Wolpe - p. 30
137

9.9.78.

Final reading of draft of Destruction

Preface ? exclude section on "Zulu" [difficulty of writing]

Contents Will have to be changed.

Introduction The link up with old introduction seems awkward. Possibly link with this sort of theme:- While the outlines of the process are well-known it cannot be over said that there is a general understanding of the details of the process. Part of this is the general ideological narrow backwardness of South African historiography; also because many of the actors are black, the move from. direct aggressive attacks to the romantic, paternalistic. Then of course the exigencies of the South African situation has mitigated against the entry of blacks into the privileged strata of historical scholarship ~~distorting~~ ~~shaping~~ distorting our general understanding of history the region. Thus even our perception of the word Zulu, depending so largely on works of this kind — distorted as it may be the history the word Zulu, not only what it means to Africans - but also to foreign observers fascinating insights into their social consciousness.

Part. One. The Quotes ~~at beach of~~ on title page.
(Seems legitimate to use these quotes.

11 Add to and correct quotation.

14. Possibly remove this definition - there is now repetition.

25 Amabutho - now repetitive 29 Zulu independent - now repetitive

Photographs Abbreviations)

40 Must be rewritten in the light of Bullock's article.

49 Etherington's article must come in here p.52.

88 PART TWO. Suitable Statement. Ngidi must be checked

92 ff. Linkages have to be established here. Note that there does'nt seem to be any massive rewriting necessary

179 Is Mapheli Malabar?

186 Ikhobho - must be spelt out

193-222 can this be reduced

228 - photo of Mbhosona

238 - This is the place to put Tol. question

242 Madima = Ndabuko Somopo & Palane are mentioned

291 Map

349 Bontuhenamo

368 Sibuya & Ndwandwe

10.9.78. - Rewrite

11.9.78. Preface:

This book tells the story of the destruction of the material strength and political independence of an African society in southern Africa in the late nineteenth century. ~~The attack on self sufficient pre-capitalist communities and the diversion. The violence general. Accounts of similar historical events are common~~

Linking paragraphs made - maps.

12.9.78 Preface:

This book tells the story of the destruction of the material strength and political independence of an African society in southern Africa in the late nineteenth century. ~~Th in ... the~~ While ~~events~~ comparable events ~~can be~~ occurred throughout Africa at this time the events the documentary contemporary source material tends to be dominated by ~~those who~~ those who the ideas, ideologies anticipated of the conquested. In the case of the conquest of Zululand however one African party in the conflict - the Zulu royal house - found spokesmen & allies who ~~gave~~ ~~their protests~~ ~~and the actions~~ recorded their protests and their actions. These spokesmen were led by John William Shiva

Bishop of Natal, and his family, all intelligent, energetic, Zulu ~~and his family~~. Tog ~~He and his family were~~ speaking, ~~sympat~~ political allies who worked for the perpetuation of the authority of royal house. [and who have left in the documentary sources a detailed record of their activities]

Their ~~all~~ well-publicised attack on colonial policy ~~actions in turn~~ provoked a counter attack from the colonial officials and this dispute is to be found in the documentary records of the period. The points of view are in opposition, and the tales they tell contradictory. Most of this book, based on a dissertation of the same title I have tried here ~~to penetrate~~ to by close empirical analyses from these detailed records to resolve & explain some of the contradictions, to constructive a narrative [of events] which moves from ~~Zululand~~, the homesteads of Zululand, kingdom, to ~~official~~ colonial ~~as~~ Natal, ~~Down the~~ the Cape, and Downing St and back to the battlefields of Zululand. I have ~~also~~ tried to ~~attempted to strip some of the prejudice and~~ also ~~ideological~~ give ~~African~~ some of the Africans protagonists a voice, for ~~they~~ spoke eloquently, of their were certainly ~~had a~~ aware of the ~~sense of history~~, ~~and~~ the judgement of history, and the ~~necessit~~ desire need ~~need~~ to suppress their voice, ~~As Shinjona said of the partition of 1887~~

"~~We bear earnest witness that this~~ . . .

I ~~have~~ also attempted (in the process) ~~forever and even~~ to penetrate the prejudice & ideological narrowness and ~~reflect~~ expose something of the ~~large~~ vast historical broader pattern in which these particular personalities historical figures were caught – the inexorable drive to divert the surplus supporting one ~~to~~ of ~~had~~ society and use it to serve ~~of~~ the interests of another internal one

Details of writings and researches of the Coloso family, together with the official records which form the basic material

13.9.78

Preface + Intro completed.

XVII - Tripp painting

14.9.78

"~~The important~~ ~~The~~ The ~~concept~~ integration of state authority and productive power within the kingdom is well illustrated if we consider the terms ~~[illegible]~~ indiana and unmana. ~~We~~ ~~Athoy~~ They do not refer to a group of officials and another of h-owners - they refer to an individual functions within the state - for all married men in the kingdom were household owners, and many of these men were state officials as well. As the king himself put it

And it is this integration which is the crucial point to grasp; ~~politics~~ administration authority ~~cannot~~ was related to production capacity, the extent ~~chief~~ to the ~~clan~~ ~~extent~~ size of the clan; the size of the ~~clan~~ image within the clan to ~~political~~ access to political power

The distribution of political power

Footnotes to Chapter Two.

15-9-78

(i) 1 Footnotes for Chapter (ii) Linking sections for 1, 2, 3 (iii) Maps + Diagrams (iv) cross-references.

6. 1 A. T. Bryant, Olden Times in Zululand and Natal... (London, 1929), pp. 58-60, and the evidence given James Stuart by Mangati kaGodide, 12 July 1920 in notebook 37 in the Stuart papers.

7. 1 Reply to question 44, Supplementary Minutes of Evidence, Cape Native Laws and Customs Commission (Cape Town, 1884), p. 519.
2 ?

8 1 See Fig. where an attempt has been made to ~~space some~~ ~~lea~~ give an ~~approx~~ depict leading members of the kingdom ~~decor~~ and space them according to their ~~date~~ year of birth. The is iii R Accurate information on age of members of the kingdom is ~~at s~~ and most of the age of the Zulu depicted was arrived at by informed guesses.

2. C. 1137, No. 1. Enc., T. Shepstone, Report of expedition to initial Cetshwayo, p. 9 & 19; Stuart Papers; evidence of Ndukwona, 2 Dec 1900, notebook 19.

1: ~~For the Ibondla see the evidence of Ndukwona taken late in October 1900, at Ladysmith, which is to be found in notebooks~~

1 ~~I~~ ~~In~~ In this, and the following discussion on the political hierarchy in the kingdom ~~I have~~ is ~~based on scattered~~ I have particular use of the evidence given to Stuart by Ndukwona, late in Oct 1900 at Ladysmith and recorded in Notebooks 4, and 34, and in December 1900 in notebook 19.

10 2 This section attempts to introduce leading figures in the kingdom, who played a role in the civil war of the 80s ~~and while it I hope its comprehensive~~ and it must be ~~noted~~ emphasized it is highly selective deals only with the very highest echelons of the Zulu state and is

then only those who came to the fore after 1879
Thus, while it is fairly comprehensive, it is biased for example according to the requirements of the subsequent narrative - thus for example the nothers are dealt

10, 1. (p. 101 of draft.)

11, 1. J. Stuart, uBaxoxele (London, 1924), p. 38. (translation)

11, 2 Stuart Papers, evidence of Ndukwond, 1/10/00
34.

12. Not to be confused, as frequently happened, with Egazini lineage of the Zulu clan.

The purpose of this section is to introduce leading figures in the Zulu kingdom. {The greatest problem in the writing of this section has been who to exclude within Zulu here;} I have therefore tried to give a as comprehensive picture of the most important men ~~to~~ in the kingdom ~~but~~ ~~as~~ in the light of the story I want to tell here. and I must stress this point. To clarify the text I have drawn three figures, for ~~one~~ which groups leading around them ~~by~~ according to the clan and age, the second in the form of hierarchical structure, and thirdly spatially on a map. I must stress that the picture is incomplete, biassed towards ~~as~~ the lineage of the subsequent narrative,

The purpose of this section is to ~~introduce leading figures~~ give as comprehensive picture of the leading figures in the Zulu kingdom, in the light of the subsequent narrate. The greatest problem in the writing of this section has been to decide on ~~who to~~ which personalities & which clans to exclude. ~~from this pod~~ To clarify the text I have drawn a number of ~~figures~~ illustrations. Fig group the leaders around the king, according to clan and age. Fig ~~groups them in~~ places them in the political hierarchy and Fig spatially on a map. I must stress that ~~my sel~~ ~~I have not attempted to depict~~ ~~in~~ I have had to exclude important individuals & groups, my decisions is biassed towards the needs of the story I won to tell here.

~~The se~~ The information is drawn from ~~an~~ references scattered through the records of the period, and in the Stuart Papers. ~~More spec~~ ~~Of specific importance~~ Bryant Olden Times is fundamental to any reconstruction of Zulu History, the paper published by M.J Zulu Army & Zulu Secession, is a mine of information

Perhaps the most important Ndukwana which should appear in the next Jonathan

8 Natal Archives

19-22 September 1978

Quick examination of two sets of the newly found local records Eshowe + Noyoma with 1870 as cut off lots of info - much of it taken elsewhere, and anyway should perhaps be looked at when writing up 1888 - jumbled + confused. As far as Labour is concerned the most important seems to be that from 1888 (late) Natal Govt is officially using Zulu Govt to recruit for N.G. Railways and they get them out of Eshowe but not out of Noyoma. For the rest, detailed confusing, cattle thefts, boundary disputes, assaults (2 sex, sodomy by Br. soldiers in Eshowe, + indecent assault in Noyoma) Will move on to L. Mfolozi next week. Seem to be very well kept.

However conclusions from first week are

(i) I have enough to do C.&C. study

(ii) Labour study will be difficult + will probably have to use N.G. sources + newspapers.

23-26 September
Lower Mfolozi

2-6 October L. M., Nkondla, Melmoth
SNA for Railway labour

9

This paper first of all has not been written specifically for an ~~distortion~~ audience of historians nor for academics but hopefully what the media men call the informed non-specialist. It is written as a reaction to the type of work we have had, and still have to endure on what is called "the Zulu Wor". It is therefore a paper on myth, and a myth which is very close to us, indeed part of our history; ~~moreover because~~ Myths are created for a purpose, to hide the truth ~~they create~~ painful impossible to face myths are created and can of course acquire a reality of their own. Now a significant all-pervasive myth in this part of the world is the myth of the Zulu - (1) Zulu has meant many different things to different people at different times both black & white; and here we are looking at a certain part of their history - the invasion of the Zulu kingdom. Now what I argue here is that because the men who prosecuted the wor, and their motives have not been understood, we are still caught up in their

The wor was fought to advance capitalist production — Of course this involved those who fought the wor in contradictions for, they said they believed the wor was fought for progress, peace, civilization and Christianity. Now it the examination of this dichotomy between what men are & what they say they are, between social being & social consciousness, which is surely the very essence of the historian's task. Were Shepstone & Frere honest men, but misguided, or were they hypocrites; well I have my own feelings on this; but the point for this paper is

Ann Olivier

81307

Masem 22324 work

David Ingles

12th Sunday Crocodile Inn

312-832

10

9 October. Finding [illegible] drafting.

1) Info on Cetshwayo's movement in labour

Hunt for the Brijoud's of Defajer's drift.

1/11/78

RM(2) Magistrates Records up to 1890 completed.

G.H.(2) begun with 719 (1889)

GH(2)	720	2318-2417	1887 ✓
GH(2)	722	2419-2492	✓
	723	2 ~~683~~ 493-643	✓
	724	2644-740	✓
	725	2741-866	(1889 ✓
GH(2)	726	1-108	1890 ✓
	727	109-259	✓
	728	2260-368	✓
	729	369-480	1890 ✓
	730	481-551	Photocopy
	731	552-663	✓
	732	666 one docket losses 1888	Examine
Knights garden	733	667-731	~~[illegible]~~ file
	734	752-801	✓
	735	4-131	XEROX 2112 Balance Sheets.
	736	132-270	✓
	737	271-366	✓
7G.H(2)	738	367-421	✓
	739	422-551	✓

[M. Clarke's arrival . v. no minutes - no monthly reports 11

GH. ~~Ra~~ 740 . 2698. Saunders report on route to Swaziland &
552 - 705 Map should be photocopied & notes taken

GH(Z) 741 2736 Annual Report 1890 X if necessary

GH(Z) 742 ✓
858 - 938

1892

GH(Z)(243 215 Complete Accounts 1891 ✓
~~7~~ Z5-93

GH(Z) 744 (No this is the last letter & M in C 6684)
94-222 X Z175 Letter by AEC 19/2/92 & MO's minute

GH(Z) 745 2349 X Removals
233 - ~~2~~ 367

GH(Z) 746 ✓ (Proclamations for new districts
368 - 517

GH(Z) 747 ✓
Z 518-642

GH(Z) 748 X. Boundaries & removals. (see 751
643 - 764

1893

GH(Z) 749 2101 Returns for 1892
1-224

GH 750
225-408 ✓

12

(2)
GH 751 X Boundaries & Map Z 519
Z409-549

(2)
GH 752
Z550-690 ✓

GH 753
Z692-815

1894
Glonced at only

GH 754
Z1-101

755

756 Small pox Nyuta Nkoalla Arrighi in by labourers.

757 Labourers on Charlestown - Johnny line

758 Zulu force for Rhodesia

759 Small pox causing restrictions on movement.

760

761

1895

762 29 1893 Balance Sheet X if necessary

763 2289 Review of St H exiles dispute over return.

G.H.2. 768
Z 255/96.

764

765

766 John Dunn's death // Z 866 Locusts. Z 875 Gochide heir

767

1896.

[Remember this is a preliminary reconnaissance - taking info. on direct labour questions - + the most obviously important desp + minutes. Furthermore these records are sparse]

768 X 2201 - Bolonde Shed 1891-1895
Starvation locusts.
Z 255 Petition MK Ghord

769 Z 262 Magema 13.3.96 to replace Muzi on Usuthu application
Z 330 Rinderpest - steps taken
Z 416 1895 Blue Book

2770

2771 Z 906 conf. Imp on return of Chiefs

2772 X

773

774

The destruction of Zulu independence

~~Altar~~ Starting point: Zulu independence, political and economic: political spread of authority. Advantages ~~independ~~ in self-sufficiency: but also fragile & did adapt - guns: but when change came - exposing it it was intense. The war: battles exaggerated - but just a step - by gone for a decade

∴ The battle fought for a decade - at a political level: fought for land and labour; but the stage was a political the vestiges of the royal house. ~~But~~ And also circumscribed. Natal weak Tol victory - Imperial power wanting at this stage to control.

775

776

777

778 Rinderpest breaks out Z 519 ~~Sept~~ August, 1899

779 Ends with Dinzulu's debts

Ministry of Lands + Works

198 Index 1894 ✓
199 , Index 1894-1895 ✓
200 Index 1895-1896 ✓

198 Index 1894

61 Sec.

200 Index 1895-1896 ✓

1895
Native Agent Jiberg 1895 1766, 2052, 2328
Native Labourer Supply 1895/619, 2013, 2207, 2239
2248, 2332, 2801, 438/96
2207

1895

10 Minute Papers 1501-2788 1895
11 Minute Papers 1-2000 1896
36 Minute Papers Railways 1001-2000 1895
37 .. .. .. 2001-2500 ..
38 .. .. .. 2501-2853 ..

20[illegible] Index 1895
Natives tickets at Jiberg 2364
Native Agent Jiberg ~~972~~, 1560, 2364
Native Syndicate 1421, 1959, 2149, 2297

NB No- not the sort of material I want - technical

16

SNA I/1/109

I/1/110

I/1/111

I/1/112 Inonda Laundry

1889 112-121

1890 122

113 117 121

118

114 122 ✓

119 123

115 124 ✓

120 125 ✓

116 ✓ 126

127 ✓ 128 ✓

~~213~~, 213 214, 215 216, 217, 218, 219, 220, 221, 222, 223, 224, 225, 226, 227, 228, 229 230, 231, 232, 233, 234, 235, 236, 237, 238 239, 240, 241

RH, 262, 263, 264, 265, 266, 267 268, 269

GH(2)
- 779

SNA 1/1 -126

RM(2) All to end of 1890
Ellowe [see file]
22 May. A study of R.M. files to the ~~end~~ of 1896.
Nongoma

20

The Destruction of Zulu independence

How was it done? Through an assault on the ~~[illegible]~~ political authority - the political structure of Zulu kingdom, an attempt to create a collaborative class. Why? a latching on to the old system.
This meant undermining the autonomy of the chiefs king & the chiefs - w/o this meant turning them on themselves - started a train some of which they controlled some of which the didn't
Here follows a series of extracts.
[Protection in the R.]

"This serious question was not expected at the time of the restoration - & any active intervention would be most unwelcome to the people of England
I doubt whether in any event it would be actually required, an intimation that H.M. Govt. intends to maintain the Reserve by arms if necessary would probably stop Cetywayo's blusters...."

....

Invasion

If we do not maintain the inviolability of the Reserve we had better clear out of Africa altogether and never hear the word South Africa mentioned again - (although we should probably hear it mentioned more often than we should like)

August 83

"The maintenance of this Reserve, inviolate by Cetewayo, is the touchstone of our position in South Africa. We shall never be trusted or believed again if we fail in this."

Imperialism ~ from Owen & Sutcliffe Studies in the Theory of Imperialism

I 1879 ~~The~~

1) The War of 1879: ~~Extinct~~ Destroyed the central figure & the military system. Set up 13 chiefs.

(i) lack of success - left ~~much~~ of the political hierarchy.

(ii) possible set up 3 new Homes - Zibhebhu, Hamu

II 1879-1882.

Conflict between the old polit hierarchy & 13 chiefs.

Oth supports H & Z.

Usuthu try & use peaceful methods.

Violence breaks out.

Natal H & Z // Cet & British Govt.

~~III 1883 ... Victory to H & Z.~~

III 1883 Civil War.

(i) ~~(ii)~~ Destruction of the Old order.

~~IV (ii) New Alliance Usuthu / Boers.~~

(ii) 1884 New Alliance Usuthu Boers // Natal / new chiefs.

IV Imperial intervention to restore balance

St Lucia Annexation

V The Final Assault. 1887-1889

Bottomore + Rubel (from Capital I)

"The immediate producer

Capital I 667ff. "This primitive accumulation plays in Political Economy about the same part as original sin in theology. Adam bit the apple, and thereupon sin fell on the human race. Its origin is supposed to be explained when it is told as an anecdote of the past. In times long gone by there were two sorts of people; one, the diligent, intelligent, and, above all, frugal élite; the other, lazy rascals, spending their substance, and more in riotous living. The legend of theological original sin tells certainly how man came to be condemned to eat his bread in the sweat of his brow; but the history of economic original sin reveals to us that there are people to whom this is by no means essential. Never mind! Thus it came to pass that the former sort accumulated wealth, and the latter sort had at last nothing to sell except their own skins. And from this original sin dates the poverty of the great majority that, despite all its labour, has up to now nothing to sell but itself, and the wealth of the few that increases constantly although they have long ceased to work. Such insipid childishness is every day preached to us in the defence of property. 668. as soon as the question of property crops up, it becomes a sacred duty to proclaim the intellectual food of the infant as the one thing fit for all ages and for all stages of development. In

actual history it is notorious that conquest, enslavement, robbery, murder, briefly force, plays the great part. In the tender annals of Political Economy, the idyllic reigns from time immemorial. Right and "labour" were from all time the sole means of enrichment, the present year of course always excepted. As a matter of fact, the methods of primitive accumulation are anything but idyllic.

In themselves money and commodities are no more capital than are the means of production and of subsistence. They want transforming into capital. But this transformation itself can only take place under certain circumstances that centre in this, viz., that two very different kind of commodity-possessors must come face to face into contact; on the one hand, the owners of money, means of production, means of subsistence, who are eager to increase the sum of values they process, by buying other people's labour-power; on the other hand, free-labourers, the sellers of their own labour-power, and therefore the sellers of labour. Free labourers in the double sense that neither they themselves form part and parcel of the means of production, as in the case of slaves, bondsmen, &c., nor do the means of production belong to them, as in the case of peasant-proprietors; they are, therefore, free from, unencumbered by, any means of production of their own. With this polarisation of the market for commodities, the fundamental conditions of capitalist production are given. The capitalist system

pre-supposes the complete separation of the labourers from all property in the means by which they can realise their labour. As soon as capitalist production is once on its own legs, it not only maintains this separation, but reproduces it on a continually extending scale. The process, therefore, that clears the way for the capitalist system, can be none other than the process which takes away from the labourer the possession of his means of production; a process that transforms, on the one hand, the social means of subsistence and of production into capital, on the other, the immediate producers into wage-labourers. The so-called primitive accumulation, therefore, is nothing else than the historical process of divorcing the producer from the means of production. It appears as primitive, because it forms the pre-historic stage of capital and of mode of production corresponding to it.

- - - - [Capitalist society has grown out feudal society]

The immediate producer, the labourer, could only dispose of his own 669 person after he had ceased to be attached to the soil and ceased to be the slave, serf, or bondsman of another. To become a free seller of labour-power, who carries his commodity wherever he finds a market, he must further have escaped from the regime of guilds, their rules for apprentices and journeymen, and the impediments of their labour regulations. Hence, the historical movement which changes the producers into wage-workers, appears, on the one hand, as their emancipation from serfdom and from the fetters of the

1565
174
125

guilds, and this side alone exists for our bourgeois historians. But, on the other hand, these new freedmen became sellers of themselves only after they had been robbed of all their own means of production, and of all the guarantees of existence afforded by the old feudal arrangements. And the history of this, their expropriation, is written in the annals of mankind in letters of blood and fire.

. . .

In the history of primitive accumulation, all revolutions are epoch-making that act as levers for the capitalist class in course of formation; but, above all, those moments when great masses of men are suddenly and forcibly torn from their means of subsistence, and hurled as free and "unattached" proletarians on the labour-market. The expropriation of the agricultural producer, of the peasant, from the soil, is the basis of the whole process. The history of this expropriation, in different countries, assumes different aspects, and runs through its various phases in different orders of succession, and at different periods. In England alone, which we take as our example, has it its classic form.

- - - - -

But of course this is not exactly the situation observed in Zululand - where they are only partly expropriated. Land is reduced, not totally expropriated, extra-economic coercion is used - tax, fines; cadefines.

But the present paper concerns itself with the use of chiefs - and homestead-heads. Why?

Continuity

The Key - perhaps: Hut Tax is directly linked to productive capacity. and also it is self-supporting But the following is important. Minutes on Wood's report on Nhlazatshe - (+ also marriage)

The Key - Hut Tax's

Imh "we ~~[illegible]~~ to go on paying the Residents from the Natal Native Reserve Fund for the present . . . . [Perhaps things will collapse - an uprising] "and an annexation." [Fine, in Natal was either a Crown Colony, or strong enough to rule. But in that case we would have to rule Zulu through Natal.] "the most unsatisfactory of all tasks"

October

And a month later

"Cetwayo promises be most amenable to advice, if returned, and I do not doubt that through him we could exercise the strongest influence without incurring the responsibilities of annexation, and we should thus have a chance of re-establishing a self supporting Zulu nation".

Nov

Aug [the first sign of a possible change]

Robinson & Gallagher. Africa and the Victorians

"Apparently the upkeep of imperial influence was the constant imperative behind the extensions and withdrawals of British rule in south Africa from the beginning. Cabinets of both parties obeyed it. The pursuit of paramountcy was almost instinctive. It was a tradition so deeply ingrained in the close-knit generations of imperial ministers and officials that they rarely defined it explicitly as a concept of policy".

13

Tyler Laws 20-26/8

RM(2) CM 5/1/2. 66/89 Tyler to Osborn 8/7/89
[Unable to supply any more labour]
"The difficulty I have to contend with is having no chiefs or headmen to look after the different tribes & when Indunas & others were asked for men, they one & all made the same excuse that they had'nt any & could not get any.

RM(2) Nongoma 2/9/4 Vol III 107/88 Gibson to CMO 28/4/89

"The combined circumstances the undefined limits of the territory assigned to those people who designate themselves as the Usutu, and the absence of a responsible head-man through whom to instructions to them, render their government exceedingly difficult, as it would require that the magistrate should be acquainted with almost every individual."

Marks LR. 35
1846 Natal & 94 tribes 1906 238

CS331/2/enc3. Maritzburg Telephone 23/4/87

"It may be accepted as an axiom, I think, that it is impossible to govern effectively a Zulu population, &c...., without the aid of their own institutions, at the head of which are their Chiefs or headmen."

H. Wolpe A Comment on 'The Poverty
IV 2 of Neo-Marxism' JSAS April 1978

"This is not the place to enter into an extended discussion of the Marxist method but it is necessary to stress that, by contrast with the universalising assumptions of orthodox economics (the rational, calculating economic actor on the market), Marxism insists upon the specificity of different 'economic systems' and their mode of operation. The analysis begins from the concepts of differing modes of production, each mode being defined by its own specific relations and structures. Furthermore, each mode of production stands in a particular relation to specific ideological and political structures. These concepts provide Marxism with the theoretical means for analysis of the processes and struggles, and hence the particular historical trajectory, of different social formations in which this or that mode of production is dominant.

2445

. . . . "The migrant labour system, as a mechanism by which a cheap supply of cheap labour-power was made available, was the foundation of capitalist development in the period dominated by gold mining capital and was sustained by a specific political structure, segregation, with the determination (and destruction) of the productive capacity of the reserves and the rise to dominance of industrial capital, migrant labour declines and gives way to contract labour and other mechanisms

of reducing the cost of labour-power, and these are sustained by the system of Apartheid.

H. Wolpe "Capitalism and cheap labour-power in South Africa: from segregation to apartheid" in Economy & Society

431 "In the period under consideration the economic system or social formation has been comprised of at least three different modes of production. The history of South Africa shows the emerging dominance first through British imperialism, and then also through internal capitalist development, of the capitalist mode of production. The development of this dominant mode of production has been inextricably linked with two other modes of production. [CWI - the African redistributive economies and the system of labour-tenancy and crop-sharing on White farms." [Will discuss the most important - Capitalism & African redistributive economy] These two modes of production may be briefly characterised as follows.

(a) First, the capitalist mode of production in which (i) the direct labourers, who do not own the means of capitalist production, sell their labour-power to the owners of the means of production who are non-labourers and (ii) the wages the labourer receives for the sale of his labour-power are met by only a portion of the value of the product he actually produces, the balance

being appropriated as unpaid labour (surplus value) by the owners of the productive means.

(b) Second, the mode of production in the areas of African concentration (particularly, but not exclusively, the Reserves) in which (i) the land is held communally and worked by social units based on kinship (the enlarged or extended family) and (ii) the product of labour is distributed, not by exchange, but directly by means of an allocation through the kinship units in accordance with certain rules of distribution.

This is not to argue that other forms of production were not developing in the interstices of the African societies (n. There is a serious lack of adequate material on, or analysis of, African societies. It is clear that no adequate account of the dynamics of South African society can be arrived at without a proper study of these societies.) or that they were not continuously undergoing profound changes in their relations of production. [Indeed I argue here on such changes.] What must be stressed, however, is that in the period of capitalist development (from say 1870) African redistributive economies constituted the predominant mode of rural existence for a substantial (for much of the period, a majority), but continuously decreasing number of people.

[Existence of 2 M of P given rise to dual economy thesis but Frank shown this is untenable]

3r

C.3466, No 79 B-K 25/8/82, Enc. Report Settlement of Zulu Country. Natal Interests

p. 137 [The 1879 Settlement was based on 2]
" principles, broad, distinct, and intelligible, which aimed at securing the paramount interests concerned, namely, the peace of this part of South Africa with a careful regard for the national rights of the Zulu people.

These two main principles being determined the settlement was framed and conceived with a view to secure certain other objects of no inconsiderable importance. It was thought advisable that the Zulu nation, which had been formed by Chaka out of different conquered tribes, should be broken up, and, further, that the military system should be abolished. To promote the well-being of the people, to improve the conditions of their domestic life, and to encourage in them the adoption of peaceful habits, it was provided that the land, as belonging to the Zulu people, should be secured from alienation to Europeans; that the life of no man should be forfeited or taken, as hitherto had been the case, without a full and fair trial; that the young men should be free to marry, which had been prohibited under the severe rules of a military despotism; and that there should be freedom of trade and of communication with other countries.

These were some of the privileges and liberties obtained for the people of Zululand, privileges and liberties to which they had been strangers, and who will venture to call them in question or gainsay the purposes of the settlement that conferred them?

The Zulu country was divided into thirteen different and independent territories, part of the arrangements being devised so as to revive some of the former independent tribal nationalities." [British Res. exercising influence, not authority]

[The cause of the trouble in Zululand is]

" to be found in the misunderstanding that exists as to the extent of the power that is vested in the appointed chiefs, and in the weakness arising from the want of a duly recognised and adequate paramount authority".

139 "The Zulu people, there is little doubt, would have gladly come under the direct rule of the British Government. They would have accepted that rule without question and without misgiving. ~~They would have accepted that rule without question and without misgiving~~. They would have accepted it for all reasons, not only because it was the rule of the Government that had conquered them, but because they knew it to be a just and merciful rule."

[But the Zulu considered that paramount authority lay with us]

34

C 3616; No 31, B-D, 5/3/88 Enc. TS to B, 27/2/83.

57 "It must be borne in mind that the higher the rank of a Zulu headman the greater the will of necessity be his preference for a state of things that most favours the unrestrained exercise of his authority, so that practically there is a considerable conflict of interests between the headmen and the common people; and it is this conflict, and the faculties which will present themselves to the common people of conserving their interests by means of the Reserved Territory, that will prove, if judiciously encouraged, to be the true source of stability and peace in Zululand, not only in the reserved portion of it, but [in Cl's territory]."

"Now ... we see differently. We find that we can go and work and earn money, and buy what we want, and marry and become heads of families while we are yet young."

57

C 4913, No 1, Memo

v [After restoration, a new order had arisen in Zululand, with greater freedom and security. But Cet's supporters & sons Zulu interests only in terms of his, and tried to upset the settlement. Cet. nature was always was always]

3 "always a spoiled nature, always arrogant, always impatient of control. . . . and on his return to Zululand he was soon surrounded by persons of the extreme Usutu party, Usutus of the worst type, such as his brothers Undabuko, Dabulamanzi, Sirayo, &c., persons who were living to be revenged on all who had acquired any position during Cetywayo's absence, and to revive the old Zulu rule and the privileges of the Zulu royal family in their worst form."

[And Cetshwayo was associated with]

* "the old, brutal, bad, Zulu system"

4. "Cetywayo's blood was on a party and not on the people"

8. [Zulu was defeated] "—but at what a cost! — at what a cost to the Zulu people, to the generations of to-day and to the generations of the future! The price of blood is a hard price; and to compass the destruction of Usibebu' the Usutu leaders bartered away the best part of the inheritance of the Zulu people, an inheritance, let it be remembered, which was left untouched by the British Government after the war of 1879."

C.5892? No 34 H-K p.50.

"The conclusion that I have arrived at is that those Chiefs, moved by a desire to revive in some shape or degree the authority of the Zulu Royal dynasty, were led to reject the advantages of security and prosperity offered by British rule, and to enter upon a course of opposition and resistance to authority, which ultimately developed into actual rebellion, and led to the commission of serious offences against the laws."

C.3864/110 D-B 24/11/83 [Key [What party is stronger, what rules would be most acceptable]

C.3864/111 B-D 27/11/83 [Zulu do chose rulers, would not commit any preference] "but... there is little doubt that generally they would wish to come under British rule, so that they might have peace and good order... There are two parties in Zululand;... one is the Usutu party, and that the other includes all persons who are opposed to, or are not favourable to, that party; that neither party is strong enough to establish itself without a struggle, which might be prolonged, and of which the result would be doubtful,... the Usutus are stronger accidently than really [sic], because they have on their side dynastic prestige i.e. ... and because of the uncertainty of Cetywayo's future, i.e. the uncertainty in the minds of the people as whether he will not be maintained by the Government as their ruler, whom, therefore, they must for their own security's sake obey.

C4191/77 B-D 30/6/84

"The ambition of a dynasty once more hopeful of re-establishing itself in its former power, the fierce desire of a party eager to take revenge upon those who have opposed it, and the passions of individuals bent upon gratifying private animosities, and all motives which move to the commission of great crimes; and when it is remembered that none of those motives are wanting to the Usutu party . . . ."

~~CO 427/1 16441~~

38

C.5331, No2. H.H. 26/6/87

Laws and Regulations for the Govt of Zululand

1) There shall be vested in the Govnor of Zululand all and every the powrs and prerogatives attaching to the position of Supreme Chief over Zululand and its Native population.

2 - Courts of Law

32 - Jurisdiction of Native Chiefs

Shepstonian Policy ~ the Shepstone clique

25/8/79 ..."I can see no practical good in it, if such Agents are to discharge diplomatic duties only

[Anarchy will break out & Natal will be involved]

"...we are bound... to replace the Govt we have destroyed by less barbarous certainly, but equally strong ....

[Zulu headman need] "assistance"

"... order will not be maintained unless the white Agents of the Natal Govt exercise over the native Chiefs" .. [writers of Frere's Res. with Cet]

[They should be under] "a Chief Resident, who should guide the general policy of his subordinates, and be a referee to whom all Zulu ... can appeal. He should be subordinate to the Govt of Natal" [management of Zulu Affairs, Natal Zulus is me]

[Nothing can be done w/o money – annual exaction – instead of] "the uncertain exactions to which they are accustomed ....

Each of these appointed Chiefs might be required to pay annually, as tribute, a sum calculated upon the number of people under him, equal to the direct tax [paid in Natal.] [Chief's payment is out of this.]

"unless the personal qualities of the native appointed, fit him, in the eyes of the people ... the appointment will be unw..."

14/10/79 "To be consistent with the professions we proclaimed when we entered upon the Zulu war, the Zulu people should be our first care. The Chiefs to whom they have been give as subjects belong for the most part to that class of headmen or indunas" [who plundered the Zulu people in Mpande's reign]

"
[Neither Mpondo nor Cetshwayo could control] the fierce avarice of these men" [although they were in 1879] "the instrument nearest at hand"

[The people are loyal we put a check] "upon the rapacity of the creatures to whom we have given them

17/11/80 "to pay the same taxes as the natives of Natal pay, and to be ruled in the same way ...," "was what the Zulus naturally expected ...

40

Sir T.S. coll. Box 14

Colley to Sir T.S. 15/9/80.
"May I ask you kindly to look through the enclosed and favour me with your opinion on it."

179/140 1848 Dec 1881. Report.
[Natal Africans silenced + overpopulated - population pressure dangerous - Zululand is the only way to expand - country between Ulundi + Natal should be taken over, should be ruled as Africans in Natal, pay that Tax.]

C 5331/2 26/6/87 ["Zulu consist of conquered & incorporated tribes] &]
"These subdivisions and these ambitions will, I think, furnish the chief executive authority with ample means of reducing to a safe minimum the power for mischief of the members of Z.R.F.," and their loss of power compensated by an annual money allowance.

C533/13 12/8/87 "The yearnings of these tribes have always, and, naturally, been for their ancient separate existence, relieved of the terrible incubus of Z.R.F. The Zulu nation is therefore a collection of tribes, more or less autonomous, and more or less discontented; ~~or rope white~~ ...

C.O. 179/138 15882 Imperialism!

Kimberley 6/9/81
"By the (as I think) uncalled for and most unjustifiable Zulu war, & by the dethronement of Cetywayo we have involved ourselves in extreme difficulties .... we now rule over the affairs of Zululand, nor are we free from responsibility for them.
[Think the settlement will break down
We shouldn't move - and should impose Tax -
Who will impose it - & the BR will either hang on to the Chiefs - or become a Governor

CO 179/138 19985
mid November "Cetywayo promises to be most amenable to advice, if returned, and I do not doubt that through him we could exercise the strongest influence without incurring the responsibilities of annexation, and we should thus have a chance of re-establishing a self supporting Zulu nation.

CO 179/138 17877

Fairfield 14/10 [Possibility of annexation] "This would be all very well if we are going to keep Natal as a Crown Colony, or if Natal, being self governing, was strong enough, like the Cape, to take on its shoulders a great slice of adjoining Native Territory. But neither condition is likely to be fulfilled. There is a general feeling that as the ignorant and fanatical Boers have been given self government our own well-behaved Colonists in Natal cannot be denied it. We shall then have the most unsatisfactory of all races on hand, the

task of governing of Native Territory through a semi-independent Colonial government. We have failed in this task in New Zealand and British Kaffraria."

CO 179/138 16945
Kimberley 27/9

"We have no concern with Zululand except so far as the interests of Natal, and in a minor degree the Transvaalers are affected by Zulu affairs. It follows that Natal and the Transvaal ought to bear all expenses coming out of our relations with the Zulus.... That, if Convention is ratified can't get it from TVL - ∴ not from Natal

Protests against restoration 82.
Leg. Co., Public meeting., Mayor of Durban + Newspapers, Newcastle, PMB, Lwr. Tugela Div. Planter's Association, Inhabitants of Colony of Natal (J. Robinson, freemason, Vause)

CO 179/166 19401 "Their desire for the annexation of Zululand is due of course to their bankruptcy - the £1 per hut over the Reserve and the rest of Zululand would go a considerable way towards providing an equilibrium in their finances provided of course the Imperial Govt continued to maintain order there."

45

47

LABOUR

R.M.(2) LM 5/1/1
Message to Mtakini 3/1/88 "He should send his young men out to work, at once, in time to earn money to pay said Tax . . . .
as above to Somkhele 14/1/88

Melmoth Hut Tax paid in cash 1888
27/3/89 "Women have to be protected."
Young men
"The younger and lazy members... adhere to the Usutu party

Government House Zululand

11/3/79
ZA 43 Resident Commissioner letters dept to Governor
Confidential 1890-91
[Read. Cordeur dispute with AJS saliens
ZA. [Am now going to work consistently thru' Z.A. beginning with incoming from Gov. beginning in mid 1888.

ZA. 10. Despatches from Gov. to RC & CM.
August 1889 - May 1890

Z.A. 11 Continued
ZA 12 . . .
ZA 13 Very incomplete from 1891 - 1895.

ZA 14 RC & CM. Agreements, Contracts & Leases

Organisation + Summary of records taken so far.

Nqutu

5/1/12 Information on 84 hut tax. migrant workers. fining. AIP. continuing to 1885

5/1/13 Correspondence with McKeon 1887

5/1/14 1888-9 McKeon/Pennefather/Addison

5/1/15 1890 Addison

3/1/1 Diary started 87 by McKeon taken over by Tyrell 1888

4/1/1 Includes one inquest

ZACZ 1884 Cordew's correspondence - Hlubi

May 1979

49

Lower Mflozi

5/1/1 Outgoing from est. of Res. AJB domiciled
Vital importance
5/1/2 AIP Tye / Boast late 88, 9, 90

5/1/8 Incoming 87-8 Fm

Evas. 1889

13/1 Circulars

2/7/1 ✓ Windham to Turnbull 9/12/88 Civil cases from 87
Criminal cases from 87

I seem to have stopped end of 1889 // Cases. I should start from 1888 beginning May 1979

Empangeni Civil Record book. Cases adjudicated	1889-1889	2/7/1	✓
" " "	1887-92	2/7/2	✓
" Criminal " " "	1892-98	1/9/1	✓
" Correspondence	1887-91	5/1/8	✓
" " " "	1892-4	5/1/9	
	1895-6	5/1/10	
	~~1889~~ 1897	5/1/11	
	1889 sic - 1899	5/1/12	
" Circulars	1887-93	~~13/1~~ 13/1	13/1
	1894-7		13/2
	1898-9		13/3
Letter book 1893-97		5/1/3	
Letter book (Police	1888-92	8/1/1	

Eshowe

5/11/1 88-89. Outgoing letters

Ends 1889

Deportations 1890

May 1979

5/11/9 Eshowe Correspondence
5/11/10
5/11/11 1895
5/11/12 1896-8
5/11/13 1899-1900
5/11/1 Eshowe 1888-1892 Letter books
5/11/2 1890-1892
5/11/3 1892-1897
5/11/4 1897-August 1899
5/11/5 Feb 1899-Nov 1903 (Seems to be about the Queen Victoria Hospital.

mixed includes Entogeni

S1

Entrenchment (Melrose

5/1/3 Letters Out 87, 88
5/1/4 . . . . Feb 88-90
5/1/5 . . . Dec 90 – hardly taken Short hand

5/1/10 In. 87-88. Oct 1889
5/1/11 In [redacted] 89 In 90 Gathered
1/5/1 Crim Rec. Book under Native Law → 1890
1/5/? . . . . ordinary Law → 1890

May 1879

5/1/10 Correspondence + other papers
5/1/11 back damaged
5/1/12 1894-7
5/1/13 1898-02.

5/1/5. Letter book 1890-93 ✓
5/1/6 . . . . 1893-5 (to 1894) Glanced at 1894 →
5/1/7 . . . 1895-7
5/1/8 . . . 1897-8
5/1/9 . . 1899-1903 Shifted 1900
5/1/11 Letter book copy entries

Nongoma

2/9/2 Out letter book 7/87 - 4/88 ✓ ✓
2/9/3 . . . . . 4/87. ✓
2/9/4 . . . . . 10/88 - 6/89 ✓ ✓
2/9/5 . . . . . 7/89 ✓ ✓

&

m.

2/9/11 In 87→

Start from: 2/9/6
2/9/12
unnumbered cases
adjudicated 1887-96

Ends 1889

Record book 4/7/87

Nongoma Correspondence 1890-1892 2/9/12.
. . . . . 1893-1896 2/9/13(14) has been altered.
2/9/14(15)
1900 1902 2/9/15/16

Letter book 13.8.90 - 31-12-91 2/9/6
2/9/7
2/9/8 badly burnt

21/7/96 - 3/4/02 2/9/9

Correspondence m connected on with Council / Cases. 2/9/17

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Nquata Ice Check

Correspondence	1890-2	5/1/15
		5/1/16
	1895-96	5/1/17
	1897-1901	5/1/18
	1902-1903	5/1/19
Gold Class ??	1889-1894	5/1/20 Gold correspondence

ZA Native Criminal Cases Submitted for confirmation or otherwise

		68.	1-134,	1890
		69	1-81	1891
ZA 103	brief notes	70 ~~ZA~~.	1-59	-1892
104	brief notes	71	61-113	1892
98	" "	72	3-60	1893
21.		73	61-110	1893
22.		and	1-15	1894
16		74		
43		75	1-105	1895
15		76	1-61	1896
10		77	62-173	1896
15	Divorce, Libels.	78	1-81	1897
23		79	82-143	1897
22.		80.	1-50	1898
43.		81	51-110	1898
		82	111-45	
		83	1-60	1899
		84	61-110	1899
		85.	111-187	1897
		86-9		1900-03
		Glanced at for thick files		

55

Money equivalents

1887	Zulu post runner	£12 p.a.
	ARM	£300 p.a
	Clerk	£100 p.a.
	Induna	£24
	Messenger	£18

Equiv: N.G.R. if a day + rations. Induna 30/- a month. 6 mth contract
~~Gold [illegible] 1888~~ Slaughter cattle - up to £4/10 a head.

Cornwall

Ubombo

3/1/1	Letter book	1890-2
3/1/2	" "	1892-
3/1/3	" "	183-6
3/1/4	Correspondence	1890-[illegible]
3/1/5	Correspondence	1897-01

Mlalazi

Correspondence 17/1 1895-1900

Malakabalini

Correspondence 5/2/1 1895-1900

Letterbook no number 1898-1900

59

RM(2) Melmoth 2/5/87
New Magistrate Knight informs MO that he has encouraged natives to work for wages: Boers say that they must work for land.

[Remember the importance of "young men" in the 1888 troubles]

R.M(2) [Natives are spending with traders in May 1888

RM(2) Melmoth 5/1/3. 5/9/88. Passes difficult - no cash in Zululand
Circular letter for labour 4/9/88.
27/10/88 Mor Passes increasing as that Tax demonstrations nearer
By December - most men are out
Deliberate demand to work for cash for hut tax
1889 May Farmers plead for labour - all gone to gold fields
1889 March - denuded of young men
1889 Can't pay tax as young men aren't back from work
1889 Knight is forcing labour from cheap
Drought & shortage: fort subsidised maize
1889 Proviso B unable to keep labour
1889 Labour depends on competitive wages, bonus to cheap

Eshowe 1888 First tax collection: wives, amlawel to be taxed
1888. Few men out early 1888 increase end of year

61

Harriette Colenso letters received 1890-91.

Early 1890 a large no. of encouraging letters on her arrival in England spurring her on in the work for the Zulus.

C. Binyon to HEC 21-2-90

"I am in much perplexity as to what course you are ? // to pursue.

At present Lord Kimberford is personally friendly, & I do not doubt, but that the right course is, first that you shd. send in your statement that he promised to consider, or he may be urged to do nothing.

Then as to the statement sent to me. I do not wholly like it. Can we prove it? // some serious responsibility if we can't. And what shd. we propose to ourselves as an object? To punish Osborn & Addison? to blame Havelock? To attack the Government? The latter I wholly disapprove. Some of the imp // I might like that not I. Shall we throw away the chance of ameliorating the condition of the Cheap, & obtaining a recount // of some of your money. To ask me to fight the case is to me infinitely distressing as the case is shocking and everything is left undone. That ought to have been done.

[The remonstrance should have been sent to every MP months ago PS. . . .]

"The remonstrance wants an index it is a perfect puzzle.

[Seems to be J. Westlake - Lectures Cambridge
Westlake in Cox II
? - HEC. (The River House. Chelsea) 20/7/90

"I have been able to glance at the remonstrance, & see that it contains neither table of contents nor index, & assumes throughout that the reader knows so much about the case that I doubt its being a very useful introduction to the case to those who need to be introduced from the beginning.

Clorah de Noleyns (The Woman's Penny Paper) Argyle Chambers
to HEC. ~~22/9/9~~ 22/2/90.

Harry Quilter (The Universal Review) - HEC 22/2/90

? Sunday Magazine - HEC 23/2/90

Lucid - HEC 28/2/90
[Don't come, Mrs Lucid does not want to see you]
"I suppose the climax some day will be a KCMG. for Osborne(*) but perhaps another kind of order - the order of the garter, in the shape of a rope, would be more appropriate."

Westlake to HEC 1/3/90 3 Chelsea Embankment
"I think what you sent me yesterday would not go far to make even the foundation of an article for a serious review.
Mr Escomb's part is out of date, though some of the statements in it might of course be still used. Even your sister's part

is interesting in all its details only for those who already believe Dungeshi's innocent, but the account of his surrender might be compressed from it into about a page in ¶ a ¶ serious article with some effect on the public. There may be periodicals that would give it in more detail, but certainly not the Universal Review."

Welcome

F. Dixie - 6/3/90 [Con I help?]

Thos. Bradshaw 7/3/90 Royal Hospital Chelsea.
[Served your father when in 40th Regt]

Alfred Webb - Hof Commons 7/3/90
[Con I help?]

Westlake to HEC. 10/3/90
[Evidence is out, in the Hof C Library]
"Any M.P. can introduce a stranger there, and, though I do not remember seeing ladies working there, I cannot think that an exception would be made against them."

As above 10/3/90.
"We cannot think for a moment of Sir H. Davy's making the motion: even were he the enthusiastic man which he is not, he cannot have the time to take up such a question on his own."
[We must get someone] "It does not ~~matter~~ much matter who it is, if only he will act with Bradlaugh."

H.B. Emple (Lumple ??] Women's Peny Papers 12/3/90
"Why are you not on this committee? These gentlemen have no weight & no opinion on Zulu Affairs. Impossible for us not criticise /sic/ the absence of your ~~[illegible]~~ name more severely. I am so grieved & disappointed. These are not days when women can permit - themselves to be snuffed out."

Harry Quilter to HEC 14/3/90
[We must have your article]

Charles Hopwood - HEC 17/3/90 (Temple
"I have read the Remonstrance on behalf of the Zulu Chief Dinizulu & others, & I do not see how it can be shortened or that any ommission can be made. It is already a condensed report of many acts & much misconduct ~~[illegible]~~ tarnishing British fame. It is as admirable as a statement, & a credit to the men who composed it, fearless advocates of the oppressed, for the boldness with which they have unmasked the sleigh of an incompetent governor, the culpable suppression of the real state of things contained in Mr. Galloway's [illegible], and elsewhere, by such men as Osborne (sic) & Shepstone, and the brutality & lawlessness of such men as (Dick) Addison. . . . [& &c].
~~I most worry with success to your efforts to obtain~~
The illegal deportation of Dinizulu from Natal were had surrendered, to be tried before a Commission Court of three,

instead of a Judge & Jury, reminds one painfully of the like treatment of Gordon in the Jamaican Massacre.

I most warmly wish success to your efforts to obtain justice for the unfortunate men.

I know the extraordinary cost to which you have been put, but while one delights in such sacrifice as an honour to the Nation, we feel no surprise, but welcome the consistency of the act of a Colenso, in defence injured & noble, though unlettered races.

Geo Cox to HEC 20/3/90 Switzerland

[Haven't the means to see you] "This is the result of the other (?) terrible disappointment which has sprung from the way in which the "Life" was treated by the orthodox parties who have found a splendid refuge in the policy of silence. I had hoped that the book would put plenty of money into all our pockets, & the outcome has certainly been most saddening." . . . [destroyed]
[My strength has failed]

Henry Quilla 7/4/90
"I am sorry to say it is quite impossible, with regard to time, space, and expense that I can allow your corrected proof to go to the printers. There is no time for a revise, and I could not possibly

spare the space for the additional matter you put, having already given you 3 or 4 pages more than I asked Mr Fox Bourne to certify [Further letters of the correcty of proofs / accuracy of the article .. etc etc] [Trouble here]

Westlake to HEC. 7/4/890
[Won't be in town for the debate. Bradlaugh's name will attract people] "but may may not have returned from the holidays".

P. B. Marcoste to HEC (Athenaeum) 11/4/90
(Pvs. xeroxed).
"I regret that I cannot go further into the Zulu case. My views diverge in some respects so materially from yours, that I should be of no service to you.

Harry Quilter – HEC 4/4/90

"I explained to you at the time that I inserted all the important corrections which your article in contained and took considerable personal trouble to see that this was correctly done. Nothing but your own delay prevented the proof reaching me in proper time, and of course if you could not trust Mr Fox Bourne's facts – as you informed me you could – before. I consulted to I destroyed I him to write to the effect that you are not to be held responsible for them. You must allow me to say, that, in this matter, you have given me more

trouble, and made more requirements than I have ever experienced with regard to any article whatever which has yet appeared in the Universal Review."

WYC - HEC 31/5/90
[Clerk in Jersey has been embezzling money - including your uncles cheque to me - stop it]

Womens Literal Division (Southport Division) 15/6/90
(Offo please stock).

G. Burgess to HEC 25/6/90
"The Zulu question is dead in Natal. I suppose people has such a lot of it during the trials that they care no more about it."
(Sends article Natal Advertiser 23/11/88.)

South Place Ethical Society 26/6/90.
[Lecture please]

Congregational Society 29/6/90

2/7/90. Women's Literal Association (Waterloo)
[Lecture].

Manchester Geographical society 10/7/90
(Lecture).

Lecture in Norwich

New City Improvement Society
Croydon Socratic Society 6/8/90
Leeds Women's Liberal Association
Wakefield

Fox Bourne BHEC 15/8/90
"Forgive me for not having answered your
[??] I was so busy yesterday and today.
I hear you were knocked up by your
House of Commons experience and
I thought Bradlaugh's speech
as good as it could be under the
~~circumstances~~ impossible conditions, & I
was glad Sir R. Fowler put in his mild
word, - What pleased me most was the
sympathetic ~~murmur~~ murmur from both
sides of the House. - otherwise the
[?] if not dishearten, & try my
to one's patience.
If we can get our MPs to raise
a good debate early next session, if
[ill-gotten] " they must wait till
the Estimates [ill] at the end of the
session when they [ill] don't
finish the parliamentary Session will be
worth fighting.
I hope you will take a good rest
before starting on another campaign."

YMCA. Chowestgt
Combyde & County Liberal Clubs.

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Tynside Geographical Societies.

Peckham Central Progressive Institute. 27/9/90
The Progressive Association 29/9/80.
The British / Foreign Association.

Alfred Wells to HEC 21/2/91 House of Commons.

"Mr Lloyd George, a nice young Welsh lawyer, expressed himself very worthy to me about the Zulu later last night. I think you should try & see him. He is a 1st biting /?/ man. He knows little or ~~not~~ nothing about the matter but his sympathies are all on the right side."

Chamberlain H.H. Asquith all refuse to take up Zulu matters

Martha Richards Hlobse Negros.

Helen Blackburn Nat Soc for Women's Suffrage.

ZA

Resident Commissioner & Chief Magistrate Native Appeal Cases 1888-91 47

1892-3 48

1-50	1894		49
51-100	1894		50
1-28	1895		51
- -20	1896	+	52

Contains Mdletshe succession despite 122 pgs.
William McLeod Ballenden vs
Zibhebhe (for 87-12 - promissory notes)

21-50	1896	+	53
1-26	+ 1897		54
1-7	1898		
1-10	1899		55
1-33	+ 1900		
1-15	+ 1901		56
1-20	+ 1902		57
1-30	1903		58
31-60	1903		59

Vast majority
Inheritance
Idsola
cases

~~Rebellion~~ -

Blue Books

Balance (from 2NR) £5102

Hut Tax £2201

1888 Too disturbed

Revenue 33439
Expenditure 34658

Suppression £11383
CSC 7231

1889 Short harvest - corn sold at cost -

~~Revenue £ 33438~~
~~Expenditure £~~

Revenue £58509
Expenditure 33,776

Hut Tax £28585

2P. £9955

CSC £4466

Civil Est. £ 14,456

Balance 8175

[Note expenses of CSC about ½ of suppression of Rebellion and the total about ½ normal years Revenue]

Pop. est 139261

Price range of corn 5-7/- per maund 70lbs. £3-£3/10

Wages 10-25/-

Cattle numbers 137,095, nearly ½ in Essex dist

Goats + Sheep

Prisoners 113

~~Offences 785~~ Offences Reported 785

Persons Convicted 838 (Convicts only)

73

1890. Crops fair

Large nos. out to work, money plentiful, cattle scarce.

Revenue £ 41691 (£2051 - Somkhele's fine)

Expenditure 29733 Balance 10045

Pop 136,788 (♀ overbalance)

Maize 5/- 6/- £3 £4 per mud

Offices 1062

1891 Maize good prices low 5-10/- The Good Year

Revenue: £40,080

Expenditure £ 36,118

Wages NGR 30 - 40/-

1892 Drought - money plentiful

Revenue 42432

Expenditure 33953 Malaria Smallpox

1893 V good harvest Malaria v bad Smallpox Nagana

Revenue 43666

Expenditure 33905

Crime increases esp Nqutu district

Murder up

1894 Locusts Smallpox Grain crop fails

Revenue 45,592

Expenditure 43,923

Agric mortgage due to appreciation of money

1895 Stock thrives Crop down - heavy rain, locusts,

Revenue 51746

Expenditure 66172 Public Works - Drawn on Reserves 39,000 - 24000

Scoreby - meals up to £2

Further ~~waste~~ expected in 1896 drought

1897 Crop sufficient Rinderpest

1898

15

Zulu Material. The Blue Books.
Onwards

1897 - 1/6/87 = 75%

Revenue 1891-4 shows several excess of R over E
with Hut Tax + 75% of total.

1889 - out of debt - extreme fluctuation in price of maize

Zulu Material:
The Blue Books.

+ 75% of Revenue due to Hut Tax
Out of debt in 1889
Revenue exceeds expenditure 1890 - 1894, 1896

Assets drop from ± £57,000 in 1893 ± £5000 1895, £14000 1897

16% of expenditure on Police.
~~Here perhaps 500,000 cattle in Zululand~~ ?s
1889 Maize price fluctuates 5/- £3/10 i.e. 14x higher

1890 Large numbers out at work. High fluctuations in maize price

1891 Prosperity

1892 Survive on fair good harvest - disease up. no surplus

1893 Good harvest - disease up - assets high ..

1894 Locusts crop failure

1895 Crop failure + drought

1896 Famine

Check: Tsetse
Locusts

1897 Good harvest / Rinderpest.

1898 ~~Cow~~ Cattle price v. high Harvest sufficient
7,500 to 8AR

1899 }
1900 } Drought + locusts.

GH(Z) files
GH(Z) files + ~~SNA~~ RMLM Courts used vs trad. chiefs

CO "The regular collection of hut tax is a particularly good
1888 feature of the Revenue."
Oct. Nov. isibalo crisis in Natal
Zululand used to undercut

720 Game Preservation Act, 1889

722/441/89 The "vital importance" of the collection of Hut Tax.

72~~5~~ 661/89 Quhoi selling cattle to workers.

725 Govt sponsored maize sales Signs of famine: rumour of cannabilism

Gold Field wages considered v. high

MR 3/90 Peace proved by no. of civil cases.
Serious drought. Fluctuation in Maize price

GHZ 728 Reject winter grazing licences

MR 5/90 First cash H.T. Maize going up.

MR 7/90 Mild winter - calving season expected liberal increase

GHZ 730 8/90. Plans to invest surplus

GHZ 731 MR9/90 Rain late, some cattle loss. White heavy owing to large nos.

GHZ 733 MR 10/90. Rains arrive. but cold spell kills cattle in Nqutu

" " 10/90 Report to Din. Among fever deaths

11/90 Rumours of Boer Invasion

MR 1/91. Floods

MR 2/91. Grub attacking cobs

MR 4/91 Small pox between St Lucia & the sea from Borterton.

MR 5/91 Harvest good

MR 6/91 Fever high. (Rain heavy?) Hut Tax in. Bus sho lose 500 horses through h-sickness

MR 7/91 Crime in Nqutu/Nkondla districts only

MR 8/91. Need to define locations in Nqutu/Nkondla dist

MR 9/91 Crime in N/N district only. Faction fights between Natal Natives only

GH (2) 741, 836 Charles Johnson's letter about the general demoralisation of the people.

RMMR 10/91 Good rains + good crops

MR 12/91 Good rains - except Ulumbo - grubs

MR 2/92 ~~Rain~~ Drought

MR 3/92 Late maize dead: price goes up

MR 4/92 Last year's harvest will last over.

MR 8/92 Rains arrived. No want no some corn bought.

Mr 12/92 Smallpox contained in Ndwandwa
Crops good + first maize in. Locusts appeared.

MR 1/93 Crops good. Malaria rife

MRs 2/93 - 4/93 Crops good - malaria bad.

MR 5/93. Jonlyie, Somlomo, Hohe. dead of malaria

6/93. Boundaries should be defined N/N
Harvest in cattle good.

M. Clarke arrives.

GH2 760 832/94 How we collect Hut Tax

Reading for Paper

Colin Leys Underdevelopment in Kenya

Foster Carter "The Articulation of Modes of P."

Boron The Political Economy of Growth

Standard Encyclopaedia of Southern Africa

Locusts In how periodic locust plagues arise. Locusts lead a double life. When not swarming they become scattered & sedentary. "in the guise of common grasshoppers. gregaria, solitaria, transiens. & could be reared to assume these forms, according to density of population.

The Red Locust (Nomadacris (Nomadacris septemfasciata)

Relatively tropical, depends on build up numbers in a few areas of Central Africa. Invades SA from the north. but does breed in Natal for years.

1894 - 1910 Tremendous plagues.

1930 - Tanganyika reached SA 1933 - 1944

Controlled mainly by spraying under Red Locust Control Service (RLCS)

Brown Locust - from Karoo

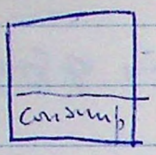
Economic Surplus

(Surplus V.) : Aggregate output - real costs

1) Actual economic surplus = Actual current output − a.c consumption
i.e. = current savings/accumulation

2) Potential economic surplus : =

1) Excess consumption
2) Unproductive workers
3) Waste in production
4) Unemployment



Given the debate on a A of M of P it might interesting to spell out in detail how this happened in Zululand Zulu kingdom an interesting - nowhere in SA did it the PCMP retain its integrity under the onslaught of the charge. Still ~~largely~~ Still a natural economy 10 yrs after diamonds. Export of labour & commodities minimal. It's integrity as PCMP.

To understand the impact concentrate on the PCM. Pre 1879. Base the homestead, lineage & domestic. labour of women & children; the men hardly. product cattle. ~~Other~~ Hierarchical, big. based on the military system. a sense of the common man

↓

wor.

1) British initiative - facts.

2) Handed over to Natal: British Natal.

Natal. System - Shepstone - Osborn. <-> the Royal House

The civil war as an attempt to force pliable chiefs
The nature of the economy precludes sustained resistance

The setting up of the Reserve & then British Zululand.
Taxation: useful chiefs:

The Natal Labour crisis - recruiting for NGR.
Taxation // the domestic mode: preserved by Code of Natal law.

85

The Life of John William Colenso D.D. Bishop of Natal.
by the Rev. Sir George W. Cox, Bart., M.A. Rector of Sculthorpe

I. 1888

x "For the Bishop of Natal the battle with intolerance and superstition in England was followed by a warfare not less harassing and wearing against national wrong-doing in Southern Africa. In the day of his increasing resentment against the Bishop's critical method, Mr. Maurice had charged him with using "the accursed doctrine that God has nothing to do with nations and politics." By a wonderful ordering, the man whom, because he showed that the narrative of Exodus was not history, Mr. Maurice accused of taking away from Englishmen all ground for

xi looking to God // for the destruction of tyranny, was the only Englishman who gave up time, rest, peace – was ready to give up everything – if he could but obtain bare justice (apart from Christian gentleness and mercy) for injured natives or tribes in Southern Africa. . . .

In this portion, especially of the work, I owe a deep debt of gratitude for aid received from the Bishop's family. ~~The cause for which his work has been taken in hand is the one thing for~~ This help has been bestowed as a labour of love, and with a firm and glad trust in the final victory of truth over falsehood of right over wrong. The cause for which his work has been taken in hand is the one thing for which they desire to live; and I am thankful that I have been spared

Lord Lyndhurst.

FREETH 8C
(loans)
FREETH

12/96. Cannot meet current expenses
Requires advance H. T. down. No sale for cash
accomplish a task ~~we~~ needed for the attainment
of the end which they, and I, have most at heart, —
the end ~~which they, and I, have most at heart,~~ —
which brings with the vindication of his whole life.

Chapter I.
b. 24/1/1814

[On the Reform Bill in a letter 26/10/31]
"We could not expect the lords, I think, to do
otherwise, bullied as they were by such a
brawling set of ragomuffins as assembled at
Liverpool, Manchester, and other places".

[And remember his financial difficulties - caused by
the collapse of financial ventures; i.e. failed
capitalist background.]
[And the spiritual compensation[?]]

St. John's College 24/8/44
"... I don't know any thought which quiets me
36 more, when disposed to complain of my own
lot, than that of servants - domestic, I mean -
so completely (the greater and best part of them)
without hope of settlement for themselves in
life; without friends, to live and love with
them, except (perhaps) a Christian master and
mistress; without time at their own command,
or opportunity of study - in fact, I look on
them with some feeling of pity and sympathy,
but knowing that He giveth more grace, and,
doubtless, supplies them with peace and comfort by the way...

87 James Martineau - Unitarian

[These early letters show all the annoying introspective Xtianity typical of the period see the letter on pp. 31-2 on the ~~distinction~~ "to be loved + the ability to love for JWC it is still a conscious effort.
And look at the comforting last expression in the last letter - does he see the light - the Saturnalia on earth.]

p. 37. [He nearly goes to a "College" in Putney which gives a "practical" education in "contradistinction" to a classical, literary one. Especially interesting for whom it is.]

m. ~~[illegible]~~ 8/1/46.

3/1/53

"... the two little girls are making a little progress, at least the elder (5½). [But there is the problem of Hell] "The truth is, I cannot bring myself to set before her little mind the terrifying doctrines, which are to be found inculcated in some of Watts's Hymns for little children."

25/4/~~[illegible]~~. 53

47 "I have completed the National School Arithmetic; and for this, and my other remaining copyright Longmans have paid me down £2,400, which enabled me to arrange for the complete discharge of my obligations, principal and interest, except for a payment of about £100 a year during my aged father's life time.

"In the second place I have been offered, and have accepted, the bishopric of Natal . . . ."

50 "It was just that appeal of the honest heart which was needed to call into action the slumbering fires. That appeal, and his instantaneous obedience to that appeal, were sneered at as stupid, childish, and contemptible: but the questions of the "intelligent Zulu" became for him the questions like those which led Luther to nail his theses on the Church door at Wittenberg, and enabled him to break with the force of a Samson the theological and traditional withs by which he had thus far been bound."

Chapter II Ten Weeks in Natal. 54 14 0

1854 - 40 yrs old.

69. [On intercourse between black & white]

"We should never choose to leave our children in England exposed to the possible evil consequences of teaching in a ragged school; but with proper precaution and discipline, surely we should not fear to ~~desk~~ see them thus employed."

Chapter III Early work in Natal

20 May 1855 . JWC + Family arrive.

[J.W.C. // money // trials in youth // trials in 50s with S.P.G. // trials after ~~for~~ the controversy //

"Our white printer will not lend a hand to help them.

p92 "Indeed, I should not be surprised if there is some sort of trade union here, formed to exclude the natives from being taught mechanical trades.

89

Harriette Emily Colenso

The difficulties of biography - can be the most empirical - most subjective: will attempt to place her in a context
A context I don't know well - women's history in the nineteenth century; but also the crushing of independent polities; peasantry, mining in south Africa
lived from ~~[illegible]~~ 1847-1932: SA 1854.
1847-1932: Crushing: Imperialism: Capitalism,
but also a woman: indomitable spirit a set of ideas which sustained her: and which also crush destroyed her.
Ideas of many South Africans and which crush them
a set of ideas inadequate to the situation

Westlake John K.C. LLD. b. Lostwithiel 1928 Cornwall m. Alice Hare. Trinity College.
Felow 1851-60., QC. Prof of International Law, Cambridge
1888-1908. Address. The River House 3, Chelsea Embankment d. 1914.

Quilter, Harry MA. barrister, artist author. Trin Coll. Slade,
U.College. Travelled Journalist. Founded
Universal Review 1888
Address 42 Queen's Gate Gardens S.W.

Closte Marshall James ~~1836-1908~~ 1841-1909. b. Shronell.
Tipperary. Trinity College. Dublin. 1st Commission R.A.
1874 RM, Natal.
1876 ADC to Shepstone
1881 RM Qntry.
1882 C of Police Kwtown.
1884 RC Basoholand.
1898-1905 RC Rhodesia
Died: The Lodge, Ennistery co. Winslow 1/4/09
~~bur~~ buried Mount Jerome, Dublin.

91

Frances Ellen Colenso

"Georgie" / Georgiana Burne-Jones née MacDonald

B.M. Nicholls "Frances Ellen Colenso and the Zulu War"
b. 1849. d. 1887. 29/4/87.
Louis Knollys later Inspector General of Police (Jamaica.
Mrs Dora Lees, Mrs Burne-Jones

E.P. Thompson The William Morris Romantic to Revolutionary
Revised Edition Merlin Press London 1977

Burne Jones, Georgiana ("Georgie") 94, 101, 153, 159, 124-5, 167, 219, 239-40, 250, 256-8, 267, 319-20, 322, 325-7, 394, 424-6, 628, 631, 633, 635.

Morris letters Georgie (ed.) in.
Philip Henderson, The Letters of William Morris to his Family and Friends (Longmans, Green & Co, 1950)

G. B[urne]-J[ones] Memorials of Edward Burne-Jones
2 Vols. (Macmillan, 1904)

Book p. 153. The poem itself is unworthy of Morris, and may be dismissed. But the bearing which it may have upon Morris's personal life is important. J.W. Mackail, the first serious biographer of Morris, was the son-in-law of Georgie Burne-Jones, and he had access not only to her memories but also to intimate letters which were later destroyed. He confessed in a private letter of 1899 that his account of "all those stormy years of The Earthly Paradise time and the time following it must be excessively flat", owing to the amount

May Morris, William Morris, Artist, Writer Socialist (B. Blackwell) 1936 92

of tact ("a quality unpleasantly near untruthfulness often") that "had to be exercised right and left".[1] In his biography he permitted himself only the comment that in the verses for the Months in The Earthly Paradise "There is an autobiography so delicate and so outspoken that it must needs be left to speak for itself". Recurrent in several of these poems is the theme of failure in love – the failure to establish a relationship of true confidence and intimacy,
154 the longing of an intense love not fully reciprocated."

1 Phillip Henderson, William Morris (1973)

J.W. Mackail The Life of William Morris (Longmans, 1899) 2 Vols.

p165 "Throughout these years Morris was the victim of successive waves of the deepest depression. The sympathy which
1873 he had lost in his relations with Jenny, he sought increasingly in his friendship with Georgie Burne-Jones. At about this time, it became one of the only constant habits of his life to visit the "Grange" every Sunday morning for breakfast, and spend the morning with Burne-Jones and his wife. His letters to her carry a warmth that is quite lacking from his letters to Jenny. Certainly their friendship was close and without reserve."[2]

2 [At the time B-J. having affair with Marie Zambaco see P. Henderson William Morris pp. 124-5.
J. Lindsay William Morris (1975) pp. 151-168
O. Doughty & R. Wahl (eds.) Letters of Dante Gabriel Rossetti (1965) II, p. 685.

937 Morris b. 1834.

p.202. The "Eastern Question"

1878: 43 yrs Oct. "Morris could scarcely have chosen a more complex issue for his initiation into public life than 'the Eastern Question' agitation.

I E.B-J involved. Morris regrets behind Gladstone.

209 "... passage in the same letter shows Morris condemning the commercial imperialism of the "age of shoddy", but still with the suggested reservation that this is a degeneration from an enlightened liberal imperialism of the past.

1878 [Agitating against aggressive foreign policy of Disraeli sort. Exeter Hall Meeting. F.W. Chesson persuades Morris to compose song. Georgie B-J deeply moved.

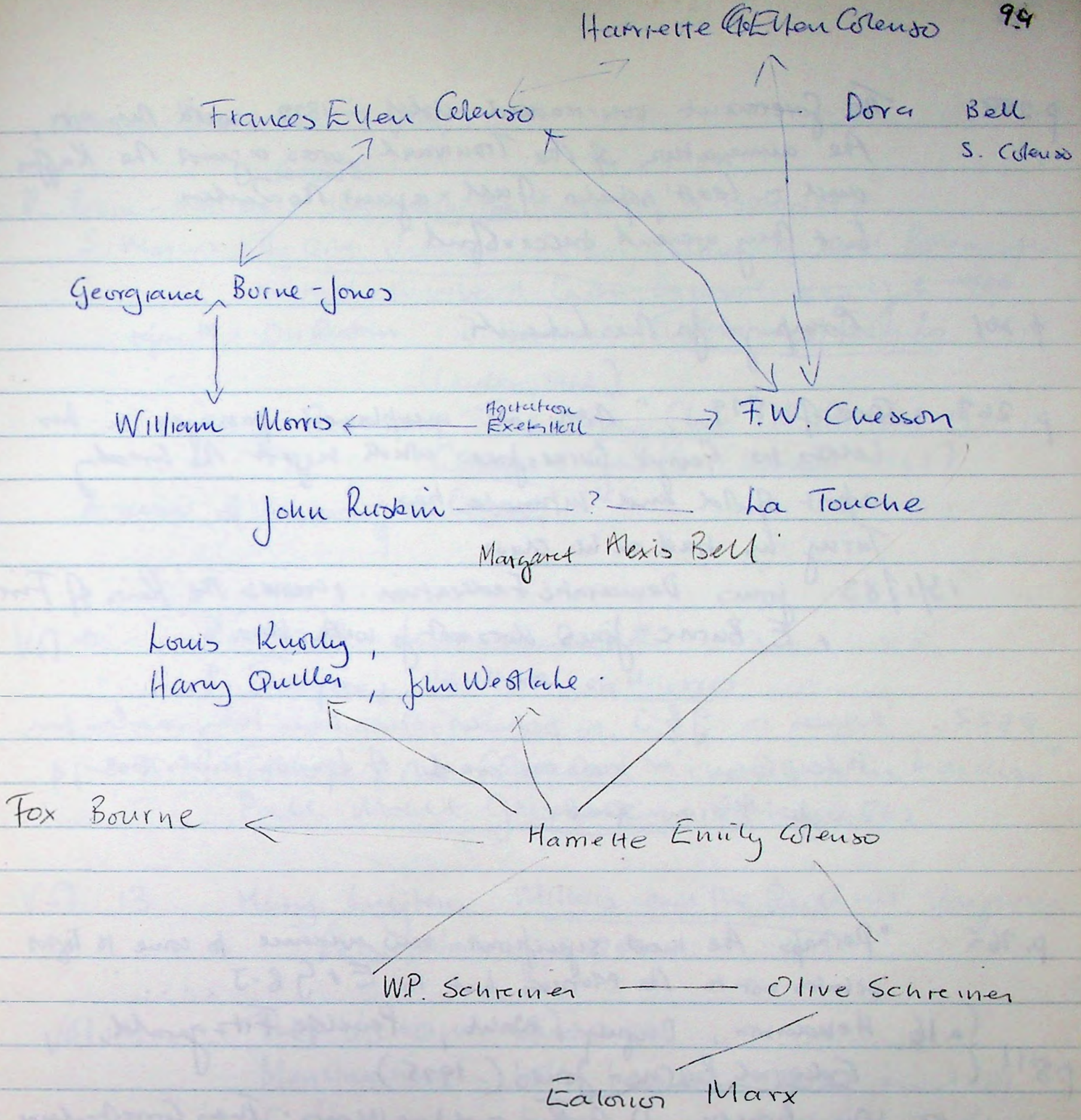
p221. Goes with Morris (workers), Chesson, to see Gladstone: meeting fiasco; pledges himself to give up agitation" 15 Feb 1878

p.243. [But Morris is converted - transformed - to Socialist agitator]

"The transformation of the eccentric artist and romantic literary man into the Socialist agitator may be counted among the great conversions of the world. [Took place between end of Eastern Question in 1878 and early 1883.

p.257. G B-J suggests that limited agitation is sufficient. WM replies that we must not give a grumble but act.

p.259 But this change is the result of the advance of Imperialism. Fiji, Burma, South Africa, Afghanistan.


Harriette Ellen Colenso
Frances Ellen Colenso
Dora Bell
S. Colenso
Georgiana Burne-Jones
William Morris
Agitation
Exeter Hall
F.W. Chesson
John Ruskin
?
La Touche
Margaret Alexis Bell
Louis Rugby,
Harry Quilter, John Westlake.
Fox Bourne
Harriette Emily Colenso
W.P. Schreiner
Olive Schreiner
Eleanor Marx

p.259. The Government over-reached itself in 1879, with this war, the annexation of the Transvaal, wars against the Kaffirs and – least popular of all – against the Zulus.
[& they weren't successful

p.261 Campaigns for the Liberals

p.267 End of 1879 "there are unexplained passages in his letters to Georgie Burne-Jones which suggest the breaking apart of old and intimate ties."
Turning his back on his class
13/1/83 joins Democratic Federation. & crosses the Rivers of Fire & E. Burne-Jones does not go with him.

p322. "Histories to GB-J, in particular, show him taking evaluation from, to keep open at least one road of human understanding with his own past."

p.765 "Perhaps the most significant new evidence to come to light relates not to the Morrises but to E & GB-J . . . ."

p811 { n.16 Henderson, Doughty & Wahl, Penelope Fitzgerald, Edward Burne-Jones (1975)
n17 John Bryson, D.G.R. and Jane Morris: Their Correspondence (Oxford, 1976).

Victorian Studies Vol. 10. 1966/7.

Review of
Brain Harrison "Underneath the Victorians" a review of
S. Marcus The Other Victorians: A Study of Sexuality and Pornography
in mid-Nineteenth Century England. New York 1966
refers to. On Ruskin D. Newsome The Parting of Friends
(London, 1966)
J. Rosenberg The Darkening Glass: A Portrait of
Ruskin's Genius (London, 1963)
A review of Hunnicutt's Corpus.

Vol IV. Review of Letters of O. G. R.
P. Thompson & Henderson on Morris.

p. 317. Trollope & the Crowns. "The Jubilee in London"
Pall Mall Gazette 10 May 1863

Vol 13 Mary Lutyens Millais and the Ruskins Vanguard
Press, New York 1969.

Vol 14 The Victorian Woman
Menstruation - little known "Any kind of
fatigue might be dangerous, where it resulted
from long walks, riding, dancing, or lifting
heavy weights.

p. 201. Rachell Trickett "The Wynnington Letters: John Ruskin's
Correspondence with Margaret Alexis Bell
and the Children at Winnington Hall"
ed. Van Akin Burd. The Belknap Press.
Harvard 1973
[Reveals Ruskin's talents] "a unique

97 Victorian Studies 15 C. Storm-Clark "The Miners, 1870-1970 A Test-Case for Oral history"

Eva Figes Patriarchal Attitudes. Women in Society
(Faber & Faber, London, 1970)

picture of one experiment in women's education in the nineteenth century.

For him all experiment in education + women. Come after Rose La Touche. She is Irish.
school breaks up. This was the time of warfare.

Bell She is an agnostic who supports Wenso
He is the subject of correspondence

"Ruskin had as strong and individual views on women's education as he had on education in general. His personal interest in Winnington Hall coincided with the writing of Sesame and Lilies and Ethics of Dust, in which he expounded his original and idiosyncratic ideas on the function of reading and culture in a healthy society."
... Winnington Hall provided him the chance to experiment with an intimately personal process of education, the gradual unfolding of ideas on beauty, value, and function which he believed was essential to the true nature and development of women. ...
The earnestness with which he adapts topics of great range and subtlety - geology, theology, art and natural history - to adolescent minds, the extraordinary breadth of feeling and intellect he demands of his prodigies, contrasts oddly with the Kate Greenway pictures of dances on the lawn and singing by candlelight ...
Ruskin, himself charming, was fatally susceptible to charm. His letters to Margaret Bell herself indicate that a high-handed, intelligent, combative spinster with no personal attractions moved him hardly at all. In contrast to his letters to the men he admired in however a mild degree,

these are cool indeed, though courteous. It comes as no surprise that, after the collapse of his hopes of Rose and the break-up of the school, he relinquished the correspondence with no more feeling than momentary embarrassment and irritation. x x x

She herself appears as an interesting figure in these letters. She had lost her original Methodist faith, but, like so many Victorians, retained its ethical fervour. The one show of personal interest she elicited from Ruskin . . . came in response to her confession of agnosticism and her support for Colenso. Even here, he feels compelled to point out that he had come to Colenso's conclusions years before the Bishop did. But his integrity and courage in pledging support in the Colenso controversy is entirely characteristic. x x x She was evidently an extremely intelligent, ambitious, and capable woman, but of cushioned temperament, and the final collapse of the school without Ruskin's continued interest seems predictable from the start.

~~E. D. Lemire The Unpublished~~

Vol. 15. "The French Lieutenant's Woman" A Discussion.

Vol. 17. (1973) M. Vicinus (ed) Suffer & be still. Women in the Victorian Age (Indiana University Press).

Vol. 16 Suffer & be still D. Crow The Victorian Woman, London Allen & Unwin, 1971 H. Mews Frail Vessels Woman's Role in Woman's Novels London The Athlone Press 1969.

Vol 18

Review Van Arkin Burd (ed) The Ruskin Family Letters: The Correspondence of John James Ruskin, His Wife, and Their Son, John 1801-1843 2 vols. Ithaca N.Y & London, Cornell University Press.

Susan Gliserman. Early Victorian Science Writers and Tennyson's 'In Memoriam': A study in cultural exchange.

E. Hardwick Seduction and Betrayal: Women and Literature N.Y. 1974

Women "were fulfilled as well as exploited in their relationship with great men, she points out that their

99 - "private writing careers", unlike the men's work, could not build them a bulwark against disappointments in their personal lives..."

19 L. Senelick Politics as entertainment: Victorian Music-Hall Songs.
"The Boers our Flag treat with insult
And as for Zululand,
It's a glorious muddle which
No man can understand . . . (c.1885.)

20. Jill Roe "Modernization, Sexism: Recent Writings
(1977 on Victorian Women."

180 "A key question in considering recent work in this field is whether the new scholarship succeeds in rediscovering and reinterpreting the experiences of Victorian women. Historical research has had a shattering effect on the stereotyped notion of the Victorian woman, but it has not been so successful in encompassing the diversity of women's experience, or in generalising about its significance. [Two hypotheses:
(1) Vict. Wom. as agents of modernization OR victims of patriarchal authority i.e. sexism. There is still a tendency to use Vict Soc. of women - normal married v. abnormal unmarried. A new framework is needed - all encompassing. Revers.
Francoise Bash. Relative Creatures: Vict. Wom. in Society, the Novel
New York, Schoken Books, 1974.
Patricia Branca; Silent Sisterhood: Middle Class Women in the Vict Home
Pittsburgh. Carnegie-Mellon U.P. 1975.
Martha Vicinus, Suffer and Be Still: Women in the Victorian Age
(Indiana U.P., 1972
Patricia Ber Reader, I Married Him (London, Macmillan, 1974)

283. D. Sonstroem. "Millet versus Ruskin. A defense of Ruskin
of Queen's Gardens".

Major Peter

Sexual Divisions and Society: Process and Change

eds. D.L. Barker & S. Allen
Tavistock Publications London, 1976. [From the 1974 B.S.A. conference]

Allen & Barker. "Sexual Divisions and Society"

[In the last decade the study of sexuality gender divisions, & women in society has become an enthusiasm. Much of this has been outside the academic structure.

Many of the arguments in Race & Racialism (1970) apply.]

1 "He argued that mainstream sociology had neglected to incorporate the notion of race or ethnicity as an integral part of its theoretical underpinnings and that explanations of racialism were ad hoc [true of mainstream sociology] "... for the most part sociology has included women completely within the term 'men' (or as part of their households), rather than asking how and when the relationship between the sexes (or between men and men, women and women,) is pertinent to the exploration of social structure and behaviour."

[Sociology of the family unexplored & sexuality "... in so far as sexism constitutes unproblematic, commonsense behaviour in contemporary British culture, it should not surprise us that it

3 affects thus in sociology." [Also much of the work has been done outside academic circles and] "this means that the sociology taught on many courses lags behind the level of consciousness of these issues already reached by the students themselves."

3 [Many papers in the collection begin by pointing out that accepted attitudes are] "the viewpoint of middle-aged or elderly males of high status. [Frankenberg shows that in studies of British communities women are often invisible.] "His earlier perceptive remark that community studies are the industrial sociology of the housewife ... is developed in his present paper, which criticizes the common statement that the modern family has lost its productive functions and is now primarily a unit of consumption .... The neglect of productive relations within the family that is echoed in other contributions .... But sociologists have continued to see work and therefore work relations as something that takes place outside the ~~home~~ home ... and as involving only some members 4. of the family", primarily the husband-father. This must have ignored their experience of everyday life, even those with non-working spouses, mothers, and sisters. More than this, however, it points to the failure of sociological theory to come to terms with the facts of the reproduction of labour power within a particular form of the division of labour and to integrate these into a theory of societal organization. The association between industrialization and the changing forms of the family, familiar to all first year sociology students, stops short of incorporating at a theoretical level the link between domestic production and social production. Consequently the social relations of production within the family are

ignored in all their manifestations in social interaction both inside and outside the family.

Frankenberg proposes instead that we look at the family as a unit producing labour power — concerned, that is, with reproduction, socialization, and servicing — and at community studies as accounts of 'conflicts between interest groups (classes, sexes, and generations) in interlocking process of production'. By asking what is produced, how, and for whose benefit, his reanalysis prompts further questions concerning the ideological supports for, and the social controls exercised by, those who profit.

Ronald Frankenberg "In the Production of their Lives, Man (?)... Sex and Gender in British Community Studies"

21 "... The use of a consumption model of the modern family as an aid to understanding gender roles in society at large has two major and crippling defects which are bound to vitiate any analysis made with its use. First, it overlooks the continuing production relations within the family and, second, it overlooks the fact that the family and the household are not the only stages on which interaction is influenced or determined by differences of sex and gender. [A knowledge of history should have warned me because Lenin pointed out in 1894 that it was an error into which Mikhailovsky had fallen and] 'sapient subjective sociologists might fall ---' Lenin pointed out a number of considerations at that time, and in doing so provides us with at least two levels of theory with which to analyse our problem in relation to community studies. First, in the same way that the social relations of production in the social formation as a whole provided a material base for superstructure of ideology, so

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the material basis of the family did likewise.

'But where have you read in the works of Marx or Engels that they necessarily spoke of economic materialism - ~~Their basic idea ... was that social relations~~ When they described their world outlook they called it simply materialism. Their basic idea was that social relations are divided into material and ideological. The latter merely constitute a superstructure on the former, which take shape independent of the will and consciousness of men as (the result) the form of men's activity to maintain his existence. The explanation of political and legal forms - Marx says in the passage quoted - must be sought in the material conditions of life". Mr. Mikhailovsky surely does not think that procreation relations are ideological."

The family then, and to this very day, is engaged in a process of production: of babies, of educated and growing children and as adult workers produce not only commodities but also surplus value. Seen from this point of view, the family is a factory or a cottage industry for the production and reproduction of labour power. Capitalism cannot manage without it - it is not an accident of history - and very economical it is too, as even socialist countries who have tried to /28/ produce its services have failed. Only the most philistine of bourgeois economists who... know the price of everything and the value of nothing, can fail to see how much actual production of

Chris Pi[illegible] 3[illegible] 38 Port St Jns Trowbe

*

11.290
11.735
14.30 - 17.35

Policy.

of goods - from fried eggs and roast beef to decorated rooms and rebuilt garages - is involved in the reproduction of workers. And this of course is additional to and complicated by its role in the production of ideology.

History Workshop No6.

Eric Hobsbawm 'Man and Woman in Socialist Iconography'

"Women have often pointed out that male historians in the past, including marxists, have grossly neglected half of the human race. The criticism is just; the present writer accepts that it applies to his own work. Yet if this big deficiency is to be remedied, it cannot be simply by developing a specialised branch of history which deals exclusively with women, for in human society the two sexes are inseparable. What we need also to study is the changing forms of the relations between the sexes, both in social reality and in the image which both sexes have of one another. The present paper is a preliminary attempt to do this for the revolutionary and socialist movements of the 19th and early 20th centuries by means of the ideology expressed in the images and emblems associated with these movements.

History Workshop No8 Sally Alexander, Anna Davin, Eve Hostettler.
"Labouring Women: a reply to Eric Hobsbawm

'It is heartening to read that so eminent a historian as Eric Hobsbawm is prepared to concede that 'male historians in the past, including marxists, have grossly neglected the female half of the human race' and that this deficiency

ought to be remedied. In the light of such an admission, however, it is surely all the more distressing that he should then proceed to compare the images and emblems of the revolutionary and socialist movements of the 19th and early 20th centuries with 'the social realities of the period' as if we were unquestionably in possession of a full and accurate knowledge of what those realities were. Surely his confidence in embarking on such an enterprise belies his previously stated acceptance of the need to study 'the female half of the human race' — unless we are to assume that such a study would add nothing to our understanding of social reality. In similar vein, his acceptance that [illegible] history in fact has had a masculine bias does not in the least prevent him from making sweeping generalisations about what women 'aimed' to do, and how they 'saw' waged work. A tentative tone in this respect would have been more in keeping with the professed humility of his opening sentence.

In recognition of the fact that the history of the human race to date has been largely written by and about men, feminist historians seek to examine the whole social reality more fully and accurately. The reasons for the past neglect of women in history have often been stated. They go beyond the gender of the historians involved to such matters of dominant ideology of their society and of the period which they try to investigate. Until fairly recently the staple fodder of the research historian tended to be records compiled by the powerful about the exercise of power. ..... [etc etc.] In the last decade,

with the stimulation of the women's liberation movement, feminist historians have begun the task of redressing the balance. Our purpose is not simply to rediscover women, nor only to counter blatant masculine bias (though both tasks have been satisfying and illuminating moments). The knowledge of women which is gradually being forced us to rethink and re-analyse the existing approach to history. Men and women interact as part of the same world; redressing the balance must therefore mean asking new questions of the whole, seeing sources in a new light, making new syntheses. It also involves setting up most careful checks against the assumptions of one's own society and socialisation. Of course, in principle all historians worth their salt have always done this, but assumptions connected with the role and place of women seem still more pervasive and tenacious and unperceived than those to do with class.

So even an established and respected like Eric Hobsbawm can make slipshod statements like 'conventionally women aimed to stop working for wages outside the house once they got married', and claim this as the truth about married women of the working class with no further attempt to identify the moment, the place, or the group in question. . . .

Feminist historians hesitate to make generalisations about women of any class, married or single, in any historical period. Research so far reveals a bewildering range of experience in working, political and domestic life for nineteenth-century British women, and at the same time suggests

There is much more to follow. If generalisations cannot yet be made, however, work has progressed sufficiently for hitherto standard and historical commonplaces to be re-examined. - - - - -

Hobsbawm is a historian of standing. His work in the history of capitalism and the labour movement has been fundamental for most younger historians and rightly commands attention and respect. We do not dissociate ourselves from the general admiration for his work, but we are disappointed that in relation to feminism he loses his sure touch. Instead of responding to feminist argument and research — rejecting them in the advance of historical thought or disputing them in a properly argued (and supported) way - he dismisses them. Precisely because of his eminence and authority, and because of the importance of the feminist analysis to the advance of revolutionary socialist understanding and practice, this lapse cannot be ignored.

Women's Research and Resources Centre Newsletter, No. 5, 1979

"... WRRC is working to provide information facilities for people doing research on subjects of importance to women and the women's movement. Facilities include seminars, a library, a research index, information on women's studies, and this newsletter, which appears every two months."

Membership £5 p.a.

WRRC, 190 Upper St. London N1. 01-359-5773.
Wed-Sat. 10.30. 5.30.

First I must explain myself why I should be appearing in the Women in Society slot. This is not an apology - but an explanation, I assume that I have been invited as ~~an~~ ~~expert in the field~~, with a particular way ~~and~~ or at least have a particular insight. Ten years ago, I would have baulked at such an assignment. I ~~had in~~ ~~was for~~ had, I thought fairly progressive views on what was called "Women's Lib", and if there was a gap between theory and practice, this was no greater than that in political life. I had made a particular study of a series of events in Southern African history in which 3 brave unusual women were ~~developed~~ deeply involved, and had whenever I had the opportunity ~~read in~~ followed up my interests. A lecture on the Colenso daughters would have offered few difficulties

Now, in 1980, I know I would have been wrong. In the last 10 ~~years~~ the feminist movement has had an enormous impact on all aspects of our lives. It is a movement which has attempted to weld theory & practice & some of the profoundest insights have lain outside the world of the professional, the expert in the field - as far as the social scientist is concerned, he & the object of his study, or his pupil has confronted with a radical alternative critique of his position. The complacency of the professional social & academic has been destroyed. As two social scientists put it: objective, studies were seen as in fact the opinion of middle-aged, elderly men.

For the historian the implications are immense

Was persuaded to pull together my ideas

The Colenso Daughters ~ three women confront Imperialism.

The Colenso Daughters - outline of life. ~~Their father's his struggles, their mother, her intelligence~~

H.E.C. b. 1847.		- Europe revolution Marx & Engels
(3)	1851	- Great Exhibition
	1850s	frontier, agricultural, signs of dwge when diamonds are discovered.
(32)	1879	Br. Invasion of Zululand
(42)	1889	Trial
	1890s	agitation
(50)	1897	Imperialism, scramble, Rhodes
50s	1899-902	~~Ar~~ S. A. Wr.
60	1907	Trial of Dungulu
(65)	1912	SANNC
	1914-1918	
1917		Russian Revolution
1927		
1932		Died in the Great Slump.

Agnes younger. (b 1855) 7 yrs, died at the same time
Francis middle sister, died in 1887 an heiress, infame.

Born in the middle (19) GB height of its power - ~~died~~ reached height of her power with height - Imperialism. saw the clash of these powers in the first World War - died at the same time of capitalist slump.

#1

1930	11·695	25
		30
2030	6·955	33

On trying to come to grips with feminist literature I was taken back another 15 years, faced with a similar problem; that is the emergence of Africanist history; when, with a liberal traditions, being fair to both sides, rejecting South African historiography, we were told that we ~~were~~ ~~put~~ failed had in fact ignored African, had failed to understand the dynamics of African society, the language, the traditions were were Eurocentric.

The shock-value of this attack was two-fold; first our conviction that we had been very aware of the African point of view & were sympathetic, and secondly that it was true - we had ignored African society.

I had much the same feelings when feminist approach. I had always considered aware, sympathetic, aware, in fact a good way yes before the women's ill. With all the force of ideas so obvious that they had been ignored the role of women in capitalist society, the producers of labour, and the fact that they had been ignored. Pick up any of the text-books, the books by radicals, men of left, and it is the history of men. It is obvious and we have missed it by thinking that we haven't. After trying for 10 years to bring Africans ~~in~~ positively into S.A. history, I discover that I have still left out 50% of human society.

It was while such thoughts were running around in mind that I received a letter from Diane Sadler. My

W. B. Infomate

D. N/A.

first impulse was to refuse. My research was on the women in PCMP and the transition to Capitalism. My interest in these women was great, but would involve too much work. I was sufficiently aware that feminist history is not just a matter of tacking on the story of women. The point is that the women have to be understood, in their own right, have to be theorised . . . . and more than that it is not isolating them, they can only be understood in the context of history of their era. But on further reflection it seemed an admirable time, I was working on feminist approach, these women seemed to me insufficiently recognised, and it would force me to try & come to terms with them.

So that is the background to this lecture: I realise that there may be students for more aware of general issues involved; I have worked for 10 yrs at an Africa University

This lecture is based on Horrieile, but I felt that I should include the other women close to her; selectively I excluded her mother - a fascinating person but who thematically extend this lecture to the intellectual of post Napoleonic Britain to era of nationalist politics in the colonial world. But I do include briefly her younger sister Frances, & her youngest sister Agnes. But it is Horrieile who joins the centre piece & the others are included as foils or supportive figures.

Schreiner ¶ "... Miss Colenso was 'fine, ... the brightest personal spot in my horizon at present" ... he was heartened to see dark faces light up as she went by." "even when he could not always agree with her fiery advocacy.

Eagleton on the Brontës: "The major historical conflict with this book selects as it focus – that between landed and industrial capital – is sharpened and complicated for the Brontës by a host of subsidiary factors. Their situation is unique, certainly – but unique in its classical condensing of an unusually wide range of historical tensions. They happened to live in a region which revealed the friction between land and industry in peculiarly stark form – starker, certainly, than a purely agrarian or industrial area. The same part of the country, as we have seen, witnessed worky-class struggle at an extraordinary pitch of militancy, and in that sense too highlighted certain 'typical' historical trends. These pervasive social conflicts were then peculiarly intensified by the sisters' personal situation. They were, to begin with, placed at a painfully ambiguous point in the social structure, as the daughters of a dergymen with the inferior status of 'perpetual curate' who had thrust his way up ~~out of~~ from poverty; they strove as a family to maintain reasonably 'gentel' standards in a traditionally rough-and-ready environment. They were, moreover, socially insecure women – members of cruelly oppressed group whose

H.E.C. : 1849 1847, EEC. 1847-1887, Agnes. 1855

Beatrice Webb: 1858

Eleanor Marx : 1855

Olive Schreiner : ~~1855~~ 1855

victimised condition reflected a more widespread ~~exploitation~~ exploitation. And they were <u>educated</u> women, trapped in an almost intolerable deadlock between culture and economics - between imaginative aspiration and the cold truth of a society which could use them merely as 'higher' servants. They were <u>isolated</u> educated women, socially and geographically remote from the world with which they nonetheless maintained close intellectual touch, and so driven back on themselves in solitary emotional hungering. At certain points in their fiction, indeed, that loneliness becomes type and image of the isolation of all men in an individualistic society. And as if all this were not enough, they were forced to endure in their childhood an especially virulent form of ideological oppression - Calvinism.

In the unique imaginative formation of the Brontës, then, social, sexual, cultural, religious and geographical issues fuse into an overdetermined unity. It is for this reason that we can trace in their eccentricity the contours of a common condition, detect in their highly specific life-style the unfolding of a general grammar. In a society where banishment from a centre seemed a general experience, the Brontës 'eccentric' situation begins to seem curiously typical.

114 ~~1899~~ ~~1898~~. 1898 Departmental Reports

Pop. White 1305 (1897, 1231) Black. 200,330 (1897: – 3,819) { 3 11/36 : ♂ 1 11/27 : ♀ 1 97/108)

Area ~~Revenue~~ New figures. 10,456 sq miles: ~~Eshowe/Mlalazi~~ Ubombo : 1,641. Ndwondwe / Mahlabatini 1,537 : Hlabisa 1,458. Eshowe / Mlalazi 1090. L.M. 1049. Maputa 985. Nkondla 751. Ingwavuma 675, Emtonjaneni 645. Nqutu 625.

Revenue ~~Expenditure~~

Expenditure

Stock Rinderpest disappeared mid 1898. 86% cattle lost. Lungsickness prevalent Horsesickness heavy.

Crops Sufficient : rain sufficient. Locusts present. Mainly hoe cultivation by women Ploughs in some areas only. Nagona down.

Crime Average: Nqutu & Nkandla cattle stealing up. 1 death sentence

Education / Missions

Passes / Labour

Health Small pox - from J'burg - isolated. Gnl vaccination. Malaria on coast as usual.

General D, NrT return - reconciled with 2 who returns. Mahlabatini formed. Hlubi retired.

Monthly Review Vol 31, No 2.

Lise Vogel "Questions on the Woman Question"

p 51. "Within the socialist tradition, two distinct and essentially contradictory approaches to the woman question have always coexisted, although the distinction has not been explicitly noted. An unspoken and unrecognized debate between the two alternatives has therefore haunted efforts to address a variety of major theoretical and practical questions concerning women's oppression and emancipation. The theoretical origins of this hidden debate go back to the works of Marx and Engels themselves, and it has taken concrete shape in the ambiguous theory and practice of later socialist and communist movements. The implicit controversy has recently re-appeared, this time within the contemporary women's and socialist movements. Although the hundred-year legacy of ambiguity still hampers work on the woman question, a social practice in the age of imperialism - in dominant capitalist as well as subordinate Third World countries, within liberation movements, and in developing socialist nations - suggests that the conditions now exist for resolving it, both in theory and in practice.

For convenience, the two approaches can be labeled according to their identification of the source, or principal site, of women's oppression. On the one hand, the "family argument": women are oppressed because of the family. On the other, the "social-production

argument": women's oppression has its roots in women's place within social production. In the first view, women's situation within the family explains their exclusion, or partial exclusion through deformed participation, from social labour and political life. In the second, the differential location of women within social production lies at the heart of their oppression in the family as well as in other spheres. Each argument suggests its own analysis of the various elements that make up the theoretical core of the women question: family, work, and equal rights.

The family argument starts from what appears to be empirically obvious: the family, the oppression of women, and divisions of labor and authority according to sex. It treats these phenomena as analytically according to sex. It treats these phenomena as analytically separable, at least in part, from the social relations of production in which they are embedded. Thus [52] it identifies the family, and the sex division of labor within it, as the fundamental source of women's oppression, and then seeks to understand the origin and development of this correlation in history. To the extent that the family is tied to the mode of production dominant in a given society and varies according to class, these factors enter the discussion as essential, but more or less external, determinants.

[The family argument was used in (19 ~~Bebe~~ Bebel, Engels] "Within the

that the family is an historical phenomenon

contemporary socialist-feminist movement, the family argument often appears in the context of attempts to develop a 'theory of patriarchy.' Such a theory would account for the special character of women's oppression, most particularly in the family, without denying the class struggle. Just as Marxism has discovered the laws that govern social production and class struggle, so the theory of patriarchy will reveal the material mechanisms that underlie sex divisions of labour and women's oppression. Or, as many have suggested - basing themselves on Engels' remark that 'the determining factor in history is, in the final instance, the production and reproduction of immediate life" (Engels, Origin, p. 71) - Marxism explains the mode of production, while the theory of patriarchy will explain the mode of reproduction.

Whether explicitly proposing a theory of patriarchy or not, all versions of the family argument imply a certain parallelism between class and sex phenomena. Thus they project, more or less clearly, a series of counterposed pairs:

production	reproduction
work	family.
class exploitation	patriarchal oppression
public sphere	private domain
social productive labour	private domestic labour
class system	family system
ruling class domination	male privilege
Marxist theory	theory of patriarchy

From these pairs it is but a step to a more

serious conclusion. Logically, the family argument suggests that some systematic mechanism, peculiar to the family and distinct from the class struggle characterizing a given mode of production, constitutes the driving force behind women's oppression.

390,000,000
650,000,000 earth like planets

New Left Review No 116

Maxine Molyneux "Beyond the Domestic Labour Debate"

"It is nearly a decade since the first texts in the recent domestic labour debate appeared, and since then over fifty articles have been published on the subject of housework in the British and American socialist press alone. This interest in domestic labour has arisen from a wide range of orientations, both feminist and Marxist, yet despite this variety they all involve a common underlying assumption: namely that investigation of this previously neglected topic can contribute to an understanding of women's subordination and to the formulation of a politics adequate to its supercession. Two main concerns can be identified in this literature. The first aims to show how the subordination of women, variously described as oppression, subjugation or exploitation, is, although often seen as 'extra-economic', in fact founded on a material basis and is linked into the political economy of capitalist society. This approach has attempted to demonstrate housework's economic contribution to maintaining the capitalist system by providing labour necessary for the reproduction of labour power. It has raised the question of to what extent the development of capitalism has itself created the present domestic system and has, in particular, created 'housework'.[1] This perspective has often involved the attempt to apply to the sphere of housework concepts previously restricted to the analyses of the more general, conventional and public, features of the capitalistic economy.

"housework only one aspect

1 ... 120 (4) J. Harrison "The Political Economy of Housework" Bulletin of the Conference of Socialist Economists, Winter 1973. C. Delphy The Main Enemy Women's Research and Resource Centre 1976.

↳ Second concern: role of women in the socialist struggle.
Women & proletariat both oppressed by capitalist system.
However } "the ~~work~~ theoretical work so far produced on domestic labour has not adequately addressed the problems which they identified. In particular work on P.E. of women has tended towards economic reductionism; secondly functionalist approach to the relationship between capitalism & domestic labour. Thirdly to narrow a focus on labour rather than the familial household context. Thus housewife's labour for the male-worker (+ least important) has been ~~one~~ emphasized at expense of next generation (children) in spite of rep. to "reproduction of labour power".

In this paper (1) "domestic mode of production" critiased ... the common assumption that domestic labour necessarily lowers the value of labour is questioned; instead, it is argued that the maintenance of the domestic sphere as the main site of biological reproduction under capitalism is economically possible only where the value of labour power is sufficiently high for wages to cover the cost of the family's reproduction. (2) a general critique of the domestic labour thesis.

Christine Delphy: The Main Enemy

Criticises the Marxist view where oppression of women is seen as secondary to the class struggle. Its ~~Relations~~ Rooting of classes in production process which does not consider non-capitalist production in the home.

Housework no different from domestic labour in the commodity sector, except the one is paid, the other is exploited by the husband. She argues.

(i) Women's labour in the house + often outside has never been paid for. (ii) even after wide spread entry into wage labour (iii) this is sustained by the marriage contract.

"Men ... exploit women's labour and in so doing constitute their class oppressors." from this.

(1) "... in contemporary society there are two modes of production: an industrial mode of production defined by capitalist property relations and capitalist exploitation, and a patriarchal / familial relations of production and patriarchal exploitation. . . . . These modes are distinct and autonomous, as shown by the fact that the overthrow of capitalist relations does not result in the abolition of women's oppression . . . .

(2) "... in terms of this second, patriarchal mode women constitute a distinct class, united by their common oppression by men, and irrespective of their occupation or their husband's class position. She concludes that women should mobilise autonomously to overthrow patriarchy and the society in which it is embedded.

Some initial problems

"Some of Delphy's arguments and observations are, in a general sense, true: domestic labour is an important yet grossly undervalued activity, it remains a locus and contributory cause of women's oppression, and, despite class and cultural variations, men can be said to benefit in certain obvious ways from women's work in the home. [But Delphy's theoretical edifice + political conclusions are inadequate]

1) Do husband's appropriate women's surplus labour? 5

5 As M. Barret & M. McIntosh, in a trenchant critique of Delphy ask - can women escape subordination by the simple device of remaining unmarried? 'Towards a Materialist Feminism', Feminist Review No. 1. Jan 1979.

Not all marriages are the same, not all subsume women. Data: specific & empirical. Concentrates on marriage to detriment of other forms of exploitation. (motherhood & labour market) Concentrates on appropriation of labour in marriage, & ∴ economistic "r] "thereby fails to consider the ideological and psychological dimensions which are crucial if any understanding of why marriages occur at all is to be gained."

Text is a polemic against Marxism & it is caricatured into vulgar Marxist model. Utilises Marxist terms wrongly (empirical common sense) and can only sustain her argument that men are the main class enemy by doing so.

Harrison: Housework, a 'client mode'

World Capitalist System Capitalist Mode of Production

Social Formation

Dominant, constitutive Modes of Production and subordinate in transitional epochs where there are relics of the past, vestigial modes or anticipatory foetal mode. There are also client modes created by the dominant mode

included in this is ~~house~~ housework m. of p., areas of state activity and non-capitalist features in peripheral formations

Characteristics of client modes of production: no division of labour, low socialization of labour, undirected labour, no commodity production. "Moreover although it provides use-values for the reproduction of the labourer it is not, as Margaret Benson and others have suggested, directly productive of the commodity labour power.

∴ the housework mode contributes to the reproduction of the labour power of the wage worker by providing use-values for (his) subsistence. But in return for housewife's labour she receives only subsistence (to which she contributes) and which appears in the capitalist sector. "The mechanism by which this transfer of surplus labour from housework to the capitalist sector takes place is the payment by the capitalist of wages below the value of labour power. This is possible because through her labour the housewife reduces the value of labour power; she provides services which if bought in the market would inflate the cost of subsistence and hence also [illegible] ultimately affect wages .... because their work is performed outside the capitalist mode of production women form a separate class: consequently those women who are housewives and wage earners fall into two classes. He calls for a struggle against both forms of oppression - that of capitalism and that of the family.

[Harrison errs in his conceptualisation of the relation between capitalism and housework.

.... Harrison's argument concerning the transfer of surplus labour from the domestic to the capitalist sphere (where it appears as surplus

value) is founded on a false premise: this treats as equivalent, and therefore comparable, the concrete labour in the domestic sphere and the abstract labour time of commodity production. Yet they are not comparable labours since housework is not subject to the general equalisation of labour; hence there is no basis for the calculation of a transfer of surplus labour-time between the two spheres unless the law of value is redefined. This problem is compounded by Harrison's designation of housework as non-capitalist. As one writer has put it: 'how can the concrete labour of a non-capitalist mode, which as Harrison argues, does not take a value form, appear in the capitalist sector as additional value, a value which has no material base in the capitalist process of production?' Harrison is flawed in the centre.

Housework and the ~~rate~~ Value of Labour Power

"These problems aside, there remains the widely-held thesis that housework depresses the value of labour power by providing ('for free') the labour necessary for its day-to-day reproduction.

[Attacks the above because the Value of Labour Power is historically specific]

Similarities and Differences

1 Are Women a Class? - no
2 Housework and its relation to capitalism. - weak
3 Can there be a Domestic Mode of Production? - no.

Problems in the Domestic Labour Debate

Neither Delphy nor Harrison commit the other errors of making housework part of CMP - or as seeing it as functional.

Monism and Economism

A Double Displacement

The danger of economic reductionism. No. "understanding of women's subordination, nor the politics for overcoming it, can be derived from the analyses of domestic labour alone." ....

"... an understanding of women's subordination cannot be reduced to economic or material factors alone..."

[There are three questions to be asked.]

① How can we conceptualise the position of women in the household?

② What is the relation between women's position in the home & the capitalist economy

③ What political measures are required to end this form of subordination?

	⑧ [illegible]		8.30 / Lecture
Frances	⑪	3.00 Webb.	
Lunch	12.45		1.30 Seminar

(Carolin) ~~6.30~~ 5.30 Kirkwoods ?

(Study place - Mall, to Bloemfontein)

126 (HOMESWEET HOME) = Domesticity.
Serves Capital

Jackie. 9/5/80 UGT.

Family not a retreat

Home not divorced from capital - it is not

Home - ① Consumers.
② Women - Labour Reserve.
③ Socialisation - within the family - ruling, ideology.
④ Reproduces Labour Power

Family is the ~~[illegible]~~ site of production

Women's work is pre-capitals. no wages. consumers.

Overlap - working inside & outside the home.
- maintenance, reproduction

7-9-80

1) The Play ✗

2) Reconstruction for publication ✓

3) Colenso Centenary ✓

4) The Southern African Worker ✓

5) Rebellion 1888
Air Fore - next yr
Subs - G. Weekly

MR 31/3 John S. Saul The State and Revolution in Eastern Africa
CL. £8·75.

R. Cohen, P. Gutkind, P Brazier eds Peasants and Proletarians: The Struggles of Third World Workers CL. £8·75

B. Davidson, Unity and Struggle: Speeches and Writings of Amilcar Cabral CL. £8·85.

428 ... ~~What wa~~ Were there pre-capitalist societies?

Lumsniba Society Symposium.

Philip Bonner, "Classes, the mode of production and the state in pre-colonial Swaziland", in Economy and Society in Pre-Industrial South Africa (London, 1980)

1) Where can we place the dividing line between pre-capitalist - capital + in articulation, or dominated, or capitalist or colonial.

2) Capitalist - mercantile, commercial, may developed at different rates.
Movement of Africa affected by mercantile commercial, + ~~etc~~ incorporated.

3) Mode of production debate hasn't helped - articulation debatable.

4) Search for a new shend - break occurs when production is no longer gen. for the purpose of reproduction - production is now geared towards accumulation
BUT

5) you can't have a change of this manner without a change in forces of production: i.e. technology. and ∴ a change in relations BUT also productivity of labour

1 human produces x with force y } pre-capitalist
2 . . . . 2x . . . . y }

~~2~~ 1 human produces 2x with force 2

G. A. Cohen *Karl Marx's Theory of History. A Defence.* (Oxford 1978)

p. 32.
Productive forces { Means of production { A. Instruments of production; B Raw Materials
Labour power - the productive faculties of producing agents: strength, skill, knowledge etc.

"To qualify as a productive force, a faculty must be capable of use by a producing agent in such a way that production (occurs by the party) as a result of use, and it is someone's purpose that the faculty so contribute to production.

p 32·33 "Production relations are EITHER relations of ownership by persons of productive forces or persons OR relations presupposing such relations of ownership. By ownership is here meant not a legal relationship but one of effective control.

Since relations of production constitute the economic structure of a society, that structure is determined by the distribution in fact of (effective) ownership rights over persons and productive forces.

(1)

Terence Ranger, "Reflections on Peasant Research in Central and Southern Africa", Journal of Southern African Studies, V, 7 (1978)

Roots 4 weaknesses

(i) of definition, need for refined & more useful classifications
(ii) limited sources
(iii) of interpretation - peasant agriculture is longer & more complex
(iv) Need for comparative work

(i) Definition

Roots "Peasants are small agricultural producers who intend to make a living by selling part of their crops or herds.

Saul & Woods "Peasants are those whose ultimate security and subsistence lies in their having certain rights in land and in the labour of family members on the land, but who are involved, through rights and obligations, in a wider economic system which includes the participation of non-peasants . . . It is precisely the characterization of the peasantry in terms of its position relative to other groups in the wider social system which has particularly important explanatory value in the analysis of development . . . Despite the existence of some pre-figurings of a peasant class in earlier periods, it is more fruitful to view both the creation of an African peasantry, as well as the creation of the present differentiation among African peasantries, as being primarily the result of the interaction between an international capitalist economic system and traditional socio-economic systems, within the context of territorially defined colonial political systems.

Peasantry

international capitalist system ⟷ colonial political system

T.O.R. c.o.w. peasantry est. with colonialism but this doesn't fit. Refers to Chanock, 397 in Roots

Chanock "The newer literature, though it contains a cautionary genuflection towards the importance of understanding the dynamics of pre-colonial economies, still sees the capitalist economy as transforming the market relations of the bulk of the population with the outside world – the peasantry proper being created by colonialism. While it does not, as the subsistence/cash schools did, write off the complexity of the pre-colonial economy, it does, because of a lack of information combined with an eagerness to provide an alternative conceptual framework, effectively share the same departure base-line, which is the beginning of the Twentieth colonial period. Yet in the case of Malawi, virtually the whole area was linked to the outside world in a particularly exploitative trading relationship during much of the nineteenth century... The notional base line... must therefore be pushed back in time.

Slater Peasantries arose out of dynamics of African societies themselves, before int. capn. Saul & Woods give peasantry too short a history. Concentration on areas where effects of capn can be most clearly seen. Start with "mod. s-e system. Bundy is only describing a stage in SA peasant history. Ignores existence of pre-colonial peasantries.

"the key element differentiating the peasant mode of production from its predecessors is that control of the means of production has begun to pass

out of the producers hands. A rural population of independent producers gives way to one of exploited producers, one which now forms part of a wider compound society. That the shift in the pattern of relationships should take place only as a result of the agencies of European colonization is clearly not required by the definition."

(i) During homestead M of P - seperates individual from total control over m. of p.

(ii) A feudal epoch

(iii) 17-18 - Abolition

(iv) Eg Feudalism, revival of homestead mode, ~~2nd colonization from the Cape~~.

(v) 2nd Colonization from the Cape - no radical break but usually seen as emergence of peasantry.

Book fails to look at pre-c era. "customary generflection" only.

The Problem of Sources

don't use field work rural material

Highly developed exchange amongst Duma

"As for men, 'the incentive to become wealthy was ever present'... richness was based on agricultural production from superior soils, employing a large labour force of wives, sons, daughters, servants, clients, and vagosi hired labour. Wealth [in what]

[doubtful terminology]. Trade - [does he mean boiler]

Duma deeply involved in commodity production

The Peculiarities of the English

69 "So let us look at history as history — men placed in actual contexts which they have not chosen, and confronted by inalterable forces; with an overwhelming immediacy of relations and duties and with only a scanty opportunity for asserting their own agency — and not as text for lecturing might-have-beens."

Ollman, Alienation

p. 134 "Marx's writings contain several arresting examples of people who grow up in the conditions of one group but who do not partake of that group's characteristic sentiments or illusions. The English factory inspectors and doctors whose testimonies appear in Capital are recognized as an important body of men, despite their middle class backgrounds. [? Capital p. 9.] Marx admits, too, the existence of something similar, now called 'scientific impartiality' and a 'love of truth', which he ascribes to the capitalist economists, Ricardo. [Ibid, 437]

Definitions

19. "the only common content of all commodities is the labour which has produced them.

20 "the value of a commodity is determined by the amount of labour socially necessary to produce it.

It follows that the value of a commodity cannot be measured in practical terms ... / value can only be formulated through a relationship of equivalence.

Money is a general equivalent

21 Thus, price is the monetary expression of the value of a commodity.

22 small scale commodity production

$$C \longrightarrow M \longrightarrow C$$

$$M \longrightarrow C \longrightarrow M' \text{ (i.e. } M + m\text{)}$$

The general formula of capital m = gain, profit, surplus value.

24 Origin of s.v is labour power

L.P is "the aggregate of those mental and physical capabilities existing in a human being, which he exercises whenever he produces a use-value of any description

25 Just as price is the monetary expression of the value of commodities in general, the wage is the monetary expression of that particular commodity represented by labour power

The value of labour power is value of his means of subsistence & his reproduction.

M.C → PC { constant capital (1) building tools, equipment (2) raw materials (3) labour power variable capital

60 units for a 8 hr day

value of worker's labour power,

L.P. creates 60 units in 4 hrs

& transferred 40 units in value to the product in 4 hrs

∴ Value of commodities = 100

i.e. will break even.

∴ During 2nd 4 hr period

40 units through labour applied to M of P

+ 4 hrs unpaid labour ~~60 units~~ i.o.w. surplus labour.

~~A~~ = 60 units. is the surplus value.

Surplus value is measured ~~to~~ = rate of S.V. by placing $\frac{\text{time of surplus labour}}{\text{time of necessary labour}} = 100\%$

absolute surplus value - obtained by length of working day

29 relative surplus value - ~~obs~~ ~~modify~~ internal relationship by technical advance

137
And But see p. 133

John William Colenso.
1814 - 1883

"But were you placed in this world, my brother or my sister, to make yourself comfortable, to lead a quiet, easy life, and not rather a life of constant toil and conflict, a life of work, of earnest searching for the truth, of manly resolution in declaring and maintaining it?"

E.P. Thompson, William Morris. Romantic to Revolutionary

[Important; because it is also a study of a man limited by his times - and although EPT argues that he ultimately escapes/transcends them - the earlier part of his life this is not so.]

p. 134 ff. IV. "The time lacks strength"
[A useful analysis of mid Victorian England]

p. 137 'What was new in the years after 1851 was the widespread power exercised by the breed of Wilberforce and the Stalybridge masters in every field of public life; the permeation of the arts, the sciences, of all intellectual life by many of their attitudes; the increasing complacency of a triumphant class, surfeited with wealth and self-importance; and the great extension in the richer class which drew its dividends

but took ~~no~~ no direct part in the exploitation of labour."

[Podsnappery] [Was he a hypocrite] Is this the point. J.W.C wasn't.

[Matthew Arnold and "mutilated ~~[illegible]~~ men"]

p.139 "The word 'mutilated' gives a clue as important as any other in M.A.'s book. The characteristic 'Victorian' middle-class sensibility was made up of a veritable complex of involuntarily inhibitions and evasions, the sum of which made up that shallow culture in which both sentimentality and hypocrisy flourished. The Greatest Evasion of all was to be found in the hallowing of the 'laws of supply and demand', as 'God's laws' or 'Nature's simplest laws', to hide the fact of the exploitation of man by man. Around this central evasion a thousand others grew unchecked. The rentier class in the London suburbs, in the cathedral and university cities, might cultivate a love of nature or an interest in foreign missions and charities, while remaining in ignorance of the source of their own incomes. The sons of the self-made ~~millionaires~~ millowners were given an expensive education, which equipped them with an earnest sense of their own moral mission of leadership, for no better reason than that their fathers had been able to pay their fees. In every field of life and of art these evasions and this

confusion of wealth with righteousness re-appear. In complex ways (which Butler was to lay bare in The Way of all Flesh) the reduction of human values to property values, the pressure of 'respectability' and of orthodoxy, made the Victorians ashamed of all the vitalities of life which could not (140) be harnessed to the chariot of 'Self-Help'. The middle-classes eased their own consciences by accusing the poor of being guilty of indigence, intemperance, and sensuality and sexual excess. Mrs Grundy covered her bare skin down to her ankles, gathered her children close to her, and tightened her lips in hostility to life.

Of course, such a limitation of intellect and sensibility was not imposed suddenly and uniformly upon a whole class. Rather, it resembled a poison seeping through the veins of society, and yet continually resisted by the forces of life. These years are also the years of great advances in scientific theory: of the battle between Darwinism and obscurantism: of the movement among women of the middle-classes for educational, legal and professional rights: of the militant secularist and birth-control agitations in the face of Mrs. Grundy. But even these courageous opponents of 'Victorian' attitudes revealed in one part or another of their

outlook the same impoverished sensibility
Even the finest and most sensitive minds
did not entirely escape the taint of this
poison (not Dickens, ... Eliot .... Arnold) although
the fight they put up was strenuous, and
their victories many times more noble
than their defeats.

p. 142 [Ruskin - on the beggar boys I] "they have
committed the crime of being happy without
the help of a philanthropist."

[Here we have an example of mutilation
in sensitive men set up personal conflicts and tensions]

143 "Personal experience and public utterances were at
odds: the energies of life, however repressed,
still sought an outlet. The more that is
known of the lives of the great
Victorians, the more the acute conflict
in their minds becomes apparent. And
these conflicts were present not only
in the leaders of thought and of art.
They found in an hundred forms in the
life of the Victorian middle class, revealing
a vast accumulation of half-conscious
anxieties and guilt.

. . . . . .

166. "'Manly', 'unmanly' - these are
words as important in Morris' vocabulary
as 'hope'. They reveal a quality in
him which was absent in the characteristic
make-up of the Victorian romantic. Man
ought to be master of his emotions, not
their victim . . .

141.

200ff. [Morris becomes involved in agitation over the Eastern Question, 1876 (Bulgarian Atrocities) Gets support of B-J. and Ruskin.]

207. "Neither is it in any way surprising to find that in Morris's first letter there are many confusions and naivetes of thought — his faith in the complete integrity of Gladstone, in the honour of British intentions 'except in trade', and his apparent lack of suspicion of Russian aims."

219 [Chesson perhaps persuaded W.M. to write protest song. (Jan 1878.). G. B. J. deeply moved.

(Geoffery Faber, Jowett. A portrait with background)

Letters Nov. 1980

JWC to BFC.	15/12/1853.	Love / Astronity / Maurice
" "	3/2/53	From Dunbar.
JWC to Shaen	13/9/71.	JWC involved in Ecclesiastical politics.
" to Dunford	10/11/73	concerned
" "	19/11/73	with
" "	27/11/73	Vengeance
to Shaen	14/12/73	PoC. Typed. } With letter to NC. mystery
to Shaen	14/1/74	PoC Typed. } Copied from basis of L. section
to Shaen	14/4/74	Typed }
to Shaen		
to Chesson	1/11/75	I am thoroughly sick at heart.

Chesson's lesson in politics

Z 140 - Swingeing attack on Sir G.W. Shepstone etc by analyzing C 1342.

& cannot in the least understand what Lord C means by it. Were it any other person - I mean, if I had not such entire confidence in the integrity & straightforwardness of Lord Carnarvon, whom I have looked upon as the beau ideal of a Christian Gentleman. I should only have to conclude that I have been thoroughly humbugged and deceived in the matter.

15/11/75 : Long attack on N. Admin & Shepstone

26/12/75 Ditto, & John Visitors to L.

1/1/76 Not invited to Railway opening. good short attack.

Z 140 - see above

1/2/76 : Formal letter on treatment of Hlubi. & N.A.B. Rents & Hut Tax.

12/2/76. V. long: John Zulu / Matshona.

24/2/76. Long: attack on N.G. On TS. in particular (good.) on isibalo] "It has taken me 20 years . . . to find out how completely I have been befooled & humbugged." Confederation

5/3/76 John Zulu / "I have lost my faith in Lord Carnarvon. . .

29/4/76 : See Z140 above.

24/5/76 : Introduces Major D.

17/2/78 : Why no Blue Books

1113

Perhaps the thing to do is extracts, to make a narrative.

17/2/78 : Why no BPPs. ... I feel perfectly certain that Zululand will be attacked + annexed before this year is over . . .

14/4/78 : Missionaries left. Sir TS intends war; Don't quote me. Commission

28/4/78 : " " " " " " . . .

23/6/78 : "he will never forgive or forget the rebuff he got from the Zulus at B R... Something is wrong in JWC/APS relationship - are the cullys useful?

6/12/78 } : [Has not written because reluctant to write] my thoughts

19/12/78 } [Slow realization that Frere has betrayed him.

22/12/78 } In fact J.W.C. has been co-opted incorporated (i) by his proclivities as an imperialist (ii) by depriving him of information

24/12/78 (misplaced) a sort of journal letter [incomplete].

27/12/78

29/12/78

① 1/1/79 } Slow realization - he has been humbugged.

2/1/79 }

4/1/79 }

② 7/1/79. }

12/1/79 }

③ 14/1/79

16/1/79 Blood has been shed

19/1/79 "at the time of" [incomplete]

④ 21/1/79 [incomplete]

THEMES IDENTIFIED

24/1/79 } from Cox
26/1/79 } Where are they?
28/1/79 }
~~22/1/79~~ 2/2/79.
28/1/79 (misplaced) [incomplete
7/2/79.
9/2/79

16/2/79.

23/2/79 [Is now working on the Digest - working for Peace & Justice arouse the public - our sins. feverishly

2/3/79
5/3/79
12/3/79 The Sermon
23/3/79. "I have written to you every week since ... Jon!
Has received C2201222. See p 120 Extras

30/3/79 Swinging steadily towards Cat as he reads BPP

6/4/79 Message getting through
[J.W.C. shows great distance in these letters]

13/4/79 V good letter - Colonial attitude. Change. imp but not in this fashion. When heard all English will condemn stop the frightful carnage. Rejection of missionaries cares not a straw

19/4/79 Anti-deposition - burial of dead
20/4/79 Meets Chelmsford, r Prince.

27/4/79

4/5/79

9/5/79

145 31/5/79 "When all the facts are known in England"

16/5/79
18/5/79

24/5/79 : All these letters show JWC demand for peace.
25/5/79

31/5/79 : Durnford at Isandlwana

8/6/79 Prince Imperial : We send your letter + Extract every Monday

15/6/79 Sir G.W. ~~[illegible]~~ appointed : Get more Xstion than BrF.

22/6/79

28/6/79 G. letter - strong in condemnation & support.

5/7/79 G. letter on the futility, & cruelty of the war
Extracts 265-72 and on 'proved facts.' Swing to Cetshwayo.

12/7/79.
13/7/79

25/7/79 Truth of Ulundi out.
26/7/79

1/8/79 A fine protest vs Prayer & Gathering Guns [unfinished]

8/8/79
9/8/79
10/8/79

16/8/79 Surrender

23/8/79
24/8/79

31/8/79 HEC writes
2/9/79 "

6/9/79 HEC. fine letter.

13/9/79 "the crowing act of infamy" Disgrace St Saturnalia.
14/9/79. Vijn

20/9/79. Vijn + Protests vs Sentiment, the Moman King
Get to Eng Cruel?
21/9/79

26/9/79 Unfinished. the Queen set up a polygonist. [unfinished]
See 21/12/79.

4/10/79 "Our poor friend".

12/10/79 Burial of Durnford.

19/10/79 HEC the Mercury Printing Office a smoking heap of ruins.

2/11/79

9/11/79 Vijn MS finished
9/11/79 HEC.

16/11/79 Letters searched. MS sent

23/11/79 Important - Zulus should be improved - M.S was a danger
Stonish did not shift it.

147

30/11/79:

7/12/79: "Has our civilization & Christianity really come to this?"

14/12/79:

21/12/79: Atrocities - Pedi - Moorosi. Disgusting & demoralizing war

28/12/79:

4/1/80

11/1/80

12/1/80

25/1/80 The Digest at Morley's elbow.

31/1/80 HEC The Bishop digesting, the post extracting

8/2/80

23/2/80 Vijn arrives - Zulu message - wishes of the Zulu Rule
23/2/80

7/3/80 Atrocities vs Pedi. against Xstianity, Civilization
12/3/80 Wm G.'s intro

14/3/80

21/3/80 Dismissal of Ngidi

4/4/80 Mutilation of Moorosi

11/4/80

Continued

24/4/80. Living backword the magnificent majority

2/5/80

9/5/80

16/5/80

? undated poetry

23/5/80

24/5/80 - Arrival of deputation - a very dejected & cruelly disappointed with W.E.G. - we must not despair.

6/6/80: The unbroketed Zulu

13/6/80: HEC

20/6/80: - Mpondo request

27/6/80: Book review for Witness

4/7/80: HEC

11/7/80:

17/7/80

25/7/80

1/8/80 Torture & murder of prisoners

Conjunctival

8/8/80

15/8/80 Official connections at last

29/8/80 :

3/9/80 Going to Grahamstown then Cape Town.

3/10/80

7/11/80 Cape Town Confidential

21/11/80

28/11/80

29/11/80

3/12/80 (unfinished).

6/12/80 HEC

12/12/80

12/12/80 HEC

19/12/80

2/1/81 A miserable Xmas.

1879 Isandlwana (confused.)

9/1/81

19/1/81

23/1/81

10/2/81 Disgusted with the Liberals.

13/2/81

20/2/81.

27/2/81

6/3/81 HEC Afric lecture.

13/3/81 In support of Boers.

20/3/81 Death of Colley

27/3/81 Pro-Boer ± HPS. - Gladstone must act now for C+L.

2/4/81 HEC

10/4/81 Mzila

17/4/81

24/4/81

1/5/81 HEC

8/5/81

22/5/81

29/5/81 Judge Cadiz

5/6/81 HEC.

12/6/81 Cadiz.

19/6/81

151 Wood - Shinga - Nhlazatshe

Denial of the prayer

2/7/81

4/7/81

10/7/81

? 16/7/81 Shameful Liberal Govt.

? 24/7/81 Not Gentlemen vs Xstion

31/7/81 The loophole !! policy vs right & justice

7/8/81

14/8/81 Cadiz: prisoner released

21/8/81. No restoration: A Lib Govt? Mr. G.!

4/9/81

11/9/81 Nhlazatshe / Dixie

18/9/81 Anti-Stathom

25/9/81

2/10/81

2/10/81 HEC Long.

9/10/81

16/10/81 E.W. alumni (& colleg & all Gov's & HC.)

23/10/81

30/10/81

- visit to England J.W.C doesn't really know why cat is allowed to go to England i.e. POLICY !

5/11/81

14/11/81 Alderman Fowler

20/11/81 "my daughter, of whose doings I am really proud..."

3/12/81

5/12/81 Appt of Offley.

10/12/81 Relations with the Shepstone family.

17/12/81 (too Incomplete)

26/12/81

28/12/81 He talked with us as you do - cf Cet. on Frere.

7/1/82 "negrophilism ... is the narrowest ... of all bases"

15/1/82

22/1/82

28/1/82 HCC "a more wholesome, simpler state of mind, but a disadvantage." Just hopes

5/2/82

12/2/82

18/2/82

153

25/2/82 Robertson exposed

5/3/82 End of Dixie, RCAS

12/3/82

17/3/82

2/4/82

10/4/82

16/4/82 G.D on its way. "you will know how to make judicious use of the information"

25/4/82 IHEC

30/4/82 G.D.

7/5/82

14/5/82

11/6/82

18/6/82

2/7/82 To England

4/7/82

12/7/82

17/7/82 Annexation

19/7/82 Stu Thom: overture

17/9/82

24/9/82

2/10/82

8/10/82

15/10/82

22/10/82 The APS/MP connection
23/10/82

29/10/82

5/11/92 HEC

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13/11/82

19/11/82

20/11/82
29?/11/82 Mr. Botha
3/12/82

10/12/82
11/12/82

17/12/82

Christmas Day 1882 The Plows coming out
1/1/83 The Iniquity Exposed
9/1/83
14/1/83 The Iniquity "What... can be expected when the Imp. govt. relies for statements ... upon ... officers ... convicted of ... lies, ... upon oath. [→ Unpaid]

21/1/83
22/1/83

28/1/83:

5/2/83:

19/2/83:

27/2/83

6/3/83

11/3/83

19/3/83

15/4/83

18/4/83 HEC

24/4/83

28/4/83 A superstitious dread

7/5/83

14/5/83

16/5/83

23/5/83

157:

28/5/83 Stathom gets his

10/6/83
11/6/83

The facts - the facts
- but they don't tell
the story.

15/6/83 The lost letter.

Overall impression after reading the above sequence

Most of these letters are not suitable. - in toto:
and I don't want to make selections - or
chop them up into segment extracting juicy bits

Nonetheless - Long introducing letters to Longa
the Invasion Cet. The sermon and the confused
despairing hunting for facts of the lost
letters might work.

Cetshwayo's Dutchmen

Preface has this great wave of wickedness
and the Saturnalia

Drafer, Vol. II, p. 508. "I willingly embrace the opportunity of paying my respects to those British factory-inspectors, who, in the teeth of all powerful class-interests, have taken up the protection of the down-trodden multitude with a moral courage, a steadfast energy, and an intellectual superiority of which there are not to be found many parallels in these times of mammon-worship" N.Y Tribune 15/3/59

essential class ~ @ lbc

~~Sermons~~. Warwick, George William.
The Contribution of Bishop Colenso to Biblical Criticism
(MA, U of Natal, 1966.).
[Not well written]
Introduction a Background & Time.
Amon of his times - the new & old, Maurice, Science.
1859 Origin, 1860 Essays & Reviews. ST-Coleridge.-
& on existential approach. (Dilistone, FW. Scripture & Tradition London, 1955). J.W.C. Reconciliation by e.g.
Westcott, Lightfoot Hort, Sanday, Driver, Gort,
Illingworth. R.V. 1881-5. Lux Mundi

Read & influenced by. F.D.M The Kingdom of Christ
Comments: refs to Hinchcliff.

(b) Theological trends
Essays & Reviews.
JWC needs reassessment.

(c) Biography.

Without following this thought further, we only note that a distinction must be observed between admirable bourgeois friends of labor, who do not make a basic break with their own class, and social revolutionaries of bourgeois origin who do

Chapter I Inspiration of Scriptures.
The Sources in this are P + Hinchcliff.
Important Quotation from P(1), 68ff. Bible could not be verbally inerrant.
B. The Reformer's View of Inspiration.

Yet w/o detracting an iota from one's proper admiration for their moral courage, we know that the attitude adopted by these intellectually superior men was in the long run beneficial and necessary for the continued health of capitalism, and that the "powerful class interests" that hated them were typical of the myopic profit-grubbing whose unchecked excesses would have buried capitalism long ago.

Themes highlighted

1854 Village Sermons

+-?

Dedicated to F.D.M who taught him
(i) Made coming of J.C cause of his life.
(ii) God made sacrifice for the whole world
(iii) G. loves all - poor dark heathens of Africa + highly privileged
+ ∴ "far more ~~highly privileged~~ awfully accountable"
(iv) We all belong to Xst. even though not Believers.
(v) "Darkness Every good thought comes from
(vi) The light which lighteth every man who comes into the world
(vii) We are not fallen creatures but raised - as signified in Baptism.

Advertisement to 2nd Edition
At suggestion of Archbishop of Cant. altered two expressions in Dedication. Made it plain.

SERMON I. THE NEW YEAR. "Set thine house in order; for thou shalt die & not live"

+ I We don't think that we are going to die - only others but we will and until we face the fact of our death we cannot live in comfortably - and it should not be gloomy.
The World is full of his wonder. Face death for & thou shalt live & not die.

II How does one put one's house in order.
Believe in Xst.

× SERMON III: AGAINST VAIN CONFIDENCE

How does one distinguish between safe & vain confidence.

I Thank God for the English have been distinguished from all other nations. We are not heathens, we don't experience burning at the stake, worship of idols, human sacrifice. But we must not

fail to take advantage of this. Drunkenness, lying, swearing &c. are far worse in the eyes of G. than signs of heathenism in India, Africa.]

33. "Can any heathen festival, think you, exceed in abomination the vile doings within many a public house in our own neighbourhood, or the gross wickedness of the night-hours of Fortnett Fair? Better fling your children into the river, as far as they are concerned, than bring them up — in deeds like these of sin and shame, to be the Devils servants here, and to share his misery hereafter."

II But such practices are not widespread - because Xtian feelings are widespread in England.

III ??

SERMON IV CHRIST FEEDING THE FIVE THOUSAND.

[Not copied.

SERMON VIII THE POWERS THAT BE

114. [Parents, teachers, pastors, masters, the Family, Church and State] "these 'Powers that be' are ordained of God for the good of His Children; and must fulfil that good, and answer the purpose of His Will, towards all that put their trust in Him, though, perhaps, they knew it not themselves, nor meant it."

117 [Parents, Masters and Mistresses, are Powers of God, ordained for the good of those placed under them.... The true spirit of Christian Servants will still regard their earthly masters as representatives to them of the Great Master of us all..."

and the Church, the State. Even when they are Evil, they must be obeyed.

(67) p. 121. [The Powers] "to whom the more is given, from them will the more be required."

139 "... must be obeyed... however unjust those laws might be, whatever room they might allow for oppression and bloody tyranny. 140 Such laws could only be amended by lawful means - in the course of God's Providence; they could not be resisted, without resisting the Powers that are in being, and the ordinance of GOD.

in Nero's time

We live, my bretheren, in other times than these - when every just complaint can find its lawful, and yet loud and plain utterance, and when also we have reason to think, that the 'Powers that be' in our land - the Governments of our own times - are all in the main striving to advance the happiness, and remedy the griefs, of the people. They may be right, or they may be wrong, in their views of the best means of doing this [but their aim is] "to promote the Glory of God and the good of His people. Were it otherwise, we should be bound to submit to them with ready obedience, in all lawful things. [But in fact they maintain] [140 religious & civil freedom, constitutional order & obedience]

121 "And this brings me to notice, finally, one other sort /122/ of Power, which is included in the meaning of the text, as being permitted of GOD, if not ordained by him, to be in this world, and, therefore, to be suffered by us patiently, should it ever be exercised upon us:- I mean, the Power of mere force and violence, by which those, who have strength to oppress, will sometimes use it over the weak and unprotected upon earth. [But N.B. 'Vengeance is mine: I will repay, saith the LORD] To all

such overbearing violence we must submit, committing our cause unto the Just and righteous Judge, except where it would force us to disobey His Commands: and then we must suffer - whatever GOD permits us to suffer at their hands. [because nothing can harm us really]

SERMON IX THE LOVE OF GOD 26/3/1853 Cambridge

[He so loved the world that . . . i.e. not a wrathful God. Why - that's a mystery but the fact is demonstrated every moment - earthquakes etc exceptional.
133 The world "every man" "all his Works" "all men" "the whole World"
Cannot exclude the heathen. Xtians are + privileged - men dwells in God's House. But this
137 is not exclusive. All human beings have shared in his
139 mercy -] "There are movements in the poor heathen's heart, which know no other source, but the loving Mercy of his God. There are thoughts, which rise at times within his bosom, which no will of Man could have engendered . . . but only the gracious inspiration of the Spirit of God. . . .
a Christian Missionary may go to his brethren, not with the words of terror on his lips, not with the voice of comfort + love - not to tell them of the dreadful hell . . but to whisper of Him, Who has been with them all along . . . .
I believe that, by thus meeting the heathen, half way, as it were, upon the ground of our common humanity . . . That we are all redeemed, not accursed, creatures . . . we may look for far greater success ~~as~~ in Missionary labours . . . than by seeking to make all things new to them - to uproot all altogether their old religion, scoffing at the things which they

last hold most sacred, deriding the fears, which alone have stood to them, for so many /142/ years long, as the representatives of the spiritual world.

p. 142. Only Christians can gain Everlasting Life. How the heathen may escape perishing we are not told.

Natal Sermons: A Series of Discourses preached in the Cathedral Church of St. Peter's, Maritzburg. London, 1867).

Dedication: Members of the Church.

Preface. 1/3/1866

I. Love abounding in Knowledge and judgement. Story of Paul sent to Rome in bonds by "the zealous supporters of the old traditionary system, the orthodox maintainers of the Mosaic law."

3.

Paul now said they were now under Grace not the law. and was charged by the traditionalists. He appealed to Caesar giving confidence to others to speak the Truth. and there is nothing new under the sun."

5

"And the grand example of St Paul, in the mighty conflict which was waged in his day, may be a source of comfort and support to the weakest of us, who in our small measure are called to take part in the great religious movement of our

own time. However personally insignificant the combatants in the conflict of the present day, compared with the great Apostle of old, yet the conflict is the same. . . the spirit against the letter . . . light and liberty . . . against exclusiveness and narrowness

Epistle to Phillipians Love feeds on Knowledge

7 Paul Universalism

Today the Bible is widely possessed and read. It is evidence of God's Love for Man. - i

We ~~[illegible]~~ The Bible ~~can~~ contains God's word - not in parts, but the whole if listened to in the heart, and also with Scientific knowledge]

9 We must see Modern Science as God's gift.

We will ~~only~~ ~~see~~ feel God's word more clearly if we do

10 [the jump from rationalism - to idealism is here, rather obscurely].

And as we know God better so our love of all men will increase.

Quotes Tennyson In. Memoriam (Preface p. 317) 267

"Let knowledge grow from more to more;
But more of reverence in us dwell,
That heart and mind, according well,
May make one music as before,

But vaster, We are fools and slight;
We mock Thee, when we do not fear;
O teach Thy foolish ones to hear
Teach Thy vain worlds to hear Thy Light."

165-

Sermon II The Devouring Fire

12/11/65 Durban 26/11/65 PMB.

The Spread of the Bible through technological and educational advance.

14 The 'New Theology' Quotes "a living Dutch Divine

A The thundering anathemas turned many away from the Church but now attention is being paid- A commentary is being written. (Bibliolatry is dead!

Thus we can see that burning fire means the Eternal Living God.

19 God laid down for future wants.

23 "This is the language of a Jewish Prophet, who lived in age when masters were oppressors, and judges were bribed, and the feet of many were swift to shed blood."

Sermon III Perfect through Sufferings

3/12/65.

"... as just as (to use a frequent illustration of Lecky's) we see, before we know that we have eyes

Doubts about Pauline authorship of Heb. but Faith does not depend on such points Knowledge like this valuable - but not crucial

27-8 to belief - belief "is felt at once to be a Living Word"

28 "It comes with that power to all alike - to the learned and unlearned, to the wise and unwise, to the civilized man and the savage, wherever the eye of the soul is not altogether blinded and darkened." [The eye discerns light & does not need evidence to prove it - the soul recognises the

cf. Mill on Coleridge 110

light of Truth. At all times, at all places men recognise righteousness.

29. "I repeat, then, such as these are the words of life which we find in the Bible, abundantly, on almost every page - not the mere statements of Scripture writers in respect of matters of Science or History - about which they were left to the ordinary sources of human information, and fell into the common mistakes, or adopted the current notions of their own times.

Why hast thou forsaken me? (? emphasises the humanity of Xst.
The marble (cf. HEC) & coal again
[first few pages not followed].

IV The Fallibility of the Scriptures.

10/12/65. PMB.

You will take from us our Scriptures! Our Hope!
This has been felt in Natal.

38 But, as an expert, the more I discover its unhistorical character, the more Divine it seems.

39 "The great work of the Christian Teacher of to-day is to translate the language of the devout men of former ages into that of our own.
[But our Chief Pastors have failed to do this].

The confidence & Hope of these early years

J.W.C gives in to his ideas of Scriptural Fallibility. He uses W. J. Irons. The Bible and its Interpreters who opposes JWC & supports Gray.

Analyses Chronicles - which is not History -
So Why is the B different from other Books? Come back this every::

"They, who seek new History, must look for it elsewhere ..."

167

V The Comfort of the Scriptures.

The Morning Sermon. More from Irons & Thirlwall.
Now what of Stanley.

~~Stanley~~ Sums up his views.

p. 59. Or rather they will find History here, most interesting and instructive History, if they will look for the History of the times when the different portions of these Books were written, and not that of the times which they profess to describe. Regarded in this light, every passage in the Pentateuch is full of meaning. We obtain many a glimpse by means of its contents into the deep vista of the past. We see what men were thinking of, what they imagined, what they aimed at, what they ~~imagined~~, were doing, in those very early days in which they lived ....

Ezra. Bible not infallible but for our learning

62 "There is no other Book which contains such variety of mental ~~food~~ and spiritual food, for the necessities of living, labouring, suffering, and dying men.

But the very essence of the strength and support, which we really receive from the Bible, consists just exactly in this, that it is what it really is - a thoroughly human book, the work of human beings like ourselves, full of weakness, the work of

human beings like ourselves, full of weakness, error, ignorance, infirmity, yet inspired with Divine Light and Life from above.... The wise maxims of that olden time, contained in the Book of Proverbs, link the present age with the past, and show that the human race has been essentially the same during the last 3,000 years of its History." [I do so Genesis, the Psalms, and we feel it . . .]

Thank God! we have no need to 'examine the grounds', and to weigh the evidence ... we feel at once ....

? [If it was Revelation then Modern Criticism would really be something to worry about.

66 But Irons falls back on "the Church" but

67 "What Church"? "Let us rather fall back on the true Catholic Church, the Church of the living God, the faithful and true in heart, the pure and loving, of all ages, more especially those who have been 'called out', as we Christians have been, from the rest of the human race, to know the Will and Truth of God more perfectly than others....

I We won't get infallibility from the Bible or the Church — we can only listen to the Voice within us. We must

68 work for our Faith through the daily discharge of our duties. And we necessarily have to have the Bible — in pre-Biblical & amongst the backthem there are multitudes who walk with God.

The Prayer of the Gallic
And the Indian
But we have the Bible

69 [An appeal to try and view religious truth so as to see the other's point of view.]

70 "to bear with one another with brotherly kindness and charity, as fellow-servants of one household, as children of one great family."

[Not the anathemas the excommunications heresy. Post our faith National Churchmen, Non-C. H.C. L.C. Protestant, R.C. as Christ received all.]

VI The Second Coming of Christ
17/12/65 PMB.

The Apostles believed Xst would return in their lifetimes It is figurative language of the times - because were up there because they thought the world was flat.

77 But we <u>feel</u> the truth

<u>VII</u> The Joy of Christmas PMB. 24/12/65.

The Colonial and European Xmas. Its beautiful origins Not the birth of Xst.

Discussion on Logos / Word. The blending of Greek philosophy with Jewish modes of thought, developed in Alexandria by Philo.

A child knows Jesus, but the deepest thinker will only penetrate the mysteries a little.

VIII The Christian Ministry

St Paul - the gentleman, but strong-willed
popular strong expressions Mara-anthe
But usually courteous - unlike the modern reps
who lay down Infallible, Divine, Eternal Truth,
on pain of eternal punishment.
And they do this over accretions of later growth
p112. "We are living in an eventful age - a glorious, but
momentous, period in the history of our race.
We must all the advantages the Age gives us.

p. 144-5 Quotation from Gladstone in Support of the Progressive View.
174. "Which condemns with sour anathemas every
endeavour to show that there are essential
truths at the basis of popular beliefs, though
greatly overlaid by a mass of traditionary rubbish.

'our fathers doubt (Tennyson) We have Faith.

P.S. Quote from J.J. Murphy at recent Annual Diocesan
Conference of Down, Connor and Dromore.

IX Holy Baptism 7/7/66 The Day of Excommunication
"For Christ sent me not to Baptize, but to preach
the Gospel." 1 Cor 1 17

The general unimportance of Baptism in the Bible.
Fulgentius — and Bishop Watson.
The extreme statements on unbaptized children.

Any parent will know what they say is false - these
132 "ondook unmarried bishops or ascetical monks."

[7]

A brief history of Xtian attitudes to Baptism taken from Wall, History of Infant Baptism (1705).
"the classic work on the subject" DoCC to show the
137 "monstrous and often puerile propositions have been solemnly laid down by Fathers of the Church" etc etc.

X Holy Baptism 7/1/66.
Summarises the morning sermon - the unimportance of Btsm.; and callousness of the Ancient Fathers.
Quotes Lecky. All outside the Church were condemned by the Ancient Fathers

But we live in a different Age.

147 The new form of subscription: ruling of the Court of Arches
144-5 "We do not make light of Christian Baptism [but] We do not think it necessary to run mothers and mothers bathing tiny children ... as if the mere fact of sprinkling them with water in the Holy Name would work a mighty charm on them ..

A good summary of his views on Baptism

148-9 "It would seem as if, in this 19th century, amongst Protestant Englishmen, it were a fight with shadows, a mere playing of the drama, to endorse on this and kindred subjects (lest if Roman superstitions werein creeping back).

XI Signs and Wonders 14/1/66

Matt. xii-38. Leaves out Xst on Jonah
150 "I have not quoted this verse as a portion of my text, because I have little doubt that it formed no part of Lord's original answer, - that it is merely a gloss or note of a later age, an attempt to explain

the meaning of Christ's word ....

St. Matthew Gospel was not written by Matthew

Quotes Dean Alford: Dean of Canterbury - No old text.

155. "It must indeed be an extravagant theory, and one perilous to the cause of Christianity itself, to maintain that every record of traditionary reminiscens must be regarded as absolutely and infallibly true ....

159 Westcott - quoted one of the highest authorities. 1825-1901 DCC agrees

Is this the excommunication

In the NT "the things were done, and the words were spoken which are now declared to have been done & spoken.

"What things? What words? Those 'declared' in this ancient manuscript 'to have been done and spoken'? Or those 'declared' in our modern English translation, which differs from the manuscript in a thousand places, and which, though accurate enough for all ordinary purposes, is known to by all scholars not to be based upon any sufficient critical authority, — sufficient, I mean, to enable us to decide upon such a momentous question as this, — What are the original words, which 'the Church regards as pure and simple truth,' without the least possible admixture of error?"

[But it's still clear what the message is. There's no need to look for a sign - the outward world — look into the heart Miracles can deceive - Purity / love etc doesn't Don't look for miracles] "But in the silence of the child-like and truth-loving soul it will be heard and understood, as 'a still small voice'.

XII Signs and Wonders 14/1/66

JWC can understand the desire to witness a miracle - particularly when Modern Criticism is causing such uncertainty.

But it is really unbelief which needs miracles

If the miracles actually happened - they didn't convert many.

But there's been a steady desire in the Church to believe in miracles.

169 "Let us trace a little down the stream of time the course of this singular development of human weakness and belief."

[Uses his tenacious analytical method on the history of miracles.]

[from virtually none - they increase steadily

Fathers of the Church terrified the people into the Church.

The superstition of the Middle Ages

-

The Truth for Truth's Sake.

XIII Christ's Body and Blood.

The Body & Blood refs. are the result of figurative ~~lang~~ language.

Doubt and perplexity are not sins

We must use our intellects to discover the truth

189. "... we are not only at liberty, but we are bound to apply to the sacred writings the strictest, most searching, most laborious criticism, — to spend on them, in this way, such an amount of minute care and toilsome labour, as we should never think of spending on any other book, — just because this book is so unlike any other, so full of Divine light and life, that we feel, as we read, its inspiration, we may almost say, on every page.

191 "It is this truth which I desire to fasten in your minds, as an anchor of the soul, sure and steadfast, in these days of doubt,

and stormy, surging controversy. It is certain that in this age of ours every part of the New Testament, as well as the Old, will be subjected to a close and searching criticism. We cannot, if we would, escape this trial of our faith: for God, our God and Father, has called us to it. As plainly as in the days of the Reformation men were called to brace up their minds for a mighty /192/ struggle between the powers of light and the powers of darkness, so surely, if we read the signs of the times, the like struggle is coming now — nay, rather, is come — upon us. Then the fresh thought and life of the new age, — through God's providential Wisdom, which gave us the printing-press, — began to break forth out of the long dead sleep of the Middle Ages, when the noblest minds were coerced into inactivity by the terrors of Church Authority, and the multitude was sopped and drugged, as we heard last Sunday, with idle superstitions with stories of dreams and visions, of saints and virgins, and of the wonders innumerable, which were wrought by the touch of their hands, of the hems of their garments, or even of their bones. [+ Dan Galileo, the state, the English Protestants Buffon the naturalist]

193 Is it not time for theologians to do their own work effectually, and relieve the great students of Nature, like these, from the cruel necessity of publishing the grand truths of Science with a lie in their mouths, or else with a halter round their necks? Is it not time to show that it is we, the Theologians, who are in fault, not they; for we have never done our duty to our brethren, that duty for which we have been especially set apart — we have never

thoroughly examined our own sacred books, and ascertained, as we should have done by an honest inquiry, that the notion of Moses having written the Pentateuch, under infallible Divine Instruction is a mere dogma, wholly untenable, and contradicted by the plainest evidence? And is there not reason to hope that in due time the South-African Church - which has laid down lately the law that a clergyman 'is not permitted to deny that Moses is the author of the Pentateuch,' - may yet rescind its dogma on this point .... [Like R.C.'s, Copernicus. But this spirit of repression is still alive]

194 The essence of that Evil Spirit is the seeking up of Authority in any form against the simple power of Truth. This is the real Spirit of Antichrist, wherever it exists, in Papist or Protestant .... over the conscience of man, and over that reason of his, which is meant to obey the Living Word, the Voice of Truth, — and that alone.

And we are entering into a time, when, as I believe, the war will again be internecine between these two powers, - between mere blind Church Authority, which seeks to enforce the dogmas of past ages, regardless of the mighty intellectual advance, which has been made by the human race since the dawn of the Reformation period, and the Living Spirit, the true Lord of the Church, the Spirit of Truth. And I say that we cannot any of us expect to escape this conflict: we may not desire to do so: we must boldly face our duty like men; and not in shrinking /195/ cowardice, or easy indolence, leave the battle to be fought by our children.

[And to do this we need a rock on which to stand - not the infallibility of the Scriptures but God's Eternal Truth clore - Quotes Irons - we don't even know what Language XSt spoke. If in Greek then did his speaker understand. BUT we know the truth in our hearts.

XIV Holy Communion 21/1/86.

Not only is it clear that eat & drink body is figurative, but water in Baptism and

p.203. the ~~sort~~ saying that unbelievers are claimed (Mark XVI.16) is an addition. The Eucharist as a priestly rite, celibacy (ascetic doctrine) gent terrorising by priests are later additions

Quotes Isaac Taylor

We need fresh pure air of the N.T & the Apostles.

XV The Sabbath 28/1/66 Mark II, 27

Sabbath made for man not vice versa.

Quotes OT on keeping Sabbath Holy but cannot assume that OT is infallible. But nonetheless an important message esp. with 4th Commandment.

Examples of Strictness of Sunday Observance in Scotland.

p.222-3 [But I have to read 10 Commands, ~~wit~~ prefaced by God spake these words. Hope that formularies will be changed] "yet I was content to use them myself, provided that I had perfect liberty to explain to my people in what sense I use them" [and this is what I'm going to in the ~~next~~ coming Sundays.]

This remnant of Judaism is not felt so strongly here as England & esp Scotland. Sunday is necessary for w-classes to escape from slums. Yet the Bishops who asked me to resign sent Circular asking for

221 end of Sunday Excursion Trains.

225 Southey, Tennyson, quoted.

226. The Poor & the British Museum - the Zoo - Hyde Park. Music in the Park, Handel Hayden, Mozart Beethoven.

Where did you read about Sunday Observance?

227 "... the time is at hand, I trust, when the Heads of our Church, instead of attempting with feeble hand to stay the wave of progress, will devote themselves heartily to the true work, which especially falls to their lot in the present day, and, instead of desperately clinging to that which is untenable in the traditions of the past ... will come to rest the observance of the Sunday on its true grounds, physical, social, moral, and religious, and not on the unsound, unreal, basis, on which not a few of our fellow-Christians are still resting it, — will see how the happy healthful freedom of the Sunday may be best enjoyed by the working classes, without sacrificing its religious blessings, — how the great works of human genius, the works of God-gifted men, and the wonders of creative wisdom, may be enjoyed in our Parks and Gardens, Museums and Galleries, without therefore emptying the House of God, or interfering with proper rest of others, — how, if need be, as an eminent friend of the people once said to me, while gazing together, with deep human interest, upon the Sunday crowds, that listlessly paced along the silent sward, even the Music might have been turned to the account of Religion, and a programme laid down of sacred melodies, masses, and choruses, for the training and edification of the willing and delighted multitude.

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XVI The Sabbath 4/2/66 PMB

Sabbath → Mon : Mon → Sabbath

McLeod on the present situation in Scotland.

"'We do not keep the day... we do not attempt to keep it, even in regard to work. Our servants and our ministers all do what no person living under the Fourth Commandment would have dared to have done. This is simply a notorious fact."

This is hypocrisy. It is Judaism and JWC welcomes his speaking out. But in England it still prevails. The poorer classes were not allowed to go on Sundays to: National Museums, National Gallery, although Kew & Hampton Court are open. The Zoo, no music in Hyde Park: & last March brought comments from a Minister of State on the question. But it will die out, just as witchcraft has, & other superstitions under Modern Science.

What Scriptural status? Luther anti- & Calvin, Melancthon, Tyndal, Sanderson, Alford & McLeod. But as long as Decalogue is believed to be Mosaic and Divine we have to let it influence us.]

239 "It is absolutely necessary, as it seems to me, to cut away altogether the support on which the superstitious observance of the day is based...

Let us look, then, a little at the true history of... the Ten Commandments"

[There are two versions - and anyone confused now, and this leads JWC into an attack on Scriptl Infallibility.

But, as Faith is known to Man like Light to the eye w/o proof.] 'These laws have all their deep foundations in the very roots of our being... in Themselves, enjoined by the laws of our physical, moral, and religious nature.

XVII The Sabbath. 4/2/66

Summarises morning sermon (1) 4th Command not infallibly Divine 2) Disagreed that it was fourth & not apply to Xtians 3) the other 9 are

249 of viscosity applicable as they] "are all commended by the reasons of intelligent men, as answering to the demands of our moral nature, and imperatively required for the maintenance of the best interests of society."

But JWC thinks the 4th cannot be excluded

Goes over references in Bible - confusing. Story of the man ~~gar~~ stoned to death on G's instructions for working on the Sabbath. JWC rejects it - it is an insertion

256 General rejection of Creation in Pen. on astronomical grounds

2659ff. Attacks Pusey & Wilberforce

Gets back to the 4th - will suggest why seeing apart a day may be] "a command of nature, and therefore may be regarded as having Divine authority . . .

XVIII The Sabbath 11/2/66.

The Sabbath was not always kept strictly in OT

267 Nature teaches us 9] "Let us now consider what Nature also teaches us as to the duty or the wisdom of seeing apart one day in seven". Quotes Kalisch

7 comes from 4 1/4 s of the moon. generally recognised in Ancient time. i.e. a "Law of Nature" or Divine.

The weakest JWC St 269.

Creation myth does reflect the law of day/night: / work/rest. This was made for man / not man for the law. Coal beds, lime, slate, minerals for man's needs. Day/night work/sleep have to be generally kept or man fails.

So, too one day's rest in seven. So too Public festivals even with the Zulu

A day's rest in 7 was is (i) physically good, (ii) morally good (iii) religiously (iv) socially

Sermon XIX Preparation for the Lord's Table. 11/2/66
[Repent & Believe]

Sermon XX The Temptation in the Wilderness 18/2/66

[Very difficult to accept the literal truth of this Also there are discrepancies in the Gospels Attempts to explain given. JWC's usual deconstruction job. There's no mountain to fit the description.]

[Note the usual structure
(A) A difficult passage
(B) A run through of authorities (bad – good)
(C) J.W.C.'s answer + it doesn't matter because you feel the truth.]

301 "I believe that the difficulty in question is absolutely insurmountable... [but] I shall not shrink from the duty of telling you what I think about the matter."
[Thinks it is another mythical addition]
[Gives examples of others. Begins by describing the Canons].

Sermon XXI The Temptations of a Christian 18/2/66
Further on versions of the Temptation & speculations]

313 "It appears to me that this is only trifling with the Scriptures, and sowing seeds of unbelief – of the worst kind of belief. For better will it be .... that we should say at once that this narrative cannot be a narrative of actual fact..."

but the thought behind his addiction is still current

XXII Demoniacal Possession. 25/2/66

[Luke VIII 33 - evil spirit entering swine]

Another narrative perplexing for the intelligent man.
I cannot pass it by as it is the 2nd lesson
Discrepancies. BUT
326 Moral difficulties are greater than the critical.
The idea of a demon - exorcism

The run through of commentaries - The horrors of witchcraft - the burnings quite recently. Quotes the Principal of St Aidan college - that every word of the Bible is true. - John Wesley believed it
335 "What right have, educated Englishmen of the 19th century [to teach heathen - who believe in witchcraft - that it is true?]
[we take the sick, lunatics to a physician not an exorcist
"Devils" seem in fact to be the result of disease
And there are ancient superstitious traditions which have entered the Gospels. And they also were cured by Xts spiritual power - as it can do today]

XXIII Teaching Needed for the Times

[Commonly asserted the B.Crit. is a danger to the uneducated the young and the weak]
341 "It is argued - and justly - that faith in God, the great support of moral rectitude, and the hope of heaven, the great consolation amidst the sorrows and disappointments of life, are more important, more precious, than any amount of information, more precious, [illegible] than any

amount of information respecting the structure of the earth, the origin of the human race, the history and language of the past, ... [that may have this Faith w/o scientific knowledge, and BC. robs them of comfort and support.]

341 "And so the fervently religious mind — more fervent than clear — concerning that Science and Faith are irreconcileable, and concluding therefore that [342] the former must be false, but distrusting its own power of refuting what it implicitly condemns as sophistry — looks naturally with indignation, and even contempt, upon those who seem to be invading the Sanctuary, to be lifting up impious hands against the Majesty Divine, to be traitors, in fact, not only to the system of the Church, but to Humanity itself.

It is impossible not to feel for such — for the fear, agitation, excitement from which they often suffer. We ought to do so, and to pardon them the sins, which their mistaken terrors may lead them to commit against ourselves." ~~If the~~ [If only the would suffer us...]

Quotes In Memoriam xxxiii

In People of weak faith could be in danger — but it is the task of the ministry to build up Faith.]

343 "It is no longer possible to keep our youth — our children — even our poor — in the shade of implicit belief in ~~any~~ old authority. [the light is shy] It is, as I have said, no longer possible to leave in abeyance the question of the nature and extent of the inspiration of our sacred Books. The subject is no longer whispered in corners; it is sounding through the length and breadth of the land. Conclusions, most unfavourable to Christianity in any form, have been — are being — adopted

by multitudes, especially amongst the mechanics in England, who have been left to form their own opinions by those who should have guided them, but who have given them no other alternatives but all or none . . . . The fact is too palpable, — and lamented by many of the bishops, — that the clergy are no longer as a body what once they were, pre-eminently the learned class. Now-a-days, very frequently, although it ought not to be so, they are in general culture far behind an important portion of their flocks. . . . the clergy of a National Church must be required to acknowledge — whatever truth is become the common property of intelligent and thinking men; they have no right to endanger what is really precious, by representing it as connected indissolubly with what is no longer tenable.

[But even the learned clergy has members who turn the Bible into an idol, although some are not.

1) But it is not a threat to true faith
2) We cannot avoid the questions of the age
3) The Teleological ~~nature~~ advantage of the antiquity of the earth
   The Semitic languages & the Aryan as evidence
4) The terrible evils from which Modern Critics frees us. - superstition with cap persecution. Although members of the Church do so in other ways.

But we have faith. CXXX

XXIV Abrahams Sacrifice
A sermon written for Claybrook Sunday School, and intended to be preach on " "/9/64

[In those days we forget the horrifying lie they of religions - including the Israelites

Jephtah the Gileadite and his daughter.
~~The~~ Abraham's sacrifice
~~the altar~~ + the ~~nat~~ natural altar - p 363
And JWC draws his lessons
1) We must do what is right
2) We might have to make sacrifices for God.
3) Do your duty

NATAL SERMONS. Second Series of Discourses
preached in the Cathedral Church of St Peter's, Maritzburg.
(London, 1968.)

I On the Personality of Evil 4/3/86.
Archaic representation of evil ~~as~~ as people & things. Satan Beelzebub natural disasters
Xst spoke about them - in the language of the times.

II On the Personality of Evil (cont) 4/3/86.

Xsts words on ~~Ex~~ ~~St~~ Satan Beelzebub contradict the spirit of his teachings.
There's no personal devil

III Bondwoman ~~as~~ and the Free 11/3/66
What do mean by Freedom?
Natural Laws - It's wrong to pray for rain
- we should pray to act well in times of trial
Moral Laws - the wished aren't free License isn't freedom
We have freedom to see what is good & reject evil
Absolute freedom is moral perfection
Our freedom is ∴ relative
We can't be compelled to love our G. or our neighbour
Or accept the word of the Bible.
We under the Gospel not the Law

185 (17) Religion is the root
Modernity the branches }.

IV. Bondwoman and Free 11/3/86.

M.C. does not produce another, new, heretical Gospel
but reveals the truth of the Gospel.
41 St Paul was a liberal, a rationalist
What happened in Paul's days is happening now.'
Truth as the Weapon Attacks High Church Romanish Ritualism
JWC would coerce them - but he denies his freedom
48 "the liberal clergy" must be free to combat them with truth.

V Jehovah, the Living God. 18/3/86.

[Laymon's guide to criticism of the Pentateuch]
Distinction between Jehovahistic (1st) + Elohistic texts
Evidence of the Living God.

VI Jehovah the Living God 18/3/86
Signs of Living God in 3000 years Old Test.

p 67. Pantheism, Atheism - all signs of God.

VII The Mind that was in Christ 25/3/86

71 ' Every action of Xst reflects G.
76 ' Our reason, in fact, like a lantern, throws but a feeble
glance into space, and only sheds a clear light
upon the narrow space we have ourselves to work in.

77 It is of little use that we keep Good Friday in
the Church, - that we set before us the agony ....
and the bloody cross, - if we do not seek to grow
in his spirit .... Yet, where in this gaudy world

amongst these noisy, jarring interests, these violent passions, of men, each striving for the first place, and pushing others down, shall we look for the true followers of Jesus. . . .

And now the cross, from an instrument of barbarous
/78/ tyranny, has become the symbol of a truly human life. When we name it, we think not now so much of the mere material object, with all its worthy accessories. The true Christian spirit will not desire to have the feelings harrowed with descriptions of the bloody scene, — of the rent flesh and the gaping wounds, — those sensuous images, which abound in many modern hymns, but whose effect upon the mind is merely superficial and sensational, not deep, enduring, and practical. . . .

(71 All humanity partakes in The Divine.
Wrong to surround Divinity with a Holy Fence
Go out to the publicans and sinners
80 "How little do they consider that what is most Divine in man is that which is most human, most like unto 'the mind which was in Christ Jesus,' — is that which brings a man more closely into union with his fellows, sympathizing with their woes, pitying their ignorance, 'taking their infirmities, bearing their sicknesses!' . . . The religion of Jesus, of which the cross is the symbol, — the religion of love to God as a Father, of love to all men as brethren, by virtue of that Divine birth, in respect of our moral nature, by which we are begotten in the image of God, — needs no such appendages of outward sanctity.

81 [Disappointment part of life].

Sent to J.R. "But labours of love — a life of such labours — can never be futile. What is spent on self and selfish ends bears on it the stamp of death, — of

isolation, which is death : it is apart and lost, an item no more, entering as an element into the lives of others.

VIII The Order of Melchizedek 25/3/66

The Death-bed unimportant - Life is important

IX The Man of Sorrow 26/3/66

The prophecies in Isaiah refer really to the sufferings of Israel in Captivity
[XT died on behalf of us - not instead - G. was not lucky for someone to punish & made suffer.

X The Name Highly Exalted 1/4/66

L Easter has its roots in pagan festivals - for Spring - doesn't apply here.
The Story of the Resurrection in the Gospels if full of difficulties]

114. "I need hardly tell you, if you have at all carefully considered the question yourselves, — ....
I cannot attempt to reconcile the different accounts as we now have them, nor say what parts of them bear the stamp of historical truth, and what do not. That some portions, at all events, are legendary, cannot be disputed : how much, it is impossible to say, until the critical work, to which this age is called, shall have been more fully completed than now"
[But what we know is that XT is risen.

Xst is great but not to exclusion of God. Romanes make him another God who will save us from the Father.

120 To be a Xtian] "is to recognize the rights of the weak and the poor to a place at the common banquet of humanity, — to open the door wide to the returning penitent, — to charge it on our own consciences and on the consciences of others, the wealthy and powerful, the great and wise and strong ones of the earth, that we are but stewards for humankind, and not possessors for ourselves, of any talents and advantages we may have in our keeping.

Theologians may dispute — as, perhaps, they must — over the history of the Resurrection; critics may do their work for the God of Truth in sifting its details. But nothing can touch the spiritual fact that he, who died upon the cross, now lives . . . .

XI Spiritual Resurrection 1/4/66

The story of the Resurrection has been added to.

125 Matthew "Surely, it is for better, instead of making those wild attempts to maintain the literal infallibility of every statement — to admit at once the legendary character of such narratives, and to believe that God's love to us — is altogether independent of the truth and falsehood of any such details.

126 "our own great poet Milton, who has helped so much to corrupt and deform our English theology

127 "... there are perplexities and contradictions in the gospel narratives, which we cannot unravel:
But the one central truth ... he overcame death, and having died unto sin once, now liveth unto God eternally.

128 ["The history of man is, in fact, the history of religion, the history of the revelation the living God] of Him, the 'God of our fathers,' who 'was, and is, and is to be.' If the worship of man seems in some respects to be an attempt to bring down to his help some Power above him, in order to control the unruly elements, to avert disaster, and obtain more perfectly the satisfaction which his animal nature requires, — in order to secure the plenteous harvest, to cross the seas in safety, to avert the pestilence and other ills which flesh is heir to, — these things are not sufficient to account for the history of creeds, for the history of belief and of the believing animal!

'Oh that I knew where I might find Him! that I might come even into His presence'! —

his cry, though wrung from the lips of the sufferer, is not less the cry of the human heart in the midst of its earthly joys, in the midst of the peace and plenty of the senses. [In all lands, in every age, men have cried to One above them, and in the midst of childish, of grotesque, superstition, that cry has been heard and answered, — for it was a cry /179/ that reached a Father's ears — and faith has reposed upon the bosom of supernatural Power. Unseen, unknown, or known in dim glimpses and by images fearfully distorted, Power alone has been very often a refuge for weakness.]

[But gradually the race has progressed in spiritual knowledge and development, — a progress

due to that nature which the Author of our being has bestowed upon us, and to that Fatherly love which has revealed more and more the Divine Excellencies to the minds of His children. The necessity arose to worship what was good, and not merely what was mighty. By degrees, more and more, the mists of superstition have cleared away, partially indeed and by patches, as it were, as when the mountains look through the morning, and the Truth has become revealed that love alone, Holy Love, is the Lord of the Universe; and now we are made to sit in heavenly places, bright with the glory of the Presence of God.

This Truth, which flowed pure from the lips of Jesus, and in many utterances of his first disciples, has been the real principle of permanence in the Christian Church, — though oftentimes almost hidden from sight by the manifold aberrations of the human intellect. Still occupied about God, still misled by the shadows falling from his own imperfections, especially the imperfections of his moral nature, man has built up an edifice of superstition around the teaching of the Founder of faith, which is only paralleled by the worship of Greece and Rome; so freely stigmatized by Christian as Paganism, — in which the worships of the Saints and Angels obscures from view the Throne of the Only True God, and the female divinities of old are replaced by Mary, ever Virgin, Mother of God and Full of Grace.

We live, however, under happier circumstances, and in an age in which the marvels of Science have taken the place of ecclesiastical miracles, in which the ways of the Creator are shown to us in the depths of the earth and the heights of heaven, in which dominion is given to man more and more over all the creatures of God. Let us not therefore sink into

materialism, denying our nobler selves, by stopping short of God. The study of material nature alone will not bring us to that central verity — (130)

In Memoriam LV. Who trusted God was love indeed

Tho' Nature . . . strick'd

Who trusted
The trust, that God is was love Good indeed,
And Love Creation's final Law . . .
No! Nature, red in tooth and claw
With ravine, shrieks against the Creed!

But, if we turn to the history of man, will the law of the stronger, will the principle of selfishness, account for its phenomena? On a super-ficial view they might, but not to a deeper and more true insight; and history is apt to deceive, because it demands great labour and larger ~~faculty~~ faculties than are granted to many. And a partial view may be made to support any theory, — just as, we know, texts of Scripture can be found, and have been found, which, misinterpreted and misapplied, will help to support the wildest systems of belief. But let each one take the experience of his own life, or what he has known of other men, perhaps nobler than himself; and let each one ask, Is it possible to account for the facts of the lives of those of my fellow-men whom I have deemed it an honour to know, — not to speak of the heroes and martyrs, at whose name all our hearts beat, claiming fellowship with them, — or can I account for my own course, since I can remember it, — by referring all to the seekings and findings of self-love, of self-interest alone, — even of the most self-enlightened self-love?

The true heart recoils from such a thought, and sees a far truer picture of what is best

in himself and in other men in the words of Christ -
"Whoever shall lose his life for my sake and the Gospel's
- that is, for the sake of truth and love - shall find it -
sees it in all the words of Jesus, which form a Gospel
of Love
[This is more important than Science, possessions

XII The Lord's Prayer. 8/4/66.
Part of our life. Not originated by Xt. Can be found in OT
except "forgiveness"

(i) "Father" ... this reverence for parents, which we find existing in such
136 force amongst many savage tribes, - as for instance amongst the natives of this
land, - is the very seed or germ of true religion. It is natural piety,
and a far better basis for Christian in - /137/ struction than the fears
and hopes of what may happen after death, which missionaries
are so apt to make the great staple of their teaching."

139ff. (ii) Our Father - all of us

(iii) in Heaven (quotes S.T. Coleridge)

XIII Prayer to Christ. 8/4/66
Quotes Jowett on the Brotherhood of All Men.
and prayers directly to Xst (Let alone V.M.) &
Attack on Ancient & Modern

153 The Speech by Stanley. at Convocation 29/6/66 153 — 161

XIV The Christian's Victory in Death 15/4/66

XV The Death of the Righteous 15/4/66

Balaam's Ass. Much of the Bible's work of the imagination.

176 "And, in truth, is not all history more or less a matter of the Imagination? How little do we really know for certain of the facts of the age in which even we live? What very different accounts would different persons give of the same transaction, in which they both took part, — because each looks at it from his own point of view, sees but a portion of it, and sees that through the coloured medium of his own mind! An historian, therefore, however much he may wish to be accurate, cannot possibly be absolutely so. He can only do his duty faithfully by gathering together reports from different persons of different opinions and principles, comparing and combining them
/177/ according to the best of his judgement, and filling up the blanks out of his own imagination. As one has written (Archd. Hare, Guesses at Truth, p. 337)
"... Very few histories tell us what has really happened. They tell us what somebody or other once conceived to have happened, somebody liable to all the infirmities, physical, intellectual, and moral, by which man's judgement is debarred. ..

cf Rees SFC 27/4/63

XVI The Duty of Praising God 22/4/66

188 "For it is not Science – it is not even the Bible – it is the oracle in our own breasts . . .
". . the sorrows and pains of which this world is full.

189 If we reject God, we reject goodness, and man becomes for us "the most cunning animal".

History of man one of growing light in darkness
Astronomy & Geology – now inheritance of all educated Englishmen

191. At the coming Prize exhibition – God's work will be displayed – the coal, sand-stone, lime, clay, minerals, – have been tested so man can get at them – and rise from savage to Civilized man.

XVII The Prophet and the Priest. 22/4/66

The 2nd Epistle of Peter one of the most debated in N.T.
Gives source and examples Westcott.

194 "This is information, which Christians, in these days especially, you should possess, in order that you may be able to form something like a reasonable judgment upon the nature of the great controversies of our times.
[You can judge – even w/o knowledge of the intricacies. The Scriptures are not infallible
Must not shut our eyes but work facts in the face.
The priest – the mediator – not a powerful word
The prophet – one who speaks for God.

XVIII The Father of Lights 29/4/66
Doubt over who wrote James epistle.
~~James did not~~ - gives criticism

215 Attack on Romish practices. Bishops and themes

XIX. The Nature of Prophecy 29/4/66.

A prophet is ~~that~~ literally one who utters for the Word of God.
preaching, publishing

Analyses OT prophesies and finds them wanting.
Involves interpretation - not direct.
Thus it was fulfilled often is in fact - it is
∴ illustrated.
Prophesies are really teachings not foretelling the future.
Poets, Historians. Scientists are also prophets.

XX Prophecy and Prognostication 6/5/66

Matthew: IV, 14-16 - Not a phrophecy but a
Divine Truth (those in darkness a great light.).

When the OT says he'll ride an ass - it was not
a sign of humility - because the ass was a luxury

OT did not predict Xst - but a deliverer & king.

XXI Light in Darkness 16/5/66

More examples of statements misinterpreted as prophecies.

256 "It has been said that the Modern Theology will make men careless and godless, — that it may even bring back upon us the times of unbridled license and lust, and all the horrors of the French Revolution. No! The Modern Theology is in very truth a return to the clear solemn teaching of Jesus himself. It brings the soul face to face with the Living God, as a Father and Friend ....

XXII The Institution of the Levites.

History of the Levites given in the morning. Lessons from ... in the evening.

Analysis time of Deuteronomy

XXIII The Christian Priesthood 13.5.66

The Levites - the Priests and Prophets

273 "We have now to do with that of the 'Priest' — that is, of one whose special business it is — not to teach, not to exhort, reprove, rebuke, not to advise and comfort, not to administer spiritual medicine to a sinful diseased [This is the work of a Prophet (who might be a Priest)] but to stand before God on behalf and in the name of his brethren, to administer the rites which unite men together in one body, as a religious community, to 'offer gifts and sacrifices,' and be the mouthpiece of the whole congregation, in lifting up the voice of praise and prayer to God. The Prophet's gifts 'come from above

, from the Father of Lights. The Priest is ordained [illegible] of man, and enters upon his office vested with authority at the hands of his brethren, to act as their representative and representative. [Prophet speaks in the name of God: Priest in the name of the Church.]

274 "In the childhood of the world, as in the childhood of the individual, the Father in every Family was both Priest and Prophet, and was born by Divine ordinance. We need no proof of the right which a father, simply as such, possesses, to impress on the young and pliant mind a sense of its duties towards an unseen Parent, to lead the devotions, to shape the creed, of his children. Does any one suppose that there would be no honour for parents, no reverence from children, unless the Commandments of God was written on tables of stone to enforce it? It was this Command, most surely, long before written letters were invented. These, indeed, were a Divine Gift, and to be devoutly attributed to Him, who is the spring and source of all Light and Life. But an earlier, a more universal law has been written on the heart of man, — has been enforced among us by those Divine affections which God's own Breath has kindled, the law that a child should 'hear the instruction of a Father.'

And you, parents, will feel, I am sure, your duty in this respect, — to be the Prophets, and Priests, as well as the Rulers, of your household, — for all these functions are gathered up in the sacred name of the Father. These are difficult times, no doubt, in which to exercise the most holy of all

CONTINUED ON PAGE 214

Stockwood, M. The Cross & The Sickle. (London 1978)

p. 14. Dare one hope that the day will come when the Church will realise that people are concerned not with the Church, as an entity, even with its survival or destruction, but what it says, with Godly insights about Man.

The lesson must be learnt. Just as theology is no longer the queen of the sciences because we have lost the intellectual battle through our crass stupidity, so the Church is no longer the determining influence in Western society. There are competitors in the field. Marx pretends to a following larger than that of Christ. Who will win? Is a comparison possible? . . . .

2. What is Economic Determination?

p. 15. A century ago the Church made a tragic mistake. Faced with the advance of scientific knowledge, the Church, without making a serious attempt to understand what was happening, went into opposition. The attacks by leading Christians on Darwinism and biblical criticism were not only laughable but tragic. The result was a pitched war between Religion and Science - a war which need never have taken place, but which, because it did take place, has done untold damage and is responsible for much of the irreligion in the country today. Recent surveys have made us aware of the catastrophic drop in Church membership in most denominations. . . .

199 | JWC makes real contact with colonised.
cf Worsley on alienation in the Colonies

Williams, R. Culture & Society 301.2. WIL
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Introduction

Chapter I Inspiration of Scriptures.
Colenso's theory, briefly compared with those of the Reformers Luther and Calvin

Chapter II Biblical Criticism.
Part A : Colenso's critical examination of the Hexateuch
i. His methodology : Statistics. Common Sense. Comparative Religion. Archaeology Linguistic.
ii. His main conclusions.
Part B Colenso's critical examination of
i. the relationship of Jeremiah to Deuteronomy
ii the book of Daniel.

Chapter III Predecessors, Contemporaries & Successors
(i) Colenso and the Graf Wellhausen hypothesis
ii Colenso and some modern methods of Biblical Criticism

Chapter IV. Summary and Final Assessment

References F. W. Dilistone, Scripture and Tradition (London, 1955) 202
Nick Broomall Biblical Criticism (London, 1957)

i Abbreviations

J. = Jawistic document
E = Elohistic document
JE = J and E combined
D = Deuteronomic Code
JED = JE and D combined
P = Priestly document
R = Reviser, at whatever period
P^h = The Code of Holiness

Introduction All men are products of their time.
JWC = old faith ⟺ modern ways of thought.
Maurice: textual criticism: Darwin: Essays, Reviews:
S.T. Coleridge. (Lessing, Eichhorn, Reimarus.)
Later acceptance: Westcott, Lightfoot, Hort - Contab
Sanday, Drive, Gore, Illingworth (Oxon) Lux Mundi
∴ ~~Gore in Lux Mundi~~
(viii) Modern trends - in JWC - Inner inspiration (Barth, Brunner - Augustine
Aquinas, ST Coleridge] "God is His own interpreter and He will make it plain"
Stratification & lit crit remains. also a search family
Cross - religious studies. (now a sense for distinctive ideas in Bible)
JWC has not been treated justly.

Chapter I Inspiration of Scriptures
Summarise from Preface to Post of
the Popular Edition of 1863. (p. 68).
Quotes from History of the Sikhs and the
Gallas showing they had Revelation

Check that you have these from somewhere

4. Confession of Westminster 1646 gives Prot. view of Bible. 66 canonical books as in autographs are the word of God. Translations have it plenteously.

[Hunter does not write well - argument not easy to follow and clearly uses his sources as his arguments. However it would seem as if at Reformation B was not considered as the literal Word of God - but a fundamentalist approach crept in later. This seems to be the clearest statement: -].

p.24. "Three centuries separate the Reformers from Colenso and certain developments have taken place in between. The Reformation conception of revelation was not the communication of a set of propositions but God revealing Himself as a person to men. Thus the Reformation was a repudiation of the intellectualistic conception of revelation held in the mediaeval church. But in controversy with R.C.'s and even with each other Protestants found the need for an objective authority to which they might refer their arguments. Subjective elements were precisely what was in controversy; therefore, the objective aspect of Biblical authority was given increasing emphasis. Thus it was that the Reformation doctrine of Scripture and revelation gradually gave way to the later Catholic conception of the objective authority of the Bible.

Luther himself in his polemics against the Catholics adopts their view of the Bible as the basis for argument.

Calvin went further than Luther and

and maintained an objective authority in the Bible; but it was still an authority that could be felt as binding only through faith.

By the late seventeenth century Protestants were closer to the Catholic interpretation of Scripture than to that which was distinctively of the Reformation and were insisting on the traditional principle of verbal inspiration and infallibility. By this time the R.C.s had more explicitly defined their own doctrine of Biblical authority in such a way as to make the interpretation of the church rather than the Bible itself the ultimate authority. It therefore happened that a doctrine of Scripture that was Roman as opposed to Reformed in the early sixteenth century came to be identified as distinctively Protestant .... Ordinary men, not scholars at all, could read the Bible with the conviction that they were reading the very words of God and that these words had a timeless quality which addressed their message directly to each reader. The practical use of the Bible was a combination of the subjective emphasis of Luther and the objective emphasis of the Roman Church i.e. the personal response to the Bible was often that of Luther and Calvin at their best; but the understanding of Biblical authority, the theory about the Bible, was the objective theory of the mediaeval church. The theory about the Bible so presented the practical use of the Bible, however, tried to destroy the former was certain to distort the latter profoundly.(1)

(1) Willis B. Glover, Evangelical Nonconformists and Higher Criticism in the Nineteenth Century (London, 1954)

 Reminders F. Maurice The Life of Maurice

Chapter II Biblical Criticism

He used (a) Statistics (b) Common Sense (c) Comparative Religion (d) Archaeology (e) "Linguistic" the various authors (& stylistic).

71 PART A (ii) His main conclusions

71 "Of all of Bishop Colenso's conclusions, the one that was of the most immediate importance to the development of Biblical Criticism was that the narrative portions of the P document were unhistorical and late. This had far-reaching consequences. Besides compelling Ewald to revise his conclusions and furthering the investigations of the great Dutch OT scholar, Abraham Kuenen, the force of Colenso's arguments opened the way for the radical reconstruction of Hebrew history identified with the names of Prof. Wellhausen" (Glover, op cit 5v) Colenso also, as part of his argument that the Levitical legislation was late in origin, considered Chronicles to be a fictitious rewriting of Hebrew history with the purpose of securing the adoption of the new code by emphasizing the earlier role of the priests. (Cox DNB) Colenso himself, in the earlier part of his work was little indebted to previous critics. His important discoveries were merely the results of shrewd and uncompromising honest reasoning from mathematical discrepancies and absurdities he found in the OT. (Ibid p. 53.) That his work came at the opportune time to forward the general development of higher criticism

Glover

was a fortunate historical accident. [?]

B Summary of JEDP's ideas

(i) Sep. of Yahwen + Elohim.

(ii) Samuel phly author of Elohim docs

(iii) Yahwistic doc phly written in Solomon's time

(iv) Deuteronomy phly written in Josiah's time perhaps by Jeremiah.

(v) There was a second Elohist + Yahwist.

(vi) Early Hebrews worshipped ~~a true God~~ in low form like other Canaanite tribes.

(VIIB) Post Exilic Judaism = great ethical Israel prophets of 8 BC + Zoroastrian religion of Exile.

(VIII) Bible is WOG because it speak G. word

(IIB) to men's hearts

(IX) Ezekiel responsible for Leviticus

(X) Non Mosaic - non contemporary authorship.

Chapter III Predecessors, Contemporaries and Successors

[Seemed to be criticized from E. J. Young, — but cannot find full title J. [I suspect heavily criticized]

Earlier Documentary Hypothesis

Astruc, J. (1753) } A two document theory.
Eichhorn, J. G. (1780-83) }
Ilgen, K.D. (1798).

Fragmentary Hypothesis

Geddes, A. (1800).
Vater, J.S. (1802-5) 38 fragments
de Wette, W.M.L. (1806-7)

The Supplement Hypothesis

Ewald, H. (1873). The Unity of Genesis
Vatke, W
Bleek, F.
Delitzsch, F. (1857)
Tuch, F.

Kurtz J. H. (1844 & 1846.)
The Crystallization Hypothesis
Ewald, H. (1840-5 changes his pvs. position).
Knobel, A (1861)
The Modified Document Hypothesis
Hupfeld, H, (1853)
The Development Hypothesis (G-W. Nis).
Reuss, E, (1834, 1850).

92. Bishop ~~Colen~~ Colenso's The Pentateuch . . . begun in 1862, attacked the basic Elohistic document of the Supplement hypothesis as being unhistorical and late. A turning point in Pentateuchal criticism had been reached.
Graf, K. H. (1866). attacked by Riem & ~~Riehm~~ Noeldeke and modifies thesis.
Kuenen, A (1867-70) supported Graf indefinitely.
Wellhausen, J. (1876-7).

93. Wellhausen combined his dating of the various documents with a particular evolutionary reconstruction of Israel's history, a reconstruction that was based upon the Hegelian philosophy. The early religion of Israel, thought Wellhausen was but the spontaneous expression of natural religious intuite. The historical character of the patriarchal narratives in Genesis was denied and Moses himself becomes a nebulous figure. [No centralised religion before Deuteronomic reform (622 BC). Levitical legislation much later]
"The Levitical legislation was for later. Thus, on this scheme, there is a development of the religious institutions of Israel and

there is also a development in Israel's idea of God. This scheme of Wellhausen's found wide acceptance and reconstruction .... is generally spoken of as the Graf-Kuenen-Wellhausen hypothesis or the Graf-Wellhausen hypothesis for short." [Based on Documentary hypothesis & called Development Hypothesis. Found acceptance in Germany, the UK & USA. Introduced by W.R. Smith (1881) & others.

95. Did JWC influence the G-W thesis?
"The link between Colenso and the Graf Wellhausen hypothesis is provided by Abraham Kuenen".
[K pointed out to Graf the the narratives & laws of the were interdependent. Graf modified his theory accordingly & got public support from Kuenen. (The interpreters bible, p.189.) When JWC translated Kuenen 1865, later was follower of Ewald. Kuenen was much influenced by Colenso (Ox. D. of C.C) & stayed with him (Cox)]
"Kuenen pointed out that Ewald and others had been compelled to revise their conclusions by the force of Colenso's criticisms. (Cox 626)
[Kuenen acknowledges his debt & Kuenen influenced Graf.] "Colenso's chief contribution to the development of OT studies was that he showed that the narrative portions of the P document in the Pentateuch were unhistorical and of late origin. This opened the way for the radical reconstruction of Hebrew History identified with the names of Graf and Wellhausen. (Glover, p.52).

PEJD becomes EJDP or JEDP.

207 Edward J. Young, An Introduction to the OT. (London, 1954).

97 ii "It is interesting to find that methods of Biblical criticism pioneered or used by Bishop Colenso are still being used."
[arithmetic, statistics, vocab. Commonsense. comparative region. Archaeology hypothesis.]

Chapter IV Summary and Final Assessment

111 "The Graf-Wellhausen was the result of the criticism to which Colenso contributed.

Cockshut Anglican Attitudes "His mind was so dominated
173 (101) by a few good and simple religious ideas - the greatness and goodness of God, the brotherhood of the human race, the binding authority of conscience. No doubt he believed more than this, but these seem to have been the only doctrines that he found imaginatively important and inspiring, and it was of these that he constantly wrote. He never defined his theological position in full, for when his voluminous writings are not dealing with these basic ideas they invariably turn to minutiae of Biblical criticism.

134. Lambeth Conference (1958) polygamists convert discussed
referred Anglican Conference Toronto (1963.)
23-24/6/1965 AB Conference in SA.
"recommendation from" the Natal regional conference that polygamists should be baptised and received as full members of the Church provided they do not contract further polygamous marriage" i.e. DVC posit

Lectures on P & MS. 231 "The Bible though taken from us as an idol (B.b.Crit) restores it to us as the work of living men." 208

141. "Bishop Colenso's conclusions anticipated the work of both Kuenen and Wellhausen although their indebtedness to Colenso, until quite recently, has not been generally recognised."

[[Summing very weak ; seems to have read Cockshall late, comes in with crits - which deny his very thesis]]

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1832 6/12/62
1834 20/12/62
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Preface Use of Anglican for the period (1824-1901) anachronistic: Church of England used.

17ff. Hist. of evangelical movement in C of E. From mid (18) CMS 1792. to preach, convert, philanthropy Sacraments.

54ff. Hist. of High Church movement. Claimed to inherit sacred authority from Apostles the true tradition of the Catholic Church. Rested on revelation of the Bible as interpreted by the Church & the Church.

G. Faber Oxford Apostles

55. Tractarian ~ movement.

57 Broad-church movement.

CONTINUED FROM PAGE 197

holy of all offices, in which to discharge the most momentous of all duties, ~~no doubt, in which to exercise the most holy~~ within your own family circle, — when you feel that with you it rests to shape more or less the faith of your child, to train its feet gently in the way of life, — and when you feel perhaps also, that so much of what was taught, as unquestionable truth, in your own younger days, has now passed away never more to return. Yes! but the essence of all faith is there.

"He that cometh unto God must believe that HE IS, and is the rewarder of them that diligently seek Him."

You can say to your child, in the language of the Prophet —

"What does the Lord thy God require of thee, but to do justly, and to love mercy, and to walk humbly with thy God?"

If perplexed yourself with many thoughts, and harassed with the controversies, to which the present age has given rise, and in which you feel you must take part, from which you cannot escape, — rather, from which, as a true servant of God, as a faithful Christian, you cannot consent to withdraw

|275| yourself, for you cannot consent, with a weak cowardice or a guilty indolence, to let the whole burden of them fall upon your children in the next generation, you may always fall back on those words in which the writer of Ecclesiastes sums up

215 Light Light - the theme of Light p.276 "enlighted by the light

'the conclusion of the whole matter
[~~trust in~~ Fear God & keep his Commandments.]
[with which ~~St~~ Stanley says is the answer to the contemporary controversies
But you should also turn to the Bible - the Lord's Prayer (so complex in its simplicity: the Psalms which show man long ago in strength & weakness. The NT above all, its trust in God, its hatred ~~are~~ of evil & love. Give these to your children + ~~the~~ a godly environment + encouragement to use their reasoning + prayer

276. The Family is more sacred than the Church: emenates directly from God - not carnal but holy.]
"Natural ties! Natural obligations! Beware how any persuade you that these are merely secular and profane, good for a passing purpose, but of the earth, earthy, part only of this vain world, which passes away like a shadow! Shall I tell you what is merely secular and profane? — though it may have also its transitory uses. The ~~desire~~ desire of as much pleasure, comfort, ease, of as much money, of as much power, as a man can get, — the wish to shine, to be praised, to cut a figure amongst others, these impulses are too often the slaves of 'the lust of the flesh, the lust of the eye, and the pride of life,' which are not of the Father, but of the world. Their uses are to make whips to scourge the indolence of the mere animal nature; they are meant to act as useful servants to oil the wheels of society. But, if the reins are left in their hands, they will hurry it over the precipice. The history of the world shows this in many a page, where the luxury, the pride,

the refined sensuality, of an over-civilization, have stifled and destroyed all natural / 277 / affections, duties, claims. [E.G. Roman Empire - pre Rev. France.] "and now in our days, it must be feared, it is too much the tendency of modern European civilization, to make light of the most sacred family ties and duties.

But the family, though the foundation, is not the whole of humanity. That consists of many families; and they are meant by the Divine Creator to act and react on one another. Hence, as I have explained on another occasion, the institution of the seven-days' week is marked out by for all mankind through the phases of the moon, by natural signs, in the same kind of way, though not so distinctly, as the interchanges of day and night. Hence, also, in so many different nations, the irresistible impulse which leads men to come together for some kind of religious purpose, either on the new-moons, or more frequently at each successive interval of seven days, which divides the lunar period. The Sunday Rest - the Sunday Worship is a blessed ordinance of man, to which he has been led by Divine Guidance. ~~Strip it of the mere superstitious notions, etc.~~ [Someone must keep order in worship: the priest. (Prophet)

Lately in C of E some have put down the preacher, elevated the Priest. Time of Reformation
279 only highly trained allowed to preach.
"It was not then supposed that the mere admission into the order of deacons or priests was enough to entitle a man to stand up in the pulpit, and harangue his fellow-men upon their duties and their beliefs, or to
/285/ protect him from the charge of arrogance, in setting

down to condemn the writings of his seniors and superiors in the ministry, writings which he may have never read and may be incapable of reading."

[Need the Priests - Diaconate and Priesthood exists
280 in National Church but it has degenerated. Priests rejected Christ - Priests said corporation could not come into Chancel: Priest & sacrifice. The idea of a sacred class of priests alien to teachings of Xst.

Priesthood favours ~~sp~~ natural indolence & the mere ~~pr~~ repetition of supposed religious truth]

283 ~~But truth~~ "But words, especially when they are employed upon things spiritual, inscrutable to sense, are but the faintest reflection of realities. The truth needs ever to be born again in the speech of the living generations, if it is to be living truth for them. Nothing that is true, nothing that is real and permanent, will fall away; but much, that was a temporary, imperfect, medium for conveying it, will and must pass away and perish. We know how, at the time of the Reformation, the pure spring cleared itself, and issued from the foul morass, in which it was almost lost. But let us not imagine that a standing water will ever long remain pure."

[~~Mustn't be too concerned about differences~~ We must not, therefore, too much lament the differences and dissensions amongst us. Differences there must be, from the different points of view under which the same truths - eternally and substantially the same - are regarded by men of different mental powers, training, or circumstances

Let us hope that the bitter feelings, which they engender, are in some cases at least a sign of life, of real core and love for what each esteems to be the truth. Better this than a mere careless spirit of unconcern." [Many have felt they served God in persecution but remember Xst did not approve. The truth will prevail in the end. & Remember we are only propoy for wisdom.] "We
284 cannot take our creeds whole and ready-made into our minds like an article of furniture. We must shape them for ourselves with mental toil and labour. Or, rather, the Word of God must be not only 'learned and marked', but 'inwardly digested' by the acting of our own minds, the experience of our own hearts and lives, upon it, before it can pass into the very substance of our souls, and become their life.

Hence the need in the teachers of the people of activity of mind, of some research into the past, of some acquaintance with the literature, the science, the modes of thought, of the age. Hence the inefficacy of a ministry which merely enunciates dogmas, instead of calling out, sympathising with, and guiding, the thoughts of the hearers. For, if the wisdom of the wisest will not avail us, till we have made it our own by patient meditation, what must it be to have for guides the ignorant, the unwise, such as would lead us back to old superstitions, to the worship of the Virgin and of the consecrated elements, to the anathemas and excommunication of the dark ages, to belief in the infallible truth of every statement in the Bible, and a slavish reverence for the dicta of the priest?

No! 'There is a spirit in man, and the inspiration

of the Almighty giveth him understanding. Beware then, you that are blessed with knowledge more than others, and rejoice in that light and freedom of the age, how you misuse that Divine Gift, to excuse yourselves in things which your hearts condemn. Beware lest the light that is in you become thus darkness: for how great will then be that darkness! But think how great an incubus an unlearned clergy must be upon the mind of this generation — at least, of those sub- /285/ ject to their influence! — how little power they can have to meet the passing events of the present hour, to guide the restless, inquiring minds of the young! Should the ministers of Christ, instead of leading the armies of faith, continue to entrench themselves behind the old decaying walls of mere traditionary teaching, treating as serious facts and realities the stories and myths, under the covering of which truths in themselves Divine were conveyed to the younger world, remaining contentedly ignorant of all the labours of the present century, and counselling the like ignorance to their flocks, what grievous injury may ensue to the faith of multitudes, who will hear continually from those in the teacher's place the cuckoo-cry, 'If you listen to criticism, you will lose your Christianity, your Religion, your God!' - while at the same time the light of Modern Science, becoming brighter every day, and throwing its beams into every corner, makes it impossible for any thinking, well-informed man to retain any longer faith in many dogmas of the

traditionary creed. A learned ministry is a ~~[illegible]~~ crying necessity of every age. It is especially so of this age, which is one of transition, a reformation-period, in which old authority is weakened, and each one is called to 'try the spirits' for himself, - when the rise in the level of general intelligence is so great and perhaps so sudden, that any class, which clings resolutely to the past, is apt to be left behind - the teachers behind the taught! - to the discredit, alas! of that which is really true in what they hold."

[The office of prophet or teacher - combined with minister ~~has gre~~ carries great responsibility. Has to by reason guide - not say 'It is written' -]... he
286 must not be afraid of the light...

XXIV The Gift of Tongues. 20/5/66

[A sermon which casts doubt on the gift both in the bible, + ancient + recent times. No need in B. times - all would speak Greek or Syriac. ~~Pa~~ Close examination casts doubt on Paul's belief in it. It is part of all Xstions search for external signs. - ~~[illegible]~~

XXV The Day of Pentecost 20/5/61.

[Sums up mornings sermon. Crits the Biblical sources.

Xstions have always looked for signs]

p.306 "The modern instances of supposed spiritual gifts, to which I referred this morning,

as exhibited not long ago in a London congregation, and which we have no difficulty now in ascribing to its true source, a deluded spirit of religious fanaticism, had its forerunner, most probably, in the apostolic age, in the Church of Corinth.

Wesley also encouraged in Speeches of Divine origin - but because human imperfect.

310 [The Knowledge of Divine Truth in the Zulu]

"But, if the Creeds of the Ancient Church are found, more especially in these days of advanced knowledge, to be but imperfect utterances of Divine Truth even for us, who have long been familiar with them, and have had them explained and enforced in the midst of us by elaborate treatises, by catechisings, lectures, and sermons innumerable, how much more must they be for the mind of the unlearned, for the ignorant heathen, the untutored savage! It is true, among the many tongues in which men speak all over all the earth, there is hardly one nation's any word for expressing the great central truth of religion, the Being of God. It is so, we know, in the Zulu tongue, where Unkulunkulu, the Great-Great-One, expresses Him, who was from the beginning, the Creator of all things and all men; and in this language also there are distinct words which recognize the conflict of good and

evil within the heart of man, of 'the spirit and the flesh', the spiritual and carnal mind, as St Paul would term them. Here is for more sufficient proof of the real humanity of what are called inferior races, of their brotherhood with us, of their being taught by one and the same selfsame spirit which is teaching our hearts, than the traditionary notion of their descent from one pair of ancestors at a period far too recent to account for the immense outward difference between the negro and the Hottentot, and the proud son of Western Europe.

311

NB All the Scriptures should not be translated –

NB We don't understand them ourselves –
We don't have the original – The words
312 ff are in dispute.
NBB. Christian faith does not depend on the
311, 312, infallibility of the Bible. M. Guizot
314, believes B is important & must be read
intelligently.

XXVI. The Son Declaring the Father. 27/5/66

I No man has seen God - ~~but OT says Moses did.~~
but as has been pointed out for 2000+ years
we can see him in his Works.

But we can't see his Moral Character in
this way.

OT believed they saw him as a man. - this
is because it was the time of the
childhood of man.

XST argued that those who believed in him
had seen God.

The Bible is not a systematic summary of
323 belief & rules but a revelation of God to
Man (love) - Father to Children. This could
be seen in the daily life of XST.
327 This can be seen in his life of Love.

XXVII. The Three Creeds. 27/5/66

A historical analysis + critique of
the Apostles Nicene + Athanasian Creeds.

(i) Apostles - not written by them. (4 or 6 or 8 Roman.
(ii) Nicene - dates to 325. Council of Nicaea -
controversial meeting
(iii) Athanasian - nothing to do with Athanasius.
Probably written by Hilary in 800.

342 Back to the simplicity of the Gospel. Xst Faber & Friend who we know.

Third Series

No. 1. John IV. 9. 10. 3/6/66

[Epistle written by unknown person c mid ②
V. different from the other 3. (i) The 3 are full of parables. (ii) 3 deal with 1 yr. John with 3 yrs.
(iii) 3 deal with Xstion practice & duty to God.
John with Divine Truth – doctrine. (iv) Language is that of the writer (rather than of Xst) ⊥ & the School of Alexandria.

God's love for Man.

No. 2. Luke, XVI. 31. 3/6/66

"And he said unto them, If they hear not Moses and the Prophets, neither will they be persuaded though one rose from the dead."

Chosen because it is used against Modern Criticism.
But MC does not seek to reject the Bible but seek the
14 Truth in it. To see the light.
But the ignorant ignore the real problem & scoff at those who look for answers

Uses ? Tait in Church Times 17/8/66
Quotes from Ecce Homo

18 Analyse the parable – as part of contemp Jewish thought
We must get the message out of the parables

And what we get is (1) Instinctive fear of man for the after life. Ancient people - after death go under the earth Socrates. After exile Jewish notions change.

22. In Scandinavia Hell is Cold. In Thibet Hot & Cold In India hot.

Purgatory is an attempt to soften idea of E.D.

23 "We cannot accept her teaching on this point" [but leave to the Lord ~~to~~ who] "who will assuredly order all things wisely and well, in this world and in the next, for us and for all dear to us. And the tenderest love of earthly relatives, of parents, mothers, husbands, friends let us ever remember, are but faint shadows of that Eternal Love which embraces us all."

But our Lord speaks in the text of "Moses and the Prophets". And no doubt he accepted the current views of the time as to the Mosaic authorship of the Pentateuch; he shared we must believe, the ignorance, as he shared the weakness, the weariness, the hunger, the thirst, - as he shared the life, and died the death - of men." [The Eternal Truth of the possible is to confirm the fear in the heart & the troubled conscience of death & the ~~unto~~ unknown.

24. No miracle or sign will give faith to the unbeliever.] For 'Moses and the Prophets' stand to us for the religious literature of every age. Each has its own prophets, as well as the ages preceding it. How great is the responsibility which devolves upon us, 'the heirs of all the ages,' of all their wisdom! - while their folly has been, as it were, precipitated,

like the dregs of generous wine which has stood for years.

Little indeed do we need visions, apparitions, miracles if we do but rightly use this our glorious inheritance, and hearken obediently to the voice of the Divine Spirit speaking through His chosen ones from age to age. Yet have we in these days, in which we live, our miracles, — not infractions and interruptions, but revelations of the Divine Order, — I mean, the miracles and mighty works of God, which Science reveals, and for which (as all intelligent creatures cast their crowns before the Throne . . .

25 These wonders are, indeed, overwhelming, — entrancing to the discoverers of them, — filling me with enthusiasm, which makes them shout and sing like children with delight, — like Kepler of old (Gives example. Kepler said he'd wait a century for a reader - God had waited 6000 for an observer.

[Did JWC see himself as a Kepler?]

I But only the Word of God can cleanse the heart - NB } "not the mere letter of the Bible but the Living Word which reaches the heart." These are our "miracles": yet "Moses and the Prophets" - that is, for us the accumulated religious experience of humanity - is beyond them in its power to bring the soul home to its Divine Father. At least those who will not hear the latter, will hardly be converted by the telescope or the microscope; though these, interpreted by faith, are ministering spirits before the throne of the Eternal God.

227

No 3. Ps. 1. 23. "Whoso offereth praise glorifeth me, and to him that ordereth his conversation aright will I shew the salvation of God.

The jealous God who requires Praise is the Hebrew God - Not the God of Love. Our God.

p. 29. Light.

Advice to the young - don't lead selfish life.

No. 4 Judges v. 31. "So let all Thine enemies perish O Lord! but let them love Him be as the Sun when he goeth forth in his might."

This might be a good one to reproduce

Story of Jael killing Sisera. All with a tent peg. A story which many Xstians find horrifying. & yet get Divine blessings. Xstian Rules have justified the deed. And why not? Gives examples of many assassins who believed they were doing good & acting accordy to God's will. First they risked their lives - eg. Corday] "who obtained access, by a feigned story, to the den of the savage revolutionist, made no attempt to escape the consequences of her deed, but he laid down her life bravely for his." And there is yet another difference, that these struck at men in the height of their power, from the vengeance of of whose friends escape was hardly possible, and the continuance of whose existence might really have been dreaded as an intolerable, and, as far as human eyes could see, insuperable evil. Whereas here in Jael's case was a poor, solitary, ~~ruined~~ fugitive, general, overwhelmed with disaster, disgraced and ruined,

The usual Method cf. 180

with all his forces ~~run~~ routed and scattered, —
39 ... and whose death was but a ~~too~~ pitiful addition
to the great triumph which had already been won."
[But with these two exception it was also
an assassination done in the belief that it was
good & Divine.

40. Thomas Scott. "Jael is not said to have promised
Sisera that she would deny his being there;
she would give him shelter and refreshment,
but not utter a falsehood to oblige him," —
[Scott] delivers a warning thereupon against
'a very criminal deviation from simplicity and
godly sincerity," which is "become customary
among professed Christians," viz., to order their
servants to say "not at home," when they do not
wish to be disturbed by visitors"
[There is no way in which such an act
can be justified and Modern Science
40-41 helps] "in clearing the Bible from all these
demoralising glosses, dishonoring to God and
destructive of a true reverence to the Scriptures..."
[But, such a blotant act of unrighteousness
is accepted because it is in the Bible. —
but thank God. Thru Modern Crit we can see it
for what it is. It has different styles
Kuenen shows it is very old, & JWC
believes it written under aegis of Samuel.
Ancient stories - legendary additions - eg Samson

ODCC
Thomas Scott
1747-1821
V. popular Connecting
- message in
every part of
the Bible

44 What can we learn? - (i) It is the W of G through
human agents of a certain historical time
(ii) Beware of those acting with a Divine Mandate

46 This is fallacious and dangerous. & such a command must be felt to be unjust.]

"An impulse therefore, or a Divine command, may never be pleaded as a reason for doing what we feel to be wrong. It is the glory of a regenerate man to rule his impulses, as well as his passions, to hold them in as unruly horses, to direct and guide them, not to be carried away by them."

(iii) So let all Divine examples from O Test.

Can Nations have enemies - ~~as individuals~~ we cannot judge individuals - but we can judge groups & find them guilty, as NT found Scribes, Pharisees guilty].

"But it was as bodies of men, not as individuals, that he condemned them."

[& God] "Yes! Whatever is the enemy of the human race is the enemy of God! Pride and luxury, cruelty and oppression, ignorance and superstition, lust and impurity, such things are His enemies."

47 ... A tainted tolerance of what is bad, an unwillingness to expose and to punish it, is no part of Christian love. There is, however, a snare on the other hand for us frail passionate mortals. It is hard to blame what is wrong, without also judging unfairly the wrong-doer, to hate the sin without also hating or despising the sinner." [but we must follow NT & hate the sin not the sinner.

(iv) Final part of the text - a ~~distorted~~ wrong conception of God - who loves ~~some~~ & hates others. We ~~see~~ God is a loving God.

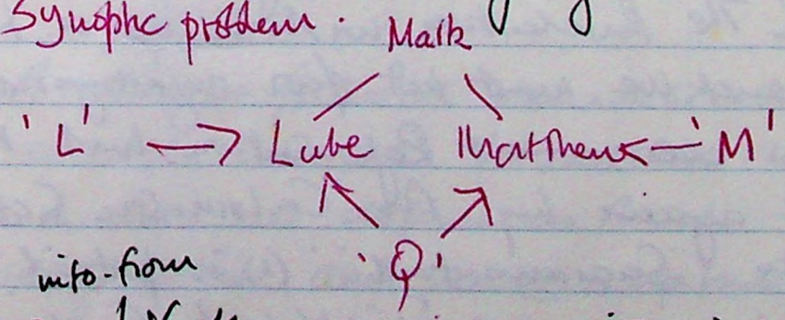
48. And, let us remember, in the great conflict of our own day, – that 'Battle of Armageddon," which has even now begun, and will rage yet more violently around us, in which we ourselves, the men of this generation, must take our part, that our children may be freed from falsehood, from all superstition, and may learn truly to know and love and serve God, – in this great fight, it is only the armour of light that will in the end prevail, – not the sharp slingstones of malice and hatred, not the poisoned arrows of calumny and misrepresentation, not the fiery darts of abuse and invective, – but the 'girdle of truth', the 'breastplate of righteousness,' the 'shield of faith', the 'helmet of salvation', and the 'sword of the Spirit, which is the Word of God," the truth spoken in love."

No 5. 17/6/66.

ALFORD [From the dedication it is clear (i) there were many "Gospels" (ii) no eyewitnesses wrote (iii) Writer did a close reconstruction

51. V. little known about young Xst.

[ODCC Synoptic problem.



Some say into-from V. Mary ~~gave details~~ ~~in~~ archives

The Apocryphal books compared with the Canonical.

54. Many aspects of NT clearly not literal truth –

Jewish names for Angels, actual words transcribed.]

54. "Happy is it for us that we can read these devout compositions in the light of modern ~~observations~~ investigations, without being obliged to feel that all our trust in the Living God, all our hope for this life and for eternity, depends on our believing that the angel did actually appear to Zachariah . . . " [angels words]

55 "express . . . the feelings with which this brother-man, from the emotions of his own heart, conceived Zachariah's heart to be filled . . . "

[and the message was Repent = change your ways Dont think of God anymore as, national, capricious, hard, arbitrary, joyless, remote BUT One who has been chosen to minister to them,

55/56 "as One whose laws are the very laws for /56/ which you were made, to which your Nature is conformed, in obedience to which you will find your truest good for body and soul"

the teological argument

The teachings of Xst. "The issues of his doctrine were to be the abolition of all outward distinctions between the worshippers of the One Father."

[Men & Churches have overlaid this, hiding it

57 but it has been cleared many times, and will be cleared in our Age.]

[The Revelation within us is beyond doubt and we must not fear investigation of it. Darkness cleared at Reformation but the clouds are here again by the "Calvinistic School" and the "Sacramental" (i) is partial, exclusive (ii) by saying we can't approach G. directly but need Church as mediator.]

58 "And both these have now for a time united

to quench ... that other Divine light, the light of Science, which God has given us in our own times, to be the special glory of the age, to be the helper and enlightener of men in these very days in which we live. They try to turn, if possible, this light into darkness; they either deny, or at least ignore its existence, ... or they venture to connect the discoveries of Science with the spirit of evil."

Does he specify SCIENCE so clearly in these sermons?

[The Xtianity does not fear Science - it reveres not conceals]

57 "As our knowledge of nature and our knowledge of history increases, we may hope to see more and more of our Father's Name written upon His works and on His dealings with men."

The

58 [Angels are powerful creatures of fairy tales of our childhood. But we know he is our Father & Friend - our inward light

60 X is for the "great human family X stirs above God's Light]

"instead of living each apart, for selfish work and selfish enjoyment, or even for the everlasting interests, as he may think, of that poor solitary unit — his own soul!"

alienation!

No 6. 17/6/66. through Mock Grid.

[A straight forward demonstration / that Sam. could not be literal truth - but our faith does not depend on that. And it is a relief that we don't have to defend on lit. truth of the Bible. ~~Xtian~~ Holy writers have often failed to provide fact. They were men like us, but with the light we have.

Therefore JWC cannot complain about his lot - it

71 We should not pray for the removal of the suffering etc. It is part of his plan. ~~We should pray~~ He has never deserted us. We should to get closer to him.]

71 "Not a capricious Ruler, but Perfect Wisdom, Perfect Truth, Perfect Love, displayed in Perfect Order, unvarying Law, sits upon the Throne of the Universe."

[This should be no resistance to M.C. either. ~~Fe~~ This is an Age of Faith - we are working towards a] "rational, intelligent, faith in the Living God, as revealed to us by Jesus Christ.

No 7. 24/6/66

[On prophecy: Malachi & J. the B. there was not a few centuries gap between them. G. not fickle - speaks, spoke at all times.

Quotes from Eccelfomo

Analysis of Malachi follows: I have not.

p. 84. "Briefly now, in conclusion, let us consider its more direct practical bearing upon ourselves.

And first, it is a great thing to have this truth graven indelibly upon our minds that our God is "Jehovah", the Living God, 'who changeth not, who cannot change,"

/85/ because he is perfectly wise and good, - that He, who rules by orderly unchangeable laws in the Natural World, is the same who rules in the Moral and Spiritual world, by fixed laws, unchangeable laws, which cannot be set aside for anything better, laws which, as one has said

"attach to every wrong and error a measured, inevitable penalty, to every rightness and prudence an assured reward, - penalty, of which the remittance cannot be purchased, and reward of which the promise cannot be broken."

By these eternal, unchanging laws, — as sure as that which makes the stone fall to the ground by its own weight, — each act of wrong, unconscious, sin will certainly, inevitably, be followed by its judgment. It is a breach of the laws of our spiritual being, and, as such, it must have its evil consequences of some kind or other; just as certainly as any breach of the laws of our bodily system will leave its injurious effects behind, and, if repeated, may be the cause of permanent disease, of pain and misery, even of death.

But this conviction, that every law of our nature, whether physical or intellectual, moral or spiritual, will inevitably take its course, — that no prayers nor entreaties of all the human race, upon their knees in sackcloth and in ashes, will avail to alter the state of the earth or the atmosphere, to quiet the raging of the elements, or to move them from their state of seeming repose, or to break asunder the adamantine band which couples wilful sin with woe, — this conviction is not antagonistic to the Christian idea of prayer; it only sweeps away the superstitions which have crept around it, which attained such giant height in the ages (miscalled) of faith, the ages of miracles, that, according to the notions then current, earth was not solid, nor water fluid, gravitation was suspended, fire had no power to burn, when the saints willed it otherwise.

Let us be thankful that we do not live in such a world as they imagined, where all would be capricious, uncertain, changeable, — where the blessed order, which now reigns in each domain of this mighty Universe, and with reference to which we know our steps must be guided, would be exchanged for doubt and uncertainty, confusion and chaos. Let us study thankfully our

Father's law in nature, with a view to shape our course accordingly, while ~~we~~ yet we dwell in this His world. Let us take submissively the just consequences of our sins, — the "inevitable penalty" of all our "wrongdoing and error" — which the Eternal Laws of the /85/ Moral and Spiritual World may inflict upon us. Yet still there will remain for us a sphere, in which we live, not by bread, but by His Word, — in which we may seek and find Him, if we seek Him with all our heart, — in which our prayers, our sad confessions, our earnest desires, will, according to the laws of the spiritual world, assuredly be heard and answered with blessing, with fresh supplies of that life and strength, by which we may do God's Will more faithfully, of that heart-joy, in the midst of all our chastenings, "with which a stranger doth not intermeddle," of that peace which "passes all understanding."

[(ii) Tendency for modern Xstians (the orthodox) to]

85 "boast of the soundness of their creed, and keep themselves aloof from the publican and sinner, the Samaritan and heretic." [The should beware of the Wrath that is to come.]

(iii) Also the other extreme — ~~Gt~~ Love is God &
∴ tempted to sin more freely.

A Morning Hymn tristed by Thos. Arnold.

No. 8. 24/6/66.

[Shows why he think Samuel wrote the oldest part of the Sx.

p 90. Funeral rites of neanderthals.

Detailed O.T. crit but then on

NB

97 changes geo and analyses "Royal Supremacy"
and long analysis of the National Church
and the freedom within the church of England
100 Quotes Luther on the loneliness of struggle against
authority [Does JWC identify as he does
with St Paul.]

No. 9. 1/7/1866.

perhaps reprint [A straightforward sermon with many of JWC's
ideas: stand by the truth: the slow emergence
of the truth in history.]

The Text is I Pet III, 13-15. Written to encourage
early Xtians who are being persecuted.
~~Does~~ JWC identifies with Paul Luther + those
persecuted.

108 "It was the same reproach that was levelled
against the teaching of St Paul, as if, when he
had emancipated himself and his disciples
from the old dogmatic Jewish system, and preached
to them . . . .
[or him - does he see himself like this]

109 "These "strangers," then, of Israel, scattered in these
regions, isolated amongst the Gentiles, but doubly
isolated, and with a more bitter abhorrence,
amongst their own fellow-exiles, were the objects
of St. Peter's sympathy, and the recipients of
his letter of advice and consolation. . . .

We must expect, then, in this world to
have our principles tried, our sincerity proved
by "divers temptations."

110 [Statement of JWC belief. in always — God
Not to be discovered by intellect alone but
by Conscience.

237 is interesting - remember the Hick, paperback, Xstianity and other religions.

His trans-religious analysis

Can discern goodness in the worships of Zeus, Jove, + Allah + the Jew. The Jewish] "Law... was not reversed..., but interpreted and fulfilled, by the Son of Man himself, - his teaching overflowing its narrow channel, yet following its course, expanding its application, not relaxing, its authority."

111

112 + the K.G. every gain in the discovery of science confirms our knowledge of God.

112 "Yet, for a believer..., life is a fight... of faith. In his heart... He holds fast the conviction that "God Is, and is a rewarder of them that diligently seek Him,". Though He clings with unshaken confidence to the trust, that -

More F

Faith | Knowledge

"The Lord is loving unto every man, and His tender mercies are over all His works," -

though sense bears a different testimony, and he sees the degraded state of countless multitudes around him, their sufferings, their blindness, and it seems as if it were true of the great majority of human beings, that "they perish, they all perish" Yet it is not the Will of our Father in Heaven that any one of these should perish. On this conviction - on this revelation of His Will, which He has given us by planting within our hearts the love of parents, to be a witness for Himself, to reflect faintly to our eyes His own Eternal Love - we are ~~two~~ to work, on this we are to rest....

Faith | Knowledge directly proportional

113 [We must pursue the Truth + not listen to those who say it will cause Trouble. But we are

Clear statement of his position here.

concerned with Faith in God, and seek the Truth. not hide it, or hide from it. Generally attack most fiercely those within the same groups. Every new gain in progress has been marked by convulsions [[this is a recurring theme]] Luther.

115 Christ himself was "despised & rejected" [note ~~A~~ NB - Mrs C's phrase - as used to her by JWC - he is definitely referring to himself - this might be the sermon to reprint

116 [Very interesting - should we care about being attacked - no if we have faith - but not to care is arrogant - no answer - retreat to God. Here we have the great silence at the heart of Colenso -]

117 No. 10. 1/7/66.

[V. interesting: The value of autobiography: clear idea of the relative nature of knowledge. Analyses ~~the~~ autobiography of St Paul. as it appears in N.T. His attitudes are not there for all time - they are individual It must be remembered

(i) He was a family man
(ii) He was not a public man
(iii) Not a creative artist or a philosopher, scientist.
(iv) Not a business man
(vi) Simply a minister/teacher who believed in imminent return of Xst.
(vii) He was an enthusiast.

"All this that is peculiar to our apostle is often lost sight of. His teaching makes a large proportion of the N.T., and the notion, that every word is infallible, and due to the direct inspiration - not to say, express dictation - of the Supreme Being, has caused many of St. Paul's opinions, which were really due to his particular character and ~~cir~~ circumstances, - such as

239 those about celibacy, indifference to the world &c., to be embalmed, like flies in amber, in the rich stream of spiritual thought and devout or feeling, which flows from his pen! Those of mine, however, are not matters of indifference.

No 11 8/7/66

"Render under Caesar etc."

127/8 A superficial dichotomy. Necessary.
Xst did not mean that what was Caesar's was not God's. or that ~~man~~ part of man's life is abstracted for political allegiance. And we should give

{[A theme form & substance / appearance & essence
cf. p. 122. transitory / eternal
p. 128 knowledge helps to decide what is what }

allegiance to the State for its reps. God.

129 [The Question of rising against an oppressor is a difficult one but there is no difficulty as far as the British Empire is concerned where power is exercised" - professedly at least for the benefit of all". [Bulk of Sermon praise of democratic elements in Brit. constitution which reflects the democracy of Xst. We are responsible only to our Conscience.

No 12 8/7/66.

[A continuation of 10. Apply detail of Paul's life to our own. A long sermon / many many points.

138 Xstianity removes man from the centre } "Thou art not, O man the centre of the Universe "An unceasing attraction towards thy true centre besets and will distort and tear thee to pieces, unless thou art placed where thou canst revolve obediently around Him and bask in His Smile."

140 Each Xstian his own Priest

140 (*) God = Sun - we can't look / understand it & yet we see its glory

St Paul's doctrine is simple - his terminology the opposite
It is not baptism, sacramental grace, mediation of priest
but Faith in Xst.

p. 143. "To live, then, in the spirit of Christ, is to realise devoutly the constant presence of the Living God; — to recognise habitually, in the daily practice of life, the Fatherhood of God and the Brotherhood of Man, — and to witness at all cost for the Truth

p. 146. JWC aware of the misery of the world - (& theological controversy) and looks forward to the time when they will be explained. [A retreat here from real problems]

13. 15/7/60

"Except a man be born of water & of the Spirit, he cannot enter into the Kingdom of God." John iii 5

His thinking on Universalism -

Nicodemus & Xst were speaking w/o & a witness.
Phby not written by John but in C2. ∴ we don't know the source.
Luke is v. different from other Gospels.
Xst is very abrupt as reported.
Disciples had/shared conception of Messiah & Kingdom of God. - i.e. a new Jewish Caesar.
What he means is that a spiritual birth is needed - not baptism.
God is always ready to all of us
We have already entered the Kingdom of God
We have it with us here and it is renewed all the time The Quote is symbolic language.

158 like 'eating his flesh and drinking his blood."

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No 14 15/7/66

~~He Unity on Atonement~~

Who is the Wicked One - the Man of Sin

He Does not accept either Romanist or Protestant view

161 No sympathy with those who try + construct views of the future from the Bible. Based on a view of the infallibility of the Bible.

Modern Crit. gives a clue. Shows Links of Epistle to Book of Daniel.

162 [critical investigation dates Daniel to 165 BC.

ODCC "The consensus of modern critical opinion is that it dates from 166-165 BC.

Paul was thinking (pkly) of Daniel - perhaps Xst had drawn attention to them - + perhaps

164 reminded by contemporary events against the Jewish religion.

But the Wicked One hasn't come - nor the Son of Man as was expected.

166. But throughout History at times of crisis people have expected great floods etc end of the world. Geologists show they have happened.

Also that the Flood ~~were~~ wasn't historically true -

167 ~~and~~ God does not intervene in this way]

168 Not by earthquake, and the storm, and the fire, but by the still-small voice is that judgment uttered,

[God speaks to men - through their hearts etc etc]

169 [Examines Paul's teaching. Who does he say shall not inherit the K of G. One who act in an evil way - drunkards, fornicators etc

Not on questions of faith. He does

171 not excommunicate for false doctrine.

172 We should attempt to acquire the Truth about

religion. To hold false views affects our relations with Man & God. This is why it is impossible to receive Light of any ~~[illegible]~~ kind. We must receive the truths of Modern Science ~~[illegible]~~ as much as] "the doctrinal teaching of the Bible; nay, more so, for in these facts of Science, which do not depend upon the mental quality of the discover, but, once revealed to us can be seen by all intelligent minds to be true, — in these facts, ... we have God Himself in His works revealing Himself directly to us." [In the Epistles of Paul & Peter we have] "revelations of Divine Truth, but repeated, as it were, through the minds of ~~[illegible]~~ these our fellowmen, and in some cases certainly, as in respect of the Second coming of Christ, described by passing through this human medium."

[Savagery, bad education, lack of intelligence, timidity] "a modest reverence for the authority
/173/ of the Church /173 — all these things may interfere
~~172~~ to bar out the light of scientific truth from the minds of very many." [Only God can judge these cases. But if rejection is accompanied by moral delinquency, calumny somethy is wrong and will be judged.]

"On doctrinal, as well as scientific, matters we must always be ready to be learners, [that we may know God & his works more clearly.] ~~[illegible]~~ [But there is Moral Truth which we know in our hearts which we must obey or we'll be judged. Theologians might differ for ever & but we know that Xst ~~[illegible]~~ come to bear witness for the Truth

No 15. 22/7/66 [— Brings in the important themes — Universalism
— the spirit (it) — faith/reason

[An eloquent expression of his universalism → what is humanity — man more than a cunning animal.

18/2/44 177 The Savage & Child have (it) — but need the bible too.
Xtions have (it) + Bible knowledge etc
What of the Utilitarian / the Materialist

179 History shows Man is always searching

179-180 The Distinction between Faith & Reason — clearly put [we know God ! we believe in ~~history~~ facts]

GOD'S VOICE

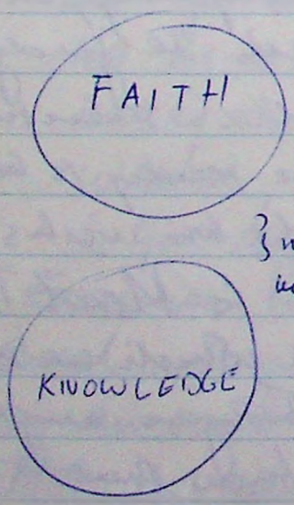
not blind credulity

FAITH
|
defines MAN — extinguished smothered dormant — GODIS
|
The faculty to discern spiritual thys. & good, etc. — convictual

SCIENCE

the senses

KNOWLEDGE
|
discerned by the senses — no reasoning
|
more or less true — believe



} no intersection ∴ no conflict
no challenge of F by K — different hemisphere

Box 13 has
packets 33, 34, 35, 36
Box 14,
packets 37, 38, 39

Natal Archives 15 June 1981.

Carl Faye papers ~~Box 14 & 15~~ 13 & 14, & examined
Info. from Inventory Colenso Collection.

b. 24-1-14.

1831 to Dortmouth. Sept 1832 ? St Johns. 1836 2nd Wrangler. 1837 Fellow
1839. Deacon + Maths tutor, Harrow. 1841 returned to Cambridge.
1842 met SFB. 1843 engaged. 8-1-46 married.

C.F. papers. Box (14)
Packet 37 Undated letters
Packet 38 Many letters dated. Jan. 1843 but most from 1845.
19/5/45 - "... I have followed your wish, so far as to write to Mr. Maurice, & make enquiries about the duty at Guy's, and (with a little reservation through the sudden change in my views) have offered myself for his helper.
11/5/45 from Guy's. I have found... five or six long letters from S.T.C. so delightfully metaphysical & incomprehensible to me, that I am sure you will enjoy them.
Pkt 39. 1846-8.

Box 13. Pkt 33. 1842. First letter 8 July 1842. [Much better ordered & clearer]. 28/9/42. Visiting the north "factory visiting" in Lofbaston, where the poor are better off.] "affecting to exhibit generally more intelligence + respectability than the mere human machines of the great Cotton Towns."

He's examining

34 Jan-June 1843 } Nearly all from
35 July-Dec 1843 } St Johns. ~~In Man~~
36) 1844. In Manchester in April

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Col. Collection Box 5

SFC to Miss Bell.

17/2/67 - Bishopstowe: "Sometimes I feel sick of the struggle, of constant uncertainty - & yet every step has been a victory ... ~~Mrs~~ Mr. S. took some pains to convert us to "Browning". You should have seen us one evening on the verandah in the moonlight, looking towards Table Mountain & Mr S with the lamp on a little table just within the window reading Browning to us till we were all wrought up to a high pitch Fanny indeed with a flood of tears after the reading was over [writes the same news as to the Lyells - F's figure developed

17/7/69. "I was delighted to hear of my dear Fan's being with you...

undated [Your bro. James - what stomp Mansion - if JWC] "were not too intently occupied to speak or be spoken too [sic], I should not be writing at this moment".

[These letters are muddled - some are written from England]

[One's like fancy Mr M. Archdeacon of Natal.]

"I am glad indeed to hear such a good account of our dear Fanny. She is now quite ~~impregnable~~ impregnated with Wuington ideas, in harmony will all around here there - She will have to learn to give up her own will [?] a home!

[Thought Fanny] very good in the summer holidays & all she wants now is diligence, & a sufficient desire for knowledge to make her redress her time — Heard nothing about headache or backache in Wales from her. She is growing towards the

critical age now, & ~~if~~ the narrowness & underwhelmedness of her figure make me a little anxious about her — But it is no use fretting before the time.

[Wales-Conway] "Fanny is a great pet here . . . her perfectly free & natural manner amuses them all. Dearst it's present disfigurement is felt more than at home, & for herself it makes her even more ~~retiring~~ retiring than she would otherwise be"

~~Corlyle~~ "& brought back with them Mr Corlyle for a cup of tea!.

Col. Col. Box 5 cont. Under. To C. J. Bunyon

"To Mama - from John June 15th 1843

Mother of that dear Maiden, whose fond heart
To make the partner of my pilgrimage
Shall I not call thee Mother, & engage
A child's affection, bearing thus my part
Among those loved ones, who, with gentle art
Whispers sweet welcomes to thy day of birth?
Long years have passed, since once I loved on Earth
A form like thine, & I have lived apart
Midst rough & rugged things, & felt ~~the~~ the smart
Of solitary cares amidst ye crowd
And haply may ye dim of uproar loud
In life's fierce struggle, & ye boisterous mart
Of worldly tongues, have dulled my spirit's sense
And checked, ye low soft times of joyous innocence.
. . . . . .

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Kilke Campbell
Col. Coll. Folio 1A.

[Inside Airmail letter from Irma Crovo - KC. 28 May 1950 with extracts from letters from her father i.e. Frank. First one on JWC's great work for Zulu. Then on 2 Jan 1979 FEC threatened to "disown" Frank if he accepted commission in Durnford's Horse.]

[[Various packets in state of some disorder. But folio no. + letter no. + heading & date are given if future copying is necessary - remember the numbering is often out of place]].

J.W.C to Bleek B'stone 4-9-81 A.136
[[TS in K.C. copy. Interesting letter begins with veld fire in which he is nearly ~~[illegible]~~ suffocated then this: the whole letter is worth copying]]
"My dear Bleek, ... I thank you most heartily for your letter, with every word of which I cordially agree - But I must talk this matter out with you, & shall fully hope to see you in November or earlier. I do go for beyond Jowett & Co - It seems to me they have no standing ground. Rather, I should say I feel certain that I shall go - for as yet I confine my stories to the Pentateuch - but that I am convinced is a series of fables - at the most, legends - about as reliable as Tennyson's account of the doings of the Court of King Arthur. I have written half of a tolerably [?] large book but I shall publish nothing, nor preach more freely than I have always done, till I go,

please God, to England. My present idea is not to resign my office - but to print my 'Notes on the Pentateuch' which tear the whole story to pieces in such a way, that (as far as I can see) no reasoning man can refute/& refuse to follow; & then to challenge the Church of England upon the question, whether it will maintain as Sacred Truth a palpable falsehood. And I am by no means sure that up to this point I shall have committed myself to a breach of any of the Laws of the Church. But then I see plainly enough that this really involves the whole Doctrine of the Church. If the evidence is false, as I believe, from beginning to end, it will be hard to maintain that the Gospel is true. Still I do not wish to enter at present on the consideration of this latter question at all. I shall wait to see if any answer can be given to my book on the Pentateuch - & most thankful should I be if an effectual & complete one could be given. My own feeling is that the 'Essayists & Reviewers' must go on with me - and I must confess I anticipate (not of course from my work's but from the whole movement now begun) a complete revolution in the religious tone/ tone/ of England. But our Church is far less tolerant than yours. Perhaps, as regards outward pains and penalties it gives as much licence as possible. But then it binds the conscience by formularies, which make it impossible for me to think of remaining in it ultimately. Even now, I cannot ordain an excellent native (William, you know him) because Mr. Gribble, my Sr [?] Chaplain, objects that

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he cannot conscientiously present him to me for Ordination, inasmuch as Wm. cannot say that 'he unfeignedly believes all the Canonical scriptures'. The fact is, of course, that he knows nothing of the genealogies in Chronicles, & other pieces of O.T. History - though he has translated the whole of the N.T. & great [?] of the old - and I will be bound to say understands them for better than the majority of our English Deacons. I was not sorry when Mr. Grubb said this - for then I had begun to feel difficulties myself, which I had not when I first thought of ordaining him. But now I read (about 3 weeks ago) the first chapters of my book to Mr. Grubb - who is a most excellent pious Evangelical clergyman - now Archdeacon in the room of Bp. Mackenzie - and he, also before had been, I should have said, a Bibliolater, - I remember he once differed strongly from me about the 'gift of tongues', taking the literal view of that event - as I went on, broke completely down in his opposition, &, at last, utterly stunned, admitted that my arguments were unanswerable. He is now, I expect, deep in this question himself. But he is the only one of the clergy of Natal, whom I wd. trust with any such confidence.

A ~~135~~ JWC to Bleek. 31 Jan 1862 B'stowe

[Has simplified the chapter as Bleek suggested. Is sending him sheets. Argument is heavy but cannot be lightened

A ~~136~~

A 137 26 Dec 1854
[Time of sailing]
A 138 3 Sept 1855
A 139 15 June 1856 - [I stood yet on bowls of Th]
A ~~139~~ 140 18 Oct 1856 Some of these at least in Spohr.
A 141 29 Oct 1856
A 142 2 March 1857
A 143 6 Aug 1857
A 144 29 Jan 1858 Collecting oral tracts.
A 145 1 April 1858 Matrona - TS innocent.
A 146 3 Aug. 1858
A 147 5 July 1861 Come and stay

"I want to talk with you about some things, which you will hardly expect - & which I hardly care to write about - But my labours in translation have compelled me to open my eyes to certain undeniable facts in regard to the Hebrew Scriptures, which have obliged me to take a totally different view of them from what I once did. This will be enough for you. If you come up, I will say more to you. Do not of course, mention this to any one. I shall probably, some day, speak out for myself. At present, I am deep in Ewald, with whom, however, I do not generally agree."

A 148 1 March 1862

"Will you kindly see if ~~you~~ it is possible to 'buy, borrow, [or steal] for me in Capetown a book lately published in England, 'Aids to Faith', a series of Theological Essays in answer to Essays & Reviews." .... Possibly Juta may have it...

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A 149 20 March 1862.

[Book finished - sent to friend for publication if anything happens to me.] "In any case I am rather disposed, at present, to print this first volume by itself.

A 150 2 Nov 1861

[Acks. father's book;

See opp for A 151

A 152 29 July 1861

[I have never seen De Wette - barely with Germon]

" I fully expect that the views which I now feel compelled to take of the Scriptures will seriously affect my position in life - in one word, will send me adrift in a few months time to seek bread for my family by the sweat of my brow in some employment or other, of what kind I cannot at this time conjecture. I tell you this in confidence, ~~... indeed~~ and of course, I do not with a syllable breathed about it to anyone at present. Indeed, the step, if I am obliged by regard to truth to take it, is such a formidable one at my time of life and with wife and five children wholly depending on my daily labours, a distressing step to contemplate, that I feel bound to give myself due time for the full consideration of the questions involved, and shall not commit myself in any way till I reach England. ...

[Romans] will cause trouble but "~~X~~ nothing to what will follow]

A153 ? a note to someone

A155

A151 7 Dec 1858

A158 10 Aug 1854

"I have just heard from our common friend, Mr Maurice, that you are in London, & are much interested in the languages of Africa. . . ."

In another packet

A47 1/2/66 "My dear Friend" ? Bleek's wife?

A48 2/6/66 . . . . Bleek's wife?

"My first series of Cathedral Sermons is now being republished in England . . . I wish indeed that I could be near you to have some conversation with yourself & your sisters. It would not be possible, I suppose, for any or all of you with Wilhelm to come up to us for a change? We have plenty of room, one way or another.

With my love to them all

I am ever yours affly.

J. W. Natal.

A50 30? Jun? 9 1865

A51 2 Jan 1866 → A52. 5/3/86

A53 2 Apr. 1866 [Sermons of Easter 1866 the most difficult of the year]

A54 6 Apr. 1866

A55 4 May 1866

A56 30 June 1866 Ascension.

A57 1 August 1866

A58 6 Sept 1866

A59 13 Oct 1866

A60 10 Nov 1866

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A61 10 Dec 1866
A62 9 Jan 1867
A63 9 Feb 1867. My dear Bleek. Please post Gray's Pastoral to:-
W. Shaew, 8 Bedford Row London
J. F Stephen Paper Building, Temple, London
J. Westlake New Square Lincoln's Inn
E. Charles Stone Bgs Lincoln's Inn
W. H. Domville 15 Gloucester Crescent Hyde Park
Dean of Westminster
Bishop of London
G. W. Cox,
Bishop of St Davids
H. B. Wilson.
Sir Charles Lyell Harley St
Miss Burdett Coutts Holly Lodge
Rajah Brooke Windham Club
Eds. of Times, Spectator
J. W. C., Tommasen, G. Robinson, Addington
A64 10 April 1867
A65 20 April 1867
A66 8 May 1867
A67 6 June 1862 +
A68 3 July 1862 +
A69 9 Aug 1867
A70 9 Oct 1867
A71 25 Oct 1867
A72 11 Nov 1867
A73 9 Dec 1867
A74 a fragment

New envelope

A75. Francis E Colenso to Bleek 9 March 1870 Salop.
A76 Codicil to will of John Perry 9 Jan 1870

£2000 "in token of my admiration of his manly and resolute resistance of bigotry & intolerance . .

A77 19 Jan 1869
A78 20 March 1869
A79 17 April 1869
A80 20 Aug 1870
A81 12 Sept 1870
A82 8 Aug 1870
A83 22 Oct 1870

". . . I must most heartily congratulate you & your fellow countrymen on the success so justly gained by the German Arms in this most unjustifiable war. Poor Napoleon! one must pity him [the Fellow French] & the unhappy French people, whom his detestable policy has dragged into such misery, & alas! many a German home too has been made desolate, and all to support his ridiculous dynasty! I Kinnear]

A84 11 Nov 1872
A85 10 Oct 1872
A86 6 Jan 1872
A87 21 Dec 1871
A88 21 Nov 1871
A89 22 Jul 1871
A90 19 Sept 1872 [Death of Grey]

"I need hardly say that I cannot quite forget the old relations in which I stood to him, notwithstanding the internecine conflict which he waged against me during the last ten years - that in fact that he was my friend become my most determined adversary leaves for me the solemnity of this announcement."

A91 14 May 1871
A92 20 July 1872

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A 93 18 June 1872.
A 94 20 April 1872
A 95 20 Jan 1872
A 97A 14 Sept 1871
A 98 16 Jan 1868
A 99 18 Feb 1868
A 100 9 March 1868

My dear Bleek I send you a copy or two of my translations of the First Book of the Pilgrims Progress, which has just been printed at this Station. The second Part is in progress: but my time is so much interrupted and ~~[illegible]~~ (?) with other labours that I can only move slowly with it. However this is the only book, which has been issued for the benefit of the natives, as far as I know, in this colony for some years past. Dr. Callaway's books concern the white people more. Perhaps a ~~[illegible]~~ kindly writer might say a few words on my behalf in one of the Cape Papers - knowing that this has been my work while my brothers have been at the Pan Anglican - and also perhaps asking whether Bps Gray & Colenso & Twells have done anything of the kind - and also whether they can they can afford to put an extinguisher upon me, when so very few ~~[illegible]~~ can translate ~~[illegible]~~ at all."

A 101 9 April 1868
A 102 9/4/68
A 103 6 May 1868

"We have not yet seen Darwin's book; but it has been ordered, & will reach us, I hope,

in due season. But I think you rather underrate the estimate formed of him in England. I assure you he ranks very high indeed with all whose opinion is worth anything – at least, as far as I know them – e.g. Lyell, Huxley, & the /? whole lot ?/ of philosophers.

A105 8 July 1868
A106 20 July 1868
A107 23 July 1868
A108 3 Aug 1868
A110 9 Sept 1868
A111 20 Sept 1868
A112 24 Oct 1868
A113 18 Nov 1868
A114 13 Feb 1869
A115 27 March 1869
A116 21 Dec 1869
A117 21 Jan 1870
118A 22 Feb 1870
A119 20 March 1870
A120 23 June 1870
A121 7 July 1870
A122 20 Dec 1870 20 Dec 1870 (~~Letter~~ On the capture of a Burman family) ("sacrificed to the cause of civilization")
A123 17 Jan 1871
A124 20 Feb 1871
A125 28 Feb 1871
A126 22 March 1871
A127 20 May 1871
A128 25 June 1871
A129 18 Aug 1871

"Thanks for your note, & for giving my letter with the Argus.

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A 130 16 Oct 1871
A 132 Note
A 133 8 Feb 1872
A 134 22 Oct 1872.

Another packet

A1 5 Nov 1863 23 Sussex Place, Kensington
A2 9 Jan 1865 ..
~~A3~~ 4 June 1863
A4 Bill of Lading ..
~~A5.~~ 4 Oct 1862. ..
~~A6~~ 3 June 1864 ..
~~A7~~ Kneeman to JWC 23/6/83
Thanks for Parts I-III
[Reads, but does not speak or write English
A8. 11 to Miss Jemima
A 12 to Gray 5 Oct 1863
A13 30 June 1864
~~A14~~ 2 March 1863
~~A15~~ Feb 1863
"I believe the New Reformation has begun" — but two or three weeks will show more plainly, when the effect of my Second Book is begining to be felt.
~~A16~~ 4 Sept 1862 [Fears final break with Maurice]
A17 4 Nov 1862
~~A18~~ 4 Jan 1863, ?
"... while / were schools / re Mathew Arnold
~~A19~~ 6 April 1863
~~A20~~ 30 April 1863
~~A21~~ 4 July 1863
[Things much better. My Preface to Part III has had its impact.]
"Let it ooze out in the Hyres, if you can,

that the general expectation in England is that the Bp. of Natal will take no notice of the citation."

A22 4 Aug 1863
A23 29 Aug 1863
A24 5 Oct 1863
A25 5 Dec 1863
A26 29 Jan 1864
[May thanks for all you've done - a long unbroken letter.
A27 5 April 1864
A28. Memo.
A29 29 Feb 1864
A30 4 May 1864
A31 6 June 1864
A32 5 July 1864 [Knewer been to stay]
A33 2 Sept 1864
A34 4 Oct 1864
A35 5 Nov 1864
A36 9 Dec 1864

(ordered A1-35, 135, 136, 147, 148, 149, 150, 152.)

III /16/ 185.

[Another vivid example of his thinking. Begins with an extended version of the Teleological argument quoting from the Peoples Pent - awed by History & Time / Geology. Now extends this into Human History & the writing of the Bible. Modern Criticism task - by revealing the chronology of the Bible will reveal more clearly the Progress of Man. (189) Christianity the finest part (culmination) of History.

Primitive men had funeral rites

The Bible - Christianity - supports Science

192 Reference to social Science

193 This world is one of disappointments - but God knows best.

III /17/ 196 29-7-66

[Apostles expected end of the world but we are children of (19) and know better

We have a sense of geological time

We have a clearer sense of the History of the Jews because we don't see OT as the Ref J.

What is man? What is the Universe? Is there life on the planets? What is History? 210 Imagination is true man history

the Ans

An interesting & eloquent sermon.

III /18/ 208

On Elijah - OT criticism

O Luther - the modern Elijah

On Science

III /19/ 222 5-8-66

For a simple straightforward Xstianity - get rid of the Pagonism & Medieval practices which still stick - including excommunication. Directorium Anglicum.

III/20/233 5/8/66 Fuller's love – its 'D because its H
[Put your faith in God the father.

III/21/242 12/8/66. On Universalism – heathen = idiots

III/22/254 missionaries, progress & evolution: every Xstian a Missionary

III/23/265. The journey to Athens by Paul – to the Unknown God
Greek poet. Simple preaching cf. Rome. / Uses progressive thinkers

III/24/ Cont. See how Paul (unlike modern missionaries) uses
Greek customs. His Universalism –

278 "... there is an instinct of worship, a reverence for the Unseen,
a desire for that which is good, amongst every tribe and people
under heaven." Quotes Athenagoras

280 Fulminates against those who call those in the van
of progress "heretics, infidels, atheists"
The Stoic and the Epicurean – in modern time
The Idea of God.

284. The notion of struggle – (Darwin?) as necessary

III/25/ 26/8/66 God as the God of a Nation
Jewish – a covenant. Xst no conditions
Rejects the 2nd Article.

III/26 26/8/66 [Bad translation – love, not love of God
Soldier sathes missionary, nurse lay down their lives.]
[Description of the squalor of industrialisation.

304 "How much wretchedness there still is in this motherland, unremedied,
unsoothed alas! uncared for! Advanced civilisation, ~~and~~ ...
seems to have brought heathen darkness, and misery ...
We must follow example of Xst.
In praise of Socrates and Plato. Cyril of Alexandria,
and Hypatia

end of III

261

Series IV
Series IV

IV/1

IV/1 2/9/66 [Descriptions of degraded society/behaviour in Israel can be found in modern times — from daily newspapers

---

Something is going on: look at these dates —
1866 June 29: 10,000 demonstrate against defeat of Reform Bill
±19 July: The Hyde park demonstration
thus newspaper accounts would reach Natal? late August.

3ff *[If a gulf develops between ~~Rel~~ ministers of Religion & Science and History] "what can we expect in an age of steady progression but a great disruption of faith in many minds"...
"... when the false prophet and the ambitious priest have thus indoctrinated the multitude, swayed by self-interest alone, intent only on securing their own safety, here in this world from revolutionary violence, there in the other world from the punishment of some kind, which conscience tells them they deserve, and brought them to a state of determined opposition to any new light, which the progress of the race — say rather, which the Will of God controlling all events of human destiny — may bring to us, what will be the end, the issue? Instead of Reformation effected with good will, with judgement, with a considerate care for the weak of the flock, we must expect a Revolution, bursting out through all barriers, and laying low, together with abuses, much that is truly venerable and precious."

cf III/286 [Truth] "is to be taught, for the sake of its desirable effects in keeping men quiet and clean, orderly and industrious"
[It came in the past and we must wish to stop it coming here — not by extending the past but by seeking God.]

At this time he is working on the Book of Jeshua

2/9/66

IV/2. Our prophets ~~are~~ are our author preaches scientists & newspapers
We shouldn't have priests but ministers. Ailaks
Tractorious. Religion is not an escape

18 Gives example of what happens when prophets & priests fail.
[Is Coleman saying? hoping? this is happening in England?]
The French Rev. esp. the Reign of Terror
[No he explicitly denies it but ... is on his mind]
[Ends optimistically]

IV/3 9/9/66
Outward signs of religion ~~or~~ circumcision
The Idea of God
The Son of Man

24: ~
beyond our grasp but we can see him in
1) warmth, human feeling
2) blessing little ones
3) mothers love
4) pitying, helping comforting, teaching warning.

What Humanity could be!

Quotes Stanley.
The three new lessons of Stanley (iii) relations with others.

IV/4 9/9/66 [On reformers: St Paul, Luther; and reformers have to be careful because of genuine attachment to tradition. and then on to Biblical Criticism.
← The young man who committed suicide.
What is the new faith — good summary (i) a living God in time & space (ii) a father (iii) trust only in him (iv) & for all people. (v) revealed by men esp J.C.

An important statement

IV/V. All are saved 16/9/66

IV/6 16/9/66 →
IV/7 21/10/66 Septuagint = Greek V.. || E.V ← Hebrew
Most destroy concept of infallibility.

IV/8 21/10/66 Sacrifice - Sin - Atonement - To state it is to refute it. He suffered for our sake - not in our place
And as he suffered for us we must suffer for our Brothers.

IV/9 28/10/66 ~~that~~ Desire for Unity in the Church
Attacks those who excommunicate for heresy.
Synods, Convocations & Councils
(A History of the Church in fact)
In praise of the Established Church of England, and against the Church of South Africa.

IV/10 28/10/66 - continues the theme of Unity. Unity does not mean the same opinion - because
(i) Ages differ - (ii) different rates of progress (iii) different temperaments of different people (IV) "Some are meant to follow, others to lead

IV/11 4/11/66 On progress History & evolution
"We are Xstians of the 19.

IV/12 4/11/66 'At the centre of the Universe there sits - not a Deaf, Blind, Heartless, Fate - there sits our Father."

IV/13 11/11/66 Text. 1 Pet ii 17. Honour all men: love the brotherhood: for God: honour the king.
[Ends with patriotic panegyric.]

IV/14 18/11/66 [History of death of Xst - Miracle

IV/15 25/11/66 Prophecy in OT Divinity of Xst.
Text Lesson in N.T. criticism.

Luther - anti-original sin

p 157 A piece of biography! & reveals that he laboured under orthodoxy.

"'O sir! I don't know what you mean: I only know that God is with me all day long.' . . .

I went away silenced, humbled, edified, and feeling that, for the child to throw itself upon its Father's Bosom, is all that is really needed between our souls and the Lwy God.

IV/16 2/12/66 2nd Coming & Judgment.

IV/17 2/12/66 OT Criticism on "prophecy"

IV/18 9/12/66 The Fallibility of the Scripture — and the way men have used them — Galileo's confession. Contemporary examples

IV/19 Attacks Athanasian Creed. History converges to birth of Xst & then starts afresh.

IV/20 ~~Baptism~~ Disappointment - God supports you.

Maurice

176 "the lucubrations of nebulous professors who, if they could persuade the public to read their writings, would go far to realise that eternal punishment which they deny

... I have always thought that there was more intellectual power wasted in Maurice than in any other of my contemporaries. Few of them certainly had so much to waste.

[Gay's intellectual and physical handicaps are almost the only adverse criticisms which can be made of him.]

Natal Society 26/8/81

~~Foo~~

Fowler C. H., Colenso's Fallacies: another Review of the Bishop of Natal by Rev. C. H. Fowler, A. M. with an introductory essay and review of part II by Rev. Henry Bannister D. D.

Cincinnati, 1864

8 [As Germans reject critic. Anglo-Saxons are taking it up. "Is it because the Anglo-Saxon mind is so dull, and perceives so slowly, that it begins at this late day to awake into a high interest in what the Teutons are casting away as ~~so~~ stale and sapless? Or is our language so wanting in depth and tone as to keep our ideas floating on the surface till they receive a large infusion of spirit and thought from the Fatherland of Speculation? Don't know, neither of these. An unquestionable

good reason is, that with institutions civil, social, and commercial, to create and perpetually to hold, we deal almost solely with the practical and the concrete; willing, for the most part, to leave deductions from the sphere of the critical and the abstract to the meditations of our less busy neighbours.

[Some argue it is to do with freedom - that spirit of inquiry is not allowed - only partly true - the "reformers" are the greatest dogmatists . . .

12 "This is the goal which Bishop Colenso would surely reach, if it were possible, to unmake him from his constitutional tendency to think always in the concrete."

[Attacks the idea of Universal religion within the C of E

14-15 "Does it become Colenso and his school to utter their groans about intolerance? If you are in your citadel, and some of your men lay trains to fire your magazine simply to level the walls which divide and defend you from your foes, because, as they in their wisdom deem it, the occasion for defensive measures no longer /is/ exists, which, between yourself and your conspirators, would be the intolerant man? In a light like to this we can not but regard the case of Bishop Colenso. He will not resign; he can not heed friendly counsel to retire; he defies civil and ecclesiastical action; he will be a martyr, if he must be; or if not dealt with he shall batter away still on the bulwarks of the Church.

26 [You can confidently state that this a tawdry, slovenly libel, ducks the question - clearly rubbish]

There is nothing new in his writings - its all been dealt with before in answering the rationalists
He is assaulting the bible - dangerous - and he will be answered -

[And the book is extraordinary - sentimental & malicious he is a mad, imbecile, and heretic. E.G.

32 "The truth of the Bible.] "This opens /33/ into the wide field of evidence, which I do not purpose to repeat here. They are familiar to every scholar. I only refer to this point to lay forward Colenso's true character.
~~Races with~~ Foolish foolish book

33 "If we are better without this book, why have not the Zulus sent out missionaries, before the coming of Colenso, to convert Christendom?

38 Claiming to be a disciple, he not only sells the bond for "thirty pieces of silver," but also joins the guard in casting lots for his garment *
* He has served £30,000 from the sale of this book, and still refuses to resign his bishopric."

Chapter II attacks his character
III implications for NT
IV Assists that the 5x is true
V Eminent geologist Edward Hitchcock DD says geology & the bible do agree - if 5x story of creation is taken symbolically
[Merely states this
Flood could have been a miracle
71 " Who shall prescribe limits to the exercise of omnipotence

Davidson, R.T. Life of Archibald Campbell Tait Archbishop of Canterbury (London, 1891), 2 Vols
on W. Benham

ii 305 "On Thursday at Lambeth, Ara. an interview with Colenso. He was with me for about an hour, and stated his views of the way in which the natives were treated by the colonists, and his thankfulness at having convinced Lord Carnarvon that the natives had been shamefully used. He pointed out incidentally how the line he had taken in this matter must separate him from all his present friends among the colonists.

Photocopied

First Lessons in Science. Designed for the use of Children and Adult Natives.
Ekukanyeni, 1861 2nd Edition

Preface. "The Lessons were originally written for the use of a class of native adults, who were learning to read English. It seemed desirable that they 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 dog.

Part II 2nd Edition Different from 1st

"And, if we are asked 'For what, then, were the Plants made?' we may answer, with a wise and good man (Coleridge), 'perhaps to make dirt cheap', that is, if they are made for no other reason, they may have been made to show how little [in the eye of god] "are mere masses of matter ... compared with one living man ..."

Chadwick, O, The Victorian Church, I & II 270.94208
Martin Davies, W, An Introduction to F.D. Maurice's Theology 230.29
B. Willey, Nineteenth Century Studies, London, 1950: 820.9008
G. Kitson Clark, The Making of Victorian England 942.08.
F.D. Maurice Theological Essays 230.04.
R.D. Altick Victorian People and Ideas 942.081
L.E. Elliott-Binns Religion in the Victorian Era 270.94208
J.R.H. Moorman A History of the Church in England 270.942
R. Williams Culture and Society. 301.2.
B. Willey, More Nineteenth Century Studies, 820.9008
The Cambridge History of the Bible 220.09 CAM
L. Trilling Matthew Arnold 821-89.
Milton Bantam and Coleridge 824.89.
The New Cambridge Modern History XIII 940.2. CAM
David-Hillel Ruben Marxism and Materialism 121 RUB
The English Mind 170.942 Dav.
D. Stacey, Interpreting the Bible 220.6. STA
R. Williams. The English Novel 823.809 WIL
P. Hinchliff The Anglican Church in South Africa 283.68 HIN
J. Carmichael & D. Jones An introductory Reader in the Philosophy of Religion 200 CAR
J.W. de Gruchy The Church Struggle in South Africa 276.8 DEG.
J.S. Mill Autobiography 192 MIL.
Dawson & Pfordresher Matthew Arnold Prose Writings 828.809 MA 7

Judith Ennew "The material of reproduction: an anthropological view on medical maternalism and kinship", Economy & Society

273 The Chapter on Natal:

Begin with Village Sermons: by so doing (i) prs chapter(s) have one theme - money & ideas. Natal chapter can have as a binding idea a Conservative/Universalist/ in a colony: at the beginning: the practical educationalist: the changes in his ideas (i) the pentateuch (ii) the possibility efficacy of mass conversion Political Economy of Natal Needed. ∴ Suggested plan.

The Colours of Village Sermons Conservative Maximum

His enthusiasm of Ten Weeks

Shepstone and the Political Economy of Natal

The family Bishoptsowe and the enthusiasm of the west

His achievements - translations: Grammar: text books

The problems which arise

1 275

1843

Date	Place	No
5 January 1843	Taunton	1
9 January 1843	SJC	2
19 January 1843		3
25 January 1843		4
[2 February 1843]		5
undated		
undated		
7 February 1843		5
9 February 1843		6
15 February 1843		7
23 February 1843		8
2 March 1843		
19 March 1843		9
22 March 1843		10
29 March 1843		11

29 April 1843 12

6 April 1843 13

20 April 1843 Slavery 14

27 April 1843 SJC 15

7 May 1843 16.

11 May 1843 17

16 May 1843 18

2 June 1843 19

6 June 1843 20

10 June 1843 21

16 June 1843 22

26 June 1843 +023

nodate

6 July 1843

1843

19 July 1843

21 July 1843

24 July 1843

7 August 1843

11 August 1843

18 August 1843

22 August 1843

27 August 1843

29 August 1843

2 September 1843

5 September 1843

9 September 1843

9 October 1843

17 October 1843
18 October 1843

25 October 1843
27 October 1843
30 October 1843

9 November 1843

19 November 1843

28 November 1843

8 December 1843
9 December 1843
10 December 1843

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5-1-82

Natal Archives Colenso Collection.

Box 1. 4 packets 1 folder. 1 Diary for 1870. 1 Diary for 1871

Folder "re. Church Lands."
[Seen - fairly technical].

Diary for 1870

[He is writing to Rev. A.D. Graham, Ringwood,
Domville, Jowett, Longmor, E.V.C., Gross, Heywood
6 Palace Gardens, Bleek.
[21 Jan. 1870: Writing to F.E. Colenso, Domville, Jowett, C.J.B.
S. Shorte. Maynard, H. Wilson.
Interesting - you could construct a year from it

Diary for 1871.

14/2/71 Eng Mail
S. Hall, 3 Highway Pk. G., Westcote.
CJB. Thos. Scott. Mount Pleasant Ramsgate.
Rev. G.O. Corbet, A.D. Graham, Ringwood Hantshire.
Writs continually to Graham

~~Envelope~~ Pch.
Folder. Letters Despatched 1849-1867

J.W. Colenso to "My dear Sir" Forncett 6/8/49.
[Refuses pupil - too many already.]

to "My dear Frank," 13/11/50 Forncett.
[Starting butterfly collection].
[another letter of 25/6/51 - a pupil?

Letter to Vestry man of St Paul's 18/6/55

to R. Acutt, 10/4/56 reprimanding him for his actions
[A few more on Church matters in the late 1850s]

to Charles B. 8/11/59 [On Zulu visit] (4)

to Windham to Lloyd Sanderson (magazine) Goodcliffe. late 1860s
(squabbling, fighting letters of the late 1860s)

Pht. Letters Despatched 1870-74,
Goodcliffe but mostly Sanderson. [They drop with Longa?

Pht. Letters despatched 1875-1883
to Goodriche 3/2/75 lost a postmonteau.
to Jonsesen. "my dear Dean" a set phily Dean of Grahamstown

Box 2.

Letter Book. Book I. [presented to Frances by her friends
T. Wonwich Brooks & Frederic Elton.
[Detailed keything -
The stay pages are "Extracts" in long hand - could be seen as an ~~for~~ lubro to the later printed extracts.

Then posted authors. Then his correspondence after Longa affairs

p. 83ff has the following

" Private Cape Town. Jan, 5. 1875
My dear lord, I believe you are aware of lord C.'s decision in L.'s case, & the cooperation which he asked

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of the Cape Govt. in the matter. I think it right to inform

[This letter book is a Mid 70s version of "Extracts" + private correspondence - includes a long letter from Froude

118 letters from Froude. Most of these letters are about the treatment of the Khabi
and after p. 200 begins to move into 1878 Zulu interference.
+ Frere correspondence of 1879. (drafts)

End of Vol. contains translation (of Horace?)

Letter Book III [~~Cont fact II~~.] Dates 76 78 79. 80 - 83
Clark Affairs

Letter Book II [Some vol other way round] 76
13/1 5/3/80 [Resigs from Victoria Clubs]

Box 3
Incoming letters from 1853

Packet undated.

Guy Hoofeld
May 20

My dear Mr. Colenso
[Wants a clergyman living in his house, to take many prayers £80 a yr + servant.]

Oct 24

My dear Colenso,

Includes FEC to JWC all X copied

Annexures to letters received. (unstitched)
5/11/83 from Allnut - death of Miss Marsic
Includes letter from ~~[illegible]~~ 76 G. D. J. Schotel.
R. Robertson to J. Sanderson 9/4/77
"I am glad to see that you are taking up the wretched state of Zululand. It is like a tree with rotten roots it needs only a blast to lay it low."
[A Series follows]

Box 4

Packets of letters to Mrs FSColenso - wrongly dated.

Pkt. Mrs SF Colenso letters received 1883-1884 - (and prior to 1883)
E. Bickersteth 13/1/1841 Walton Wore.
From her mother 26/6/55
Lyell, Mary E 9/12/06
Telegram from Dr. Matthews on death of JW?
Other letters.

Letters from JWC to SFC. from 50s 80s
A few from the 1840s

Box 5
to Miss Bell - copied

v83

Lecky, W.E.H., Democracy and Liberty, London, 1899

p. 510, -511 "No change in English life during the latter half of the nineteenth century is more conspicuous than the great enlargement of the range of permissible opinions on religious subjects. Opinions and arguments which not many years ago were confined to small circles and would have drawn down grave social penalties, have become the commonplaces of the drawing-room and of the boudoir. The first very marked change in this respect followed, I think, the publication in 1860 of the Essays and Reviews, and the effect of this book in making the religious questions which it discussed familiar to the great body of educated men was probably by far the most important of its consequences. The power and popularity of the works of Buckle and Renan; the long controversies that followed Bishop Colenso's criticism on the Pentateuch; the worship of Darwin, and their manifest bearing on the received theologies; the gradual infiltration into England of the results that had been arrived at by the Biblical critics of Germany and Holland, have all had a powerful influence, and the tendency has been greatly accelerated by the fashion, which sprang up in England in 1865, of publishing magazines consisting of signed articles by men of most various and opposing opinions

Hooker, M.A. "The Place of Bishop J.W. Colenso in the History of South Africa" MA 1952
Part I General Survey of his life Chapter I / Upto Ordination.

[Name derived from Cornish place Name.

2 "... strain and insecurity of Colenso's youth. His whole life was to be similar. He was never able to bask in the sunshine of comfortable means with a tranquil confidence in his worldly future. Any peace of mind that he was to enjoy, he must achieve in spite of temporal adversities that would never leave him."

[By 1828 father in deep financial trouble
Feb 1831 Mine facing total loss
July 1831 Miners leave workings for wages
1834 Appointed official mine inspector to Duchy of Cornwall. Retired 1849 age of 70-71.

March 1831 Assistant master Mr. Guest's Dartmouth. £20 p.a. 5.30 to 8.30.

1832 St Johns

Pious, visiting the poor in 1830 Pious + practical.

9 "he reached the university ... lonely, humourless, earnest youth, ... little opportunity to enjoy his humour otherwise by social intercourse, because he cannot have been able to afford even the simplest luxuries and because he must have had to work so very hard to earn the grants ..."

10 "Our vegetables are very cold in fact they are generally all consumed by the frost so I am frequently obliged to get a penny worth of potatoes brought me to make up my dinner"
(KC SUC to Mrs Blackmore 20/10/32)

1836. graduated 1837 Fellow

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12 [Poverty + insecurity a clue to late behaviour]

Chapter II. Ordination & Consecration

At 16 decided to go to Church

14. "Dissension is now a mere term, for not half of those that call themselves by that name can say in what they dissent. . . (KC/G2 Colenso to Miss Penny 13/11/30

9 June 1839 made deacon by Bishop of Ely.

1838 to Harrow as mathematical tutor
(Boys taught classical subjects only)
tutors lived in vicinity of school and were paid by individual pupils. Numbers at school dropped & his return to St Johns.

Lonely at Harrow - but preached
Of A$ St J. debt £6,000, income £800 interest £55
Married 8/1/46 St Georges Church Broomsbury
X Copy 17-25

Chapter III
The Background to Colenso's New Angle.

p. 21. HEC After Longs "all the physical fears, all the cowardice, moral and physical, in the colony were evoked against him."

Chapter IV.
Colenso Makes his plans

41. [After the public meeting in Durban 4 days after his arrival JWC wrote to Mumm 4/6/55 KC EB.
"I have sent you ... a newspaper which will show you how my time has partly been taken up, through the absurdity of some good people at Durban who conceived that I had been abusing the Colony, and got up a strong feeling against me — all down Press enabled — as you will see — to put down by a simple statement of the Truth."

~~Copy - p. 42~~ 42. Difficulties with Green

HEC	1847-1932
Robert John	1851-1926
Francis E	1852
FE	1850-1887
A M	1855

p 47
"Quite the master of everyone and yet genre to all"
(Mackenzie Journal p. 6)
"He is a strong clever man, and yet so genre and courteous to everyone, all the time holding the reins of him in his own hands and able to give anyone a check at any time his quick clever eye sees occasion"
(Mackenzie Journal p. 16.)

p 48 ff. Ryder

Chapter V.
Educational Work
Defends the apparent failures

Chapter V

Colenso as a Missionary

Grey in 10 Weeks.

"We might reap infinite advantage from their labour in the cultivation of our lands and the growth of our colonial products if only they were reclaimed from the indolence of barbarism - if only they were disciplined and civilized.

xxvii

69/ "In 1858 the bishop was preparing for an expedition to the Royal Kraal by early summer of his Insurance Companies [KC/E.17. Colenso to Allnutt 15/6/58] to leave British territory. By July they had agreed to make no extra charge..."

72/ KC/X30 JWC to Bunyon 5/1/60

"We are quite prepared to go, if we receive the call to do so, and, of course, the requisite supply of means"

KC/E30 Colenso to Allnutt 7/2/60

"We have quite made up our minds to go to the Zulu Country if God wills it and I am only now awaiting a definite reply from the S.P.G. to know whether I ought to go there at once, or whether I should first return to England to raise funds."

74. [Hooker finds it surprising that Rev. O. Victor in "The Salient of South Africa" p. 61] "in losing Bishop Colenso the Church lost the greatest missionary it has ever produced." If he were described as the greatest spiritual missionary, one would be more inclined to agree, but of course the conclusion of the Rev. R. B. Burnett seems to be sounder: The meagre fruit that he could show after twenty years' work in a diocese to which he came primarily as a missionary is ... inadequate". He points out that these disappointing results were due to theological controversies which shook the church in Natal into such confusion. Since Colenso retained church revenues and church property which he could not properly develop, the missionary efforts of the Anglicans in Natal and Zululand were hopelessly crippled and largely frittered away".

Chapter VII

St Pauls, Durban

76-77 "I sincerely believe I shall be driven to the Church Missionary Society for help for the people committed to my charge. I dare not see their best interests be worked by the incapables of Pall Mall"
KC/E 43 Colenso to Hume 7/7/57

Gray I 403 "scum" of Durban

Chapter VIII

Further disputes

[Eucharist etc]

Chapter IX

The Beginning of the Major Controversy

"I fully expect that it will be violently attacked by High Church and Low. But this is not a time to care for things of this kind. I fully believe that a terrible crisis is at hand for the Church of England, and have tried to do my part to help some to stand firmly, when many props upon which they have been trusting to relying must be felt to give way under them. The B. of Capetown and Grahamstown are both strongly opposed to me, and very probably will take some public action in the matter. However, as I now hope to be in England in a few days, I shall be able to defend myself in person, if necessary."

[J. Cox, I, 126.

Lady Franklin's journal 27/5/62. He was surprised by the strength of the opposition to his teaching.

Obituary "Times" 21/6/83

"he had listed the Exodus by the Rule of Three,
112./ and turned the Book of Numbers, as its name would seem to suggest, into an addition sum."

x Copy 114 - 116

Chapter x

Trial and Deposition

Chapter x1

First Year Back in Natal

x11

Finding Another Bishop

x111

A Brace of Bishops

167 ff. 1864 "rheumatic pains in his right shoulder in 1864" (K.C. /A.26. Colenso to Dr. Bleek) healthy pr'sly good.
1868, Oct. fell off horse, hit head, unconscious for short still
1868 Dec Washed of horse
1869 Feb. Rheumatism, then fever legs "inflamed" & unable to move them. (Tho he thought it was the result of tick bites.
1869 3 May No good sleep for 3 wks - right eye afte lea
1869 21 May Helpless & in great pain.
Could not bear to be touched - hut had to be turned. Hands still & swollen had to be fed. Believed to be rheumatic fever.
June 17, 1869 Hands still so stiff that he couldn't close them or shave.

August 1869 Inflamed & boil on eye.

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178 JWC to Bunyon 17/2/73. Gray
"kept but one account at the bank, and one cheque-book for both private and cash property; his private property is under £9,000, and Mrs Gray's £45,000 - so that between the two it is no wonder that they were strong in 'worldly influence'..."

Chapter XV.

~~Colenso's~~ The Groulomstown Dispute.

XV

Colenso's Clergy.

195 [Rivett:] "His memoirs reveal a complacent self-satisfaction which, coupled with a most inadequate intellectual equipment, produced a completely false sense of proportion. Colenso wrote of him in June of 1865: "between ourselves, he is an ignorant, ungrateful, selfish goose - a hard worker, however, in his own narrow way, and so not without some value in a colony where clergymen are very few
KC/K16 Colenso to J. Mansfield 13/6/65

199 Newnham, Callaway? the only clergyman in Natal for whom JWC cared a straw.
KC/A34 Colenso to Bleek 4/10/64
Callaway "a poor, womanish sort of man, who cries when he is scolded KC/D.27 JWC to C Bunyon 24/6/73

200(a) Tozer "They say he is a little goose."

XVI

The Issues

to Bleek 63, 64, 67
"My battle is for a great principle - Free Enquiry
"an interneccine struggle between the causes of old tradition and modern science."

I am fighting the battle of the laity against the domination of the clergy."

to Bleek 5/4/64

"whose principle is enquiry and truth, not dogma and tradition — whose religion is regulated by Act of Parliament and the voice of the People, not by a body of ecclesiastics — and which must, therefore, in every age reflect or be made to reflect the spirit of the times.

PMB Col. coll. Vol 136 Colenso to Wilkinson 4/12/62

"I have not the least intention of resigning my office. I feel that there is a great task to be done — and the Providence of God has placed me in a position, which it would be wrong for me to quit under present circumstances. The chains, which now bind the Church of England, must be broken"

Xcopy 216.

229 Check Elliott-Binns on political background of bishop:

Watson, Church of England, p. 162 Commentary

"was not a serious contribution to knowledge and has had no permanent influence" SX

"a landmark in English theology. In it he adopted, and developed with ability, though often recklessly and in an aggressive tempo, that account of the Pentateuch which was already, in 1862, widely accepted in Germany and is now generally received."

293

Part II

Chapter I ff Loyal - Zulu etc.

Early Experiences of Cetewayo

41. 74 ministers of religion out of ±80 sign letter in "The Times" of 4/5/74 saying measures against Loyalty/Lilliee were necessary.

42 Natal W. 17/4/74 has letter from "Anti-Hunting" referring to the letter from the 74 clergymen. How did they know what was happening 150 miles away

66 "... you will see that I am fighting again, and really I am afraid that people will imagine that I like fighting for fighting's sake. Whereas the truth is that I very much dislike it, and would enjoy, if possible, lay peacefully and pleasantly with all men." (KC/K19 to Merrifield 21/10/74

65. ~~There has~~ "... there has been no 'rebellion', in the proper sense of the word, at all." (NA JWC to Sanders on 12/1/74

66. Shepstone: "Sir Benjamin is rather afraid of the Bishop's attack ... for my part I cannot see what grounds can form those of appeal when a man admits the facts with which he is charged." (NA. TSCM. TS to Henrique 26/3/74.)

75. 74 Cambridge. Sat near VC in Great St Mary's "It was amusing to see yesterday the faces of some good people when the Vice-Chancellor beckoned me to follow him into Golgotha (as the undergraduates profanely call the place where the

The Mitchell Lamp Mitchell Lamp

mythological

'heads of Colleges, Professors and Doctors sit in great St Mary's at the University Sermon) where I sat vis-à-vis him, as usual in the case of a Bishop, and thus for the first time, since Bishop Gray's fulmination and excommunication, 1761 was officially recognised by the Authorities of the University in the sight of the Whole Body." (DML Colenso to Shaw 16/11/74. Don Manuscript Library

85. Letter from Dr. W. G. Taylor: Natal Mercury 19/1/75.
"Dr. Colenso, Bishop of Natal, is expected to return from England in a few days: in what manner shall we receive him, to mark our own sense of his untruthfulness and traitorous conduct towards us? I would recommend that he be sent to Coventry: that all Natalians holding communication with him be also sent to Coventry; and that we refuse to have any business or other transactions with them. In that way we shall prove to Dr. Colenso and the English people that a traitor to his religion, his friends and his adopted county will not be countenanced and received among us, nor allowed to further undermine the religion and fidelity of our children. Dr. Colenso when he arrived in this county first, stirred up strife in the churches as a Tractorian, and he is now keeping up that strife by teaching infidelity to the Christian religion, and yet this man goes to England, where his character is or should be well known, propagates bare-faced falsehoods and is believed

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because these falsehoods appeal to the morbid feelings of a number of old women forming the Peace and other societies.

Natal Colonist 26/1/75 Mourning - close shops, black flags

87. "The Natal Clergy Fund was not actually closed until 1881, but no subscription had been paid since 1877, except the Treasurer's and a balance paid by Jowell in 1878. (KC/X 73 Westlake to Charles Bryan 10/3/81)

"Bishop Colenso Visited" New York Times 1/4/83

90 Wolseley was "a sort of high-minded military prig" JWC to Bryan 16/1/76 KC X.39.

98-99 Pvte letter Carnarvon to JWC 5/7/75 NA in HEC Wood Help the Colony "by effacing so to say the appearance of your own influence as a separate and independent authority. I hope you will forgive me for writing so frankly... but the importance of the subject is so great that I have no right to conceal what I think .... So long as the natives look to you as a power within the Colony to whom they may carry their complaints in the confidence that you will use your influence to set aside the decision of the /99/ local Government, so long there will be a sense of unrest which will prevent them from cordially accepting the changes which are

intended for their good and will create a temper that may easily lead to dangerous consequences. I do not, of course, mean that you should close your eyes and ears to all that is passing and of which no one can form a judgment better than yourself. But what I mean is that you should not allow yourself to be placed in the position of seeming to a quick-witted people like the Kaffirs to be an influence or authority to which they may look in all their difficulties ... even while that an abnormal agency is implied the sense of rule and order is interrupted."

[Shepstone and Colenso breaking over Langa-
libalele. TS to Henrique 5/2/74

127 "The line taken by the Bishop in this matter is the most painful part of the whole thing ...

I never met anyone so unreasonable as he is or so obstinate in maintaining a position he has once taken up. I told him I thought his feelings had run away with his judgement, and that I was sure when he had considered it more, he would alter his opinion. He said he thought not."

127 15 Feb 1874. TS Diary. "Bishop decided not to dine with us as he has done many years past on account of the Langalibalele Judgement."

Photocopies

297

The Bishop of Natal:
Astucy of John Wilson Gross

Closet apes

Dr Sheridan Gilley, Dept of Theology, University of Durham, Abbey House, Palace Green, Durham

Could I refer your reviewer Brian Martin (*NS* 13 Nov) to John Lucas's article in the *Historical Journal* (1979) and my own forthcoming article in *Studies in Church History* (volume 17) for criticisms of the extremely shaky evidence on which Wilberforce is supposed to have insulted Huxley's grandmother in 1860.

Could I also refer him to James Moore's recent book *The Post-Darwinian Controversies*, for evidence that the standard mythical view of the Huxley-Wilberforce confrontation obscures a true understanding of the relations between nineteenth-century science and religion.

It is time that students of the Victorian era laid this hoary old anecdote to rest.

27-11-81 NS

J. R. Lucas, "Wilberforce and Huxley: A Legendary Encounter"
The Historical Journal, 22, 2 (1979)
The Legend

313 – "In this memorable encounter Huxley's simple scientific sincerity humbled the prelatical insolence and clerical obscurantism of Soapy Sam; the pretension of the Church to dictate to scientists the conclusions they were allowed to reach were, for good and all, decisively defeated, the autonomy of science was established in Britain and the western world, the claim of plain unvarnished truth on men's allegiance was vindicated, however unwelcome its implications for human vanity might be, and the flood tide of Victorian faith in all its fulsomeness was turned to an ebb, which has continued to our present day and will only end when religion and superstition have been finally eliminated from the minds of all enlightened men. Even churchmen concede that it was a disastrous defeat[1]

1 David Edwards, Leaders of the Victorian Church (Oxford, 1971)
Stanley L. Jaki, 'A hundred years of two cultures', Culture and Science (University of Windsor, 1975) &
Standish Meacham, Lord Bishop: The life of Samuel Wilberforce (Harvard, 1970)

[Examines sources – shows the accepted version is a myth]
[Chadwick quoted freely – has supplied Author with copies of letters

[Huxley's version prevailed

p. 329. "Huxley's arguments and antipathies were congenial to many of his contemporaries. The irrelevance of descent to moral worth struck chords in the mid-Victorian middle-class, still anxiously asserting its political and /330/ social standing in the face of the aristocracy at a time when the Second Reform Bill was yet unpassed. Huxley beorded a bishop, and bishops incurred the same unthinking hostility then as vice-chancellors do now. Wilberforce, in particular, was unpopular in the university, and many clons were predisposed to think ill of him, and cast his assailant in a heroic mould (74 Cf. J. R. Searle, The campus war (Pelican, 1972), p. 99, for modern, secular analogies) Huxley's description was particularly significant. Although many of the complaints against Wilberforce are unsubstantiated and inconsistent with one another, two things are indubitable: he was eloquent, and he was funny. Hooker complained about the eloquence, Huxley cabout the humour. And from that time forward scientists have obediently practised a form of expression in their communications with the learned world that could never lay them open to either charge. It was a change of style. The British Association had been founded with a largely amateur and unprofessional public in mind. Science, in the first half of the nineteenth century as in the previous centuries, was part of the intellectual culture of mankind, in which all might enter and from which all might profit. But from 1860 onwards it becomes more of a closed shop, with its own parlton ethic, from which amateurs are more and more excluded. Wilberforce was

[text's [ ]]

a man of restless and versatile intellect, who not content with an [un]equivocal success in his own sphere of activity, ~~not content~~ plunged into scientific questions with which he had no real acquaintance, ([75] L. Stephen, Letters of J. R. Green p. 45) and this was no longer to be tolerated, just as in our own ~~[illegible]~~ century Literary Criticism has become a speciality in which non-professionals are disenfranchised from the right to express an opinion. The men of science who attended the British Association in 1860 and were ~~[illegible]~~ hearing a paper from Professor Draper, M.D. of New York 'On the Intellectual Development of Europe' were to give way to the academics we know, for many of whom it is a point of professional pride to know nothing outside their own special subject.

This is the most important reason why the legend grew. At the time, Wilberforce was perfectly entitled to have an opinion about science, but in the later years of the century scientists were increasingly jealous of their autonomy, and would see in Huxley's retort a claim they were increasingly anxious to assert. [An unimportant ~~[illegible]~~ account] About what actually happened in Oxford on 30 June 1860 it tells us very little: but about currents of thought in the latter part of the last century it tells us a lot."

Owen Chadwick The Victorian Church Part II
(Adam & Charles Black, London, 1970).

II Chapter I Science and Religion
I Darwin and the conflict.

~~1855 & 1885~~ "more educated Englishmen doubted the truth of the Christian religion in 1885 than thirty years before. And in 1885 many persons, whether they doubted or affirmed, blamed 'science' for this change in opinion."
["Science" and "Darwin" blamed for this]
[But is this valid? difficult to generalise in intellectual history. E.G. Why was there a hesitation for men to take orders - Doubt? Unlikely - there was a 'social cause'. More educated men doubted because there were more educated men. [[not clear, at all]] [[BUT]]
2 [Christian Church taught what was not true - Creation Deluge. Jonah - & i.e. all its reality was questioned -]
3 "The ~~[illegible]~~ unsettlement of faith about the Bible in 1861-5 was directly caused by historians, or those who posed as historians ! " [not Darwin or natural science.]
[but historians would not studied the texts but for natural scientists]
[Not Science vs Religion
historical study accepted views of bible
Geology Genesis
~~[illegible]~~ Science Scientists
Chadwick ~ seems to want p.5. "The changing picture of the world" to Science

7 ~~7~~ We must consider first the scientists, then the divines.]
7 " ~~[illegible]~~ Attempt to get a petition up in 1864 for scientists to express regret that their theories were anti-religious

many refused.
Professor Daubeny said that that the really attacks came from Bishop Colenso
~~Dau~~ Daubeny, C. G. B. Miscellanies 2 vols Oxford 1867

Huxley saw science advancing against theology
Tyndall was belligerent
Lecky - History of .. rationalism (1865) influences a generation with idea of growth of reason over superstition = Draper = A.D. White The Warfare of Science with Theology - all stretch this Victorian conflict into the past.

14 Spearhead of Scientific Aggression against Christianity

Draper
Tyndall Galton
Huxley

Little evidence that scientific study leads scientists away from religion

2. Evolution & the Churches

26 [Liberal divines] "found it easy to welcome Darwin, and the new science generally, because they did not need to defend the ~~tuti~~ literal inspiration of the Bible". But not for FWC.
[Asa Gray, Kingsley, F.D.M. Strauss]

[Moderates] kept counsel Tait
The Guardian increasing acceptance of Darwin thru 60. towards 1885

1882 Darwin buried in Westminster Abbey
I Chadwick's line – not to much opposition to
Darwin from clergy
The Great Divide
Mozley: Bampton Lecture (1865) //
to prove X's truth

31 "How do we know that the revelation is indeed a
a revelation of God? Not, as Mozley said, by its
miracles, but by the character of ~~God~~ Christ
and his effect upon mankind, by its correspondence
with the highest moral aspirations of the soul,
by the direct apprehension of the divine in so
many members of the human race. Nearly all
the English theology of the later nineteenth century
was 'immanentist': talked as often of God
within the world as of God above the world;
dwelt more upon the incarnation of the word
in Christ and less upon the atonement
wrought by Christ; and (like Wheridge and
Maurice) based its ultimate claim upon
the religious experience of men. History
contributed as much as science to this
change of thought. But we cannot doubt
that the enormous impulse which Darwinism
gave to ideas of process helped to turn the
32 Christian // divines towards these characteristic
attitudes of liberal divinity."

34-35 Be sure it was science (not history) which undulled faith
For many faith many (ordinary people) faith was beyond science.
"In 1900 men talked as though the conflict was over".

2. Comparative Religion

1847 FDM Religions of the World

Chapter II History and the Bible

1. Text and Translation
2. The Study of the O.T.

57. Until the sixties the Bible had not received accurate examination. Most of England assumed without enquiry that the Bible was still true as history, even if educated England was absurdly the precise accuracy of the earlier parts of Genesis. But once a lack of accuracy was conceded, the historians must attempt to determine the extent of error or of myth, the reliability, the dating, and the authorship
/58/ of the various books. By 1860 the examination of the Biblical text had proceeded far enough to make scholars aware that a multitude of new questions opened before the enquirer. It had not proceeded far enough for any student to determine the conviction or with evidence what the results would be, even in their outlines. Twenty-five years later the scholars were widely agreed, and were changing the way in which men looked at the O.T."

It happened slowly "[Law-suits over JWC in 60s - Smith in 70s]" These controversies made many people sure that they did not believe what their fathers believed, but brought little agreement about what was true, and wise men shrank from publishing on the subject until they could see their way with more light.

Therefore the process was slow."
[Stanley, Kuenen, Church Congress 1883,
Wellhausen (1885),]
"By 1887 the Anglican mind was at last thinking
hard about the O.T.....
Between 1860 and 1900, therefore, the new historical
59 knowledge brought widespread agreement in the main
study of the Old Testament, so widespread that it
began to penetrate the mind of many educated people.

3. The Study of the N.T.

73 "... the difficulty was not only intellectual. Students
could not sit down to their desks with eyes only
upon their books. Upon the Bible seemed to hang
the nature of the society in which they lived.
It was guardian of the home ...
Therefore, responsible Christian scholars hesitated to
publish. They were not sure where they were going.
[72 ff Owen Chadwick, who repeats himself, obfuscates,
mumbles, here on 72 ff tales of the hint to
deep feelings that Bib. Crits could do &
why many abstained - Partial reason
for anti-JWC attitudes Eg.
"Religious men could not ~~[illegible]~~ watch this process of
scholarship with indifference. Whatever touched the
Bible touched their souls.

4. Essays and Reviews
[Confirm that JWC read E&R & then decided to
write on the P]

305 Ore The taste left after reading this: [illegible], difficult at the same time many statements of his charm

Etherington's notes

1 -

S.P.G. - to Hawkins from 11/10/53

p2 15/12/53 Fine example of his early missionary confidence

Ryder, 4, 18, 99 251

25, ~~Ann~~ Zulu ~~to~~ conversation as free & coarse as that in Elizabethan times of we judge by the drama

29. Early liberal tendencies

48 very hurry due to missionary work by inefficient men 1/4/59

48 Shepstone will come with me to Zulu 8/6/59

51, 53 SPG letter of permission arrived to late 25/7/60

52 1/8/60 still no one fixed at the SPG.

54 Shepstone on Zululand mission - complex 26/8/60

56 Details of the resurgence in Zululand mtns 10/10/60

62 ~~Still~~ Zululand plans open - stopped after Shepstone's visit April 61

66 On the future of the suvo 30/6/61 // Clear break after 1861

69 On Ekukanyeni - its failure & Nyedi

70 71 Callaway - [illegible]

74 Callaway on JWC's "overweening conceit of your own powers"

SPG. Ends on p 85

WHAT WAS HE?

Campbell. Begins 85
Bleek 85 — 101
Domville 101 - 122
102 Forwarding Natal Senors 3/1/66
(103 Gx)
117 12/2/69 Would like to retire from the Stuppe *

123 Alia Mckenzie's Diary -

(125 Domville) 126 Bunyon
(a) Clergyman in C of E "crabbed cabined & confined"
130 27/6/76 JWC wants out "the battle has lasted long enough" Also in 68 p147 *

131 → JWC to Allnutt - 135
133 Ryder case (in Cox?)

140 → the early letters 145 All men "saved" in 1843
148 ff to Shepstone - intimate & important - on pub of Pro I
[NB. V. important - confirm my theory]

165 - 169 Ferguson 166 My views changed by STC & M
199 - not much knowledge of men T.S.
200 → Other Missionaries on JWC 215 - Spreading his error to the worthy class

307

Gray

Gray: "Gray's intellectual and physical handicaps are almost the only adverse criticisms which can be made of him."

10x xxvii "We might reap infinite advantage from their labours in the cultivation of our lands, and the growth of our colonial products, if only they were reclaimed from the indolence of barbarism — if only they were Christianized and civilized."

Life. 18. Gray's visits / friendship with S. Otter
re "gloomy reserve and half-restraint" of Dec 1850 in CT.

"His views are dangerous"
mid 1861 - Something must be done about JWC's views but what?

24 "the book is doing mischief, and unhinging men's minds, not a few saying that it is a very liberal and comfortable Gospel, and all right."

27 Gray heard of 5th on way to UK May 1862
May 1862 English Bishop meet about Commentary

27 1861 Part II - "practically accusing all the Bishops and Clergy ... with hypocritical falsehood"
[Conjecture (i) JWC's work is insulting to the Mem of Bishops & Clergy (ii) They can't answer him]
"This is not the place wherein to enter upon an analysis or refutation of Bishop Colenso's writings ..."

32. Gray on his independent position
4 Feb 1863 the Bishops Meet on JWC

First question S.P.G. should the pay JWC. Yes -
33 a "case ... of singular notoriety, of vast scandal, of universal reprobation S. Oxon advises SPG to withhold f.S.D
36. S. Oxon's travesty of Part II [was that the Preface where he was personally attached [NB. Our "belief in these matters is the same as his own, but that we are too cowardly to say so."]
Decision to inhibit
7 Feb 1863 Another Meeting
[both St Davids & Oxon agree that it is not possible to satisfactorily answer JWC type of attack]
A few days later
51-2 The Round Robin which also declines to argue the case

11 Feb 1863 brought before Lower House of Lowocstain.
and passed resolution to Upper House which then
54 asked the Lower House to appt. a committee to examine the book.
Committee reported in May. Condemnation
Upper House agreed with Committee
11 April 1863 - Gray arrives in CT.
18 May The citation & accusation made.
63 "If any one is to suffer for Natal, I ought to do so I was a main instrument in bringing him out here, trusting too implicitly to the judgment of others."

+- July 1863 THE P.C. decides in Long Case
17 Nov 1863 Trial begins 16 Dec Judgment
16/4/64 Date to withdraw

309

124 Subs to JWC shocking

I Feb. 1864 E&R judgement

138: "The real struggle is now coming on; - hitherto it has been skirmishing. Now it is with the world clothed in ermine." -

31/4/64 The Sentence confirmed

27/6/64: JWC petition to PC - held over

156 A useful statement on the traditional point vis a vis Colenso the progressive liberal one

167 A piece of the Ch!

Oct 1864 P.C. on Lushington

14 Dec 1864 . J.C of the PC on JWC petition

191 20 March 1865 Judgment given

239 The JWC enters dept. ~~Excommunication~~ 17 Nov 1865 protest

240 Shirt Sleeves

248 The Excommunication 5 January 1866

Chapter Seven

Excommunication 5 January 1866

Exco

JWC Poetry from the Sermons

I/1/ 11 1M.

1/ /167 Herbert

225 Sonney, Tempon (Ch. 1) 2 Voices

270 Herbert

309 Milton

343 1M xxxiii

355 1M (I have of ll). CXXIV

11/ /28 Herbert

11/ /63 ? 1M

64 ? 1M.

11/ /90 1M

/164 ? (1M?)

/318 ?

iii/ /179 1M (infant crying in the in pill)

iii/ /182 :

iii/ /184 : 123 2 Voices

iii/ /195 /.M

/198 Nature like our [illegible]

/245 ? 2V.

IV 167 117 2 Voices

185 ? 1.M.

33, 109, 170, 175-6, 250-1, 338

C. Dawson and J. Pfordresher, Matthew Arnold. Prose Writings. The Critical Heritage (London, 1979)

22 "The Bishop and the Philosopher (1863), grew from an attack on Bishop Colenso into both a summary of the radical ideas of Spinoza and an estimate of what Arnold took to be the religious crisis of his era. Colenso's book called into question the historical accuracy of the Pentateuch; it was a searching but isolated and amateurish study. By While abstaining the unsubstantiated nature of the Bishop's arguments, Arnold acknowledged grave challenges to the Christian study of Scripture being made by Continental critics . . .

In this early essay (B & P) Arnold articulates two major problems that his future studies of theology and society explore; the status of Christian religion in an age of scientific scepticism, and its future relationship with English society."

S.H. ~~Reynolds~~

S.H. Reynolds, Review in 'Westminster Review' Oct. 1863 lxxx, 215-22.

[JWC exposure

[JWC can easily throw errors in 5x - but so what - were in the same position as when we started]

J. S. Stephen (1829-94) bro. of Leslie 'Saturday Review'

3 Dec 1864

p. 120

[To Arnold] "Dr. Colenso is a more ludicrous of a rather contemptible kind, though M. Renan (with whom Mr. Arnold by no means agrees) is quite the reverse :- 'Bishop Colenso's book reposes on a total misconception of the essential elements of the religious problem as that problem is now presented for solution. . . . The higher criticism, of course, knows what the religious problem is, and how it is presented, and therefore it treats M. Renan with respect, and Bishop Colenso with the most concise kind of contempt - the contempt of a benevolent elder sister for the little girl who thinks the world is a drum because she has discovered that boy doll is stuffed with straw."

125 "'For saying this' (in 'Macmillan's Magazine'), says Mr. Arnold, 'I was greatly blamed, because I was told that I was a liberal attacking a Liberal; yet surely I had a right to say that a man in pursuit of truth had taken a false method.'"

Certainly some of Mr. Arnold's readers thought, and still think, that, considering how desperately hard the lower criticism was on Dr. Colenso, the higher criticism might have chosen another victim, or some other time for avenging that partial victim. [But also M.A was blamed for saying the higher crit was not here to inform the ignorant]

"Rebuked" But it was not, however, for this alone that Mr. Arnold was blamed, but for something very different. It was for the way in which he argued that it was a crime against literary criticism and the higher culture to attempt to inform the ignorant. He was blamed for

saying much which was summed up in these words, 'Knowledge and truth, in the full sense of the words, are not attainable by the great mass of the human race at all'. In reference to the matter in hand, this meant 'Ordinary English people have no business to have [1176] any opinion on the question whether or not the Bible of the Pentateuch is true. The higher minds have, but the great bulk of the nation ought to leave such matters to M. Renan and a few others, and it is bad taste, a low vulgar thing, to address them on the question.' This was very different from saying that Dr. Colenso's method was false. It denied that his object was bad. Granting the goodness of the object and the truth of the assertions, it was simply absurd to deny their relevancy. Indeed, Mr. Arnold did not deny it. His point was, that the book ought not to have been written.
(plausibly).



Colenso as an agent disrupting Authority

Preface to Part III

S. Oxon 'much harm has been done among the young by infidels.

What was the clergy of the C of E. in 14.
[Jowett, Milman, Newman (F), Max Muller

[Priviliged & unleaned despite variations?]

Woodward [In 1815 rich, priviliged, upper class, - the poor in towns - pagan.
502

504 Weakness was intellectual, neglected theology, history, literal interpretation, the source of their incomes

510 Legislation 1836-40 sets Church in good order.

Halevy Victorian Years 338 "If we would study the social composition of a nation we must begin by studying its religion"
← 343 → a hierarchy - of great royal and a degree of upward movement - but in social terms a spiritual aspect of the ruling class.

347 "The unreflecting faith of the most uneducated believe was sufficient."

Chadwick V.C II.
2. "The Christian church taught what was not true. . . .
Many educated Christians ceased long before 1860 to believe in a universal flood . . . But quiet men in pews knew nothing of these matters . . . and were unbroiled until they met
[~~[illegible]~~ It was caused by historians not Darwin.
24 [Evolution accepted between 1860-1885

57 No accurate examination
58 1883 Crit study of O.T. first on Agenda of Church Congress "but still ordinary men & women weren't ready for it"

(73.) "Upon the Bible seemed to hang the nature
NB ff. of the society in which they lived. It was
the guardian of the home. . . .
Therefore, responsible Christian scholars
hesitated to publish. They were not
sure where they were going.
"... extreme divines whom sensible
and moderate men were accustomed to disregard.

98: "In the eighties it became imperative,
for religious reasons, that silence should
no longer be kept, lest Christians might
be accused of supposing that to be a
Christian you must believe than an
ass spoke."
1863 Church Congress — Lux Mundi

101: Gore Essay — myth — belief of a primitive people
~~God's~~ Xsb humanity.
James R. Moore The Post-Darwinian Controversies. A
Study of the Protestant struggle to
come to terms with Darwin in
Great Britain and America 1870-1900

C.U.P. 1979
[Moore was/is a lecturer in the History of Science & Technology
The Open University.]

[Intelligent, deeply researched, original no doubt —
At the same time confusing, over-erudite,
intellectual too wordy too long
Returned because I can't keep it out any
longer.] [Bibliography X copied]

From Rehbock

"The paradox that emerges - that Darwin's theory was accepted in substance only by those whose theology was distinctly orthodox, and was not embraced by liberal Christians - demands an explanation. This is found in the affinities of Darwinism with orthodox theology and of other evolutionary theories with liberal and romantic theological speculation."

p335T. Aubrey Lackington Moore (1843-1890) "was the clergyman
p. 259ff who more than any other man was responsible for breaking down the antagonism toward evolution then widely felt in the English Church." [God everywhere - creation is evolution.] "There are not, and cannot be, any Divine interpositions in nature, for God cannot interfere with Himself. His creative activity is present everywhere. There is no division of labour between God and nature, or God and law. For the Christian theologian the facts of nature are the acts of God." To hold otherwise would be decidedly unorthodox, and if evolution, by its 'natural' explanations of the divine method of creation, has made heterodoxy less viable, then it may be welcomed cordially by the Catholic faith."

p. 338 Moore: "If the God is everywhere present in nature or He is nowhere . . .

338-9 Kingsley adopted the same view in the 1860s "God is great, or else there is no God at all". For Kingsley as for Moore, Darwin had settled the question."

349: "But the real climax of Huxley's apologia, and possibly the most revealing religious statement made by a Darwinian in the nineteenth century, was the frank admission of the theological affinities of his scientific faith. Referring to his viewers on providence and morality, he wrote:

'It is the secret of the ~~[illegible]~~ superiority of the best theological teaches to the majority of their opponents, that they substantially recognise these realities of things, however strange the forms in which they clothe their conceptions. The doctrines of predestination; of original sin; of the innate depravity of man and the evil fate of the greater part of the race; of the primacy of Satan in this world; of the essential vileness of matter; of a malevolent Demiurgus subordinate to a benevolent Almighty, who has only lately revealed himself, faulty as they are, appear to me to be vastly nearer the truth than the 'liberal' popular illusions that babies are all born good and that the example of a corrupt society is responsible for their failure to remain so; that it is given to everybody to reach the ethical ideal if only he will try; that all partial evil is universal good; and other optimistic ~~[illegible]~~ figments, such as that which represents 'Providence' under the guise of a paternal philanthropist and bids us believe that everything

will come right (according to our notions) at the last.
(An Apologetic Irenicon' Fortnightly Review 52 (1-11-92.) 55+ 71

This may not have been pure orthodoxy but it certainly was not liberalism. [And liberalism used Darwinism evolution to support progress - + gave it a moral worm.]

[[+ this is the point about J.W.C. isn't it - his belief in PROGRESS - (19 ideology - in a sense his theology is subservient to this]]] [[This is denoted in 700 ∴ individuals must always be blamed]]]

349. This may not not have been pure orthodoxy but it certainly was not liberalism. If Huxley, an adherent of 'scientific Calvinism" for forty years, had anything to say, there could be little doubt as to what kind of theology was best equipped to come to terms with Darwin. As Daniel Day Williams put it half a century later, 'Darwinism applied to human life might have been made the basis of a radical Calvinism or other theology of human sin .... The liberals tended to forget Darwinism, and to use the idea of evolution as an undergirding of the
1350/ idea of progress in which emphasis is not upon human failure, but upon an increasing achievement of moral worth."

Liberal Christians 'tended to forget Darwinism' because, as we have argued, their theology was unable to receive it. Instead they were attracted

to theories which could transform Darwinian evolution in accordance with the conceptions of the purpose and character of God. That the world is the outcome of God's omnipotent and beneficent design all Christians, orthodox and liberal, were agreed. Confronted with Darwinism, however, they differed over how this belief was to be maintained. Those who counted themselves members of established theological traditions, who concerned themselves with preserving historic deposits of truth, had at their disposal the unique resources for accepting evolution on Darwin's terms. Thus equipped, with Huxley they could say, 'Not a solitary problem presents itself to the philosophical thought of the present day, which has not existed from the time that philosophers began to think out the logical grounds and logical consequences of Theism.' Those, on the other hand, who turned against established theological traditions, who took scant notice of historic doctrines of creation and providence, cut themselves off from Darwin's world and from the resources by which, if Darwinism were true, it be kept a Christian world. Left to the devices of modernity, they solved their theological problems with concepts of divine immanence, human goodness, and social and religious progress, only to have their evolutionary speculations embarrassed and undermined by future turns of events. 'May, of the present difficulties of liberalism', wrote Williams on the eve of the 2WW, 'are explainable

by the fact that in the nineteenth century special theories of development were accepted as facts which have later had doubt thrown upon them or have been rejected altogether.

But it would be naive to think that orthodoxy was not also embarrassed and undermined as well. Within forty years of the publication of the Origin of Species the doubt thrown upon the scriptures, not by evolution but by historical criticism alone, had called into question the validity of any theology which would constrain them to testify in unison to doctrines of creation and providence whatever. No less important, the political economy, or theodicy, inherent in those doctrines in their traditional form seemed to many, not merely irrelevant, but utterly pernicious as a premise for dealing with the social and economic complexities of modern industrial society. Meanwhile, in meeting the scientific challenge, the Christian Darwinians were never more than a tiny minority, their writings never more than marginally effective against the strong tide of evolutionary naturalism and evolutionary liberalism and the strong undercurrent of popular anti-evolutionary belief. They failed to persuade the greatest minds of their generation; they failed to impress the least.

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Preface

ix "this study supports and enlarges the standard revisionist thesis that Christian theology has been congenial to the development of modern science."

What M.B. Foster, R.K. Merton, and R. Hooykaas *inter alia* have argued concerning the rise of physical science and technology in the 16th + 17th centuries — namely, that the Christian (and especially the Reformed) doctrine of a contingent creation, ordered and superintended by a perpetual Providence, has led to the adoption of empirical methods in science and the extension of causo-mechanical explanations of nature — is here applied to the rise and spread of theories of biological evolution in the later nineteenth century.

~~Perhaps the strangest thing about the fact that the University of Natal has decided to run a series of lectures on Jn WC to commemorate the century of his death is that all this trouble has been taken~~

Perhaps the most important fact to recognise about the life of John Colenso is that, in terms of what he set out to achieve

I have just finished writing a book about John William Colenso. The search for a title was a long and difficult — but one title kept coming to mind. I rejected it. It's something of a Cadell and has been

used many times before. But it kept coming back to me. John William 1814-1883 A Study in Future. And there is no getting away from this fact. We are here to note to consider the life of an who, in terms of what he set out to achieve - failed. Why? Well the short answer is that he had high ideals, was brave and was honest - an consistently tried to fail and he lived in a time ~~when~~ when, although there is a tendency to consider it age of studied, & dom was also brutal and hard. And what I want to try and show tonight ~~is a the~~ a life which is given shape by the tension between Chuso's ideals and the reality of his time. Of a life during which a brave and talented man was slowly and necessarily destroyed - left in the end only with his ideals

Title Page
Initial quotation
Contents
List of Illustrations
Maps
Plates
Acknowledgements.
Preface. with page nos in lower case ital.
Pagination corrected throughout - odd nos. on L H S
Numerals have to be sorted out
five thousand.

Chapter One
3 five thousand pounds
14-15 ~~excluded~~ omitted

Chapter Two.
p. 27 omitted

Chapter Three
p. 39 omitted pp forty thousand + one hundred thousand

Chapter Four
p 53-43

Chapter Five
p 72-76
66 twenty thousand pounds
67 eleven thousand pounds

Chapter Six
two p. 85

[Talks on the continuity of Xstianity and the problems this poses]

Chapter Seven

Chapter Eight

Chapter Nine
jump of ten pgs

Chapter Ten

Chapter Eleven

Chapter Twelve

Chapter Thirteen
jumps a page

Chapter Fourteen

Chapter Fifteen
page jumped

146 - [Similarly - Monxism has overlooked the human reproductive process - exploitation of women, the role of the family.]

147 Yet it is scarcely possible to doubt the absolute centrality of human reproduction and nature and the unquestioned physicality of it. Seen as a luxuro-material process, it clearly has complex relations to the other forms of production. If you are ... I think that the category of production is itself an expression of the capitalist specialization of production to commodities, which then poses to us precisely these problems about forms of production that are not commodities

Gender / Class
Cattle - 1 a general commodity exchange rate = wheat
= pots of butter

The commonest exploitation
husband / father // of wives / children

cattle - produce - cattle
children wives

The Chief
~~Political author~~ as (1) with added advantage of fun
tribute - tribute labour

The Lord - all male labour

Adam Kuper. Wives for cattle. Bridewealth and marriage in Southern Africa
(London, 1982)

Begin [All Marxist attempts to analyse South African sums suffer from the same complex.
They look at products
Sell - Cope / Lenin

The Journal of Peasant Studies
"Special Issue on Feudalism and Non-Europeon Societies"
eds. T. J. Byres and Harbans Mukhia
Vol. 12. No 2 & 3 Jan/April 1985

(A response to Mukhia Vol VIII, No 3, 1981 "Was There Feudalism in Indian History."

Byres, T. J. "Modes of Production and Non-Europeon Pre-Colonial Societies: The Nature and Significance of the Debate"

Shanin, T ed Late Marx and the Russian Road. Marx and the 'Peripheries of Capitalism, London, 1983

1 "One of the great issues facing Marxist 2 historians categorising or placing of pre-colonial, non-Europeon societies (social formations). That is an intellectual problem of great significance, with respect to the past, in its own right. It also, however, bears crucially upon our understanding of the present. That understanding - of the character of contemporary social formations, of the nature

of the dominant mode of production and of any transitions which may be under way - can only be woefully defective in the absence of an adequate treatment of the past.

Central questions here, as yet unresolved, are
[(i) do we accept Mx's m. of p. succession
(ii) can is the European experience repeated in non-European experience
i.e. (a) is there an Asiatic mode
(b)] "The second question is the essential one addressed in this volume, with respect to the applicability of feudalism in the context of pre-colonial, non-European societies. The third question possibly becomes, if not the Asiatic mode and if not feudalism, then, within a Marxist analysis, what? This last question is one which has hardly begun to be posed. Yet, if some of the arguments which follow are valid, it may well have to figure prominently on the Marxist agenda.

[The Present Debate.
Mukhia (1981) rejected Indian feudalism because India had a "self-dependant or free peasant production". His critics reject the way he characterised feudal / Indian societies. It has been a Marxist debate which asks the question]
" how does one categorise, in Marxist terms, pre-colonial, non-European societies?"
This issue concerns parts of India & Asia.
Journal would like to extend it further.
Basic categories & issues

social formation / mode of production: Arch but like Anderson Passages p.22, where a social formation is a concrete combination of different mode of production with one dominant. Brenner agrees that relations have primary PoP (Sheen that it is forces.

The Significance of correct identification of the d. m. of p.

Dobb (Studies, 1963, 4) historical periods dominated by single economic form — we have to find when it becomes dominant. Bigger agrees we must identify this dominant mode of production and its laws of motion, and quotes Mx Grundrisse 106-7

Alternative Mode of Production.

13 "If not feudalism, or the Asiatic mode, then what? It is a frontier to which some of our contributors lead us inexorably, and of which all are aware. Yet it is a frontier which now of them passes beyond satisfactorily. Ahead is a terra incognita which, surely, those who reject both feudalism and the Asiatic mode, and who wish to retain a Marxist political economy view, must enter more boldly."

[Authors fail. Wickham uses Amin (Unequal 1976)'s concept of tributary mode.

[Most of the articles which follow are incomprehensible]

Chris Wickham "The Uniqueness of the East"

It is always the relation between [illegible]
means the form of surplus labour

{tax} {rent}
{the state} {the landlord}

167 "Marx's own musings on pre-capitalist systems were virtually all side-effects produced by this [the economic logic of capitalism] insight. But while this has given all of us our clues, it also, for pre-capitalist historians, produces a problem: what sorts of economic logic did pre-capitalist modes actually possess?

167 [Variations amongst non-exploitative modes seem endless (nomadic/transhumant, various types of ownership, clan/kin/village household co-operation) These underlie exploitative modes - but they contain]

168 "specific systems of the appropriation of surplus; and there are certainly not a limitless number of these." Methods of surplus appropriation in practice seem to be restricted to a few basic types - slavery, rent-taking (either 'feudal' i.e. backed up by coercion, or determined by market forces), tribute and taxation, wage-labour, the manipulation of the petty commodity market. There may be others, but there are not a lot of others. And it is in the difference between these elements, in my view, that the differences between modes of production lie.

Man XX, 3 1985 John Blacking, Thomas N. Huffman
"The Great Enclosure and Domba" refers to
XIX, 593-612

African Studies XLIV, 1, 1985
Krige, E. J. "Descent and descent groups in Lovedu social structure"
2. "Social groupings of the Lovedu and Individual Identity"

WDF 940 W10

The "house" (mosha) as the basic building block in Lovedu social structure.
The "house" or mosha, the establishment of one wife, her shared husband and her children in a ~~polygonous~~ polygynous family is characteristic of all the Southern Bantu.

African Economic History No13 1984
Alpers, E.A. "State, merchant capital, and gender relations in Southern Mozambique to the end of the Nineteenth Century: some tentative hypotheses.

visible — real
merely external — true intrinsic

Norge: What about a lighter version of PCSS
We all know about African attitudes to women - men lazy, women worked women was bought bride price.
Anthropologists still use it.
Stories of great commitment (Willowpatten)
(Coleno - I will die)
BUT how -.

Kuper.

Introduction 1 — An argument about Popular consciousness (with deep historical roots). Not just a movement in opposition to economic and material forces.

K. Marx Wage Labour and Capital 68

Intr. by Engels.

labour / labour power

A 1849 article based on 1847 lectures using labour not l-p

Classical economists: What is the value of labour

Wage		price
	3 for 12 hours labour	
	2 0 material	
	1 fuel, wear & tear	
	24	27

~~Or~~

from this the value of labour for the worker = 3
capitalist = 6

OR
12 hours labour = 6 marks

The way out - cost not of labour but of labourer

And the labourer has sold labour power

"In our present day capitalist society, labour power is a commodity" and a source of value - one source of more than its own value

Capital, p. 270 "the aggregate of those mental and physical capabilities existing in the physical form, the living personality, of a human being, capabilities which he sets in motion whenever he produces a use-value of any kind".

[Slave —

33 31/10/91 D.L.T. now to begin old MS book shows the HEC trip to Eshowe: but then all the flashbacks

I still like the Ubuthu succession statement and the Bulwer set-up:

And the point that this the turning point:

What about it was made in devastation

~~1) the dead the passing of individuals~~

1) What about avoiding the tired old stuff just stating SHAKA just stating T-Shipstone but establishing them as poise.

So begin with:-

Devastation

1) Territorial ~ (Shaka loud claims of conquest)

armies - process of confinement 1840

Zululand - borders open but 1840 - ~~but~~

but pressure from Transvaal

1879 - confined - the war

3) Material ~ self-sufficiency - trade Cohenbrunch

4) People - division

I leave my country
simple - unequivocal
the bottom line
poured scorn
BUT
It was what was needed
Because it was
made at a time of
devastation?

1) Territorial - confined. cut. - who cut it up
2) People ~ ~~divided~~ the once united now divided
3) Material - suffering.

something had to be done:-

and everyone was passing
Osborn – in the Reserve
The Bees on the boats
– all that they stood – everyone else
Zikhali – the Hunt

} Zulu-ed up to [illegible] [illegible]

Perpetuating Power:

1) ~~[illegible]~~ proletarianisation
The history of the Zulu kingdom
1) Shaka ~ ecological factors → }
~ Cetsh – media }
in the face of ethnicity – difference ~ //
ethnicity unique: – ambiguities Z

// the Zulu kingdom
Looking at Zulu history 30 years ago: coming out of a liberal historiography conquest through misadventure – best of intentions – part of the universal practice of universalism – all societies had experienced this
~ passivity at best victims: attempt to understand African society Z regaining the voice, contextualising, but the framework destruction: NO! – look at the well known last paragraph

In the last ? years a much clearer idea of the contradictory emergence of Zulu nationalism: historiography reflecting history, Zulu history is denoted increasing simplicity – distortion a truth politicians distorting the historical truth / hist.
historians changing politics distorting the historical truth > [illegible]
politics changing historians distorting the historical truth } along a [illegible]
increasing awareness of the interplay between politics & history.
In a time of ethnic politics historians emphasizing the universality of the experience

//

One of the themes left out of SA historiography ~
The Technology of the Word / ~~orality~~ the spoken and the heard word, translation, understanding the written and the read, learning of language
~~The problem of looking~~ At first glance it ~~might be~~ It would [illegible]
I ~~believe that what is generally~~ I believe that implicit literacy is one of themes in South African historiography which has been overlooked.
The process of change in C19, education, ~~[illegible]~~ the new mixing [illegible], the treaty, rise of new classes, politics, the significance of literacy, is always to be found.

Perpetuating Power: Literacy and the Zulu Kingdom

~~Thank~~ In this paper I continue an exploration begun a few years on the consequences of literacy in South Africa, in this case specifically in Natal and Zululand.

In an earlier essay I discussed some aspects of what seemed to me an unexplored theme of great significance in SA - the effect of literacy on oral societies. ~~Following~~ Taking my study from some of the rich insights of Walter Ong I began with the statement from Mahomedans father who, looking at words written in the sand refused to accept what he was told. ~~In so doing he realised what~~ He refused, because he recognised what writing was, not a symbol, not a pictogram but infinitely more incredible, an impossible - writing made it ~~possible to~~ see sound visual: No, he said "I refuse to believe that words can become visible.

The theme of literacy is of course a well known theme: in South African historiography: the impact, the consequences I believe, have hardly been touched upon. At every turn ~~historians~~ the the power of literacy, ~~which~~ has blinded, surrounded I believe, the literate [illegible] scholars that she cannot see ~~beyo~~ far beyond it. The power and the significance is asserted repeatedly: it is still not understood.

In earlier papers I have looked briefly at literacy in the Zulu kingdom, and at a consequence literacy - illiteracy, amongst Bantho men. In this paper I go back to the Zulu kingdom, repeating some of examples, but introducing more. I also link them with events in Natal. It is only a cursory look - ~~once~~ concentrating on material I have worked

history

on for years. However, once one begins to ~~make the~~ try and imagine oneself out of literacy, to realise the immensity of the change.
So many of the confusions, nosiness, implications in our society, gain a clarity I believe when placed in the context of orality, literacy. Manner, gravity, disposition and ritual, narrative, story telling, evidence, ~~[illegible]~~ I am not going to start thoughtful. Satisfied at this stage in presenting some evidence. But two pieces to start with (1) Unpack literacy 2) Limited ~~zulu~~ start ethic natural consciousness

Literacy gives power

~~The~~ Literacy of course has many implications. First of course it is relational and in this paper I am interested in its relation

Literacy in Zulu has many aspects. Firstly
The coming of literacy: ~~firstly it come in a language~~ different,
~~secondly~~ firstly it come oral societies, primary orality - a high zero as we shall see this has to be qualified.
secondly it literacy come in ~~a~~ unknown language
literacy come as writing and as printing
literacy ready writing translation printing - enormous implications

Owen the struggle for the word: Owen is only half aware of the struggle - the Boers
But. The Colenso theme - now it was writing
1) Langlaballele - it is in the paper / speak up
always the paper - disputing the paper
what is in the paper -
but the paper is also a severe problem
for the Colonials - in the hands of Colenso.
"It is your paper!!!!
Nothing more about Duds
Nothing more about bodies

Orality and Literacy: the continuing debate: we are caught in contradictions: firstly we ~~know~~ cannot understand: there is no way we can study an oral society: it is an abstraction: a mental construct; we cannot study an oral society; because we can have no record of an a purely oral society. ~~Or~~ An oral society is always vestigial VESTIGIAL: we can have no record of an a purely oral society: to know about it we must have literacy: it is relational: we might speculate on the notion of orality but is speculating; we know about orality, we speculate on it because of literacy. So there is no Great Divide in the sense, in a concrete of oral and literal: Having said let me assert that we cannot then subsume the oral and the literate; a real tendency on the part of those wanting to argue oral = ignorant, literate = civilized intelligent. The immense differences oral and literate: the literate find them hard to understand: ~~but enough of abstra~~

These differences can only be understood, as a technology, as a part of power and struggle, at least, in modern times; for the nature was a struggle for dominance. Literacy came ~~into~~ orality. Looking at Literacy a struggle titanic ~~let us~~ as the struggle for dominance amongst the Zulu - as mystified, obscured, as red-coats, against naked warriors, inability to see the nature of the British Army ~~and~~ or the Zulu Army

Consider our first view of Shaka though the literate he ~~emerges~~ is not depicted as a warrior but a reader / a writer / asserting the dominance of Africa intelligencia over Europe.

Look they can't read the Inguwudi.

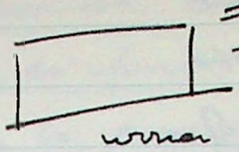
Inawadi ~ means a spin a designing mark - hence realising the power: Asserting the favour Inguwudi

Inawadi ~ a mark

Yes it is a mark - but is more than that.

This we understood it is sound ~

The Quiet and Struggle: Violent Struggle with the book.



FEC: the book: part of books artists / poetry

fought for the Quiet, for man in his life

woman fought in different ways - i.e. two brothers

interesting that it is published ["Tradition & Arcadia" magazine

Mary Kent Dugmore puts it in its context.

fails on FWC - not a Druvist. p but a

PATRIACH -

Pursuit - not as history - but as a text:

Dunfrac

The Zulu Civil War

I had an extraordinary feeling reading today's Sunday Tribune. Leading members of the Zulu were struggling in the press. In the week after Chief Buthelezi's now famous interruption of a live news show Agenda. The man who he and his bodyguards ~~so~~ ejected from his chair were ending views ~ and they were using history.

Sifela ~~was~~ claimed that he was a direct descendant of Mpande: through Mpande's son Mthonya: Buthelezi countered that this was not his line of descent. It he was a descendant of the Royal House ~ but through the Mondlakazi ~ who had been responsible for the attack on Ulundi in 1883. Sifela countered that ~~the~~ ~~Zulu~~ Chief Buthelezi side had a history of betrayal and had in fact betrayed the Zulu royal by being one of 13 chiefs.

Mondlakazi, Mthonya; the 13 chiefs, the Ulundi attack: what on earth the aw. St Agnes reader may well be wondering is all this about.

Let me try and spell it out. But before doing so let me make two points.

1) On live radio the other night I was asked how I, white, could speak on ~~Zulu history~~ black Agnes history. I ~~swallowed the temptation to ask the black South African why I had been invited to appear on the prog~~ The answer to that is straightforward: I have been fortunate enough to have had the opportunity to study history — to read and investigate the fascinating history of our country — I speak with not as one of these dreadful experts on Africa, but someone who has had the chance to read.

Secondly this intervention is not made out of

a desire to support one side or the other. It is made out of a professional to try and keep the record. That is not to say it is the final word: some of my interpretations may well ~~be~~ have to be revised; some of my facts might be incorrect: I welcome the any attempt to correct them: if it is done in the spirit of the pursuit of truth assists us to ~~be~~ locate ourselves more securely in the present, and not in the vanguards attempt to detest the past in order to di- a deterrent to hold an individual or a party in the present.

P.S. I am often asked why Zulu nationalism appears to be strong in contemporary South Africa. One, just one, of the reasons is that traditional Zulu society survived, comparatively undigested, so much longer than African societies in South

Plan for a Literacy Paper

historians / literacy [illegible]

Literacy: interest: 1) part of the push to modernity
2) Graff. Street / Eisenstein
not a stable different part of [illegible]
mine – not a technology struggled over

This paper Distance
Walter Ong: – distance emphasize
Michael

From historians
materiality of the text

Literacy

Plan

Literacy / new interest / the push to modernity /
Graff. / Street / Eisenstein

new critical work
orality: [illegible]
literacy

Killie Campbell 8/24.

Bits 1) Boxes: Commerce [2) remind Huffyne]

2) Brian Kenny / W.P.S.I.
Descriptions of Albums.)
Content:

3) Ask SAm /

4) Album on Gibraltar / IWW

5) Exhibition: on materials /

6) [MSS ±1 6000 loose in MSS wheels - not country E.G.M
processed. processed. (not processed not done)

7)

The Zulu nationalist movement will play a role in SA history.
It has indeed
In unexpected way
Inkosha - traduced by the govt
Hazy out
Tapping into history tapping into traditions
Only by tracing history
Not one history - history
Literate sources - of documentation
To do this shows down the narrative
But establishes a [illegible]
Course many [illegible] tragedy
Contradiction choice - not the narrative
from Shaka

William Ngidi: Translation, Writing Zulu, negotiating:
Explosive ideas: The impact of understanding:
Societies survive through ignorance
The explosive impact of understanding
Colenso trying to understand
Colenso the imperialist the dwelfer

Zululand: underused under exploited
1843: Boundaries finite ~ refugees ~ [illegible] world
Scorn for the amathefla
Ngidi ~ choose the colonial world
Enters it with help of JWC
Causes explosion
leaves it
& splendid old Zulu People.

Chris Tiffin + Alan Lawson eds De-Scribing Empire. Post Colonialism and textuality

London. New York: Routledge. 1994.

De-Scribing Empire examines the textual fabric of colonialism and its legacies. Starting from the premise that institutional colonialism was maintained ~~as much~~ by language as much as by guns, the book examines a range of textual strategies and their ramifications.

- the power of cartography to erase and dispossess
- the imperial role of (19) children's literature.
- the place of the femme in colonial power hierarchies
- racial mimes in (20) adventure fiction
- to the meaning and implications of native 'authenticity'
- the technologies of containment in a racist state
- the ambiguities of teaching resistance literature in a Western University

~~On September 1859 a waggon left Ekungwini / The Place of Light for a journey of two weeks.~~
~~visit the Zulu king Mpande ka Cetshwayo~~
~~Ekhanya in Zulu means light~~

Khanya - light
uku Khanya - to light
Ekukhanyeni - The Place of Light / Lit of Enlightment
Ekubaseni - the torch - lit at the place of light

~~In Sept 1859 a waggon left Ekukhanyeni~~
On Sept 1859 a journey began from Ekukhanyeni, ~~in the~~ on the mission station ~~of the~~ in the Shy of Natal, the residence of John Wolfe the Bishop of Natal. The destination was the the homestead of the Zulu king, Mpande ka Cetshwayo. The object to ask for permission to build a station

~~There were three men with the wagon. The~~

~~Two~~

The ~~ex~~ invasion came in 1879. Shepstone expert advice was that when confronted with the fact of the British army the kingdom would fragment leaving the king & the royal isolated. It was a miscalculation. On 22 January the Zulu army attacked the camp at Isandlwana. It was ~~a~~ terrible encounter ~~for both sides~~. The Zulu mounted wars charged into artillery, rocket, and rooted ~~volley firing~~ rifle ~~[illegible]~~ and suffered terrible casualties. But they ~~[illegible]~~ reached the camp and slaughtered the defeats.

~~The~~ There were no victors. ~~The British [illegible]~~ The Zulu losses were quite terrible – ~~and~~ the British camp annihilated – the ~~[illegible]~~ rest. ~~the Bra~~ weakly forces fell back to Natal to await the reinforcements to avenge their losses. Politically it was a catastrophe. ~~A~~ The quick inexperience to remove the Zulu obstacle became a national humiliation. The policy and the politicians who had pursued it were ~~[illegible]~~ came under hostile scrutiny examination. Among them was Theophilus Shepstone ~~[illegible]~~.

His ~~of~~ reputation as an imperial officer never recovered. It was already clear that ~~he lacked~~ his decision to annex the Transvaal ~~was~~ a ~~precipitate~~ & had been unwise and precipitate, ~~and~~ might be his dealings with Cetshayo ~~his [illegible]~~ it was regarded that "he had turned his coat in a most shoulders manner"

The man for whom his reputation in Afrian eyes, who had held the threat of the Queen's before their eyes for so many years had now to demonstration of Afrian might, which had destroyed his plans, ~~[illegible]~~ his friends and their son, including ~~his own~~ one of his own.

And yet, in spite of all, his reputation as a man who knew the natal mind ~~could~~ survived. For ~~some~~ a little while after

1 Autobiographies
2. Time Space & Modernity
3 Tri-Continental Frontier
4 Tradition & Modernity: Mostwestwe Afrikaans : Writing a historical essay
5 The Colonial Encounter: Quintus has [illegible]
6 The Colonial Encounter: Dyane Mpande & the creation of Colony & Natal
7 Imperialism : Cetshwayo and the [illegible] of Zululand
8: Imperialism : Three women Conquest Imperialism

Now in retirement in PMB, being vs Govt
the ews it was denoted "not alone our latest Secy of State."
But his reputation, his knowledge, his sincerity would
not be avoided, and he was soon again -
After the invasion, all plans for [illegible], &
the [illegible] was [illegible] August 13.
Shepstone, not only for the Zulu, disgusted, he [illegible]
- Natal For Zululand, Natal, his reputation.
The Crisis in Natal - [illegible] he did what he [illegible]
With Melmoth, the British Rule was his final
control, active control, taxation, [illegible] -
Bottom had respectively. He wanted the [illegible]
the [illegible] - [illegible] Shepstone supported those who
opposed. In He opposed - [illegible] could not.
Zululand shifted into [illegible] & [illegible].
Cetshwayo in Cape, [illegible] a [illegible] for [illegible]
The [illegible] guilty, but not [illegible] to [illegible]
[illegible]. Shepstone, [illegible] the [illegible] on the [illegible]
[illegible] to agree, not because [illegible] it was [illegible]
[illegible] a [illegible], [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] it
this was the [illegible] case of the [illegible] - [illegible] by
not to the [illegible] by [illegible].
Natal's hatred for the Zulu - the terrible six
months - humiliated in front of the other
Shepstone - private, public - esp. the black SM
Cetshwayo the sacrifice / the black and [illegible] / Natal

9/10/96 9th October 1996 ?;

In their grief they was no sense of liberation, freedom, to go back to England - a sense of a life not completed.
The brothers, looking ahead, new lives, for the girls it was to complete, a life not recognised.
Strict, Agnes, withdrawn, Frances,

HEC ~ the questions of mutilation, body parts;
had to get it in the ofen -

The messages into the Reserve.

~~Mr~~ It was a long letter, covering many topics, but at the kernel was a call for support, rally round the ~~rugby~~ house, even as its centre to build a new centre.
It looked to the future, but drew on the past, ~~the~~ at the conclusion ~~of two Houses of~~ Schools, ~~House of Smuggleton~~ of two Houses of Schools to the House of Smuggled, against the House of Smugica.

Colso was now 3
~~Harriette Emily~~, the eldest of the five children of Frances Sarah Bingon and JWC had been
Harriette
When it was finished the showed it to her mother. She felt that the parallels drawn between the death of the King and the of her husband the Bishop were too strong. but ~~the made suggested~~ it was a difference in emphasis rather than fact, and she agreed in with the spirit.

Frances Sarah Colso

881 1739
855

The nearly two thousand pages of ~~printed~~ letters, documents, articles and analysis which were compiled by John William Colenso ~~between~~ the and printed by Magema Fuze, between 1878 and 1883, are a historiographical memorial to a great radical voice in the history of imperialism in South Africa. Harriette Colenso attempted later in 1880s to revive the project ~~Ekutingeni press~~ but, important as some of the documents are, she was never able to emulate her father's initial project.

The Art

The 'Extracts from the Blue Books' the first part, was initiated by the High Commissioner, Sir Henry Bartle Frere, when he visited Colenso in Oct 1879. He was accompanied not only his private secretary, but also by the Lieutenant-Governor, Sir Henry Bulwer. (For the Bishop of Natal it was a visit ~~of great significance for~~ which he hoped might) It was a visit which Colenso, thought might ~~be of great~~ signify important changes in his relationship with the authorities in the Colony of Natal. For years now he had been virtually ostracised by official colonial Natal. Ever since he had publicly protested at the official handling of what Natal called the "Langalibalele Rebellion". But the 11 October visit suggested a change. ~~Now~~ Perhaps this visit indicated a change in attitude on

Ordinances and Constitution of the Catholic Church in letters to a Member of the Society of Friends.

2nd Edition 1842.

Dedication to the Rev. Derwent Coleridge, Stanley Grove, Chelsea

[[It is interesting to compare this with OWC Preface to Pen I - I find this sycophantic, and false modesty hypocritical - doesn't convince me. Anyway he does say why he is indebted to STC which should help me. Again; it is worth photocopying.]]

p.6. His poetry reflects the spirit of the Age] "... the history of his mind, and therein the history of our time."

He realised that society could not be dismantled & reconstructed and decided to discover its real nature: he did not discover the secret - but opened the way. Disliked by the Destructive Compromises + Conservative Englishmen the man of Abstractions - this combination of enemies.

Biographia Literaria has helped him understand ... ?

"Aids to Reflection" however is of fundamental importance he saw that the deepest principles were accessible ~~Sfr~~ to Peacock + Schoolmen. ~~to distinguish between~~ And

false modesty

"to the practical conclusion, that those who are so called to the work of teaching must cultivate and exercise their understandings, in order that they may discriminate between that which is factitious and accidental ... and that which is fixed and eternal, which belongs to man as man, and which God will open the eyes of every humble man to perceive."

1st Lay Sermon: Church & State: - a distinct National life

Universal Society

p.15 NB. NB - faith/knowledge & STC

Dead Lines

Contrast.

Two Ideals | the reality of the real Struggle | Contrasting Pyramids

95. But despite this intense preoccupation with cattle, the Bantu pay little attention to quality. For most social purposes one fullgrown beast is as good as another; and, if anything, preference is shown for animals of a particular colour or with horns of a certain shape rather than for well-developed oxen or good milch cows. The cows give little milk, and then only after calving, so that this important source of food fluctuates considerably in yield. And since it is every man's ambition to have as many cattle as possible [inferior stock. Most bulls castrated - no control over breeding.] [No fodder, cannot control disease, goats fulfil same role as cattle.

Hoff. Jonson, imp. - interesting - ahistorical.

W. D. Hammond-Tooke ed.: The Bantu-Speaking peoples of Southern Africa
2nd edition, 1974, London + Boston.

94-97, 149ff. 160ff. 150ff. 140ff. 206ff.

M. Shaw "Material Culture"

"Agriculture may be the principal source of subsistence, but
94. the Bantu themselves attach more importance to their cattle.
Animal husbandry is perhaps most strongly developed among
the Nguni, who inhabit the most favoured parts of the country;
whereas among the Tsonga and Venda disease, water, and
other factors have greatly reduced the size of herds, and
the presence of the tsetse-fly in many parts has been an
insurmountable obstacle to stock farming." [But where
possible they are kept, for food, leather, horns, dung,
beasts of burden.]

Cattle are further

"the principal medium of exchange, and the medium
in which court fines are levied... [They] are the
means of keeping on good terms with the ancestral spirits...
Schapera and Goodwin in Schapera (1st ed.).

Cattle are also the means of obtaining sexual
satisfaction, since a legal marriage cannot take place
without the passage of cattle.... The possession
of cattle gives social importance for they are the
means of securing many wives and adherents,
and of displaying hospitality and showing generosity,
on which virtues status largely depends.

Cattle therefore loom largely in a man's
thoughts. They are his principal form of wealth,
his most treasured possession; and anything
concerning them and their welfare focuses his
attention. [Cattle terms, individual names,
praise names. Slaughter on ceremonial occasions. Raids
caused war.]

137 E. P. Thompson William Morris

Willey, B,	Samuel Taylor Coleridge	821.7242	WIL
Dunkom, B.	The Heretics	270	DUN
Hick, J.	Faith & Knowledge	234.2	HIC
Jenkins, D.	Guide to the Debate about God	231	JeN.

Now, in spite of the notices which have appeared on the campus advertising this ~~seminar~~ meeting, this lecture in no way attempts to discuss how to construct this new totality. The debate at the moment is fierce and complex with socialist feminists, locating the struggle within the framework of ~~the~~ domestic exploitation in the ~~capit~~ system of capitalist production, and the radical feminists within the structure of the family & domestic labour in all societies. Nor is it concerned ~~within~~ with the immense problems of how ~~this~~ emancipation is to be achieved which is ~~unfamiliar~~ implied in the phrase W&R. This lecture is merely a first attempt to view, more objectively the lives of 3 remarkable, white, liberal women in South African history. Nonetheless

Merely

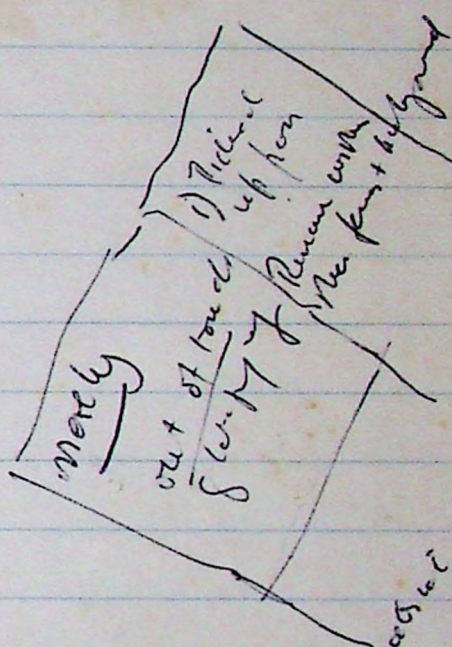
Out of touch

Sworn by Roman with the fears + background

Interested by their material

① they were not feminists

② Out of touch



Capital 23

The life Gift

Wolfe on the need for analysis of PCMP. 30

In the production of their lives

