wollaston Journals*, 262. However, the SPG did fund the school: see Hawkins to Hale, 23.04.1862, SPG letters sent [Accessed at <http://www.britishonlinearchives.co.uk/> Hereafter all SPG Australian correspondence is from this source].

⁵⁶ Wollaston to the Acting Colonial Secretary, 14.07.1851, *The Wollaston Journals*, 254.

⁵⁷ Bonnie Hicks, *Henry and Anne Camfield* (unpublished manuscript, SLWA).

⁵⁸ Joanna Cruickshank, "'To Exercise a Beneficial Influence Over a Man': Marriage, Gender and the Native Institutions in Early Colonial Australia", in *Evangelists of Empire?: Missionaries in Colonial History*, ed. by Amanda Barry, Joanna Cruickshank, Andrew Brown-May and Patricia Grimshaw (Melbourne: University of Melbourne eScholarship Research Centre, 2008), 115–124, 119; Harris, *One Blood*, 260.

⁵⁹ Attwood, B. '...In the Name of All My Coloured Brethren and Sisters': A Biography of Bessy Cameron', *Hecate*, 12:1-2 (1986), 9-53, 12.

⁶⁰ Letter from Camfield to Bessie Camfield (his sister), 15.11.1850, SLWA ACC 4308A/HS 587.

Camfield took up the position of teacher, and taught the children in her home in Albany. Henry acted as the institution's superintendent.

Annesfield School catered for Aboriginal children and children of mixed-racial parentage.⁶¹ Initially its pupils were exclusively female, but because Camfield was concerned about finding suitable husbands for educated girls, it was later opened to boys as well. The early records of the school include the names, surnames and ages of the initial intake of pupils.

Christian Names	Fathers' names as can be made out	Date of Admission	Probable age on Admission	[Race]
Rachel	Warnedeckan [Warnekan]	1.11.1852	7 years	Native
Matilda	Flower	2.11.1852	Infant	Native
Sarah	Comerabut	2.11.1852	Infant	Native
Rhoda	Tanaton	21.11.1852	8 years	Native
John	Cunbung	22.11.1852	5 years	Native
Fanny	Harris(a sealer)	23.11.1852	7 years	Half-caste
Lydia	Unknown	24.11.1852	6 years	Half-caste
Andrew	Lindhol	12.12.1852	9 months	Native
Rebecca	Unknown	31.01.1853	Infant	Half-caste since dead
Deborah	Cathilman	16.05.1853	Infant	Native

Table 1: Initial intake of students at Annesfield⁶²

⁶¹ Paul Hasluck, *Annesfield: An Early School for Native Children* (Prepared for the Western Australian Historical Society, n.d.).

⁶² From Wollaston to Hawkins, SPG, report on the Native Institution at Albany, 19.05.1853, SLWA, ACC4308A/HS486.

As Table 1 shows, the race of the children was recorded, as well as their age and their father's surnames. That half of the first intake of children were 'infants', while another was nine months old, is telling. Camfield believed the only way that Aboriginal children could be civilised was through very early contact with European people. She reported to the colonial secretary that she would not take pupils into the school who were over four or five years old. By then there was 'too much of the Native in them to allow them to partake of the same degree of civilization as the younger ones do attain to'.⁶³ If she could take children before they were contaminated with their families' 'Native' ways, they could be civilised. She believed that the most difficult part of her work took place when children first arrived at school. 'The language and habits of their new friends are foreign to them, and they have much to unlearn as well as to learn and acquire.'⁶⁴ For Camfield, civilisation, like 'Native-ness' was something learnt, not innate. Aboriginal children could be civilised, but only if approached sufficiently early. Her job was to help children to 'unlearn' what they had picked up from their families, and to 'civilise' them in her school.

Childhood provided an important moment when interventions could be made.⁶⁵ However, if left too late, race would be impossible to overcome. Thus, race was both permeable and impermeable: while children could be civilised through the correct training, once they had passed a certain age, it would be too late. Camfield described the children at Annesfield as 'much more easy to manage than so many white Children'.⁶⁶ There was something 'fixed' in whiteness that could make a white child's character more stable than an Aboriginal child's. The Aboriginal child was more malleable, and if caught at the right age, could be re-educated into civilisation. This was seen as more manageable than educating white children who had been exposed to the wrong sort of civilisation from their immoral parents.

⁶³ Anne Camfield to the Colonial Secretary, 03.10.1862, CSR 495/18.

⁶⁴ Anne Camfield, 'The Annesfield Native Institution: A Sketch of its History and Present Condition 1868', *Information Respecting the habits and customs of the Aboriginal inhabitants of WA, compiled from various sources: Presented to the Legislative Council by His Excellency's Command* (Perth: Richard Peter, Government Printer, 1871), Con. 1067 1871/002, 23-26, 25.

⁶⁵ On race and childhood, see Smandych and McGillivray, 'Images of Aboriginal Childhood'; de Leeuw, "'If Anything Is to Be Done with the Indian'"; Fiona Paisley, 'Childhood and Race: Growing up in the Empire', in *Gender and Empire*, ed. by Philippa Levine (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004), 240-259.

⁶⁶ Camfield's report on Annesfield in Wollaston to Hawkins, 19.05.1853, SLWA ACC4308A/HS486.

In the idealistic vision of Camfield, Wollaston, and later, Bishop Hale, the school would operate as a 'Christian family', to protect the children from 'temptations to vice and depravity, which, in after life, would beset them on every side'.⁶⁷ The Christian family was, in this case, presumed to be a white family. As Grimshaw argues, missionaries commonly believed that they 'could expect the best results if they could isolate children from their parents and communities, for as much of the time as practicable (single-sex boarding schools were favoured) and subject them to intensive proselytization'.⁶⁸ At the New Norcia mission, the only other school for Aboriginal children in operation during this period, Bishop Rosendo Salvado took the opposite approach. He attempted to convert Aboriginal adults and children, keeping family units intact.⁶⁹

Annesfield provided a combination of literary and industrial training. By 1863, there were ten boys and ten girls at the school. The older boys began their day by feeding the farm animals, cleaning the stable and running errands in town. The older girls dressed the younger ones, and completed other domestic chores before breakfast. Breakfast was at 7 o'clock and school began at nine. The children's lessons ran until mid-day, when they had a break until 2 o'clock. In the afternoon, the girls worked on needlework or wrote on their slates. The older boys returned to labour in the garden. At 5 o'clock they ate dinner, before bed at 7 pm for the younger children and between 8 and 9 pm for the older ones.⁷⁰ These detailed descriptions of the use of time at the school highlight what Giordano Nanni has argued regarding colonisation and time in the Cape Colony and Victoria: that colonisation involved a 'collective ideological shift in what constituted the permissible time for each and every activity...'⁷¹

⁶⁷ *Letter from his Lordship the Bishop of Perth concerning a paragraph in the Report of the Select Committee of the Legislative Council upon Departmental Expenditure, relating to the support of Aboriginal Native Children in the establishment under his Lordship's Superintendence*, 23.08.1873 (Perth: Government printer, 1874).

⁶⁸ Grimshaw, 'Faith, Missionary Life', 272.

⁶⁹ Tim Rowse and Tiffany Shellam, 'The Colonial Emergence of a Statistical Imaginary', *Comparative Studies in Society and History*, 55:4 (2013), 922-954, 928.

⁷⁰ Camfield to Nightingale, 26.12.1863, Encl. 2 in Hampton to Newcastle, 24.03.1864, CO 18/135, No. 34.

⁷¹ Nanni, *The Colonisation of Time*, 108.

Like her contemporary, Florence Nightingale, Camfield was interested in proving that Aboriginal children could be civilised with no detrimental effects. Camfield's responses to the survey questions sent by Nightingale in 1860, and then to the published results of the survey, give an insight into Camfield's beliefs about race, education and civilisation. In particular, they show how collecting information from schools could contribute to knowledge about race. Governor Kennedy forwarded Camfield's responses to the Colonial Office in December 1860.⁷² Nightingale's broad research was facilitated through those with local experience. Kennedy emphasised that he did not agree with everything that Camfield had written. He stated that the native population was 'hopeless' and that 'all attempts for their permanent civilization, or for raising them in the social scale have been signal failures'.⁷³ By contrast, Camfield believed in the civilising potential of schools.⁷⁴ It was difficult for Camfield to deny the high death rates at her school: ten of the thirty-three pupils who had been sent there between 1852 and 1860 had died. However, she claimed that '*civilization* has not (as has been asserted) caused the extinction, so far as it has gone, of the Native Tribes'.⁷⁵ Rather, many of the since deceased pupils had lost their mothers in infancy, leading to malnutrition.

In her response to Nightingale, Camfield reflected on the role of the school in Western Australian society. Her intention for Annesfield was to 'prove that the Natives are capable of being made useful members of society, and what is more, that they are capable of understanding, and embracing, the great Truths of Salvation'.⁷⁶ This shows how central Christian teaching was to Camfield, in spite of the fact that she was not a missionary. She believed that she had been successful so far, even though she was aware that she had taught a small number of children. In an 1863 report on Annesfield, she said her experience

⁷² The response to Nightingale also included a report from Ferguson, the Colonial Surgeon. He believed Aboriginal people were dying out because of drinking alcohol, interracial relationships between Aboriginal women and white men, making the women infertile, and European diseases. He wrote that they do not 'gradually disappear before the advantages of civilization; but rather fall victims to the vices and diseases introduced by the advent of unprincipled Europeans among them.' Encl. 1 in Kennedy to Newcastle, 24.12.1860, CO 18/114, No. 130.

⁷³ Kennedy to Newcastle, 24.12.1860.

⁷⁴ Memo from Camfield in Ibid.

⁷⁵ Ibid.

⁷⁶ Ibid.

proved — that the Aborigines have minds capable of comprehending their need of the Saviour Christ to die, and so to procure from them the forgiveness of sin, and an eternal inheritance in Heaven. That all who are taught believe this, I do not assert, but only that they can comprehend it which is as much as can be said of hundreds and thousands of white people.⁷⁷

Camfield believed that through the successful education of very few Aboriginal children, she could prove that an entire race was capable of civilisation, and of comprehending Christian teaching. Camfield believed in Aboriginal mental capacity – they could comprehend the same things as Europeans, under the correct circumstances. Camfield continued to use this model to press her claims about the legitimacy of the school and of compulsory education through child removal. In particular, she used the example of Bessy Flower (discussed below) to show what all Aboriginal people could do, if ‘civilised’ Europeans continued to engage in humanitarian causes.

When Camfield received the published results of Nightingale’s enquiry three years later, she was clearly unimpressed with the conclusions that the statistician had drawn. Camfield saw the results through her local, Albany lens: from this perspective, Nightingale’s imperial overview was ill informed and took data out of context. Nightingale had singled out Salvado’s New Norcia School as the only place where ‘systematic physical training’ was provided.⁷⁸ Camfield said that while she had accounted for the hours of school and work in her return to Nightingale, she ‘must have taken it for granted, that it would be inferred that the remainder were given up to play’.⁷⁹ Camfield reiterated to Nightingale that civilization, rather than harming the children, was actually ‘a great preservative of their lives. There are several children in the school who are year by year improving in health, who would not have been alive, I think, if they had remained in their wild state.’⁸⁰

Camfield was eager to prove that removing children from Aboriginal families was morally acceptable. ‘Every one tells me such a measure would be unlawful. My idea

⁷⁷ Camfield, ‘The Annesfield Native Institution’, 23.

⁷⁸ Nightingale, *Sanitary Statistics*, 7.

⁷⁹ Camfield to Nightingale, 26.12.1863, Encl. 2 in Hampton to Newcastle, 24.03.1864, CO 18/135, No. 34.

⁸⁰ Ibid.

is, that it is much more unlawful to take the Country from the Natives without any equivalent, than to give the compensation of blessing their children with civilization.⁸¹ Camfield believed that sending Aboriginal children to institutions was essential because their parents did not understand the use of education. She claimed that

The Adult Natives are like children, they do not consider the future. We oblige them to do many things, such for instance as keeping our laws, though they do not see the reasonableness of them. And if in conforming to their own ancient customs they break them, we punish them, and sometimes the punishment has been to the extent of hanging. We compel them again to be vaccinated. Where is the unlawfulness of compelling them to be civilized?

She compared Aboriginal children with poor children in England, saying

Many argue that God will treat them very differently from those who know His will, and that therefore it is better to leave them as they are. But if this reasoning were good, it would hold equally against ragged schools, and all other means of christianizing any of our fellow creatures.⁸²

It was particularly important that children of mixed racial origins should be removed because they were ‘much more vicious than the true Aboriginal, if brought up in a wild state’.⁸³

Although experiences at the school may have been shaped by local circumstances, Indigenous education was a central way to prove what different races were capable of. In this way, those working at the local level could engage with imperial debates about civilisation, science and ‘racial type’. Besides her *Sanitary Statistics*, printed for the National Association for the Promotion of Social Sciences, known as the Social Science Association, Nightingale published a further paper on the *Aboriginal Races of Australia*, where she used information from both Camfield and Salvado.⁸⁴ The Social Science Association, founded in 1857, focused on five social issues: public health, the

⁸¹ Ibid.

⁸² Ibid.

⁸³ Ibid.

⁸⁴ Nightingale, ‘Note on the Aboriginal Races of Australia’.

‘social economy’, legal and penal reform, and education.⁸⁵ The paper on Aboriginal races that Nightingale read at the 1864 York meeting of the Social Science Association drew on the ‘imperial intellectual networks’ connecting Nightingale, Camfield, Salvado and the imperial government, and complemented the interests and aims of the Association.⁸⁶ Rowse and Shellam argue that ‘in situations of severely limited state capacity common to the Antipodean colonies’ missionary data-collection was a ‘significant step in the formation of governmental intelligence about native peoples’. Missionaries and their allies were essential to constructing Indigenous populations, and efforts to enumerate and describe particular groups were often aimed at children, ‘since the schooled child was not only easily countable but also, in these humanitarians’ view, eminently vulnerable’.⁸⁷ While Camfield was not a missionary, she worked in this context of creating knowledge about civilisation. She hoped, as many missionaries did, that her success in converting children in her school, and introducing them to civilised habits, would show not only their capability, but also the common humanity of different races.

It is important to stress that Camfield’s ideas about Aboriginal civilisation and educability were not representative of the dominant ideas about race and education in Western Australia during this time. Settlers continued to believe that Aboriginal children could not be civilised, and that they were incapable of doing much beyond manual labour. For example, one writer in the *Perth Gazette* claimed that the only chance of doing ‘permanent good’ was to remove children into a private home, where they would be ‘taught no reading or writing but kept under an easy discipline, taught such manual labour as may suit their years, and when broken-in sufficiently to be worth their keep, to treat them as parish-apprentices and indenture them to respectable farm settlers...’⁸⁸ The local government’s lack of interest in, and funding for, widespread Aboriginal education during this period is also indicative of more pessimistic beliefs about the power of education to ‘civilise’ and incorporate Aboriginal people into settler society. This being said, the Bishop of Perth, Mathew Hale, did point out in 1862 that Governor Kennedy financially supported the work of

⁸⁵ See Lawrence Goldman, *Science, Reform and Politics in Victorian Britain: The Social Science Association 1857-1886* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002) on the Association.

⁸⁶ Rowse and Shellam, ‘The Colonial Emergence’, 927.

⁸⁷ *Ibid.*, 953.

⁸⁸ Laicus, ‘Thoughts about Natives: Part 2’, *Perth Gazette*, 24.11.1865.

the school, saying that because the school received public funds ‘as a Colony, we thus acknowledge the debt which we owe to those whom we have displaced’.⁸⁹

*‘Tense and tender ties’: Families, marriage and children*⁹⁰

Camfield continued to promote compulsory education for Aboriginal children. She wrote to the Aborigines’ Protection Society (APS) in 1864, asking the Society to campaign for a law to ‘oblige those natives who are in settled districts to allow their children to come to the schools for a certain time’.⁹¹ She was eager to assert that this was not cruel, but rather, a benevolent act in the best interests of Aboriginal children. She believed it was a ‘greater cruelty’ to put Aboriginal people under British laws which they could not comprehend than to educate children where they could be ‘taught their duty to God and their neighbour, and, by the grace of God, accept the salvation purchased for them by our Lord Jesus Christ, and where the parents and friends see them whenever they choose...’⁹²

The APS response to Camfield’s ‘practical suggestion’ was decidedly neutral: while some of the positive aspects of child removal were acknowledged, there also existed ‘grave, if not insuperable objections against it...’⁹³ The Society’s Annual Report for 1864-5 spoke of the ‘manifest objections’ to removing children from their families which would ‘outweigh its advantages’.⁹⁴ Camfield, undeterred, wrote to the APS again in November 1865, saying that while child removal might ‘unjustly interfere with the liberty of the *British subject*’, Aboriginal parents were themselves ‘but as babies in comprehending the advantages of education’ and ‘to place their children in the way of civilization’ would in no way be ‘trenching on liberty’.⁹⁵ Here Camfield

⁸⁹ Hale to Hawkins, 24.01.1862, C/Aus/Per/1 CLR/209.

⁹⁰ Stoler, ‘Tense and Tender Ties’.

⁹¹ The APS was a metropolitan based humanitarian lobby group that advocated for the rights of Indigenous people in different parts of the Empire. See Laidlaw, ‘Heathens, Slaves and Aborigines’, and James Heartfield, *The Aborigines Protection Society: Humanitarian Imperialism in Australia, New Zealand, Fiji, Canada, South Africa and the Congo, 1836-1909* (London: C. Hurst and Co, 2011) on the APS.

⁹² Camfield to Fowler, 03.08.1864, *Colonial Intelligencer or Aborigines’ Friend* (London: Published by the APS, January 1863-December 1864), 386.

⁹³ Fowler’s response, *Ibid.*

⁹⁴ Annual Report 1865-1866, *Colonial Intelligencer* (January 1865 – December 1866), 3.

⁹⁵ Camfield to Fowler, 01.11.1865, in *Ibid.*, 489.

articulated the ultimate paradox in Indigenous education: if Aboriginal adults were like children, what kind of ideas underpinned the education of their children?

There was something else in Camfield's 1864 correspondence that interested the APS. The letter Camfield wrote had been dictated to, and written by, Bessy Flower, an Aboriginal pupil. Camfield described Flower as 'very simple-minded, but quite equal in knowledge and intelligence to an English girl, who has not had greater advantages'.⁹⁶ Camfield believed Flower's ability to write the letter proved Aboriginal educability. She had started school aged seven or eight, in 1858.⁹⁷ Her parents worked for the Camfields, and her sister Matilda, recorded in the table above, was part of the first intake of scholars. As Camfield put it a few years before, Bessy Flower

alone is sufficient proof of the intelligence of the Aborigines; for she was not chosen by us to receive greater advantages of education than the rest from anything superior in her... We have had many equal, and one or two decidedly superior to [Bessy], and the question is, "Is it right to let such intelligence be wasted, or worse, be turned to evil, without some effort to prevent it?"⁹⁸

According to APS Chairman Robert Fowler, the 1864 letter was written 'in a good bold hand, and is as legible as copper-plate. Surely this one fact outweighs a thousand theories, and should stimulate other benevolent persons to imitate so good an example.'⁹⁹ Flower's education and 'progress' was used as a way of proving the capacity of a whole race to be civilised and educated. As Zoë Laidlaw has shown, in the mid-1860s the Society was eager to prove, by highlighting exemplary cases of 'civilised' Indigenous people, 'common origins and equal potential of all humankind'.¹⁰⁰ Flower's aptitude in music and writing, and her conversion, could prove the positive outcomes of policies of protection, Anglicisation and civilisation.

⁹⁶ Camfield to Nightingale, 26.12.1863.

⁹⁷ Grimshaw states that she was born in 1851, although no record of her birth survives. Grimshaw, 'Interracial Marriages', 14.

⁹⁸ Camfield, 'The Annesfield Native Institution', 25.

⁹⁹ Camfield to Fowler, 03.08.1864.

¹⁰⁰ Zoë Laidlaw, 'Indigenous Interlocutors: Networks of Imperial Protest and Humanitarianism in the Mid-Nineteenth Century', in *Indigenous Networks: Mobility, Connections and Exchange*, ed. by Jane Carey and Jane Lydon (New York and Oxon: Routledge 2014), 114-139, 115.

After being taught and converted at Annesfield, Flower was sent to a model school in Sydney, where she studied from 1864 to 1866. Returning to Albany in 1866, she worked as assistant teacher at Annesfield, and showcased her skills as an organist in the Anglican Church.¹⁰¹ In 1867, Camfield sent Flower and four other female pupils to Ramahyuck in Victoria.¹⁰² Flower's life is a good example of 'indigenous mobility' within the British Empire.¹⁰³ The young women sent to Victoria moved between colonies as examples of the success of the 'civilising' project. Their education showed that they were not a race 'dying out', but rather one capable of the same successes as white people. Flower worked as a teacher at the mission school from 1867 to 1874. In her new home, as in Western Australia, Flower acted as an example of what her entire race was capable of, simply by being present. Attwood argues that Flower 'was transfigured into a symbol of Aboriginal "progress" - a useful subject of missionary propaganda'.¹⁰⁴



Figure 5 Bessy Flower and Anne Camfield¹⁰⁵

¹⁰¹ Attwood, '...In the Name of All My Coloured Brethren', 14-15.

¹⁰² Grimshaw, 'Faith, Missionary Life', 260. Rachel Warnekan married Nathaniel Pepper at the mission. See Robert Kenny, *The Lamb Enters the Dreaming: Nathaniel Pepper and the Ruptured World* (Carlton, Victoria: Scribe Publications, 2010), Ch. 18 and 19 on the arrival of the girls from Annesfield and the marriage of Warnekan and Pepper. Warnekan was also homesick for Camfield and Albany, 274.

¹⁰³ See Jane Carey and Jane Lydon's recent edited collection on *Indigenous Networks*.

¹⁰⁴ Attwood, '...In the Name of All My Coloured Brethren', 22.

¹⁰⁵ 024606PD, SLWA, online collection.

Flower's story indicates some of the pressures faced by educated Indigenous people, and women in particular. In examining the relationship between Flower and Camfield, the level of intimacy and affection between them is striking. Paying attention to the strong affective ties between pupil and teacher, who took on familial roles at Annesfield, affirms Lynn Zastoupil's assertion that 'colonialism had no universal essence, but was instead made and remade over time by men and women on both sides of the imperial divide bearing diverse worldviews and pursuing various agendas'.¹⁰⁶ As Ballantyne and Burton point out, studies of intimacy and empire have often focused on conjugality. They argue that 'in the Australian context, questions of intimacy are very much imbedded in the historical debate over the "stolen generations"...'¹⁰⁷ The correspondence between Camfield and Flower is a useful example of strong emotional connections between a maternal figure or teacher and a pupil, but also of the disruption and trauma that education could bring both to Indigenous communities and individuals. An awareness of these affective ties does not negate the inequalities of power between Camfield and Flower.

Flower's letters to Camfield from her new home in Victoria speak to her heartbreak and genuine attachment to Camfield, whose vision for her life differed from missionary Rev. Frederick August Hagenhauer's. Flower wrote to Camfield that she would 'be your right hand always'.¹⁰⁸ Attwood describes Flower as 'shy, anxious and homesick' in Victoria.¹⁰⁹ Flower wrote 'I wish I were at home. Never mind I must work hard & then it will be all the sweeter when I come home to help you...'¹¹⁰ According to Attwood, Flower believed that she would return to Albany. She described herself and her companions imagining their excitement if Camfield were to

¹⁰⁶ Lynn Zastoupil, 'Intimacy and Colonial Knowledge', *Journal of Colonialism and Colonial History*, 3:2 (2002), n.p.

¹⁰⁷ Tony Ballantyne and Antoinette Burton, 'Introduction: The Politics of Intimacy in the Age of Empire', in *Moving Subjects: Gender, Mobility and Intimacy in an Age of Global Empire*, ed. by Tony Ballantyne and Antoinette Burton (Urbana and Chicago: University of Illinois Press, 2009), 1-28, 7. Haebich's *Broken Circles* is particularly sensitive to the disruption of Indigenous families in colonial Australia.

¹⁰⁸ Bessie Flower to Anne Camfield, 17.07.1867, SLWA, ACC 2527A.

¹⁰⁹ Attwood, 'Cameron, Elizabeth (Bessy) (1851-1895)', *Australian Dictionary of Biography*, National Centre of Biography, Australian National University, <http://adb.anu.edu.au/biography/cameron-elizabeth-bessy-12834/text23167>, published in hardcopy 2005, accessed online 29 March 2014.

¹¹⁰ Bessy Flower to Anne Camfield, n.d.08.1867, in *Letters from Aboriginal Women of Victoria, 1867-1926*, ed. by Elizabeth Nelson, Sandra Smith, and Patricia Grimshaw (Melbourne: The History Department, The University of Melbourne, 2002), 198.

visit them at Ramahyuck.¹¹¹ Janet Millett, a contemporary of Camfield's who lived in Western Australia between 1863 and 1869, claimed in her memoir that this affection went both ways. She believed Camfield 'really loves the natives, and treats their children in all respects like those of white persons as to their clothing, diet, and lodging'.¹¹²

Flower missed not only Camfield but also her country. 'Often & often my thoughts fly to dear Albany.'¹¹³ Robert Kenny's description of Rachel Warnekan, a Minang Aboriginal woman from Western Australia who had grown up at Camfield's school with Flower, gives a sense of what Flower might have been feeling as she arrived at Ramahyuck:

She had grown up in the orphanage school in an established whaling port, looking out across the ocean. From a relatively sheltered life she now arrived in the wilderness. She arrived at Ebenezer as a stranger. The only thing familiar to her – the one thing she must have held on to – was her religion, Christianity.¹¹⁴

Camfield's correspondence with people in the 'public' sphere is less saturated with emotion than Bessy's. She clearly had conflicted feelings about the children. In the same correspondence with Nightingale in which she had praised Bessy's unique talents, she wrote that there was 'not in nature, I think, a more filthy, loathesome (sic), revolting creature, than a native woman in her wild state. Every animal has something to recommend it, but a native woman is altogether unloveable.'¹¹⁵ Camfield's views about Aboriginal people were complicated – it was not that she accepted Aboriginal people as equals but rather that she believed her intervention could improve the lives of a select few.

Camfield was always concerned about what would happen when the girls in her school came of age. This concern was not exclusive to Camfield: Governor Fitzgerald

¹¹¹ Ibid.

¹¹² Janet (Mrs Edward) Millett, *An Australian Parsonage or, the Settler and the Savage in Western Australia, with an introduction by Rica Erickson* (Perth: Historical reprint series, UWA Press, Perth, 1980, orig. 1872), 131.

¹¹³ Flower to Camfield, n.d.08.1867.

¹¹⁴ Kenny, *The Lamb Enters the Dreaming*, 269.

¹¹⁵ Camfield to Nightingale, 26.12.1863.

believed that when the children reached the ‘age of maturity’ they became ‘troublesome and refractory’.¹¹⁶ While Annesfield School initially focused on training girls, Wollaston felt that it was essential for the school to accept boys, to avoid problems when the girls reached ‘marriageable age’.¹¹⁷ Apart from teaching children appropriate gendered work or industrial skills, Camfield wanted to ‘settle them in Marriage’... with ‘Cottages & Gardens – [which] they will be trained to manage as profitably as any white persons do’.¹¹⁸ Camfield believed that it was better for the girls that she had taught to be married than for them to go into the service of European settlers, even though mixed-race girls in particular were sought out as domestic labourers.¹¹⁹

As Katherine Ellinghaus and Joanna Cruickshank highlighted, marriage practices were a source of concern in native institutions in different parts of Australia, and indeed, in other parts of the British Empire.¹²⁰ According to Ellinghaus, the preoccupation with the regulation of relationships for educated Aboriginal people arose from competing definitions of ‘assimilation’. So, while ‘[s]ome [whites] believed in the possibilities of teaching Indigenous people to live and support themselves as white people (‘cultural assimilation’), others focused on the loss of Indigenous physical characteristics through interracial relationships (biological absorption)’.¹²¹ Institutions ran on the belief that if boys and girls were educated according to the correct gender roles for a European household, the availability of the right sort of marriage partners would ‘create the foundation for the permanent transformation of Indigenous people’.¹²² The schools would nurture ‘devout Christian adolescents’ who were intended to marry one another, spreading Christianity and

¹¹⁶ Fitzgerald to Pakington, 31.03.1853, CO 18/72, No. 46.

¹¹⁷ Wollaston to the Hon. Col Sec, 16.08.1852, *Wollaston Journals*, 281.

¹¹⁸ Wollaston to Hawkins, Secretary SPG, 19.05.1853, quoting report from Camfield, *Wollaston Journals*, 369.

¹¹⁹ Anne Camfield to Frank Barlee (Colonial Secretary) 04.08.1863, CSR 531/10.

¹²⁰ For example, polygamy was a point of missionary anxiety in colonial Natal, see Jeremy Martens, ‘Polygamy, Sexual Danger, and the Creation of Vagrancy Legislation in Colonial Natal’, *The Journal of Imperial and Commonwealth History*, 31 (2003), 24-45. Cruickshank, “‘To Exercise a Beneficial Influence Over a Man’”; Katherine Ellinghaus, *Taking Assimilation to Heart: Marriages of White Women and Indigenous Men in the United States and Australia, 1887-1937* (Lincoln and London: University of Nebraska Press, 2006); Katherine Ellinghaus, ‘Absorbing the “Aboriginal Problem”: Controlling Interracial Marriage in Australia in the Late 19th and Early 20th Centuries’, *Aboriginal History*, 27 (2003), 185-207.

¹²¹ Ellinghaus, ‘Absorbing’, 185.

¹²² Cruickshank, “‘To Exercise a Beneficial Influence Over a Man’”, 117.

civilisation.¹²³ The discussions about interracial relationships, or about who would make suitable partners for Aboriginal people, mirrored conversations about the best ways to educate Aboriginal children. Questions about the effects of relationships, whether intimate, sexual, or with Aboriginal and settler society more broadly, shaped both conversations.

Camfield hoped that Flower would marry a Moravian missionary at Ramahyuck. Hagenhauer, however, saw Flower as 'rebellious', and proposed marriage as an antidote to this. He dismissed the option of Flower marrying a missionary.¹²⁴ He also disapproved of her affair with a white labourer on the mission, saying that he could not provide for her and that 'poor Bessy would be worse off than if they were in the bush in the original state'.¹²⁵ Flower ended up marrying a mixed-race man, Donald Cameron, which, according to Attwood, made her less popular with the missionaries on the station, as he was not her educational equal.¹²⁶ As Kenny has argued of the Moravian mission, 'Marriage became the ground where the traditional fought the mission hardest'.¹²⁷ For Aboriginal people, marriage extended the surveillance of their relationships. Missionaries often saw themselves as 'mother and father figures, and treated all Aboriginal people as their figurative children, to be tutored and preached to, chastised and rewarded, as their missionary parents saw fit'.¹²⁸ Education shaped intimate relationships, both between teachers and pupils, and between sexual partners. It operated on the frontier of the mind, reforming and shifting affective ties, and changing ways of thinking.

Camfield's correspondence with metropolitan lobby groups and intellectuals indicates how she attempted to further her humanitarian cause in an age of increasing pessimism about civilisation. Using the example of Bessy Flower, Camfield could

¹²³ Grimshaw, 'Faith, Missionary Life', 272.

¹²⁴ Felicity Jensz, *German Moravian Missionaries in the British Colony of Victoria, Australia, 1848-1908: Influential Strangers* (Leiden: Brill, 2010), 175. While Attwood and Jensz both recognise that Anne Camfield wanted Cameron to marry a white man, Camfield wrote to the colonial secretary in Western Australia saying that she thought it was better for the converted girls to marry men of their own race. Camfield to Barlee 04.08.1863.

¹²⁵ Hagenauer to Camfield, 20.11.1867 [NLA, MS3343, 211-215], as quoted in Jensz, *German Moravian*.

¹²⁶ Bain Attwood, 'Cameron'.

¹²⁷ Kenny, *The Lamb Enters the Dreaming*, 268.

¹²⁸ Claire McLisky, '(En)gendering Faith?: Love, Marriage and the Evangelical Mission on the Settler Colonial Frontier', in *Studies in Settler Colonialism: Politics, Identity and Culture*, ed. by Fiona Bateman and Lionel Pilkington (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2011), 106-121, 118.

provide materialist proof of Aboriginal people's civilising potential. Her goal was never to educate *all* Aboriginal people, but to show through notable examples the possibility of their being educated. Annesfield closed in 1872, after Henry Camfield's death. The Anglican Bishop of Western Australia, Mathew Blagden Hale, took over the pupils 1872.¹²⁹ The scholars were transferred to Perth, where the school was reopened as Bishop Hale's Institution for Native and Half-Caste children, and later still renamed the Swan Native and Half-Caste Mission. I discuss this school in Chapter Five.

In the section that follows, I show how Dr Henry Callaway engaged with similar issues at the Springvale mission station in Natal. As Laidlaw points out, there were significant connections between 'emerging "professional science" and organised religion, humanitarianism and politics' in the mid-nineteenth century.¹³⁰ As a medical doctor and missionary, he engaged with both scientific explanations of race and religious and humanitarian arguments about the equality of the races. These seemingly conflicting ideologies underpinned his approach to education in Natal.

Natal: Monogenesis, literacy and education

Dr Henry Callaway of the SPG ran an industrial training centre in Natal. Callaway was born in 1817 in Somerset, qualified as a medical doctor, and worked in London for five years. He was brought up in the Church of England, although he received little religious education as a child. As a young adult, he converted to Quakerism, before deciding that he did not identify with some of the Quaker doctrines.¹³¹ Callaway, like Bishop John Colenso, was influenced by the teachings of F. D. Maurice, who believed that 'the heathen should be welcomed as part of the larger family of man'.¹³² Callaway was ordained as an Anglican minister in 1853, and approached Colenso to ask if he could join the Natal mission. Callaway and his wife, Ann (Chalk), and adopted daughter, Jane Button, moved to Natal in 1854. He began

¹²⁹ Hale had arrived in the colony in 1857, after achieving some success with Aboriginal education at Poonindie.

¹³⁰ Laidlaw, 'Indigenous Interlocutors', 128.

¹³¹ Callaway's journal, 12.12.1852, quoted in Marian Benham, *Henry Callaway, M.D., D.D: First Bishop for Kaffraria. His Life History and Work. A Memoir* (London: MacMillan and Co., 1896), 27.

¹³² Etherington, 'Missionary Doctors and African Healers in mid-Victorian South Africa', *South African Historical Journal*, 19 (1987), 77-91, 79.

his career in Natal at Colenso's Ekukhanyeni station. Colenso praised Callaway's medical abilities, saying that he was 'generally regarded as the ablest medical man in this Colony'.¹³³ After four years working as a native teacher and doctor, he moved to his own station in 1858. The station, named Springvale, occupied 3,000 acres of land in western Natal. The good quality of land attracted the station's initial converts. Africans, like white settlers, were eager to live on fertile land.¹³⁴

From the outset, Callaway's medical training gave him the freedom to comment on racial 'type': to form socio-biological opinions of the people he was faced with rather than simply describing them, and their progress, in religious and literary terms. Callaway's opinions about race, civilisation and education were constantly changing in light of his experiences in Natal. As the discussion below shows, he expressed opinions about race and educability that seemed to contradict each other. This highlights the importance of examining the local in colonial history: while Callaway might have been engaging with broader shifts in ideas about race during the 1850s and 1860s, his writing expresses the unevenness of the way that ideas changed over time.

Callaway hoped that his mission would attract African people from the area and form the 'nucleus of a Christian Kafir Village'.¹³⁵ He wanted the converts on his station to achieve a relative degree of financial independence, in order to act as role models for the heathen masses. Callaway's vision of progress at his station was tied both to the government imperatives of industrial training, as he drew £200 from the Native Reserve fund, and his own beliefs about African intelligence and educability.¹³⁶ Receiving a grant from the government meant Callaway was required to report on the mission's progress to Shepstone, and later, to open the institution to inspection by the

¹³³ Colenso to SPG, 08.08.1857, D8 RHL. [Hereafter all Natal SPG correspondence is from SPG collection RHL].

¹³⁴ Etherington, *Preachers, Peasants*, 91.

¹³⁵ Callaway to Hawkins, 23.03.1858, D8. I have chosen to refer to African people here as not all of the people who would end up at Springvale were 'Zulu' or would have considered themselves as such. However, when Callaway spoke specifically about 'the Zulus' I have used this terminology.

¹³⁶ Law 1 of 1884, which established a Council of Education, compelled all government established schools to include industrial training in their curriculum. Emanuelson, 'A History of Native Education', 107.

Visitor of Native Schools, Dr Robert James Mann.¹³⁷ Callaway had to record the expenditure, 'number and condition of the pupils, the names of teachers, and such other points bearing upon the efficiency of your establishment...'¹³⁸

Like Annesfield, Springvale was included in Florence Nightingale's survey. Between 1858 and 1860, Callaway had fourteen male and five female pupils under fifteen years old in his school, a building 'of wattle and daub' 'on the side of a hill'.¹³⁹ In contrast to Anne Camfield's strict policy of only allowing infants and young children into Annesfield, Callaway brought whole families to his station. After eighteen months at Springvale, he recorded twenty-nine African people living on the station, fourteen adults and fifteen children. The adults were given portions of land that they were taught to 'cultivate in a rational way'.¹⁴⁰ While in Australia, educating children whose parents were 'dying out' made more sense than reforming whole families, in South Africa, Callaway's humanitarian efforts focused on transforming family life. By 1862, Callaway's fourth year at the station, six children were attending school regularly and adults were being trained in industrial skills.

There is school for the Children and adults three times a day; from 10-11 for the younger boys and girls, the larger boys are engaged out of doors; - from 3 to 4 for all the children and women; - and from 7 to 8 for the adults and elder children. A great many can read Kafir well, and two or three can read English; 13 are able to write, 4 can write a very fair hand, and one can copy an ordinary manuscript; 13 can cipher: 1 is in long division of money; 1 in short division; and several in multiplication. We have not as yet attempted any instruction beyond reading, writing and arithmetic.¹⁴¹

¹³⁷ Mann, a medical doctor, worked as a missionary at Ekukhanyeni from 1857-1859. Before arriving in the colony, he had published about meteorology, general science, medicine and education. After leaving the mission he published a series of articles on Africans in Natal, in which he detailed his beliefs about African educability. See Jeff Guy 'Imifanekiso: An Introduction to the Photographic Portraits of Dr R.J. Mann', *Safundi*, (2014), 1-24, 1. Robert James Mann, 'The Black Population of the British Colony of Natal, South Africa', *Intellectual Observer*, 10 (1867), 184-193; 'Wild Kaffir Life and Wild Kaffir Intelligence', *Ibid.*, 289-297; 'Kaffir Promise and Capability', *Ibid.*, 428-440. See also Mann, 'The Kaffir Race of Natal,' *Transactions of the Ethnological Society of London*, 5 (1867), 277-297.

¹³⁸ Shepstone to Callaway, 28.05.1858, Encl. 2 in Scott to Stanley, 31.07.1858, *Native Reserve Correspondence*, No. 8, 51.

¹³⁹ Nightingale, *Sanitary Statistics*, 21.

¹⁴⁰ Missionary report from Callaway to SPG, 15.08.1859, E4.

¹⁴¹ Callaway to SPG, 07.01.1862, E9.

Sixteen men were taught to thatch, make bricks, plough and use the printing press.¹⁴² For Callaway, the plough represented a transition to civilised agriculture, and therefore, to civilised life. Ploughs, because they would reduce the need for women and children to perform manual labour, would reform gender relationships and hence address a moral deficiency Callaway identified in Zulu society. Moreover, as ploughs would replace additional wives, men could save on *lobola* (bride price).¹⁴³ However, Callaway experienced difficulties teaching the young men on the station to plough: it proved ‘very difficult to teach them to do anything in a straight line: they do not appear to have any idea of straightness; but always want to make a circle...’¹⁴⁴ Callaway thought there was something in Africans’ perceptions of the world that was fundamentally different to Europeans’, and that this was difficult to change. As the Comaroffs point out, ‘the idea that civilization – and cultivation, *sui generis* – expressed itself in squares and straight lines ran to the core of post enlightenment British culture’.¹⁴⁵

As Callaway’s reflection about the ‘idea of straightness’ indicates, educators, both missionary and secular, worked with Indigenous people on the most intimate level. They were fundamentally interested in transforming the mind and way of thinking, from ‘heathen’ to ‘Christian’, from ‘irrational’ to ‘rational’ thought, and indeed, in this case, from circular to linear ways of thinking. Nanni argues that in missionaries’ ‘daily efforts to reform the time-consciousness of Indigenous people entirely, this ideological reorientation of the mind was their ultimate objective’.¹⁴⁶ In order to make these transformations and reorientations, missionaries needed to first describe and understand the ‘native mind’, and with it, the capacity for civilisation, learning, work and conversion.

Callaway’s descriptions of the Zulu people who he worked with evoke racial typologies and attempts to cast the personalities, thoughts and educability of African people in fixed terms. Callaway often wrote to his friend Cornelius Hanbury from

¹⁴² Report from Mann, 1864, CO 183/15.

¹⁴³ Callaway journal entry, 02.10.1860, in Benham, *Henry Callaway*, 106.

¹⁴⁴ Callaway to SPG, 13.10.1860, E7.

¹⁴⁵ Comaroff and Comaroff, *Of Revelation and Revolution*, Vol.2, 127.

¹⁴⁶ Nanni, *The Colonization of Time*, 19.

Natal.¹⁴⁷ In an 1856 letter, which Callaway wrote from Pietermaritzburg, and Hanbury forwarded to Henry Labouchere at the Colonial Office, Callaway wrote about his understanding of the 'Kafir mind'. In this letter, Callaway put forward two contrasting ideas about African people. Firstly, he elided the differences in personality, thoughts, capabilities and opinions that existed between the African people he encountered. Callaway had 'no doubt' that the 'Kafir mind' could be 'acted on', but he described Africans as 'very stolid, and not easily moved by moral or religious truths'.¹⁴⁸ Heathens were 'raw and troublesome', but this was because 'few people take any trouble to teach them, and there are scarcely any who get any hold upon them, beyond that which the Kafir's *interest* gives him. The reason clearly is, that there is nothing in common between the two races.'¹⁴⁹

Secondly, despite his assertion that African people were 'stolid', he did think that there was hope for their education and improvement, and for their children in particular. In the same letter, he wrote about the 'little boy and girl' who were living with him as servants, and receiving some instruction in his home. 'They are beginning to talk English; their conduct and general appearance are vastly different from the children of the Kraal.' Callaway taught them to say the Lord's Prayer, the Apostle's creed and the Ten Commandments in both English and Zulu. Progress, for Callaway, was measured in the children's ability to repeat Christian teachings. The children were also taught appropriate gendered syllabuses: the boy learnt to write and count, the girl to sew. Callaway was pleased with the improvement he saw in the children in just six months. Interestingly, instead of claiming that the children showed 'ability' in repeating Biblical teachings, Callaway framed his reading in the negative, saying there was 'no lack of ability'.¹⁵⁰ Callaway recorded the performance of education – the children being able to repeat certain lessons and perform particular tasks showed

¹⁴⁷ According to Benham, Cornelius Hanbury was Callaway's 'most intimate and life-long friend'. They lived together in London. Benham, *Henry Callaway*, Preface. Callaway worked as the private tutor of Hanbury's brother in England, and later as an assistant chemist to Hanbury. Hanbury was a Quaker, and his wife, Elizabeth Hanbury (nee Sanderson) had grown up connected to anti-slavery causes. Timothy C. F. Stunt, 'Hanbury, Elizabeth (1793–1901)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, Oxford University Press, 2004; online edn, May 2006 [http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/33676, accessed 22 April 2015]; E.I. Carlyle, 'Callaway, Henry (1817–1890)', rev. Clare Brown, *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, Oxford University Press, 2004 [http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/4396, accessed 22 April 2015].

¹⁴⁸ Extract from the letters of Henry Callaway to Cornelius Hanbury, 13.12.1856 in Hanbury to Labouchere, 17.11.1857, CO 179/48, Misc.

¹⁴⁹ Ibid.

¹⁵⁰ Ibid.

that they were learning, becoming civilised and educated. Just as Camfield was trying to prove success by using Bessy Flower as an example, Callaway used the scholarly attainments of these children to prove the ability of African people more generally.

Callaway worried about the effect of settlers on the education of African adults and children. He argued that few settlers paid attention to Africans in towns, but also that they treated them as ‘convenient beast[s] of burden’ in spite of their equality in the eyes of God. Callaway thought Africans learned only ‘vice and cunning enough to be more wicked than in their native state’ from white people.¹⁵¹ Even within this letter to Hanbury, Callaway constructed African intelligence, reasoning and educability as permanent and impermanent, permeable and impermeable. While the ‘Kafir’ was ‘stolid, and not easily moved’, he could all too easily pick up, and be influenced by, the bad habits of whites. It was both difficult to teach the children – the girl was described as ‘lazy’ – but also important to keep them from too easily picking up the bad habits of uncontrolled settlers. Callaway’s choice to start his station away from the city was an attempt to isolate African people from these negative influences. His agricultural station provided a space where converted people could live and learn trades. ‘I should hope to turn out good servants and good mechanics; and in this way could be made not only other Kafirs to long for instruction, but make the white men see that it is an advantage to endeavour to elevate their coloured brethren.’¹⁵²

The apparent contradictions in Callaway’s thinking about African educability continued. In 1858, he wrote that ‘in the present state of the Kafir people, instruction in labour and habits of regular industry are of more importance than “book learning”’.¹⁵³ He argued that ‘they ought rather, for the present, to be looked upon in the light of minors and children, to be cared for, tended, and instructed, rather than as beings to be invested with rights involving responsibilities they may be found unqualified to exercise’.¹⁵⁴ At the same time as pushing for industrial education, and paternal care of Africans, however, he was producing literature in English and Zulu at

¹⁵¹ Ibid.

¹⁵² Ibid.

¹⁵³ Callaway journal, 06.05.1859, E5.

¹⁵⁴ Callaway quoted in Robert James Mann and G.H. Wathen, ‘Report from the Church of England committee of conference on Native representation in assemblies of the Church of England, in the Diocese of Natal’, *Natal Witness*, 16.07.1858, 2.

the Springvale mission station.¹⁵⁵ Printing was an important ‘link between strictly practical instruction and the academic and spiritual enlightenment given by the mission’.¹⁵⁶ The production of pedagogic texts for the literary training of some pupils required the industrial training of others. Callaway openly criticised Colenso’s Zulu orthography, so it is likely that he used his ‘rival Zulu translations’ produced at Springvale as a substitute for Colenso’s many textbooks.¹⁵⁷ The numerous textbooks, prayer-books and Bibles printed in English and Zulu speak to Callaway’s desire to spread literacy, and through this, religious knowledge.

Like Colenso, Callaway also formed a close relationship with a Zulu man who helped him to learn Zulu. Mpengula Mbande (Umpengula) had travelled with Callaway from Pietermaritzburg to settle at Springvale, where he married a Christian convert, Mary, who had run away from her chiefly family to avoid an arranged marriage.¹⁵⁸ Callaway believed this was the first marriage between Christian Africans in the colony.¹⁵⁹ Mpengula would later become superintendent of the industrial branches of work at the satellite station, Highflats, when Callaway was engaged at Springvale.¹⁶⁰ They worked together closely from the early 1860s. Mpengula was also, along with another convert, William Ncgwensa, ordained as a native catechist, and later a deacon.¹⁶¹ When Callaway was given an £800 grant by the Society for the Promotion of Christian Knowledge to translate and print a Bible, he was reliant on these men to help him with the translations:

¹⁵⁵ In contrast to the Western Australian case, where teaching was exclusively in English, in Natal, different mission societies had different ideas about the best language of instruction. See Rachael Gilmour, “‘A Nice Derangement of Epitaphs’: Missionary Language-Learning in Mid-Nineteenth Century Natal”, *Journal of Southern African Studies*, 33 (2007), 521-538.

¹⁵⁶ Guy, *The Heretic*, 51.

¹⁵⁷ Guy, *The Heretic*, 65. Henry Callaway, *Nursery Tales, Traditions and Histories of the Zulus, in their own words with translation into English and Notes by the Rev Canon Callaway, MD, Vol 1* (Springvale: JA Blair, 1868), 1.

¹⁵⁸ Benham, *Henry Callaway*, 66; Etherington, ‘Missionary doctors’, 81.

¹⁵⁹ Benham, *Henry Callaway*, 67.

¹⁶⁰ *Ibid.*, 159.

¹⁶¹ *Ibid.*, 186. Ncgwensa’s early history gives us some idea of what might have attracted Africans to mission stations. According to Callaway, Ncgwensa was addicted to cannabis from the age of 10. From ‘the insanity’ resulting from this addiction, Ncgwensa ‘killed several people’. He was convicted for the murder, but instead of imprisonment, he worked as a servant for the jailer, Mr Freshwater. He was allowed to attend evening school, where he met Callaway when he was teaching in Pietermaritzburg. Freshwater and the colonial secretary decided Callaway could take charge of the boy provided he gave him education. He worked for Callaway as a servant, and later became a schoolteacher. See undated biographical sketch about Ncgwensa and Mbande, Callaway, E27; Etherington, *Preachers, Peasants*, 95.

I have a 'committee' of natives sitting on the translation! Each of the three natives has a translation by some one else in his hand, and I read ours, verse by verse. We do not get on very fast, but I am quite satisfied with what we have done. It corroborates me in the belief that hitherto nothing has been printed which at all approaches to what ours will be when completed.¹⁶²

In spite of Callaway's ideas about industrial training being more suited to most Africans, he recognised that different people had particular capabilities. This contradicted his earlier statements about 'raw and troublesome' African people. In fact, his experience of working closely with these men during the 1860s showed that he could have one set of beliefs about the race as a whole, and another about those extraordinary natives he knew himself. His shifting opinions highlight the messiness and ambiguities of colonial encounters.

Callaway's *Nursery Tales, Traditions and Histories of the Zulus* (1868) was printed at Springvale in English and Zulu and he hoped that the book would be used by missionaries to teach Zulu children to read. However, like many of the books printed on mission stations, the book also had other functions, including teaching missionaries and colonists Zulu.¹⁶³ The book recorded folk tales collected during his time in Natal. Callaway thought that while teaching children to read was essential to the missionary endeavour, teaching them to read solely from translations of the Bible was a mistake, as the stories contained so many foreign ideas.¹⁶⁴ Printing local tales in Zulu would give pupils 'an inducement to read', as they would learn to read the stories in the 'same words as they have heard them around their hut-fires...'¹⁶⁵

Callaway also saw his *Nursery Tales* as a contribution to scientific debates about race and education in other parts of the world. In the introduction, he took the opportunity to point to a monogenetic conception of race.¹⁶⁶ This shows a local engagement with broader debates about the origins of the races, and about whether Europeans and

¹⁶² Callaway to Hanbury, 14.09.1869, in Benham, *Henry Callaway*, 211. See also Henry Callaway, *The Religious System of the AmaZulu* (Springvale: J. A. Blair, 1868).

¹⁶³ Callaway, *Nursery Tales*, ii.

¹⁶⁴ *Ibid.*, 1.

¹⁶⁵ 'Izinganekwane', Introduction to *Nursery Tales*.

¹⁶⁶ Callaway, *Nursery Tales*. The father of modern ethnographic science, James Cowell Prichard, had expounded this belief during his career earlier in the nineteenth century. See Salesa, *Racial Crossings*, 136.

Africans were from the same species, or had different roots.¹⁶⁷ As Salesa points out, in the 1850s and 1860s, the debate between monogenist and polygenist conceptions of race was being fought in scientific societies in London and in the 'field' and analogous societies in the colonies.¹⁶⁸ Callaway served as president of the Natal Anthropological Society, highlighting his multiple roles as teacher, missionary and anthropologist.¹⁶⁹ The nursery tales, Callaway argued, when compared to similar collections from other groups of people,

will bring out unexpected relationships, which will more and more force upon us the great truth, that man everywhere has thought alike, because every where, in every country and clime, under every tint of skin, under every varying social and intellectual condition, he is still man, - one in all the essentials of man, - one in that which is stronger proof of essential unity, than mere external differences are of difference of nature, - one in his mental qualities, tendencies, emotions and passions.¹⁷⁰

Callaway believed Zulus had degenerated from a higher state, saying that their condition was worse at present than when the stories had initially been composed. However, for Callaway, the fact that the folk tales existed was proof of the Zulu's capacity to 'regenerate'. Zulus, while 'savage', were 'savage men, who only need culture to have developed in them the finest traits of our human nature'.¹⁷¹ He also pointed to his own changing conception of the people he worked with: 'what was commenced as a mere exercise-lesson was soon pursued with the further object of discovering *what was the character of the mind* of the people with whom we are brought into contact'.¹⁷² Callaway argued that there was no way to raise the Zulus in the scale of civilisation without first 'knowing their mind'. That the tales existed at all

¹⁶⁷ Salesa, *Racial Crossings*, 140. Thomas Hodgkin wrote to Callaway in the early 1860s about the progress of Zulu missions in Natal. This connection highlights the connections between missionaries, medical men and early anthropology in the British Empire. See Thomas Hodgkin Facsimile Letters, 1856-66: PP/HO/D/A2453 Hodgkin Facsimile Book, 1861, TH, Lewes, to Henry Callaway, Natal, 04.03.1861, 10-12.

¹⁶⁸ Salesa, *Racial Crossings*, 148.

¹⁶⁹ Michael Ashley, 'Features of Modernity: Missionaries and Education in South Africa, 1850-1900', *Journal of Theology for Southern Africa*, 38 (1982), 49-58, 54.

¹⁷⁰ Callaway, *Nursery tales*, preface to first volume.

¹⁷¹ Callaway, *Nursery tales*.

¹⁷² *Ibid.*, ii. Emphasis added.

was proof that they had ‘intellectual powers not to be despised’.¹⁷³ Indeed, as Etherington argued, one of Callaway’s goals in his publications was to prove that natives were intelligent and therefore that they were able to convert to Christianity.¹⁷⁴

Callaway’s manuscripts were sent to the Grey Library in Cape Town, which was run by the anthropologist Wilhelm Bleek. Bleek praised Callaway for recording folk tales, saying that the stories were useful to ethnographers, and those wanting to learn Zulu. His stories represented an ‘insight into the native character and mind, and the knowledge of their manners and customs, their mode of thinking, which it is not possible to acquire from a better source than such documents’.¹⁷⁵ This exchange shows the network between Callaway, a missionary, and the growing discipline of anthropology. Through his publications, Callaway contributed to a public discourse about Zulu people, which positioned Africans as capable of learning, and being civilised, and also emphasised that missionaries like him were essential to this transformation.

Converting lives

Callaway conceived of his role in education as an encompassing one. For him, and for other missionaries, the most important part of their role was to provide Christian moral and spiritual education. Writing to Hanbury, Callaway gave a sense of his perception of the scope of missionary responsibility: ‘There is not a single thing that the Kafirs do not require to be taught,’ he wrote, ‘from the washing of their bodies to the building of their houses’.¹⁷⁶ The role of the missionary was not confined to literary teaching, or to preaching, but rather, involved a total transformation of the life of converts on the station. However, like other missionaries, Callaway was concerned about whether ‘true’ conversion, had, or could, take place on his station. He argued in 1861 that ‘The native character is untrustworthy; one does not know how much is sincere and how much hypocritical in his professions...’¹⁷⁷ As SPG missionary Tonnesen put it, many Africans were eager to have missionaries sent to their *kraals*,

¹⁷³ Ibid., preface to first volume.

¹⁷⁴ Etherington, *Preachers, Peasants*, 43.

¹⁷⁵ Bleek to Callaway 20.05.1862, in Callaway to SPG, 31.12.1862, E12.

¹⁷⁶ Callaway to Hanbury, 13.12.1856.

¹⁷⁷ Callaway to Hanbury, 13.09.1861, in Benham, *Henry Callaway*, 148.

but ‘nowhere could we detect any anxious wish to know the truth as a real desire for christian (sic) instruction. Some want knowledge but of this world.’¹⁷⁸ There was always a tension between African demands for education, and missionaries’ anxiety that it was being sought for the ‘wrong reason’. Missionaries had more success promoting secular education as a way to ‘face white settlers on an equal footing’ than preaching using the Bible.¹⁷⁹ Parents were suspicious of the missionaries’ hopes of transforming their children’s minds, thoughts, and behaviour through Christian teaching. As Callaway recorded in his journal:

Spoke to the Kafirs on the duty of sending their children to School and to Church. They however do not make any distinction between the two. They look on the School as the door to the Church. If a person goes to school he will learn the *incwadi*, the [B]ook, and will soon be a believer. They appeared to feel the truth of what I said on this subject: but will not yet obey the dictates of their better thoughts.¹⁸⁰

He reported a conversation between adults after a sermon, where some said that they would send their children to school, and others objected. ‘They said “We see that the Missionary loves us: but we do not love him, as he loves us.”’¹⁸¹ This shows a greater recognition of parental authority than in Western Australia, where pupils’ parents are rarely, if ever mentioned, and education was already associated with elements of compulsion by this point in the century.

As in Western Australia, anxiety over the children’s conversion was often raised in relation to sexual relationships between converts, and particularly the treatment of Christian girls. Callaway found it difficult to bring girls into schools, as they were needed at home for domestic labour. He claimed parents worried that if their children were educated on mission stations, and married there, they would have to forfeit their *lobola*. According to Callaway, *lobola* made ‘the daughter ... a marketable article’, and therefore it must be ‘the object of the Christian missionary ... to get rid of it altogether’.¹⁸² Callaway’s interventions in gender relations exemplify Protestant mission activity’s preoccupation with ‘the adoption of those family forms -

¹⁷⁸ Tonnesen to SPG, 31.03.1863, E13.

¹⁷⁹ Etherington, ‘Missionaries, Africans and the State’, 125.

¹⁸⁰ Extracts from Henry Callaway’s journal, 16.01.1859, E5.

¹⁸¹ Extract from Henry Callaway’s journal, 24.01.1859, E5.

¹⁸² Ibid.

monogamous marriages, gender divisions of labour, certain ways of child-rearing - that accorded with Western understandings of goodness and propriety'.¹⁸³ As Cleall argues of South Africa and India, missionaries constructed their own families and gender relationships as an 'object lesson' – performing a 'didactic' function for both the heathen in India and South Africa and for the evangelical British public.¹⁸⁴ Callaway's commentary on African family life constructed middle class British domesticity as the norm.

Callaway spoke about puberty amongst the scholars on his station. Umatyingana, a girl living on the station, visited Callaway in 1859, looking 'unsettled'. He believed that she had started menstruating. Callaway's status as a medical doctor, but also the fact that this was an African girl, gave him the freedom to comment on the matter:

This is a very great affair among the Kafirs; and that which delicacy keeps profoundly secret amongst ourselves is made subject of public talk: there is dancing and a feast, and the child, who is now become a young woman, and is marriageable, is proclaimed as such...¹⁸⁵

Callaway was relieved that Umatyingana no longer lived amongst the heathens who would damage her modesty. However, a few days later, when a girl at a neighbouring kraal 'showed signs of puberty', and she heard the celebrations, Umatyingana became 'excited and unsettled' and said to Callaway, '*Umfundisi, ngi-ya khumbula 'kaya'*' (Teacher, I remember [long for] my home).¹⁸⁶ Callaway gave her permission to return, but pointed out that

you no longer resemble the other children of your kraal: you can never be like them again. You have been taught to pray to God, and to call Him Father. You have, to a certain extent, come into the light, and seen that it is good. You cannot now return back again to the same darkness you were in before.¹⁸⁷

¹⁸³ Grimshaw, 'Faith, Missionary Life', 264.

¹⁸⁴ Cleall, *Missionary Discourses of Difference*, 32-33.

¹⁸⁵ Extracts from Callaway's journals, 15.02.1859, E5.

¹⁸⁶ Ibid.

¹⁸⁷ Ibid.

Umatyingana returned to Springvale shortly after, and Shepstone agreed she could stay with Callaway provided he kept Shepstone informed on the girl's movements. Again, as in the Western Australian case, it is significant that these issues were raised in relation to schools. Deeply transformative of the pattern of everyday life, thinking, activity, leisure and work, the schools also acted to manage the most intimate and personal aspects of converts' lives. This case is illustrative not just of the scope of mission education, but also of its failures or weaknesses. The girl's sense that she should spend time at home to acknowledge this rite of passage highlights her status between worlds of the converted Africans, and those in her family. Missionaries were constantly faced by this conundrum: What would happen to the children once they had been successfully civilised and educated? Settlers were clear that Africans were not welcome in their society, apart from fulfilling roles as labourers, but converts often felt ill-at-ease in their own communities. Callaway's statement that the girl had come into the Light but only 'to a certain extent' highlights this liminal status. This also highlights that while the school may have operated as a frontier, it did not do so in a linear way. There was not a clear transition from uneducated to educated, or from heathen to Christian.

Callaway continued to engage with scientific networks throughout his time as a missionary. He corresponded with scientists in different parts of the world, including commenting on Darwin's theories of natural selection and Zulu religious systems and dreams.¹⁸⁸ While he had wanted Springvale to act as a centre of civilisation, away from the ill effects of white society, he changed his opinion by the final years of the 1860s. He now believed that white people should be encouraged to settle around mission stations.¹⁸⁹ He worked at Springvale until he was consecrated as the Bishop of St John's, Kaffraria, in 1873. By then he referred to his congregation as 'unprogressive' and enthusiastically supported the British invasion of Zululand.¹⁹⁰ Missionary Thomas Jenkinson arrived in Springvale to take over from Callaway in

¹⁸⁸ Henry Callaway, 'On Divination and Analogous Phenomena Among the Natives of Natal', *The Journal of the Anthropological Institute of Great Britain and Ireland*, 1 (1872), 163-185; David Chidester, 'Dreaming in the Contact Zone: Zulu Dreams, Visions, and Religion in Nineteenth-Century South Africa', *Journal of the American Academy of Religion*, 76 (2008), 27-53.

¹⁸⁹ Etherington, 'Missionary Doctors', 91.

¹⁹⁰ Etherington, 'Christianity and African society', 295.

1873.¹⁹¹ Callaway worked at St John's from 1876, before returning to England in 1886, where he died in 1890.

Conclusion: Local cases, global concerns

This chapter has shown how two Britons, working in Western Australia and Natal, respectively, engaged with broader questions about the civilisation and education of Indigenous people. Through their networks of correspondence, publications and in private journals, Camfield and Callaway contributed to debates about the meaning of race in relation to educability. Education in both places, while connected to these global ideas, was also profoundly influenced by local context. It was shaped by government conceptions of the position of Indigenous people in society, and by the missionary and philanthropic milieu of each place. Although in some cases there were clear boundaries between missionary groups and the local governments, particularly where mission societies were not reliant on government funding, as was the case at New Norcia in Western Australia, these boundaries were often blurred. Educators like Camfield occupied a liminal space between being missionaries, part of settler society, and as essential interlocutors between government and Indigenous people. For Callaway, the missionary context was fundamental to his role in Natal. He sent statistical returns reflecting his 'progress' to the home mission society, and local government, as a way of proving missionary success, and to request funds.

Camfield and Callaway each wanted to provide evidence from their teaching that the 'native' or 'Aboriginal' mind was capable of learning, even though they perceived some fundamental differences between Indigenous people and Europeans. They did this through describing their own thoughts on, and relationships to, individual Indigenous people. However, they approached this from different positions: Callaway as a doctor, Camfield as a woman and teacher. Measuring and recording if their students could read and write, say their catechisms, plough the fields and use the printing press allowed missionaries and educators to 'see' progress. These teachers hoped to transform individual subjectivities – ultimately to change how people thought about the world. Moral training was the most difficult to impart. It was the education that literally needed to be embodied – transcribed onto body, mind and

¹⁹¹ Benham, *Henry Callaway*, 263.

soul. It was difficult to tell whether students had truly understood their teaching, and so outward signs of civilisation were used as markers of this transformation. The regulation of bodies – through monitoring the use of clothing, cleanliness and hygiene, but also of sexual relationships – was one way of measuring the civilisation and Christianisation of pupils. Recording successes in literacy and agriculture was another. However, as the following chapter shows, proving Indigenous capability became more difficult as mental capacity was increasingly tied to physical appearance in the 1860s and beyond.¹⁹²

In using a comparative approach, this chapter has thrown some of the differences between Indigenous education in Natal and Western Australia into relief. Firstly, even before it was legal, some educators and colonial officials in Western Australia favoured child removal. The belief that Aboriginal people were dying out in the face of European civilisation underlined the idea that there was little use in converting adults, and that all efforts at civilising Aboriginal people should be directed to children. By contrast, in Natal, while missionaries noted the potential for civilisation of children, they often focused on whole families rather than just children.¹⁹³ The records show that there was some degree to which African parents in Natal were able to negotiate about their children's education. This was at least in part because of the pattern of mission stations in the colony: missionaries were far more likely to work from a mission base, rather than moving around the colony.¹⁹⁴ This meant that they were more likely to attract kin groups to their stations, which were not only spiritual centres, but also centres of education and commerce, and places of refuge for displaced populations.¹⁹⁵ By 1856, Natal also had clearer government policy on how education should be provided than Western Australia did. This did not necessarily translate into uniformity of practice across Natal missions, but it did mean that there were commonalities between the kinds of education provided on different stations.

In spite of these differences, similarities in thinking about race and education connect Western Australia and Natal. Common beliefs about the necessity of practical and

¹⁹² Malik, *The Meaning of Race*, 87.

¹⁹³ Although there were cases, according to Etherington, that children were given to missionaries 'without any explanation'. Etherington, *Preachers, Peasants*, 94.

¹⁹⁴ Ingie Hovland, *Mission Station Christianity: Norwegian Missionaries in Colonial Natal and Zululand* (Leiden: Brill, 2013), 7.

¹⁹⁵ Etherington, *Preachers, Peasants*, 87-94.

literary training being conducted in parallel in order to civilise Indigenous children were rooted in Protestant ideas about the relationship between work and morality. In the 1850s and 1860s, both Camfield and Callaway believed that Indigenous people could be incorporated into white society, but that the care of white intermediaries, like themselves, was central to this process. Each showed a complicated relationship to the meaning of difference in the settler colony: they were eager to prove particularity of individuals, but still ready to comment on racial type.

Both conceived of adult Indigenous people as children. While Camfield plainly stated that the ‘Adult Natives are like children’ who did not have the capacity to consider the future, Callaway argued that African adults were best understood as ‘minors’ in need of protection.¹⁹⁶ The belief that adult Indigenous people were in need of white guardianship could justify the colonial presence in the settler colonies. However, it also stood in contradiction to attempts to reform Indigenous children. I discuss this in more detail in Chapter Five, where I examine how government involvement in education was reacted to in Natal and Western Australia in the 1870s. This builds on the discussion of race and childhood introduced here, showing how ideas about the ‘protection’ of both Indigenous and white children manifested in that decade.

¹⁹⁶ Camfield to Nightingale, 26.12.1863; Callaway quoted in Mann and Wathen, ‘Report from the Church of England committee’.

Chapter Five

Children, parents and the government in education: Britain, Western Australia and Natal in the 1870s

In 1877, Frank Chesson, Secretary of the Aborigines' Protection Society, gave a speech to the Education branch of the Liverpool Social Science Congress. Examining the role of the local and imperial government in Indigenous education, he asked,

Are we prepared to become the educators of these native populations? – to recognize the obligation imposed upon us as a nation to raise them in the social scale? – in fine, to place ourselves in relation to them in a position not unlike that which, since the Elementary Education Act was passed, we have occupied towards the ignorant and destitute portions of our own countrymen? If we cannot hope to turn the uncultivated wilds of English ignorance into fertile pastures of knowledge without the aid of the national schoolmaster, is it not still more necessary that this functionary should be set to work among the hitherto untamed children of nature, who are now expected to obey laws which they do not understand, and to present an example of disciplined obedience which it is not always possible to enforce in civilised countries.¹

Chesson complained that there was no comprehensive education scheme under imperial, or local, authority, and while he recognised the role of missionaries in education provision, he believed the colonial government should intervene. He surveyed education in South Australia, Queensland, Mauritius, New Zealand, Canada and the Southern African colonies, and suggested that 'one of our chief objects should be to secure control over the children at *the most impressionable age*, and to retain that control long enough to make a *relapse into barbarism* difficult, if not impossible'.²

¹ Frank Chesson, 'The Education of Native Races in British Colonies', *Colonial Intelligencer* (January 1877), 345-355, 345- 346.

² Ibid., 352. My emphasis.

Chesson's speech provides a good entry point for this chapter, in which I consider the role of the government in children's education, and how this related to ideas about race, childhood and the family, during the 1870s. This chapter argues that children were seen as particularly vulnerable to contamination from people of different races or classes, or even from their own families. By the 1870s, the role of the state in protecting children from this contamination was increasingly pronounced. In the second half of the nineteenth century, the relationship of the family to the state was being renegotiated, with significant impact on education policy. Missionaries and government alike worried about the effects of the family home on children's education, whether they were poor or destitute children in London, or mixed race, Indigenous, or poor white children in the colonies.

During the 1860s, there were notable political changes both in Britain and the colonies that impacted on conceptions of education. The 1867 Reform Act in Britain gave the vote to more men than had ever been represented before, fundamentally altering the idea of political citizenship.³ As Catherine Hall argues, between 1865 and 1868, 'different notions of citizen and subject were constituted, notions that were not formally incorporated into the act but that framed it in such a way as to demarcate some of the different boundaries of nation and empire, citizen and subject'.⁴ The Reform Act passed in a context of 'continuing anxiety about increases in crime, pauperism and industrial and school unrest, and the fear these would culminate in revolution'.⁵ The changes in metropolitan education legislation in the 1870s and 1880s addressed some of these anxieties, making the 'private' life of the family a legitimate space for state intervention.⁶ William Edward Forster, vice-president of the Committee of Council on Education, connected the need to provide compulsory education for working people with political change in Britain, and indeed, with the country's status as a European power:

To its honour, Parliament has lately decided that England shall in future be governed by popular government. I am one of those who would not wait until the people were

³ See Keith McClelland, 'England's Greatness, the Working Man', in *Defining the Victorian Nation: Class, Race, Gender and the Reform Act of 1867*, ed. by Catherine Hall, Keith McClelland and Jane Rendall (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000), 71-118.

⁴ Hall, 'The Nation Within and Without', 179.

⁵ McCoy, 'Education for Labour', 113.

⁶ *Ibid.*, 120.

educated before I would trust them with political power. If we had thus waited we might have waited long for education; but now that we have given them political power we must not wait any longer to give them education. There are questions demanding answers, problems which must be solved, which ignorant constituencies are ill-fitted to solve. Upon this speedy provision of education depends also our national power. Civilized communities throughout the world are massing themselves together, each mass being measured by its force; and if we are to hold our position among men of our own race or among the nations of the world we must make up the smallness of our numbers by increasing the intellectual force of the individual.⁷

Changes in the metropolitan context were matched by changing ideas about childhood, education and the role of the state in the life of the family in different parts of the British Empire. These ideas moved between metropolitan and colonial contexts in both directions.⁸ As Russell Smandych and Anne McGillivray point out for the Canadian context, efforts to reform Aboriginal children in the second part of the nineteenth century were ‘closely related to contemporaneous efforts of European “child-savers” to introduce new methods of childhood management for the “normalization” of European children, especially the urban poor’.⁹ According to Swain and Hillel, by the 1870s ‘the potential of the child as citizen had been clearly articulated, although that status had still to be secured in law’.¹⁰

In this later part of the century, the ‘failure’ of many earlier attempts to civilise Indigenous people in different parts of the Empire was increasingly seen as tied to innate racial difference. As previous chapters showed, by the mid-nineteenth century, scientific ideas about race became increasingly influential in both government and missionary circles. Evolutionary theory was used to promote the idea that races were fixed, and could be ranked on hierarchical scales of civilisation.¹¹ This had an impact on conceptions of children and childhood: there was a growing belief that children developed through the stages of progress, arriving at a civilised, and adult state.¹²

⁷ W.E. Forster, HC Deb 17.02.1870, vol. 199 cc438-98.

⁸ Swain and Hillel, *Child, Nation*.

⁹ Smandych and McGillivray, ‘Images of Aboriginal Childhood’, 238.

¹⁰ Swain and Hillel, *Child, Nation*, 12.

¹¹ Stepan, *The Idea of Race*, 49.

¹² Cunningham, *The Children of the Poor*, 126.

However, the idea of progress through the life stages towards adulthood did not apply equally to Indigenous people, who were often understood and described as perpetual children.¹³ As the previous chapter showed, a discourse in which Indigenous people were positioned as children could justify imperial rule and construct colonial governments, teachers and missionaries as protective and caring parents.¹⁴ The idea of the potential for the eventual civilisation of the colonised was in contradiction to the growing popular conception of racial immutability. Nonetheless, the two ideas often existed side-by-side, even where biological understandings of race were increasingly dominant.

This chapter investigates this contradiction by focusing on two main cases, one in Natal and the other in Western Australia, which I situate in their British imperial context. In the Western Australian case, I discuss the creation of industrial schools legislation in 1874 which gave increased power to what were termed the ‘managers’ of native institutions to keep Aboriginal children in their ‘care’. This legislation was based on the belief that if Aboriginal children could be removed from the contamination of their parents early enough, they could be assimilated into white, settler society. In Natal, I look at a case in which St Helenian children were enrolled into government schools in the mid-1870s.¹⁵ White parents, teachers and headmasters constructed St Helenian racial ‘otherness’ as contaminating for white children. This case shows that there were similar concerns about the way that race was passed on in childhood for white children. Education was an essential component in the project of race-ing children in settler society. The corollary of Aboriginal people learning ‘whiteness’ through their removal from Indigenous family life was that white children were particularly vulnerable when they came into contact with racial others. While the idea of access to government institutions in Natal was increasingly structured along racial lines, both St Helenian children’s fathers and the white settlers turned to the government to support their claims to access government-funded education. As Ann Stoler argued, ‘Children were seen to be particularly susceptible to degraded environments, and it is no accident that colonial policy makers looked to upbringing

¹³ Ibid., 97.

¹⁴ Hall, *Macaulay and Son*, 204.

¹⁵ The material used here regarding St Helenian children will appear in a forthcoming article written with Johan Wassermann, “‘Britishness’, Colonial Governance and Education: St Helenian Children in Colonial Natal in the 1870s’ (under review).

and education, to the placement of servants quarters, and thus to the quotidian social ecology of children's lives.'¹⁶

Both cases highlight a conception of race as something that could be learnt. However, they also draw on ideas about racial fixity. *All* Aboriginal families were contaminating for children, in spite of the fact that their children might be able to, under the protective care of educators and the government, overcome the limits of their race. The colour of St Helenian children was seen as potentially harmful to vulnerable white children. Hence, race in childhood was understood both as fixed and changeable, permeable and impermeable. I argue that biological and cultural discourses of race existed side by side in Natal and Western Australia in the 1870s, contradicting and informing one another.

This chapter approaches the examination of race and education in childhood using different scales and sources. In the first part of the chapter, I look at broad sets of changes across the British Empire. In Chapter One, I showed how educational change occurred in Britain and the West Indies simultaneously. This chapter picks up the British case once again, and shows how state intervention in education increased in the 1870s. I first discuss the Elementary Education Act and then the 1857 Industrial Schools Act. The provision of the Elementary Education Act had a significant impact on educational policy across the British Empire, and indeed, shifted thinking about the government's right to intervene in education. This provides important context to the insistence in both Natal and Western Australia that it was the responsibility of the government to provide education to children, often structured along racial lines.

In the second part of the chapter, I focus on legislative change in Western Australia. I approach the Industrial Schools Act as a way into understanding changing conceptions of race, government responsibility, childhood and the family in Western Australia.¹⁷ In the final part of the chapter, I refer to a local case study in Natal. Reading the 1874 Industrial Schools Act alongside the case of St Helenian children's exclusion from schools in Natal highlights parallel thinking about race, childhood and

¹⁶ Stoler, *Carnal Knowledge*, 120.

¹⁷ 'An Act to promote the efficiency of certain Charitable Institutions' (38 Vict. No. 11 1874) [Hereafter Industrial Schools Act].

education in Natal and Western Australia. While legislation about industrial schools and a local case of a migrant population's exclusion from schools might not seem like natural points of comparison, reading them together elucidates common sets of anxieties about race and education in the colonies under discussion. The chapter shows that comparative histories can be useful in 'tracing similarity through difference'.¹⁸ Indeed, by drawing comparisons between both scales and places, and using different source material, the chapter identifies unexpected points of congruence between the metropolitan and colonial cases.

Parents, children and education in Britain and the Empire

Between 1850 and 1870, when the Elementary Education Act was passed in Britain, allowing the state to run elementary schools and extending their power to compel attendance, five Royal Commissions investigated the status of education in Britain. These Commissions examined education from primary to tertiary levels, and for all social classes.¹⁹ By the 1870s, ideas about the need to provide age-specific education to children, and to make progress while they were young, away from the 'contamination' of their families, were increasingly influential.²⁰ This indicates a new phase of thinking about the separation between adults and children. The conception of a parent as having the final say in a child's education was shifting.

The 1870 Elementary Education Act (Forster's Act) compelled children aged five to twelve to attend schools if they lived in a school-board district, and in 1880 this was extended to make education compulsory for all children of this age group.²¹ Industrialisation in Britain and the improvement of factory infrastructure decreased demand for child labour, which meant that by the time that this legislation was passed, many working-class children were already in school, making compulsory education an attainable goal.²² The background to the legislation is, of course, related to the social context of Britain at the time. Legislators pointed to superior economic

¹⁸ Ford, *Settler Sovereignty*, 10.

¹⁹ Brian Simon, 'Education and Citizenship in England', *Paedagogica Historica*, 29 (1993), 689-697, 691.

²⁰ Cleall, *Missionary Discourses of Difference*, 150.

²¹ Stephens, *Education in Britain*, 1.

²² *Ibid.*, 78; McCoy, 'Education for Labour', 111.

productivity in America and Germany, where education was already free and secular, and believed that extending education in Britain could do the same for industry's prosperity there.²³

Changing ideas about the role of the state in education also warranted increased discussion of working-class parents' attitudes to education. In the context of rapid social, political and cultural change, children were increasingly seen as 'a national asset; a source of raw material'.²⁴ This raised questions about the 'degree of responsibility for them on the part of parents and the state'.²⁵ The Committee of Council on Education in 1869 was concerned that working class parents did not value their children's education.²⁶ As I showed in Chapter One, while education was seen as a way of controlling the working classes, there was also a fear that, once educated, they would reject menial labour. Sanderson has identified this central 'dilemma' in discussions of compulsory education in England: 'whether to deny education to the poor and so avoid trouble, or whether to provide education in the hope that it would serve as an agency of social control'.²⁷ Norman Etherington highlights similar concerns in the British imperial context. White settlers proclaimed that Indigenous people would not find literary education useful, while at the same time saying that if they were given education, they would 'imbibe doctrines of equality, demand equal rights, and foment insurrections'.²⁸ There were similar fears about slaves, and later emancipated people, in the West Indies, as Chapter One showed. The provision of education, therefore, needed to be carefully managed to ensure that it taught the future workforce the correct thing.

²³ The Committee of Council on Education described the German education system as 'complete', *Report of the Committee of Council on Education; with appendix*, HC 4139 (1868-69), 202.

²⁴ Harry Hendrick, *Child Welfare: Historical dimensions, Contemporary Debate* (Bristol: The Policy Press, 2003), 20. It is interesting that this arose in the last quarter of the nineteenth century, when questions about the role of the family in the life of Indigenous children had been current from earlier in the colonising process. It is likely that increased colonial expansion led to a need for ideas about children and the family to be cemented within Britain itself.

²⁵ *Ibid.*

²⁶ *Committee of Council on Education*, x.

²⁷ Michael Sanderson, *Education, Economic Change and Society in England, 1780-1870* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995), 12.

²⁸ Etherington, 'Education and Medicine', 269.

Working-class parents were often wary of the idea of free tuition. Some rejected the idea of state intervention in their children's education.²⁹ Privately funded schools, despite being more expensive, were popular amongst working-class parents.³⁰ This significantly affected the numbers of children in state-aided schools by 1870. As Forster reported, only two-fifths of working class children between the ages of six and ten were attending school by 1870. This amounted to seven hundred thousand in government education, as opposed to around a million who were not in state-aided schools.³¹

During the 1870s, a series of British settler colonies updated their education legislation. Many had existing education policies, but the 1870s saw widespread systematisation of education policy, and in particular, the encouragement of compulsory education for children, usually from the age of six or seven, to fourteen. These Acts were generally 'colour-blind', although, as the discussion below shows, they were often understood to apply only to white children. Education became compulsory in Tasmania (1868), Queensland (1870), Western Australia (1871), Victoria (1872), South Australia (1875), New Zealand (1877), New South Wales (1880), Ontario (1871), British Columbia (1873), Prince Edward Island (1877), and Nova Scotia (1883). These colonies were concerned with the education of the settler population, particularly in light of growing colonial nationalism in this period. Education was an important apparatus in social engineering, and educating in the correct way, by instilling middle class, English values, was central to setting white children apart from Indigenous populations. It is worth mentioning that there was a significant divergence between the New Zealand legislation and that of other colonies at this point: after the New Zealand Education Act passed in 1877, there was a rapid increase in numbers of Maori children in the national schools system. The policy in New Zealand was to keep Maori children in separate schools until their English language skills were adequate for them to be transferred to a government school.³²

²⁹ Stephens, *Education in Britain*, 87. I have not been able to find statistics of parents who actively objected to this education. One factor was likely to do with the fact that parents had, unless in extreme poverty, to pay school fees. Pamela Horne, *The Victorian Town Child* (Stroud: Sutton, 1997), 87.

³⁰ Digby and Searby, *Children, School and Society*, 14.

³¹ W.E. Forster, HC Deb 17.02.1870, vol. 199 cc438-98.

³² Barrington and Beaglehole, "'A part of Pakeha society'", 175.

Western Australia passed its Education Act in 1871, which ‘signalled a new level in state intervention in the provision of education...’³³ Although the Act referred to education for ‘the people’ of the colony, this was never taken to include the Aboriginal population. As the Bishop of Perth, Matthew Hale, argued in 1870:

A great change is coming over peoples’ minds at home in regard to compulsory education, and the minds of the people of England were becoming reconciled to the expediency of it. Compulsory education would in due course seem highly expedient here. It must, however, first be considered in relation to the children of the white population. Then it will, there is little doubt, be extended, as far as may be practicable, to the coloured race, when we may hope that the misery and degradation of these poor children will cease.³⁴

Hale did not want Aboriginal and white children to be educated together and thought Aboriginal education should be delayed until it was ‘practical’ to provide it.³⁵ The phrase ‘as far as may be practicable’ is telling: it turned Aboriginal education into a matter of practicality, and reduced the government’s responsibility for providing this resource. One MP argued that it was the responsibility of the Protestant government to provide education for the Aboriginal people. Another, Mr Marmion, who went on to be a member of the Central Board of Education stated that

he would however deprecate any system of training which simply had in view to teach the natives to read and write, because however desirable that was, it was much better to improve their moral tone, so to speak, by inuring in them habits of industry, than attempting to over-educate them.³⁶

He went on to say that the best thing to do would be to ‘see them so trained that they would become working and useful members of society’.³⁷

³³ Hetherington, *Settlers, Servants*, 54.

³⁴ Diocesan Church Society, from the Church of England Magazine Newspaper, reprinted in *The Inquirer and Commercial News*, 2.11.1870.

³⁵ Green, ‘Access, Equality and Opportunity?’, 94.

³⁶ Western Australian Hansard [Hereafter WAPD], 06.12.1870, 9. Available online at <http://www.parliament.wa.gov.au/hansard/hansard1870to1995.nsf/vwWeb1870Main>. Last accessed 09.07.2015.

³⁷ Ibid.

The discussions surrounding the passing of the Western Australian Act in Legislative Council raised concerns about the role of religious bodies in the funding and management of schools, particularly about providing ‘secular’ education to settler children.³⁸ Settlers argued it favoured Catholic over Protestant church-funded schools, because the governor at the time, Frederick Weld, was Catholic.³⁹ The number of white children in schools in Western Australia did increase as a result of the new legislation, but in 1881, some districts still reported that just over half of white children aged six to fourteen were in school. The compulsory attendance clause was not pursued with much force.⁴⁰ The significance of this legislation was not in its enactment, but rather in the positioning of the state as active in parenting children.

The relationship between (white) parents and the state remained a cause for some reflection for a number of years. For example, an article in a Fremantle newspaper in 1874 lamented the fact that parents were not taking responsibility for the correct upbringing of their children: ‘If people choose to bring children into the world, they must be prepared to meet the responsibility of their act.... Parental neglect, culpable indifferentism, on the part of fathers and mothers, is, speaking in the language of science, the genesis of the larrikin species.’⁴¹ Similar concerns about poor white children or larrikins were raised in other settler colonies. These children were particularly troublesome where attempts were being made to enforce racial segregation on the grounds that white people were superior in language, customs and culture.⁴² As I discuss later in this chapter, the case of the St Helenian children in Natal shows how the ambiguous racial identities of poor white children could challenge the status of white elites in the settler colonies.

Notably absent from the list of colonies passing education laws during this period are the African colonies, as well as the West Indies, all of which had significant ‘non-

³⁸ Hetherington, *Settlers, Servants*, 54.

³⁹ Weld to Salvado, 30.07.1871, SLWA ACC1732A [Hereafter all correspondence between the two is from this source].

⁴⁰ Hetherington, *Settlers, Servants*, 56-7.

⁴¹ *The Herald*, 18.04.1874, 3.

⁴² On white larrikins in Western Australia, see Hetherington, *Settlers, Servants*, 75-76 and on poor Whites in the Cape, see Sarah Duff, ‘Saving the Child to Save the Nation: Poverty, Whiteness and Childhood in the Cape Colony, c.1870-1895’, *Journal of Southern African Studies*, 37 (2011), 229-245. On Rhodesia, see Diana Jeater, ‘Speaking Like a Native: Vernacular Languages and the State in Southern Rhodesia, 1890-1935’, *The Journal of African History*, 42 (2001), 449-468.

white' (Indigenous, migrant and slave descendent) populations. In many African colonies, education was left largely to mission bodies, supported by the state to differing degrees, up until the 1930s.⁴³ In South Africa, the provision of free, secular education for whites was discussed around this time, but not enforced. In the Cape, from the 1870s onwards, there was growing concern over the education of white children, and in particular, of the poor white population living in the interior of the colony.⁴⁴ Education could civilise the white child, and conversely, a lack of education would see poor white children grow up in a similar way to the African population surrounding them. Sarah Duff posits that elementary education was not made compulsory at this time for a number of reasons, which included the rural preponderance of the white population at the Cape, whose lifestyle was not compatible with compulsory education.⁴⁵ The Department of Education did not want to interfere in the relationship between parents and children, and efforts to do so were resented.⁴⁶ Only in 1905 would the Cape School Board Act make education compulsory for all white children aged seven to fourteen. While the Act encouraged African and coloured parents to send their children to school, their education was not compulsory. When South Africa became a Union in 1910, education became compulsory for all children, although attendance was still not generally enforced.⁴⁷

In Natal, similar discussions about compulsory education took place, but it was rejected for similar reasons to those raised in the Cape. Natal Superintendent of Education, T. Warwick Brooks, argued in 1871 that 'the example of England should be followed here for the present, that is to say, that the Government should support denominational, local, and private schools, provided their management is in conformity with the standard and rules laid down by Government'.⁴⁸ The press picked up on the discussions about compulsory education in England, but raised concerns

⁴³ Bob White, 'Talk about School: Education and the Colonial Project in French and British Africa (1860-1960)', *Comparative Education*, 32 (1996), 9-25.

⁴⁴ Duff, 'Saving the Child', 231.

⁴⁵ Sarah Duff, 'Education for Every Son and Daughter of South Africa: Race, Class, and the Compulsory Education Debate in the Cape Colony,' in *Mass Education and the Limits of State Building, c.1870-1930*, ed. by Laurence Brockliss and Nicola Sheldon (Basingstoke: Palgrave, 2012), 261-282, 266.

⁴⁶ *Ibid.*, 269.

⁴⁷ Marimutu Ponnusamy, 'The Working Conditions and Careers of KwaZulu-Natal Women Teachers' (PhD thesis, University of Durban-Westville, South Africa, 2002), 58.

⁴⁸ *Report of the Commission Appointed by His Excellency RW Keate, Esq., Lieut-Governor of Natal to Enquire into the Adequacy of the Existing Establishments of the Colony* (Pietermaritzburg: Keith & Co., Government Printers, 1871), CO 181/10.

about extending state compulsion in Natal, saying a ‘man would feel a certain amount of degradation in allowing his children to be educated at the public cost’.⁴⁹

Although similar legislation was not passed in Natal or the Cape, the decade did see increasing systematisation and professionalisation of education. An Education Act was passed in Natal in 1877 to constitute the Council of Education to report on primary and secondary school matters in the colony. However, it remained optional for children to attend school, which meant that in 1898, only a fifth of the European children in the colony were attending schools.⁵⁰

The changing education legislation in Britain had a significant impact on legislation passed in the British settler colonies. Educational legislation in Britain was not simply transported to the colonies, unchanged. However, ideas about education and state intervention during childhood circulated through different parts of the British Empire. It is with these ideas about the changing role of the government regarding education that I now turn to an examination of the Industrial Schools Acts in Britain and Western Australia. I show that this legislation was justified on the grounds that poor, and Aboriginal, families were unable to adequately care for children.

Industrial schools legislation in Britain

The 1857 Industrial Schools Act was the first legislation for industrial schools in England.⁵¹ Although industrial schools were already in operation, funded by private charities, this legislation marked a turning point in government involvement in their running. These schools provided residential industrial training for children of both sexes, aged seven to fourteen.⁵² They were promoted as a way of reforming criminal children, but did not require children to have committed a crime in order for them to

⁴⁹ J.R. to the Editor of the *Natal Witness*, 01.03.1870.

⁵⁰ For a summary of the Natal education system, focusing in particular on education for European children see *Board of Education. Special reports on educational subjects. Volume 5. Educational systems of the chief colonies of the British Empire. (Cape Colony: Natal: Commonwealth of Australia: New Zealand: Ceylon: Malta.)*, HC 417 (1900), 199.

⁵¹ The Industrial Schools Act (20 & 21 Vict., c. 48 1857).

⁵² Marianne Moore, ‘Social Control or Protection of the Child? The Debates On the Industrial Schools Acts 1857-1894’, *Journal of Family History*, 33 (2008), 359–387, 360.

attend.⁵³ Magistrates were permitted to send children believed to be ‘vagrant’ to industrial schools, and after an 1861 amendment of the Act, this category was extended to include children under fourteen found begging, those who were homeless or in the company of thieves, children under twelve who had committed a crime, and ‘children under fourteen whose parent (or parents) was unable to control him or her’.⁵⁴ According to Stack, 17,783 children ended up in industrial schools between 1857 and 1875.⁵⁵ Moore argues the debates surrounding the government intervention in industrial schools exemplifies ‘one of the most energetic child protection movements in modern England’, in which the ‘extent of state intervention became the subject of significant debate’.⁵⁶

Industrial schools were seen as essential to solving child criminality and vagrancy by ‘removing children from contaminating environments before they began a life of crime, and raising them instead to be wholesome members of society’.⁵⁷ In other words, the schools were useful both in reforming children who had actually committed crimes, as well as those who could, by virtue of their poor parentage or background, go on to commit these acts.⁵⁸ The industrial schools system, argues Horne, established the right of the British state to ‘act *in loco parentis* where parents were failing to provide for their children’.⁵⁹ The element of compulsion was significant: that children could be removed from their family by the law marked a change in the relationship of the individual to the state, and indeed, of the state’s relationship to the family.⁶⁰ The reformers of the 1870s focused on ‘increased physical separation of children from their actual parents’, substituting them with appropriate middle-class ‘foster parents’.⁶¹ Children were sent to cottage homes, where they were taught appropriate gendered labour, away from the negative effects

⁵³ It is important to point out that these schools were not always analogous to those provided to Indigenous children in the British colonies. While Grey favoured boarding schools for his industrial training model, the cost of residential accommodation often made boarding impractical in colonial industrial schools.

⁵⁴ John Stack, ‘Reformatory and Industrial Schools and the Decline of Child Imprisonment in Mid-Victorian England and Wales’, *History Compass*, 23 (1994), 59-73, 65.

⁵⁵ *Ibid.*

⁵⁶ Moore, ‘Social Control or Protection’, 362.

⁵⁷ *Ibid.*, 363.

⁵⁸ *Ibid.*, 368.

⁵⁹ Horne, *The Victorian Town Child*, 207.

⁶⁰ According to Murdoch, in 1898, only 649, or 27%, of the 2,406 children in Barnardo’s homes were actually orphans. Lydia Murdoch, *Imagined Orphans: Poor Families, Child Welfare, and Contested Citizenship in London* (New Brunswick, N.J.: Rutgers University Press 2007), 72.

⁶¹ *Ibid.*, 6.

of family, and sometimes urban, life.⁶² These schools sought to redefine the relationship between parents and children, within the discourse of child welfare.

Poor children, in particular, were understood through a discourse of ‘rescue, reform and reclamation’.⁶³ As Swain and Hillel point out, the narratives surrounding the removal of children, ‘not always parentless or homeless’, from their families constructed these families as contaminating.⁶⁴ It was the role of the benevolent state to intervene in the protection of the child. ‘Industrial schools were therefore held up not only as institutions to protect children, but as examples of the paternalism of the Victorian state, acting out of philanthropy, Christianity, and moral imperative.’⁶⁵

The industrial schools were not designed to cater for all poor families, but only those in which parents would ‘contaminate’ pauper children. The 1861 Select Committee on the Education of Destitute Children was tentative in their recommendations, recognising the difficulties of state intervention in education, and particularly providing for orphaned children. Its evidence included different opinions on the removal of poor children from their parents: Joseph George Gent, the Secretary of the Ragged Schools Union, argued that removing children from ‘vicious parents’ would be a ‘great boon’ for the children, while he objected to it as a general rule.⁶⁶ By contrast, the Master of Miss Master’s School in Bristol, Mr George Higginbotham, testified that child removal would be beneficial for children.⁶⁷

As this discussion shows, ideas about the contamination of children by their immoral parents existed in Britain, although removals of children were not widespread in practice. While the redefinition of the relationship between adults, children and the

⁶² Felix Driver notes that in Victorian Britain, juvenile delinquency was spatially located: in the home of a ‘dysfunctional family’ and in some urban environments. Felix Driver, ‘Moral Geographies: Social Science and the Urban Environment in Mid-Nineteenth Century England’, *Transactions of the Institute of British Geographers*, 13 (1988), 275-287, 284. It is interesting that urban environments were seen as corrupting in this case, while in Western Australia, the Perth Native School in the early 1840s was located in Perth so that children could see the civilised example of town life. Similarly, in the Cape, Cape Town was held up as an example of civilised life for children at the Zonnebloem institution, rather than their rural homes in the Cape interior.

⁶³ Hendrick, ‘Constructions and Reconstructions’, 49.

⁶⁴ Swain and Hillel, *Child, Nation*, 11.

⁶⁵ Moore, ‘Social Control or Protection’, 369.

⁶⁶ Evidence, *Index to the report from the Select Committee on the Education of Destitute Children*, HC 460 and 460-I (1861), 16, 20.

⁶⁷ *Ibid.*, 94.

state was a significant shift, it is important to highlight that after the 1860s, metropolitan and colonial practice diverged when it came to removing children from their families. The practice of removing children from their families in Britain was small-scale and short-lived in comparison to Indigenous child removal in the Australian (and Canadian) contexts. By the beginning of the twentieth century in Britain, there was ‘a new era of child protection, and the emphasis was on an autonomous family unit free from state interference’.⁶⁸ As Catherine Hall argues, ‘Working-class Britons were not thought to be the same as Aboriginal or African peoples, even though a similar language might sometimes be used to describe them.’⁶⁹ Shurlee Swain points out:

it would be both simplistic and anachronistic to argue for indigenous child removal policies as being a distortion of domestic child welfare policies. A more fruitful line of argument would be to suggest a parallel motivation, ie that missionaries at home and abroad, confronted by what they interpreted as indifference on the part of the peoples they had come to ‘save’, turned their attention to the ‘innocent/malleable’ children.⁷⁰

The Industrial Schools Act in Western Australia

When the 1874 Industrial Schools Act passed in Western Australia, it was based on understandings of race, childhood, education and civilisation that had been elaborated in the Western Australian, the metropolitan, and other colonial contexts, during the nineteenth century. The perceived inability of Aboriginal parents to care correctly for their children was central to the removal of children from Aboriginal homes. The legislation, which attempted to control the contact between Aboriginal children and their families, was based on ideas about Aboriginal children and adults that assumed that ‘progress’ for Aboriginal children was possible, but limited. The idea that teaching Aboriginal adults was ‘perfectly hopeless’ made interventions in the lives of children even more urgent.⁷¹

⁶⁸ Moore, ‘Social Control or Protection’, 382.

⁶⁹ Catherine Hall, ‘Of Gender and Empire: Reflections on the Nineteenth Century’, in *Gender and Empire*, ed. by Philippa Levine (Oxford and New York: Oxford University Press, 2004), 46-76, 51.

⁷⁰ Swain, ‘But the children...’, 136.

⁷¹ Fitzgerald to Earl Grey, 10.02.1849, WASRO, Con.390, Governor’s Despatches.

Two important sets of changes in Western Australia affected the passing of the Industrial Schools Act, and the inclusion of Aboriginal people in it. First, there was increased awareness of educational issues in general after the passing of the 1871 Elementary Education Act. The colony achieved representative government in 1870, giving them a Legislative Council of eighteen members: the colonial secretary, surveyor-general and attorney-general, 'three colonists nominated by the governor, and twelve elected members'.⁷² The question of education occupied some of the earliest meetings of the Legislative Council, as members debated the status of Catholic education.⁷³ While the 1871 Elementary Education Act, as I showed above, did not explicitly exclude Aboriginal people from its provision, it was generally accepted that the law did not apply to Aboriginal people. However, the Act drew attention to the role of the state in education provision.

Secondly, there were on-going interventions in the treatment of Aboriginal people during Frederick Weld's governorship, between 1869 and 1875. He was vocal in his disapproval of settler violence towards Aboriginal people. He had been a member of Council in New Zealand, then Minister of Native Affairs from 1860 to 1861, and Premier from 1864 to 1865.⁷⁴ Weld would have known about New Zealand's legislation for Maori education, and indeed, about Governor George Grey's policies for industrial education. Correspondence between Weld and Grey, however, shows that they did not agree on the best way to manage native affairs in the wake of the New Zealand wars. In particular, Weld did not support imperial troops being based in New Zealand.⁷⁵ He also wanted to see Maori people incorporated into the Legislature, and suggested to Grey that 'native chiefs [be recognised] as a kind of constitutional assembly'.⁷⁶ Weld was concerned about native affairs in New Zealand, telling Grey that 'these natives are much underrated'. Weld's experience during this period of war

⁷² Brian K. De Garis, 'Self-Government and the Evolution of Party Politics 1871-1911', in *A New History of Western Australia*, ed. by Tom Stannage (Redlands: University of Western Australia Press, 1981), 326-351, 327.

⁷³ *Ibid.*, 331.

⁷⁴ George H. Russo, 'Religion, Politics and W.A. Aborigines in the 1870's: Bishop Salvado and Governor Weld', *Twentieth Century*, (October 1974), 5-19, 6.

⁷⁵ Weld to Grey, 19.06.1865 GLNZ W26.6 and 10.10.1865 GLNZ W26.8.

⁷⁶ Weld to Grey, 19.07.1865 GLNZ W26.7.

in New Zealand affected the way he addressed the treatment of Aboriginal people in Western Australia.

Weld intervened in a controversial case in 1872 when a Justice of the Peace and settler in Western Australia, Cleve Lockier Burges, shot and killed two Aboriginal men.⁷⁷ This intervention epitomises Weld's approach to the 'management' of Aboriginal people in the colony. Weld wanted Burges prosecuted for the violence, but police magistrate and prominent colonist, Edward Landor, argued the evidence was insufficient. As Nettelbeck has shown, Landor had previously proven himself hostile to Aboriginal people, saying that it was unlikely that they would ever be able to achieve equality with white men.⁷⁸ Weld 'interfered' in the judicial process, and had Landor suspended on the grounds that he had been partial in the case by not convicting Burges of murder. Weld compared his involvement in this case to that of Governor George Gipps, who had faced similar opposition when prosecuting settlers for murders during the Myall Creek massacre in 1838. As Nettelbeck noted, 'in comparing his treatment of the Burges case to Gipps' treatment of the Myall Creek case, Weld was appealing to an era when humanitarian discourse had driven colonial policy'.⁷⁹ As Weld explained to Catholic missionary, Rosendo Salvado, he saw himself as 'defending the weak against oppression which is of far more importance than myself'.⁸⁰

During his time in office, Weld pursued policies for the 'protection' and 'care' of Aboriginal people. The 1871 Native Offenders Amendment Act extended the power of justices of the peace to deal with punishment of Aboriginal people, rather than their trials being dealt with by a jury. After Western Australian frontier settlers were accused of excessive violence by the South Australian government in 1873, Weld issued a proclamation in the *Government Gazette*, stating that violence towards Aboriginal people in the colony would not be tolerated. He promised 'that all due and legal means will be made use of to detect and punish such acts of violence and injustice practised or that may be practised upon the person of any of the Aboriginal

⁷⁷ Amanda Nettelbeck, "'Equals of the White Man': Prosecution of Settlers for Violence Against Aboriginal Subjects of the Crown, Colonial Western Australia', *Law and History Review*, 31:2 (2013), 355-390, 370.

⁷⁸ *Ibid.*, 363.

⁷⁹ *Ibid.*, 372.

⁸⁰ Weld to Salvado, 08.07.1872.

Inhabitants' of Western Australia.⁸¹ The Pearl Shell Fisheries Act passed the same year, spurred by reports of the poor treatment of Aboriginal workers, particularly in the northwest of the colony. The Act prohibited the use of Aboriginal women as divers – not only because the work was believed inappropriate for them, but also because Weld worried about sexual coercion – and regulated the hiring and service of Aboriginal people more generally.⁸² The legislation attempted to protect Aboriginal workers from being kept in work against their will.⁸³ Thus, a series of issues relating to the status and treatment of Aboriginal people in Western Australia were being discussed and debated in the same period that the Industrial Schools Act was passed.

Weld's relationship with Salvado, who ran the school for Aboriginal children at New Norcia, was another important factor that influenced the passing of the Industrial Schools Act. From the time of his arrival in the colony, Weld was in contact with the Catholic Spanish Benedictine Mission. He stayed with the monks on a few occasions, and his correspondence with Salvado indicates that he gave grants to the New Norcia School. This funding was conditional on Salvado keeping the government informed about the progress of the boys in his care, as he took 'the boys as a favour to the Government'.⁸⁴ According to Brown, Salvado was 'enlivened' by the Elementary Education Act, and wanted to see similar legislation passed for Aboriginal people, or at least, the extension of the existing legislation to Aboriginal children.⁸⁵

Weld and Salvado discussed the best means of extending the power of managers of institutions for Aboriginal children. For Weld, the Aboriginal children needed to be protected both from settlers, and the influence of their families. Salvado's experience saw him advise Weld and members of the Legislative Council on Aboriginal matters.⁸⁶ He had worked with Aboriginal people since the late 1840s, far longer than any Protestant missionary in the colony. In 1871, a selection of correspondence from missionaries in the colony was printed in a pamphlet and presented to the Legislative Council as an aid in Aboriginal administration. A letter from Salvado was reprinted,

⁸¹ Proclamation, WAGG, 17.06.1873.

⁸² Weld to Grey, 13.11.1869, GLNZ W26.14.

⁸³ *Pearl Shell Fishery Regulation Act* (37 Vict., No. 11 1873); Russo, 'Religion, Politics', 8.

⁸⁴ Weld to Salvado, 19.11.1870.

⁸⁵ Brown, 'Policies in Aboriginal Education', 139.

⁸⁶ He also corresponded with members of the Legislative Council. See SLWA ACC354A for Salvado's correspondence with George Shenton about the 1875 Bastardy Act.

in which he outlined his understanding of Aboriginal people, and the best means of educating and civilising them.⁸⁷ Salvado, as we saw in his correspondence with Nightingale, emphasised the importance of outdoor work for Aboriginal people. This partly explains why the industrial school model was followed, rather than a more literary focused education, as called for by the Elementary Education Act. Salvado believed that different races could become equal, but that Aboriginal civilisation needed to take place slowly, and be carefully adapted to their current circumstances:

We look at them [Aboriginal people] with European eyes, consider them as Europeans, and try to train them as such; but in doing so we delude ourselves. Their case is quite another, quite different from ours, and we ought to bring them to our case and high position, not at once, but by the same way we came to it, by degrees.⁸⁸

Salvado believed that physical and practical training, combined with religious education, would be most beneficial to Aboriginal people at their current stage of development: ‘I believe a native that knows how to cultivate his field to be much more advantageously initiated in the civilized life than another that knows only how to read and write.’⁸⁹

Another New Norcia missionary, Venancio Garrido, emphasised the same point. He thought that Aboriginal people could be educated, but was tentative about the results of education. ‘That they are *not* incapable of civilization is the fixed impression with all who have experienced them best.’⁹⁰ It is interesting that Garrido framed the ability of the children in the negative, as Callaway had in Natal. Rather than confidently proclaiming the children ‘capable’ of civilisation, Garrido more cautiously suggested they were ‘*not* incapable of civilization’. Garrido highlighted the fact that parents of Aboriginal children left their children at the school voluntarily, because it was easier for the children to be based there.⁹¹ It is important that Salvado and Garrido thought that the Aboriginal people could be taught, and that they could ultimately become civilised. However, the different abilities of Aboriginal and European people were

⁸⁷ *Information Respecting the Habits and Customs.*

⁸⁸ Salvado to the Colonial Secretary, 19.02.1864, *Ibid.*, 5.

⁸⁹ *Ibid.*

⁹⁰ Garrido to Colonial Secretary, to be forwarded to the APS, 21.12.1867, *Ibid.*, 15. Emph. in original.

⁹¹ *Ibid.*

present as well – Aboriginal people needed to spend more time outdoors than Europeans did, and could not simply be given the same education as young white children. The changing legislation regarding Aboriginal people, and Weld's close relationship to the New Norcia missionaries, impacted on the passing of the 1874 Industrial Schools Act in Western Australia.

Like the metropolitan Act of 1857, the Industrial Schools Act in Western Australia was about both 'care' and 'control' of Aboriginal children. It drew on the metropolitan legislation, but modified it in relation to the local context. Queensland's 1865 Industrial and Reformatory Schools Act called explicitly for Aboriginal child removal, on the grounds of race.⁹² By contrast, the Western Australian legislation still required parental consent for the removal of Aboriginal children, although, in practice many children were removed from Aboriginal parents outside of the ambit of the law, because they were 'not always orphans and parental permission was rarely sought'.⁹³ According to Shirleene Robinson and Jessica Paten, the Western Australian legislation resembled the 1844 Ordinance for the Protection, Maintenance and Upbringing of Orphans and other Destitute Children of the Aborigines, passed during Sir George Grey's governorship.⁹⁴ This legislation had transformed the Protector of Aborigines into the legal guardian of orphaned Aboriginal or mixed-race children. As Grant has written on the South Australian legislation, 'to Grey the legislation was a perfect example of British law being used to protect natives from the degrading influence of their own culture and laws'.⁹⁵ The application of this kind of legislation, seen as a 'humanitarian' intervention in South Australia at the time, to Western Australia, shows Weld's commitment to a version of humanitarian protectionism more associated with the earlier decades of the century.

The Act reflected a desire to look after children who needed state care. However, it also sought to control and manage a population against their will, and often against the wishes of their parents. It applied to 'orphaned and necessitous children, or

⁹² Shirleene Robinson and Jessica Paten, 'The Question of Genocide and Indigenous Child Removal: The Colonial Australian Context', *Journal of Genocide Research*, 10 (2008), 501-518, 507.

⁹³ Haebich, *Broken Circles*, 78.

⁹⁴ Robinson and Paten, 'The Question of Genocide', 513.

⁹⁵ Grant, 'God's Governor', 110.

children or descendants of the aboriginal race'.⁹⁶ The explicit statement that the legislation applied to both white and Aboriginal children was exceptional in Western Australia at the time.⁹⁷ Children could now be kept in charitable institutions until the age of twenty-one, and be apprenticed to settlers as labourers. The manager of the institution was permitted to apprentice children of any age to 'some trade or as agricultural or domestic servants or to the sea service'.⁹⁸ The importance of work being linked to civilisation is clear here: Indigenous people, orphans and young offenders could simultaneously be reformed and made useful.

As my discussion of similar legislation in Britain showed, the idea of which children should be sent to industrial schools was open to some interpretation in Western Australia as well. 'Vagrant' children, or those who could not be controlled by their parents, could be sent to the schools, as could juvenile offenders. When the Bill was read before the Legislative Council, one member, Birch, objected to the idea of juvenile offenders being sent to the schools. He worried about other children being contaminated by 'association with youthful criminals'.⁹⁹ He positioned children, and childhood, as particularly fragile in terms of the formation of identities. The mixing of different classes of children could be potentially harmful, and it was unclear whether criminals would be a bad influence on the needy children who surrounded them.

This legislation turned the Aboriginal family into a site for state intervention and a place where Aboriginal children could be contaminated with their parent's indigeness. That juvenile offenders were provided for in the same legislation likened the Aboriginal children being trained in habits of industry with European children who had committed offences. As Jamie Scott has noted for industrial residential schools in Canada, based on those set up by the London Philanthropic Society, such institutions blurred boundaries of race and class, and 'square[d] Native children with the Dickensian waif of mid-Victorian London by means of the racialised intermediary of the nomadic, and therefore uncivilised, "arab"'.¹⁰⁰

⁹⁶ Industrial Schools Act.

⁹⁷ Hetherington, *Settlers, Servants*, 4.

⁹⁸ Industrial Schools Act.

⁹⁹ Report from LC, 30.07.1874, *The Western Australian Times*, 7.08.1874.

¹⁰⁰ Jamie Scott, 'Penitential and Penitentiary: Native Canadians and Colonial Mission Education,' in *Mixed Messages: Materiality, Textuality, Missions*, ed. by Jamie Scott and Gareth Griffiths (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2005), 111-133, 114, 117.

The Act applied to children under the age of twenty-one, who were, voluntarily or involuntarily, 'surrendered' to an institution, unless, in the case of child offenders, their conditions for incarceration stipulated that they should be there for a shorter time. Girls younger than twenty-one who were getting married could apply to leave the institutions. Importantly, children in the institutions could be retained in the institution against their parents' wishes. As the previous chapter showed, the idea of child removal had been discussed in Western Australia in the years before the Act was passed. For example, Bishop Hale, mentioned in the previous chapter, who ran the Swan Native and Half Caste Home from 1872, believed that Aboriginal children were becoming 'more depraved and wicked than aborigines in their primitive condition' and that they could only be improved by 'getting them from their own people and training them as Christians' and protecting them from 'growing up in the midst of vice and wickedness'.¹⁰¹ This Act laid the foundation for the removal of Aboriginal children from their families, as they were, in the eyes of the law, the same as European children who did not have parents, and had grown up in state care, or had committed offences.

The children being placed in schools needed the guardianship of surrogate parents (the state and institutional managers) to protect them from harmful outsiders. Managers of institutions now legally had 'all the powers and privileges of a father over and in respect of such an infant to the exclusion of its natural guardian...'¹⁰² Speaking about managers acting in *loco parentis*, the Chairman of the City Council, George Randell stated,

We say that this may be desirable, but it must be recognized as a limitation of the natural power of the parent or guardian, and we much doubt whether, in most cases, the operation of the act can be properly explained or distinctly apprehended by native parents.¹⁰³

It is significant that while the Act did not provide for the legal removal of all Aboriginal children, there was a recognition that Aboriginal parents might not

¹⁰¹ Hale to SPG, 14.08.1871, CLR/209.

¹⁰² Industrial Schools Act.

¹⁰³ *The Western Australian Times*, 08.12.1874, 3.

understand the legislation, and therefore, might ‘voluntarily surrender’ their children without fully understanding the consequences of doing so. The increasing power of managers reflected a need to provide particularly structured education to Aboriginal children, which would remove them from the bad effects of living amongst their uncivilised families. When the Act was read before the Legislative Council, the colonial secretary, Frederick Barlee, emphasised the importance of extending the power of the managers of institutions, particularly in the case of Aboriginal children. Barlee was concerned that these ‘authorities’ were not able to keep children in these institutions. He said it was

too often the case now that when children had received a sufficient training at these institutions to render their services useful, they were quietly removed from the custody of managers, and all the civilising and Christianising influences brought to bear in their training were thrown away.¹⁰⁴

Barlee referenced Salvado’s case, saying Salvado felt ‘powerless to retain these native and half-caste children in his custody, but that, when their parents demand it, he is obliged to surrender them’.¹⁰⁵ One member of the Legislative Council felt that the existing provision in the Bill, that the Justice of the Peace would become legal guardian of any Aboriginal child not living with a parent, and be permitted to move that child into an approved institution, did not go far enough. Walter Padbury favoured Queensland’s approach to industrial schools, and wanted to see the power of Justices of the Peace extended over ‘all aboriginal children, whether living under the care of a father or mother, or not’.¹⁰⁶ Since Aboriginal parents were themselves constructed as children, they were deemed unable to look after their own offspring. They certainly were not thought capable of choosing whether their children should be educated, or what kind of education they should receive. Approved ‘guardians’ and the state therefore needed to take on the role of adults to care for Aboriginal children. The Industrial Schools Act would ‘protect’ Aboriginal children from different aggressors – their families, who would inculcate wandering or roving habits; the

¹⁰⁴ Charitable Institutions Bill, Second Reading, WAPD, 7.07.1874. Also quoted in Hetherington, *Settlers, Servants*, 73.

¹⁰⁵ Ibid.

¹⁰⁶ Report from Legislative Council, 30.07.1874, *The Western Australian Times*, 7.08.1874.

settler society, which would teach ‘drunkenness’ and ‘vice’, or subject them to violence; and their own race, inherently contaminating for children.

As biological conceptions of race became increasingly entrenched, so too did the idea that it was too late to help Aboriginal adults in Australia. Of course, this had implications for the education of Aboriginal children. ‘[I]n general it was civilised adulthood which was the goal held up to be striven for, within reach of the child in due course, but beyond the attainment of the savage in any foreseeable timespan’.¹⁰⁷ This idea of perpetual childhood was applied to educated Aboriginal people who left mission stations, and was used to account for the failure of missionary attempts at Aboriginal ‘civilisation’. A series of articles published in the *Perth Gazette* in 1865 addressed this issue, saying ‘Of the pupils at the Wesleyan School [discussed in Chapter Three] most of them died off about the age of puberty; others, at the earliest opportunity re-appeared among civilised men with the rags and tatters of their early misspent education hanging loosely upon them.’¹⁰⁸ The anonymous writer, using a metaphor drawn from the natural world, wrote, ‘The human plants grow up to maturity, pursue their hereditary course of life, yield to their natural instincts, and leave no trace of their new civilization beyond the trail of some adopted civilised vices.’¹⁰⁹

If children could be removed from their parents at a young enough age, their indigenesness could be reframed. Taking children against their parents’ will, an aspect of both metropolitan and colonial industrial schools legislation, firmly positioned the state as an active participant in the life of the family. In a speech before Weld left Western Australia at the end of 1874, Randell reflected on the year and on the acts that had been passed. Randell thought that the Industrial Schools Act ‘protect[ed] the liberty of native races’.¹¹⁰ That Aboriginal children were removed, even when their families were present, constructed their families as delinquent, criminal and unable to care.

¹⁰⁷ Cunningham, *The Children of the Poor*, 129.

¹⁰⁸ Laicus, ‘Thoughts about Natives: Part 2’, *Perth Gazette*, 24.11.1865.

¹⁰⁹ Laicus, ‘Thoughts about the Natives: Part 1’.

¹¹⁰ *The Western Australian Times*, 08.12.1874, 3.

As Anna Haebich shows, the implication of this kind of legislation was devastating for Aboriginal communities in Western Australia, and it was followed by increasingly discriminatory legislation.¹¹¹ The 1886 Aborigines Protection Act allowed Resident Magistrates to compel Aboriginal children under twenty-one, (or of a 'suitable' age), to work. In 1905, the Aborigines Act made the Chief Protector of Aborigines the legal guardian of all Aboriginal children. In the following section of the chapter, I consider similar ideas in the Natal context. Parallel concerns about race and childhood for white children in Natal existed there, while state intervention in schooling and education was also becoming increasingly acceptable. Reading the Western Australian legislation alongside this case shows how race was seen as particularly fragile during childhood. Both Aboriginal and white children needed to be protected from contamination in youth.

Natal: White children and racial others

In 1870s Natal, similar concerns about race and childhood were raised, although they were framed in a slightly different way. The understanding of childhood that shaped the outcome of this case points to the fragility of racial identities during childhood. Here, I focus not on legislation but rather a specific moment where ideas about race, segregation and education came up in public life. What the case shows is that similar understandings about the role of the state in the provision of education, particularly for white children, operated in Britain, Western Australia and Natal. Moreover, like the Western Australian case, here we see biological and cultural understandings of race existing in parallel.

In 1874, an exceptional case unfolded in Durban, Natal, which drew into conversation colonial officials, settlers, St Helenian immigrants to the colony, and the Aborigines Protection Society. Following an influx of St Helenian immigrants into the colony in the 1870s, complaints were raised about the admission of their children into government schools, which in spite of the claim that these schools were 'open to all classes of Her Majesty's subjects', were generally accepted to cater to the children of white settlers. In a case that became the rallying point for the St Helenian community

¹¹¹ Haebich, *For their Own Good*.

and the APS, the Queen Street Durban government school differentiated between two St Helenian girls, the daughters of a Mrs Sherrard. The younger girl was described as 'quite white', while the elder was 'slightly bronzed', or 'olive'.¹¹² The school principal, Mr James Crowe, recently arrived from England, assembled all of the St Helenian children in the lobby of the school, and stated that their attendance needed to be stopped for a time. The following day, Mrs Sherrard's younger daughter went back to school, and was given permission to continue her attendance, while her elder daughter was denied admission. Other exclusions of St Helenian children from government schools had already occurred, although there had been no official government notice on the subject.

A flurry of correspondence was sent between the colonial secretary, Frederick Napier Broome, the Superintendent of Education, T. Warwick Brooks, and concerned parents of the St Helenian children about the exclusion of their children from government institutions, the status of St Helenians in the colony, and the colonial education system more broadly.¹¹³ As the case escalated from the level of the school principal, to local colonial officials and later, to the Colonial Office, concerns were raised about the effects of integrated education on white children.

There were about twenty-five thousand white settlers living in the Natal in the 1870s, making up around six per cent of the colony's population.¹¹⁴ According to Schulenburg, from 1839, three years after St Helena was acquired as a colonial territory, many of its 'lower classes' left for the Cape. In the early 1870s, between one and a half and two thousand people left the island, out of a total population of some five thousand.¹¹⁵ This was largely because of the island's decreasing significance after

¹¹² Brooks to Broome, 04.02.1876. All of the correspondence regarding the St Helenian case is from PAR CSO 536 1876/270 unless stated otherwise.

¹¹³ T. Warwick Brooks served as the Superintendent of Education between 1866 and 1876, and F. Napier Broome as colonial secretary from 1875 to 1878. After a stint in Mauritius, Broome went on to be Governor of Western Australia, from 1883 to 1889.

¹¹⁴ Many of these settlers arrived under Byrne Emigration scheme in the 1850s. Robert Morrell, *From Boys to Gentlemen: Settler Masculinity in Colonial Natal, 1880–1920* (Pretoria: University of South Africa Press, 2001), 24.

¹¹⁵ Yon and Schulenburg and Schulenburg have different figures. See Daniel Yon, 'Race-Making/ Race-Mixing: St. Helena and the South Atlantic World', *Social Dynamics: A Journal of African Studies*, 33 (2008), 144–163, 154 and Helmut Schulenburg and Alexander Schulenburg, *St Helena: South Atlantic Ocean* (Germany: Jacob-Gilardi-Verlag, 1997), 8. Brooks himself was unclear on the numbers of St Helenians in the colony, and in particular, on the number of children who were, in fact, making use of the government schooling. See minute from Broome, annotated by Brooks, 16.12.1875.

the opening of the Suez Canal, and the lack of East India Company support. An estimated eight hundred St Helenian people settled in Natal, in search of economic opportunities. While the number of St Helenian immigrants to Natal was small, they were a visible and vocal group within the colony.

Particularly troublesome for the parents of white children in the Durban Government School on Queen Street was the lack of clarity on the St Helenian children's race. From the mid-eighteenth century, the population of St Helena was made up of English families, and slaves who had arrived from Madagascar, India and Indonesia.¹¹⁶ In 1868, the governor, Charles Elliot, complained that the St Helena population proved very difficult to classify, given the amount of interracial mixing which had occurred between Chinese, Indian, African and European populations on the island.¹¹⁷ As Ralph Clarence of Durban put it in a letter to Henry Richard of the APS, the St Helenians are 'a mixed race according to blood, but they are thoroughly English in language and habits: and as there have always been schools at St Helena, they are as well taught as the same class of people from England would be'.¹¹⁸

In 1870s Natal, as in Western Australia, race was increasingly seen as tied to innate difference. While there had been some interracial mixing during the early years of colonial settlement in the territory, this soon gave way to far harsher attitudes to race, mirroring similar developments in other parts of the world.¹¹⁹ Swain and Hillel argue that interracial mixing between white and Indigenous children in Canada and Australia was seen as particularly problematic for white children, who might be contaminated by other races. 'Colonial power was one of the privileges of whiteness, but the whiteness of settler children was seen as being under threat.'¹²⁰ As Stoler notes of the Dutch Indies, 'Native and mixed-blood "character" was viewed as fixed

¹¹⁶ Alexander Schulenburg, 'Transient Observations: The Textualising of St Helena through Five Hundred Years of Colonial Discourse' (PhD thesis, St Andrew's, 1999), 200. Schulenburg compares the demographics of the slave population in St Helena with that of the Cape, and indicates that there were slaves living on the island from the time of its settlement by the East India Company, 201. There was also a small influx of Chinese indentured labourers to the Island in the 1830s, 226.

¹¹⁷ Ibid., 243.

¹¹⁸ Ralph Clarence, 'Coloured Children in Natal', *Colonial Intelligencer* (February, 1876), 284-286.

¹¹⁹ Charles Ballard, 'Traders, Trekkers and Colonists,' in *Natal and Zululand from Earliest Times to 1910: A New History*, ed. by Andrew Duminy and Bill Guest (Pietermaritzburg: University of Natal Press, 1989), 116-145, 119. See on mixed-race relationships in Canada, see Adele Perry, *On the Edge of Empire: Gender, Race and the Making of British Columbia, 1849-1871* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2001); and on the Dutch Indies, Stoler, *Carnal Knowledge*.

¹²⁰ Swain and Hillel, *Child, Nation*, 97.

in a way that European “character” was not’, which made white children particularly vulnerable to the influence of an immoral ‘other’.¹²¹ The removal of not quite white enough St Helenian children from government schools in colonial Natal highlights the intersections between gender, race, language and civilisation. In this case, we see ideas forming about the need to protect white children from racial ‘contamination’ by people characterised as racially ‘other’, although the exact content of that ‘otherness’ was difficult to define.

As I mentioned earlier, education for European children in Natal was not compulsory until 1910. There were two government-run primary schools in the colony by the 1870s. The first was set up in Pietermaritzburg in 1849 and the second in Durban in 1850. The majority of white children were sent to government-aided schools, like the Pietermaritzburg High School, opened in 1863, or Durban High School, opened in 1866. Although there ‘were a few non-whites’ amongst the first intake of pupils, the schools were generally understood to be racially-segregated and usually single-sex.¹²² These government and government-aided schools were compelled to admit black students if they ‘conformed to “European habits and customs”’ and a formal proclamation was made to this effect in 1882, seven years after the case under discussion here.¹²³ As the century progressed, however, it was increasingly unlikely that any students who were not white would be seen to conform to ‘European habits and customs’ as these were increasingly tied to white skin. In practice, African children were usually taught at mission schools. The Indian Immigrant School Board, established in 1878, worked with mission societies and provided education to Indian migrants.¹²⁴

¹²¹ Stoler, *Carnal Knowledge*, 138.

¹²² Behr and Macmillan, *Education in South Africa*, 128.

¹²³ *Ibid.*, 382.

¹²⁴ *Ibid.*, 383. It is interesting that in the correspondence regarding the case, the St Helenians are sometimes referred to as ‘coloured’ or ‘Cape children’, but never as part of the Indian group. This is likely because of the indentured labour system under which the majority of Indians were labouring, while the St Helenians were ‘free born’ citizens.



Figure 6 PAR C4169/3

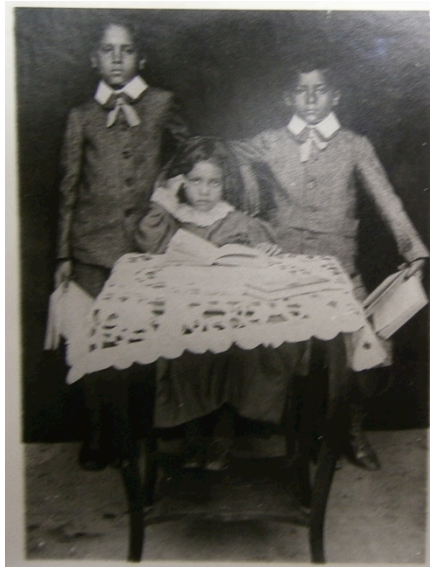


Figure 7 PAR C4169/4

Photographs from PAR: 'Coloured children ejected from a European school'

From October 1873, a few St Helenian children were admitted into government schools in Natal, with no comment from other children, schoolteachers or parents. However, in August 1874, the acting headmaster of the Queen Street Primary School, W. J. Hepworth, raised objections. He wrote to the Superintendent of Education, T. Warwick Brooks, saying that there were already five St Helenian children in the school who had been admitted because there was 'no objectionable difference in them

from the other children either in point of colour or behaviour'.¹²⁵ However, he continued, two children had been refused admission based on their race. They were, he said, 'of a colour bordering upon the black'. He went on to state that he had refused admission to these children not because of any prejudice of his own, but rather because there is 'a strong feeling of repugnance down here against the St Helena people, as a body, on account of their immorality'.¹²⁶ The correspondence that followed, and in the later expulsion of all St Helenian children from the government school, underlines the importance of racial definition in this context. It also suggests an increasing reliance on government sanction for the management of schools, particularly for European children. The context of the Elementary Education Act in Britain made this state intervention in education more acceptable to settler families.

Brooks replied that the children should be readmitted to the school, and until early 1875, their presence did not raise any further complaints.¹²⁷ However, when the new headmaster, James Crowe, took over, he wrote to Brooks again, highlighting the European parents' dissatisfaction with the St Helenian children being taught amongst their own children. He wrote, 'I am of the opinion there would be less opposition from parents if Kaffirs or Coolies attended the School'.¹²⁸ Something about the racial ambiguity of the children was particularly troublesome to the parents of white children. Not being able to define if the St Helenian children should form part of the dominant class was troubling, particularly when education was being demarcated as for an elite. This is similar to what Buettner found in the case of colonial India, where '[w]hiteness was...an extremely fragile construct, and parents often worried far more about children slipping into the realm *between* coloniser and colonised than they did about their possibly "going native" through contact with Indians'.¹²⁹ Tschurennev, also concerned with colonial India, argues that 'Low-class Europeans' or Anglo-Indians 'threatened stable distinctions between "whiteness", or "Europeanness", i.e.

¹²⁵ Acting Master of the Durban Government School to the Superintendent of Education, n.d.

¹²⁶ Ibid.

¹²⁷ Report H.E. Bulwer to Lord Carnarvon, 26.01.1876, GH 1219.

¹²⁸ Crowe to Brooks, 22.03.1875.

¹²⁹ Elizabeth Buettner, 'Problematic Spaces, Problematic Races: Defining "Europeans" in Late Colonial India', *Women's History Review*, 9 (2000), 277–298, 292; See also Buettner, *Empire Families: Britons and Late Imperial India* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004), and on Anglo-Indian families and children in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth century, see Margot Finn, 'Anglo-Indian Lives in the Later Eighteenth and Early Nineteenth Centuries', *Journal for Eighteenth-Century Studies*, 33 (2010), 49–65, esp. 59–61. Finn argues that in this period, class difference was just as, if not more salient, than racial difference for bourgeois Anglo-Indian families.

civilisation, and savage “blackness” and, thus, the problematic identity of Europeans in colonial contexts’.¹³⁰ The fact that St Helenians ranged from ‘a colour bordering upon the black’ to looking like ‘Saxon [maids]’ meant that the boundaries between the racial groups needed even fiercer protection, as these children embodied perceived racial mixing, and were thus symbolic of a disruption of the social order.¹³¹

At this point, Brooks reconsidered his earlier stance on the St Helenian children in the government school. Crowe’s 1875 report that white girls had been removed from the school was particularly worrying. It is unclear how Brooks decided that the St Helenian students should be removed from the school, but the Legislative Council discussed the decision. A report in the *Natal Witness* quoted the colonial secretary saying,

There can be no doubt that all children have an abstract right to the use of the Government Schools, and the forfeiture of such right ought to depend only on the conduct of the children themselves; but in this case there is a practical difficulty which cannot be ignored, however much we may deprecate it.¹³²

The idea of education being a ‘right’ for children was likely influenced by discussions of compulsory education in Britain. When the children were removed, the primary reason given was the fact that white girls had been withdrawn from the school by their parents. Proposals were raised to open separate schools for the St Helenian children, which, according to one letter to the *Natal Witness*, ‘only gave in fact an official sanction to the social stigma with which they were branded, solely on account of their colour’.¹³³

The fact that girls were seen as particularly vulnerable to contamination is worthy of comment. Moore argues that in the 1870s and 1880s there was increasing concern over the fate of poor girls in England, with the extension of legislation specifically to

¹³⁰ Tschurenev, ‘Diffusing Useful Knowledge’, 257. See Stoler, *Carnal Knowledge*, Ch. 5 on similar issues in the Dutch Indies.

¹³¹ Acting Master of the Durban Government School to the Superintendent of Education, n.d.; Minute from Brooks, 14.02.1876.

¹³² Report of the Legislative Council, 13.05.1875, in *Natal Witness*, 18.05.1875.

¹³³ Letter from ‘Nonconformist’, *Natal Witness*, 18.01.1876.

protect them from (sexual) danger.¹³⁴ ‘Subsequently, what can be seen in the 1870s and 1880s is a movement of national sympathy for young girls at risk of becoming sold or sexually exploited. Girlhood was conceptualized as a period of innocence and a lack of understanding rather than of experience.’¹³⁵ In Natal, as Martens has discussed, the context of concern over the ‘innocence’ of white girls had another element of fear about African men’s sexuality. White mothers were often anxious about leaving their daughters with black men, especially around the time of the ‘Black Peril’ cases, in the 1860s and 1870s, when white settlers in Natal were ‘gripped by the fear that female settlers were in imminent danger of being raped by African men’.¹³⁶ Although there were ‘no factual grounds for white alarm’, this period saw a focus on the creation of laws to protect women and children, including vagrancy laws passed to ‘control’ African men, who were ‘corrupted’ by urban spaces.¹³⁷ Martens argues that ‘[f]or settlers who closely tied middle-class values and morality to European identity, a regulated and properly ordered domestic sphere was crucial for the security and protection of white women and their children’.¹³⁸ Concerns over white girls, in particular, mixing with St Helenian children resonate with these concerns about white women moving into the public sphere.

Unfortunately for local officials, the parents of the St Helenian children were active members of society, clearly concerned about the treatment of their community, and their children in particular. Shortly after the St Helenian children had been removed from the school, a group of their fathers wrote in protest to the lieutenant-governor. All of the correspondence with the local and imperial government came from St Helenian fathers, rather than mothers, in spite of the fact that the parents of the St Helena children are referred to elsewhere exclusively as ‘women’. Describing themselves as ‘Loyal subjects of Her Most Gracious Majesty the Queen formerly enjoying the full privileges of British subject’, the fathers appealed to the government regarding the expulsion of their children from the government school, saying that their children had been removed from the school ‘solely on account of their colour’.

¹³⁴ Moore, ‘Social Control or Protection’, 370.

¹³⁵ Ibid., 374.

¹³⁶ Martens, ‘Polygamy, Sexual Danger’, 25; Jeremy Martens, ‘Settler Homes, Manhood and “Houseboys”: An Analysis of Natal’s Rape Scare of 1886’, *Journal of Southern African Studies*, 28 (2002), 379-400.

¹³⁷ Martens, ‘Polygamy, Sexual danger’, 25.

¹³⁸ Martens, ‘Settler Homes, Manhood and “Houseboys”’, 394.

They drew the lieutenant-governor's attention to the case of the Sherrard children in which the one who was 'fairer than the other' was kept in the school, while her sister was removed, along with some other children whose parents were from the Cape.¹³⁹

When their complaint was not addressed, the deputation of St Helenian fathers wrote to the Natal colonial secretary, Broome. In this letter, they articulated their belief that as British citizens, their children should be entitled to education in government schools. They asked why the government was providing schooling along lines of 'caste', particularly when their children had not been badly behaved.¹⁴⁰ The parents pointed to what Brooks had raised in his letter to the colonial secretary: that the children were being treated as a separate group, although they had not behaved badly, or given any cause for their expulsion from the school. The parents continued:

We are greatly surprised by the ignorance displayed by the Superintendent of Education in the matter of the manners and customs of the St Helena people, having no nationality of their own, their institutions being wholly English.

We can speak from experience that in the cities of Boston, and New Bedford, United States of America, the children of respectable St Helena parents have access to any of the high schools, but not in such an insignificant place as Durban.

The parents were drawing on their imperial identity, which they believed made them 'wholly English'. The fact that Durban is referred to as 'insignificant' is interesting, especially in light of the fact that it was being compared to two cities in America. Perhaps the relative youth of Durban contributed to its insignificance. The American cities, and New England in particular, had seen large numbers of immigrants from various parts of the world in the course of the nineteenth century, who the St Helenian fathers believed were treated on a more equal footing than they were in colonial Natal.

¹³⁹ Letter from Johnson, Young, Hillman, Joshua, Brethconn, Tryman, Mack, Beaumont, Stapey, Williams, Benjamin, Herme, Heffner, Samual, Panott, and other (illegible) to Sir Garnet Wolseley, 12.04.1875.

¹⁴⁰ Crowley, Green and Clark to Broome, 21.06.1875.

As mentioned in the Western Australian context regarding concerns about poor white ‘larrikins’, part of the problem in the St Helenian case was their class. Where being white was synonymous with being a landholder and member of an elite group, a community of poorer, working, people who claimed equality could be deeply unsettling. As Morrell argues for elite boys’ boarding schools in colonial Natal,

education was a site of contestation and ... the form that it took mirrored the specific matrix of colonial power giving settler elites privileged access to schools. Those excluded or denied partial access belonged to marginal social groups, the working class, the colonised, or, in general terms, those outside the ruling bloc.¹⁴¹

In the case of the St Helenian children, class as well as race could contaminate the white children. The St Helenian fathers, clearly aware of the negative characterisations of their community, distanced themselves from the ‘few lost characters’ that had arrived in Natal from St Helena, stating this ‘deplorable class’ should not be ‘considered typical of the whole’.¹⁴²

The fathers’ complaints raise important questions about the role of government in education. While missionary establishments would take in their children, the St Helenian fathers felt that the government should provide education to them. Their complaint shows that they saw themselves as part of the dominant class in Natal society. While settlers claimed ‘Englishness’ as a marker of their superiority in Natal, St Helenian people were using this same concept as a mark of equality. However, as Anne Stoler has shown, in colonial contexts ‘what mattered were not only one’s physical properties but who counted as “European” and by what measure’.¹⁴³

When the lieutenant-governor failed to acknowledge their letter, two representatives of the group of fathers, Crowley and Green, wrote that since the lieutenant-governor had left ‘from the Colony without the least recognition of what is most near and dear

¹⁴¹ Morrell, *From Boys to Gentlemen*, 49.

¹⁴² Crowley, Green and Clark to F.N. Broome, 21.06.1875. Yon recounts a story of a St Helenian woman living in a coloured suburb of Cape Town in Apartheid South Africa. When her children were discriminated against on the basis of their skin colour, Yon reports that she would say, ‘After all they [the offenders] should remember that I am British!’ Yon, ‘Race-Making/Race-Mixing’, 158.

¹⁴³ Ann Laura Stoler, ‘Making Empire Respectable: The Politics of Race and Sexual Morality in 20th-Century Colonial Cultures’, *American Ethnologist*, 16:4 (1989), 634-660, 635.

to us, namely the education of our children, and finding that it is your intention to govern us by Class legislation, we are reluctantly compelled to forward our grievance to England'.¹⁴⁴ The case was escalated to the secretary of state for the colonies, Carnarvon, who called for a full investigation into the status of the St Helenian children's education in the colony. It is likely that the recent legislation for compulsory education in Britain shaped the concern for the matter that came from the colonial government. It is interesting to consider whether their attention, or that of the APS, would have been captured if education had not been made compulsory at this time.

The case was reopened, with Colonial Secretary Broome claiming that Brooks had not expelled the children because of colour, but rather because European parents had called the St Helenian children 'vicious' and 'depraved' and would not allow their children to associate with them. In this phase of investigation, during the second half of 1875, the mothers of the St Helenian children were interviewed, as were teachers. Various teachers attested to the good behaviour of the children in schools, and returns were obtained from other schools in the area, asking about their policy on coloured and St Helenian children's admissions. The testimony of the St Helenian mothers was written off as the case had long since passed, and it was seen as impossible to 'obtain evidence of facts (and the order of occurrence) which happened now more than ten months ago mostly from excited women and children who have heard the facts talked about, they can hardly separate what they heard from what they saw'.¹⁴⁵ When the police captain, Maxwell, was asked to investigate the expulsion of St Helenian children in 1875, he raised the children's class status as a reason for their exclusion from the school. He described his visit to the mothers of St Helenian children as follows:

The women of course were on their good behaviour while it was plain to be seen that they were of a low class and the presence of their children in the Durban School (to compare small things with great) must have had some such effect as the presence of 'ragged' Scholars would have in an ordinary board School in London, or an inroad of

¹⁴⁴ Crowley and Green to Broome, 28.08.1875.

¹⁴⁵ Minute Paper T.W. Brooks, 26.01.1876.

children from the slums of Portsmouth into a common School in a quiet country town.¹⁴⁶

Referring to ‘ragged’ schools in England, and making the comparison between the ‘slums of Portsmouth’ and the community of St Helenian families, indicates either a perceived class difference between the St Helena families and the other children attending the government school, or that their ambiguous racial identity led to them being identified as lower class. This description evokes the discussion of the passing of the Elementary Education Act in Britain, and highlights fears about mixing between children of different ‘sorts’. The idea of the categories of class and race overlapping in the British colonies was also articulated in the provision of the Industrial Schools Act in Western Australia, which provided state-funded industrial training for white orphan and criminal children as well as Aboriginal children. In both settler colonies, the categories of criminal, orphan, destitute, and ‘ragged’ were understood in similar terms as racial difference. Ideas about race, class and childhood were not specific to one context, but were evoked in different ways in different parts of the British Empire.

The Superintendent of Education for the Cape Colony, Sir Langham Dale, was also approached for his opinion on the matter. Brooks asked for evidence about how schools in the Cape dealt with mixed-race and coloured children, as this was seen as pertinent to the case of the St Helenian children in Natal.¹⁴⁷ After explaining that all schools in the Cape Colony were open to ‘all children, without distinction of creed, class, or colour’, he explained that three orders of schools were designed to cater for the white, the ‘aboriginal’ and ‘the poorer classes, of mixed race, who cannot afford to pay the fee in the Public School, or do not wish that kind of instruction’, respectively. Dale touched on one of the fundamental difficulties for education provision in South Africa, and across the Empire: race was difficult to define, and outward manifestations of difference were not always enough to distinguish between races. According to Dale:

¹⁴⁶ Testimony from Police Captain, Maxwell, as reported in the Minute from Brooks, 14.02.1876.

¹⁴⁷ Letter from Sir Langham Dale to Brooks, 23.07.1875.

I feel confident that the increasing number of children of mixed race would render any limitations of Public Schools to white children impracticable, the Colonial children of mixed race are often of a lighter hue than those of European descent; and with the prevailing variety of shades of colour, it is impossible to draw a line of demarcation, except in the case of the pure Aboriginal race.¹⁴⁸

As Dale pointed out here, it was difficult to visually differentiate between those children who were white and those who were mixed race in the Cape Colony. Different ways to distinguish between white and mixed-race children were needed. Objections based on language and class were often used to deal with this problem of classification. Thus, the assertion that the St Helenian children were ‘depraved’ and ‘vicious’, served to highlight their racial difference and set them apart from the white, English and respectable class of settlers in Natal. Again, the connection with the Western Australian context is clear: Aboriginal children, by virtue of their colour were also ‘depraved’ and ‘vicious’, just like criminal white children.

The only new information that the reinvestigation of the case revealed was that it was unclear how many white children had actually been removed from the school on account of the St Helenian children’s presence. This speaks to the very poor record keeping of government schools at the time. In early 1876, the lieutenant-governor forwarded the records of the investigation to Carnarvon, saying that it had not been on account of ‘colour’ that children were expelled, but rather because of their ‘gross immorality’. The Colonial Office clearly did not accept this reframing of the case, saying that ‘though the immorality of the St Helena immigrants is stated to be the principal cause of the prejudice against them, it seems that colour had a good deal to do with it’.¹⁴⁹ The matter was passed off as a resolved ‘mistake’. However, the Natal government declared shortly after that ‘the Government schools of the Colony are to be open to all classes of Her Majesty’s subjects’.¹⁵⁰

The case of the St Helenian children in Natal was about more than the white settler elite claiming a right to segregated institutions. What it shows is that ideas about race

¹⁴⁸ Ibid.

¹⁴⁹ Memo from Clerk Malcolm, 30.3.1876, CO 179/120, No. 2575.

¹⁵⁰ Memo from F. Napier Broome, 16.12.1875, regarding the APS correspondence about the St Helena children; Behr and Macmillan, *Education in South Africa*, 132.

and childhood were not unique to characterisations of Indigenous children. White children were seen as particularly vulnerable when faced with perceived racial, or classed, 'others', and this danger was heightened in response to children who could not be easily racially classified. Whiteness in colonial Natal was related to exclusive access to government institutions, but also to speaking the English language in a particular way, and being of a certain class. In this sense, whiteness was to be learnt by children: partly in the home, and partly in schools. However, this conception of white children being corrupted by 'others' in the school assumed something innate about 'native-ness'.

The reactions of parents, teachers and government to the inclusion of not-quite-white-enough children in a government-funded institution in Natal highlight dual understandings of race, as both cultural and biological. The difficulty was explaining this contradictory ideology, particularly for local government officials who needed to appear to act in the best interests of all of Natal's subjects. The belief in the necessity of segregated education was as much about the perceived negative influences of black children on white children, as it was about the perceived intellectual and moral superiority of white children over Indigenous ones. While whiteness could be learnt, it was also very fragile, in need of protection from outsiders. In a place like colonial Natal, where political power was related to skin colour and claims to Englishness, the fear that white children would be mis-educated, and turn out non-white was very present. Children who were of mixed racial descent were particularly problematic as they challenged ideas about racial purity, and their presence could threaten the exclusive socialisation into whiteness that children were receiving in the government schools.

The St Helenian case challenges the idea that race was seen as tightly bound to biological difference by the last quarter of the nineteenth century. As Jeremy Martens has convincingly argued regarding settler views on African marriage practices in the 1860s, 'whites continued to employ the rhetoric of liberal humanitarianism because its flexibility afforded ample justification for discriminatory policies.' Indeed, 'the enlightenment belief in civilisation and savagery was still prevalent, even as scientific

racism began to extend its influence'.¹⁵¹ Ideas about race, class, language and morality overlapped in this case, and were impossible to disentangle. This case highlighted the vulnerability of white identity in this settler colony.

Conclusion: Racial difference, class, and childhood

While the St Helenian case was a moment at which the relationship between childhood, class, race and education was raised in a very public way, there were numerous ways in which these ideas manifested in colonial Natal. For example, during the second half of the nineteenth century in particular, there was a strong preference amongst the white settler population for white nurses, domestic servants, governesses and teachers, as opposed to Indigenous domestic labour.¹⁵² Mary Anne Barker, Frederick Napier Broome's wife, praised African servants, but said that it was a necessity to have a white nurse to look after her children, as well as her four African domestic servants.¹⁵³ As an appendix in Robert James Mann's *The Colony of Natal* put it in 1859,

As children grow older, the less they have to do with the native portion of the household the better. They should now be as much as possible the companions of the mother, and be trained by her, as their strength permits, to become her useful assistants in her various occupations both in and out of doors. Where a school is within reach, she will gladly avail herself of its aid for their instruction in book-knowledge...¹⁵⁴

In Western Australia, there were similar ideas about the status of Aboriginal children. While some educators like Anne Camfield, discussed in Chapter Four, and Bishop Hale, believed in the prospect of equality of all children, Aboriginal families were

¹⁵¹ Martens, "Civilised Domesticity", 342, 345.

¹⁵² Cecilie Swaisland, *Servants and Gentlewomen to the Golden Land: The Emigration of Single Women from Britain to Southern Africa, 1820-1939* (Pietermaritzburg: University of Natal Press, 1993), 98.

¹⁵³ Mary Anne (Lady) Barker, *A Year's Housekeeping in South Africa* (London: MacMillan and Co., 1877), 66, 119.

¹⁵⁴ A Lady, 'Appendix: Hints to Emigrants wives', in Robert James Mann, *The Colony of Natal: An Account of the Characteristics and Capabilities of this British dependency* (London: Jerrold and Sons, 1859), 228. In practice, however, African servants would have done most domestic labour. See Martens, 'Settler Homes'.

seen as potentially harmful to Aboriginal children. It was in the family that children would learn their race. Sending children to industrial schools would not only serve to remove them from this contaminating environment, but would also train them in useful skills that would benefit the settler community. However, the fact that *all* Aboriginal families were potentially contaminating, rather than only poor or criminal families in the case of white children, shows a conception of race as something innate and visible.

This chapter has explored these seemingly contradictory beliefs about race and childhood during the 1870s. As previous chapters showed, increased intervention in the lives of families in metropolitan and colonial contexts was based on the idea that it was the responsibility of a benevolent government to provide funding for education. In the 1830s, when the government began to fund education in Britain, this was seen as an important intervention in the lives of poor and working-class people. As government involvement in education increased in both metropolitan and colonial contexts, there was a greater desire to delineate what type of children different institutions should serve. In Britain, there was a need to remove vagrant or criminal children from contaminating families into specialised institutions for their reform and care. In Western Australia, Aboriginal, criminal and orphaned children were compared through the provisions of the Industrial Schools Act. Finally, in Natal, government schools were increasingly seen as exclusively for the use of white children. Children who were not-quite-white-enough could disrupt the exclusivity of this social space. Each of these cases highlights the centrality of both schooling and education to the formation of (racialised) identities for children.

This chapter has explored the intersections between notions of racial and class difference in childhood by addressing the way these concepts manifested on different scales. In order to do so, I used records of one case in colonial Natal, and read this alongside legislation from Western Australia, and broader changes in education policy in the British settler colonies. I have shown that the anxieties about race mixing for children were not just products of particular locations, but rather, were responding both to changing ideas about race, but also regarding the role of the state in education provision. By considering not only the direct impact of specific legislation, but also

how it changed the conversation about education in the 1870s, this chapter indicated broader shifts in thinking about race, childhood and education in that decade.

Returning to the extract from Frank Chesson's speech at the beginning of this chapter, I have indicated some of the effects of the thinking about the Elementary Education Act on the so-called 'untamed children of nature' in the British colonies.¹⁵⁵ By examining the formation of compulsory education policy in Britain, and considering its effects on education provision in Western Australia and Natal, this chapter has shown how ideas about the government's role in education were changing towards the end of the nineteenth century. For children, race was something to be learned. Attempts to remove children from their families and teach them in institutions, and to segregate education for white children, are evidence for this. The idea that race was learned, however, fundamentally undermined biological theories of race, which were increasingly popular and compelling during this period. Attempts to keep children away from the social effects of racial mixing indicate fears about race being unstable and permeable. Race often served as a proxy for class. In Natal, the St Helenians' lower class status was worrying for the settler elite. In Western Australia, the Industrial Schools Act positioned Aboriginal children similarly to working class or orphan children. Who counted as an adult, and who would be able to parent appropriately also changed in relation to increased state intervention in education.

¹⁵⁵ Chesson, 'The Education of Native Races in British Colonies', 346.

Conclusion

The ‘chief blessing of civilisation, the benefit of education’

In 1865, Anglican Bishop John Colenso gave a lecture to the Anthropological Society of London ‘on the efforts of missionaries among savages’.¹ Facing trial for heresy and his excommunication from the Church, Colenso responded to an earlier paper by William Winwood Reade. Reade, recently returned from a tour of West Africa, argued that ‘British Christianity can never flourish on a savage soil’.² Colenso believed that Reade’s observations were based on insufficient evidence. He explained what had been achieved in Natal, and stated that mission work had indeed been a ‘great blessing’ to African people, before outlining how mission activity could be improved.³ Education was central to his vision.

Colenso was adamant that government-funded education was essential in Natal and thought the £5,000 Native Reserve Fund should be exclusively reserved for it. Then, he argued, education would be extended ‘systematically, instead of being left, as now, to accidental missionary efforts; it would be done thoroughly and effectually, instead of being hindered, as now, by sectarian strifes and jealousies’.⁴ He continued,

Are we not bound by every sense of duty, to do as much as this for them? Must we allow them to suffer all the evil consequences of contact with civilisation, while as a nation we hold the land in our hands and take the taxes of the people, without also, as a nation, seeking to impart to them that chief blessing of civilisation, the benefit of education? Or must we sit, as a nation, coldly by, and allow the religious sects to squabble on their own peculiar differences, while the people are perishing still, as far as this life is concerned, in heathen ignorance, idleness, vice and superstition?⁵

Colenso’s call for greater government control of education would go unanswered for twenty years. By 1885, there were only sixty-four schools providing for 3,783 African

¹ Colenso, ‘On the Efforts of Missionaries among Savages’, 248-289.

² William Winwood Reade, ‘Efforts of Missionaries among Savages’, *Journal of the Anthropological Society of London*, 3 (1865), 162-183, 164. See Felix Driver, ‘Reade, William Winwood (1838-1875)’, *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, Oxford University Press, 2004; online edn, May 2009 [<http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/23229>, accessed 10 May 2015].

³ Colenso, ‘On the Efforts of Missionaries among Savages’, 250.

⁴ *Ibid.*, 278.

⁵ *Ibid.*

students in Natal. The existing system of mission schools receiving grants remained in place. As Native Education Inspector Robert Plant put it in 1889, 'for the small amount we are at present spending we are receiving the most satisfactory returns. Utilising the missionaries, we obtain a European supervision free of cost, and are thus enabled to cover a much larger surface than we otherwise could do.'⁶ The number of schools increased to 145 in 1896, and 196 in 1901, teaching a total of 11,051 pupils.⁷ Still, the number of African pupils in Natal remained a minority, with only one per cent of the African population receiving any kind of schooling by 1908.⁸

In Western Australia, similar issues to those raised by Colenso about the relationship between missionaries, Indigenous people and the government shaped education. As Chapter Three showed, there were attempts to amalgamate Aboriginal people with settler society in the 1830s and 1840s. However, as Chapters Four and Five indicated, the following two decades saw Aboriginal education circumscribed both by legislation that cast Aboriginal families as contaminating for children, and by pessimism about the future of Australian Aborigines. As a Report on the treatment of Aboriginal prisoners at Rottnest Island and in the colony more generally argued in 1884, 'that the aborigines are fast disappearing is apparent on all sides; and it is a mournful truth that, whatever is done, it appears to be an impossibility to avert this downward course'.⁹ It continued:

We have no hope that the Aboriginal native will ever be more than a servant of the white man, and therefore our aim should be devoted to such instruction as will enable him to live usefully and happily among the white population. It seems impossible to expect that much will or can be done. The experience of fifty years finds us at a point as if we had never begun...¹⁰

By the close of the period under discussion here, there were still only two schools serving Aboriginal children. New Norcia had forty-four pupils, and a further twenty-

⁶ Robert Plant, 'Minute on Native Education', in Plant, 'Report of the Inspector of Native Education for 1889', CO 181/28.

⁷ Marks, *Reluctant Rebellion*, 55.

⁸ Ibid.

⁹ *Report of a Commission appointed by His Excellency the Governor to inquire into the treatment of Aboriginal Native Prisoners of the Crown in this Colony: And also into certain other matters relative to Aboriginal Natives* (Perth: Government Printer, 1884), 4.

¹⁰ Ibid.

five were being educated at the Swan Native and Half Caste Home.¹¹ By the turn of the century, Haebich estimates that a mere two hundred Aboriginal people, both adults and children, were living on mission stations in the colony.¹²

Colenso's comment that education was the 'chief blessing of civilisation' was widely accepted by imperial and local governments, but the way that this blessing was conferred was often partial and contested. This thesis has examined education for Indigenous people in Natal and Western Australia as a way into understanding race and settler colonialism. While education was often positioned as a humanitarian intervention in the lives of Indigenous people, one which introduced them to religion and morality, it was also used to control Indigenous labour in the settler colonies. As ideas about race changed over the middle decades of the nineteenth century, so too did ideas about the responsibility of government for education, and the capacity of Indigenous people to learn. Schooling and education were central to the construction of racial difference in the settler colonies. Missionaries and government used education to 'civilise' Indigenous people, and to train them to become industrious members of society.

This thesis has contributed to the existing historiography in two ways. Firstly, it shows that an examination of education opens up ideas about race, humanitarianism and settler colonialism. Education was a key way that colonial governments sought to extend their hegemony in metropolitan and colonial contexts. From the 1830s, local and imperial governments were aware of the expediency of providing education. Not only would it show their willingness to 'care' for their populations, it could also be used further government agendas, whether of maintaining a labour force, protecting Indigenous people, or ensuring their population's continued loyalty and acceptance of class and racial hierarchies. Whether at home or in the colonies, the idea of government involvement in education was not neutral, and provoked anxiety for missionaries and voluntary organisations. Yet, equally, as the century progressed, white Britons and Indigenous peoples increasingly perceived education as a government responsibility.

¹¹ Reports from Bishop Hale and F. Dominguez, in *Ibid.*, 17

¹² Haebich, *For Their Own Good*, 6-8.

Schools were often the only point of contact between Indigenous people, missionaries and the state. They changed the everyday experience of pupils, teachers and families. Colenso's relationship with William Ngidi, Henry Callaway's with Mpengula Mbande and Anne Camfield's with Bessy Cameron exemplify this. Schools (and education more broadly) must be taken seriously as an affective space – changing the relationships between teachers and pupils but also between pupils and their families.

However, colonialism's pedagogic strategies were also far broader than this. Attempts to reshape Indigenous approaches to land and labour within settler society assumed that certain practices could, and should, be taught. In the 1840s and 1850s, schemes for the industrial training of Indigenous people constructed labour as a central part of their education. For Governor Hutt, Western Australian Aboriginal people could be civilised through working for settlers. For the Locations and Labour Commissioners in Natal, labour was the only path to Africans' civilisation. In the 1860s, missionaries and educators seeking to extend education were affected both by their own changing ideas about race determining mental capacity, but also by the increasingly vocal demands of white settlers. For example, in the 1850s and 1860s, Camfield and Callaway each engaged with contemporary thinking about race and its connection to mental capacity. Dominant narratives about race were, therefore, responded to, challenged and shaped by people working at the local, colonial level. Focusing on education is a fruitful way into thinking about both the status of Indigenous people, and also of settlers in particular societies. Colonial education, therefore, operated at within, and between, the levels of the intimate and local and the public and imperial. Imperial policies were not simply put into practice by missionaries and educators in the colonies. Rather, they were adapted, contested and adhered to in complex ways.

Secondly, the thesis shows that attentiveness to transnational and comparative questions is essential to understanding colonial education. By highlighting the connections between education policy and practice in different colonies, and connecting these to educational change 'at home', the thesis indicates that looking beyond the boundaries of the nation-state is crucial to understanding the development of education at the colonial level. While historians of education have been 'deeply attached to the *materiality* of the nation-state as the main unit of observation and analysis', I have argued that looking beyond the national indicates similarities

between seemingly disconnected education policies and practices.¹³ For example, while there was widespread mission activity in Natal, and some government involvement in education after 1856, in Western Australia, education provision was limited through the middle decades of the nineteenth century. The belief that Australian Aboriginal people were ‘dying out’ and that Zulu people had recognisable tribal structures and authority shaped divergent approaches to Indigenous government and education. However, in spite of these differences, missionaries and local governments in both places believed that children would be particularly open to education. Settlers were threatened by education provision, arguing that expenditure on Natal Africans’ or Western Australian Aborigines’ education was wasteful, highlighting common anxieties across the colonies. Education in both places assumed connections between morality, industry and religion. Similarities and differences between colonies are only legible when these experiences and practices are read in parallel.

Education was seen as part of an apparatus of social reform in the West Indies following emancipation. Including this case study not only provides important context to the nature of education as a humanitarian intervention in the settler colonies, but also provides a point of contrast with the settler colonies, where the imperial government failed to provide funding specifically for education throughout the period under study. The fact that educational change occurred in metropole and colony simultaneously, and that policy regarding industrial education in the West Indies was extrapolated to the settler colonies, urges us to think of colonial processes as occurring not just between metropole and colony, but also between different parts of the colonial ‘periphery’. The transfer of Sir George Grey’s industrial education policy between New Zealand and the Cape, and then to Natal indicates the same point.

Following Lester and Dussart, I argued that colonial government approaches to Indigenous people during this period were shaped by ambivalent humanitarianism.¹⁴ Focusing on government involvement in education reveals the tension between humanitarian ideals and the need to provide for settlers very explicitly. Local governments were involved with plans to ‘civilise’ Indigenous people though

¹³ N6voa, ‘Empires Overseas and Empires at Home’, 818.

¹⁴ Lester and Dussart, *Colonization*, 273-275.

education, industrial training or labour schemes. These interventions could be constructed as uplifting to Indigenous people, while serving settler demands for labour and land. Moreover, the concept of 'civilisation' resisted definition: while it was often referred to as part of education the way that it was best imparted was debated. While Hutt in Western Australia believed that urban spaces could civilise wandering Aboriginal people, Shepstone in Natal believed the process of civilisation was easier to manage if Africans were isolated from the corrupting influence of settler society. Nightingale was concerned that civilisation might, in fact, be harmful to Indigenous people. Thus, attempts to bring Indigenous people into civilised settler society, between 1835 and 1870, were contested in different colonial spaces.

There was a fundamental paradox that shaped education interventions in the British colonies during the nineteenth century. The process of educating assumes a capacity for change. However, by the 1870s, Indigenous people were increasingly characterised as unable to change due to the limitations of their race. The education that their children were offered, therefore, at once recognised and denied that race determined educability. This had an impact on education interventions, whether through child removal in Western Australia, or calls for segregated schooling in Natal. Industrial schools legislation in Western Australia, and the case of St Helenian children's removal from government schools in Natal, showed that race was an increasingly important marker of difference in the two colonies under study. However, the meaning of racial difference, particularly for children, remained subject to debate.

A key challenge in writing this thesis has been to integrate a wide variety of source material, relating both to broad changes in education policy in metropolitan and different colonial contexts, and to provide detail about the provision of education at the local level. Whilst denying us a comfortable narrative of Indigenous education in the settler colonies, the juxtaposition of diverse archival material, of different colonial sites, and indeed, of local, colonial and imperial interventions on Indigenous education has revealed sometimes unforeseen connections between places and policies. For example, that industrial education was used in the 1840s West Indies to regulate a supply of labour provides an important connection with the promotion of industrial training in 1840s and 1850s Natal. Educational change occurred in

metropolitan and colonial contexts simultaneously, and the extension of education in different places relied as much on local actors as on broad imperial ideas about what function education should perform in the settler empire. Although there were myriad connections in thinking about race and education across colonial territories, the way that education was extended differed substantially across both time and space.

In choosing to include chapters that both connect and compare, and are attentive to continuities and contrasts between different colonies, I have become aware of other cases that would also provide important and fruitful sites for future research. In particular, as Chapter Two mentioned, New Zealand would be a useful point of comparison, not only because George Grey's career connected it with the Cape, Western Australia and South Australia, but also because New Zealand's education system diverged from the other settler colonies in the 1870s. A further extension to the Cape Colony and South Australia would allow a multi-sited analysis of this key figure's policies for industrial education. The potential exists for comparisons with the Canadian colonies, where debates about assimilation fundamentally affected the provision of Indigenous education.¹⁵ It would also be fruitful to situate the changes in Indian education in the nineteenth century in the broader imperial contexts. Finally, the development of the Irish National School system, in which many of those involved with the Negro Education Grant were interested, also provides an avenue for future comparative and connective work.

As I mentioned in the introduction, my interest in Natal and Western Australia as sites of comparison began with the knowledge that responsible government had been delayed in both places because of imperial government concerns over the treatment of Indigenous people. When examining the debates that surfaced in the 1880s and 1890s regarding the status and treatment of Indigenous people in each colony, I was struck by how vociferously settlers defended their status in each colony by turning to the

¹⁵ See Armitage, *Comparing the Policy of Aboriginal Assimilation*. Margaret Jacobs and Katherine Ellinghaus both compare Australian and American contexts and provide useful models for thinking about how these comparisons can be done. Margaret Jacobs, *White Mother to a Dark Race: Settler Colonialism, Maternalism, and the Removal of Indigenous Children in the American West and Australia, 1880-1940* (Lincoln and London: University of Nebraska Press, 2009); Ellinghaus, *Taking Assimilation to Heart*.

language of race. As Evans has argued, race was a defining category for access to equality in both places.¹⁶ According to Curthoys and Martens, in both colonies

British apparent and formal commitments to equal and humane treatment of Indigenous peoples were everywhere severely undermined by strong competing interests — land and labour for the settlers, and Britain's own broader imperial aims. In the process, the interests of Indigenous peoples were forgotten and ignored.¹⁷

My desire to uncover some of the reasons why education took the form that it did in the early twentieth century led me back to the period of emancipation, and indeed, to seemingly unrelated sites of Empire. Taking this into account has aided my understanding of later developments in each colony. Future work on how these debates manifested in the later decades of the nineteenth and early twentieth century would undoubtedly be illuminating. Moreover, extending the study into the twentieth century would allow me to integrate more Indigenous voices and perspectives on education, due to increased availability of source material.

Denial of Indigenous access to education at once affirmed settlers' erroneous beliefs about inferior mental capacity of Indigenous people, and shored up settler authority. This thesis has provided an important prelude to the debates that surfaced in the final decades of the century regarding the status and treatment of Indigenous people in Natal and Western Australia. This negligence of Indigenous people's rights and welfare, and specifically of their education, would have significant ramifications in the twentieth century. In Australia, the rights of Indigenous people were increasingly curtailed after Federation in 1901. The 1905 Western Australian Aborigines Act solidified government control of Aboriginal people. The Chief Protector of Aborigines was now the legal guardian of Aboriginal and mixed-race children younger than sixteen, and mission schools were brought more closely under his control. 'This gave the [Aborigines'] Department greater power over enforced assimilation of Aboriginal children...'¹⁸ In Natal, by 1908, there were 304 schools for European students, with 12,437 pupils enrolled, out of a total European population of about 100,000. By contrast, one hundred and sixty-eight schools served 14,056

¹⁶ Evans, 'The Formulation of Privilege and Exclusion', 71.

¹⁷ Curthoys and Martens, 'Serious Collisions', 144.

¹⁸ Haebich, *For Their Own Good*, 85.

African pupils, less than one per cent of the African population.¹⁹ This thesis has shown how the foundations for unequal education policy were laid in the nineteenth century. Attentiveness to shifting policy and practice in the nineteenth century indicates how ideas about race, civilisation, mental capacity and labour became increasingly important markers for educational access in the twentieth century. The legacies of these policies are still felt in both Western Australia and KwaZulu-Natal.

¹⁹ *Report of the Superintendent of Education for the year ended 30th June, 1908*, CO 181/66; Meghan Elisabeth Healy, “‘To Control Their Destiny’: The Politics of Home and the Feminisation of Schooling in Colonial Natal, 1885–1910”, *Journal of Southern African Studies*, 37 (2011), 247–264, 252.

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Con. 1067 1871/002 *Information Respecting the habits and customs of the Aboriginal inhabitants of WA, compiled from various sources: Presented to the Legislative Council by His Excellency's Command* (Perth: Richard Peter, Govt Printer, 1871)

1.2) Libraries and Special Collections**British Library Manuscripts Collection**

Florence Nightingale Original Correspondence

BL Add MS 45770

BL Add MS 45797

BL Add MS 43399

Cory Library, Rhodes University, South Africa (CLRU)

Wesleyan Methodist Mission Collection

MS 15/523 Healdtown Correspondence

MS 15/524 Copy of Kay-Shuttleworth's 'Brief Practical Suggestions on the Mode of Organizing and Conducting Day-Schools of Industry, Model Farm Schools, and Normal Schools, as part of a system of education for the Coloured Races in the British Colonies'

Methodist Pamphlet Boxes 1 and 2

Cullen Library, University of the Witwatersrand

Anglican Church Collection

AB 1606f John William Colenso correspondence

AB1161 Bp. Robert Gray's Journals of a visit of Natal in 1850

AB1162 Diocese of Cape Town: Letterbook of Bp. Gray (A1.1)

Rhodes House Library, Oxford

Anti-Slavery Society Papers

MSS. Brit. Emp. S.20 E1/1-E1/13
E2/4 – Committee on Slavery Minute Book 1833
E2/12- E2/13 – Records of the Mico Charity

Thomas Fowell Buxton Papers
Mss. Br. Emp. 17 S.444 Vol. 3, 13 -15, 31, 32

Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts Papers (SPG)
Natal Original Correspondence D8 (1850-1859) and D25 (1860-67)
Natal Missionary Reports E series: 2,4,5,7,9,12,13,15,17,20,21,23-26 (1856-1871)

Journal written by Miss Alice Mackenzie while at Bishopstowe; the last letter written to her Brother, The Rev. Charles Mackenzie later Bishop of the Central African Mission, who died finally at his post, in Africa. MSS. Afr. R.174, RHL

School of Oriental and African Studies (SOAS)

Records of the Wesleyan Methodist Mission Society
Natal Original Correspondence FBN 17 – 19 (1869-1884)
Natal Synod Minutes FBN 3-5 (1867-1883)
Western Australia Original Correspondence FBN 1-3 (1840-1855)

South African Library, Cape Town (SAL)

MSB 223 Sir George Grey Original Correspondence

State Library, Western Australia (SLWA)

ACC 275A	Wollaston papers
ACC 354A	Salvado and Shenton Correspondence.
ACC1732A	Letters between Frederick Weld and Dom. Rosendo Salvado.
ACC 2527A	Bessie Flower to Anne Camfield
ACC 4308A/HS 587	Extracts from the letters of Henry Camfield
ACC4308A/HS486	Wollaston's account of his first tour of WA as Archdeacon
ACC 7158A	Thea Shipley Collection (Copies of Smithies' WMMS correspondence)
ACC 7203A/32	Perth Protestant Orphanage Microfilm

University of Cape Town Manuscripts and archives

BC 636 Zonnebloem archive
A1.1-A1.32 Letters, 1858-1859, dealing with the establishment of the 'Kaffir College' at Bishopscourt
A2.1 – A2.26 Letters, 1.8.1860-14.4.1869.
D1.1 - D1.1.2 Letters 1858-1862; yearly record 1860-1901; minutes of Board of Management, 1858-1859

Wellcome Library

Thomas Hodgkin Facsimile Letters, 1856-66: PP/HO/D/A2453 Hodgkin Facsimile Book, 1861, TH, Lewes, to Henry Callaway, Natal, 04.03.1861, 10-12.

1.3) Digitised Manuscripts

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Letter from Maunsell to Grey GL/M31.1
Letters from Weld to Grey GLNZ W26.1-W26.16
<http://www.aucklandcity.govt.nz/dbtw-wpd/msonline/>
[Last accessed 10.05.2015]

Society for the Propagation of the Gospel Records Online

CLR/209 C/Aus/Per/1 Letters received
F6 - Rev. George King, Freemantle (1841-1847)
F7 – Archdeacon Wollaston (1843-1856)
F8 – Capt R. Spencer (1837 - 46)
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Cape of Good Hope. Further papers relative to the state of the Kaffir tribes. (In continuation of papers presented May 31, 1853), HC 1969 (1854-1855).

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Minutes of the Committee of Council on Education, 24.09.1839, HC 18 (1840).

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2.2) Government Gazettes and other government publications

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