

**FROM THE *LÜNEBURGER HEIDE* TO NORTHERN ZULULAND
A HISTORY OF THE ENCOUNTER BETWEEN THE SETTLERS,
THE HERMANNSBURG MISSIONARIES,
THE *AMAKHOSI* AND THEIR PEOPLE,
WITH SPECIAL REFERENCE TO FOUR
MISSION STATIONS IN NORTHERN
ZULULAND (1860-1913)**

BY

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DECLARATION

I hereby declare that this thesis is my own work and that all the sources I have used or quoted have been acknowledged by means of complete references.

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PIETERMARITZBURG

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IN SOUTH AFRICA

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DEDICATION

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ABSTRACT

From the Heide to the Disputed Region of Northern Zululand is a study that deals with the history of the encounter between the Amakhosi, the settlers, and the Hermannsburg missionaries in their struggle for land in the disputed region of northern Zululand. The thesis begins with an introduction in which the motivation, aim and scope of the study is explained. Then the approach is presented, followed by a critical look at the historiography of the Hermannsburg mission.

Chapter two describes the socio-political situation in Germany prior to the beginning of the Hermannsburg Mission in Germany and South Africa between 1789 and 1848. This period is taken to be the most dramatic and traumatic for German society, particularly for the northern part of Germany. It is a period of industrialization and mechanization, with unparalleled social consequences. The second part of chapter two deals with the awakening movement in the 19th century, the life of Ludwig Harms and the foundation of the Hermannsburg Mission in Germany, and the commissioning of missionaries to East Africa.

Chapter three describes the Zulu background and politics in which the political upheavals in the uPhongolo region under the following Amakhosi took place: Zwide, Dingiswayo, Shaka, Dingana and Mpande, Mkhanyile, Nkunga, Cetshwayo, Dinuzulu, Nyamayenja, Phuthini, Manyonyoba and Madlangampisi.

Chapter four deals with the beginning of the Hermannsburg Mission in the Thukela region. The activities of the Norwegian Missionary, Schreuder, his encounter with and

his advice to the Hermannsburg missionaries which led to the establishment of the Hermannsburg Mission in Natal and its mission stations in Southern Zululand, the sending of the Hermannsburg missionaries into Botswana in 1857 and Hardeland's superintendency in South Africa are elaborated.

Chapter five deals specifically with the activities of the Hermannsburg mission in the KwaNtabankulu region, which led to the establishment of the Ekuhlengeni and eNyathi mission stations. Furthermore, light is shed on the political rivalries which led to the annexation of the disputed region of northern Zululand by the Boers. The Anglo-Zulu war was followed by the creation of the New Republic which was supported by the South African Republic. In its wake, a scramble for the land took place. The missionaries intentionally misrepresented the original nature of their mission station land claims to the colonial authorities in order to be able to keep the land, thereby participating in this scramble. This disloyalty to the very people who received them for evangelization can be interpreted as contradicting their sacred call.

Chapter six deals with the Hermannsburg mission in the uPhongolo region, with emphasis on the eNtombe and eNkombela mission stations. This region, formerly part of northern Zululand, was annexed into the Transvaal Republic. As in chapter four, the life history of the missionaries is given attention. There was a dispute between the Zulu king and his people on the one side, and the Hermannsburg missionaries and the Boers on the other, for the property rights over eNtombe and eNkombela mission stations. It concludes with a recapitulation of the thesis.

Chapter seven is a conclusion in which findings, observations, suggestions and a way forward are presented.

ABBREVIATIONS

ABC	American Board of Commissioners
A:SA	Archives South Africa
A:SA 41.11e	Archives South Africa as Chronicle for eNtombe Mission Station
AYB	Archives Year Book for South African History
BMS	Berlin Mission Society
CA	Colonial Archives, Natal Pietermaritzburg
Colenso Series 1 & 2	Digest of Zulu Affairs compiled by Bishop Colenso and continued after his death by his daughter Harriette Emily Colenso (Bishopstowe 1878-88), series no.1, Parts I & II (December 1878-April 1881)
CO	Colonial Office
CZ	Correspondence respecting Zululand
CSM	Church of Sweden Mission
ECA	Executive Council Archives, Natal
ELCSA	Evangelical Lutheran Church in Southern Africa
G.H	Government House
HMBL	Hermannsburger Missionsblaetter
HMS	Hermannsburg Mission Society
HMG	Hermannsburger Missionsgeschichte
GPPC	Government Parliamentary Papers Correspondence
IAM	Index zu den Akten des Missions Archivs in Empangweni 1860-1923
JAH	Journal of African History

JSA	James Stuart Archives
JNZH	Journal of Natal and Zulu History
KCAL	Killie Campbell Africana Library
PA	Transvaalse Staatsargief, Pretoria
PMC	Property Management Company of (ELCSA)
RGG	Religion in Geschichte und Gegenwart
SA acc.	South Africa accessories
SNA	Secretary for Natives Affairs
SAR	South African Republic
SAAR	South African Archival Records
SACC	South African Council of Churches.
SPG	Society for the Propagation of the Gospel
TA	Transvaal Archives, Pretoria (abbreviated T.A.)
TASS	Transvaal Archives Staatsekretaris
TRE	Theologiesches Real Enzyklopädie
ZA	Zululand Archives
ZAR	Zuid Afrikaanse Republiek

CHAPTER ONE

PROLEGOMENA

1. PROLEGOMENA

From 1840 onwards, the Zulu kingdom was earmarked by many mission societies as a mission field. The activities of those mission societies, whether positive or negative, constitute a church history, which could be referred to as a “Social History of Mission”. This is true of the encounter between the Zulu kingdom and the Hermannsburg Mission. The Hermannsburg Mission, established in 1849 by Ludwig Harms in Germany, is one of the Mission Societies which, until 1960, constituted the Lutheran Church in South Africa, especially in Zululand and Botswana, which then included the former western Transvaal. This society, more than any other society, had been involved in the politics of Zululand and the then colonial Natal. Its missionaries, after establishing Hermannsburg town in 1854 in the area called Msinga under the eMachunwini and eMabomvini tribes, then moved into Zululand and worked in the rural area among the Zulu people within the Zulu kingdom. They were therefore fully aware of what was happening in Zululand during the times of the Zulu kings Mpande kaSenzangakhona, Cetshwayo kaMpande and Dinuzulu kaCetshwayo from 1860 to 1913.

The missionaries were at the interface of relationships among the three other parties: the Zulus on the one hand; the colonists and settlers on the other. As far as their relationship with the Zulus was concerned, the siting of the mission station was crucial. If it was close to the *Amakhanda* (Royal homesteads), the missionary was able to communicate

immediately with the king or princes and clear up any problems before they became serious. On the other hand, if the mission site was too far away, communication was difficult and problems were not solved in time to avert serious trouble in that particular area.

As far as the colonists and settlers were concerned, the missionaries were used either as victims or tools to gain access to, or cause dissension among, the Zulu people. An example of this is the deportation of missionary Filer from eNyathi and Zululand in 1869: a conflict arose between Chief Nkunga Zulu at eNyathi and missionary Filer. Filer reported this to the British colonial authority. This action annoyed Prince Cetshwayo, as Filer was supposed to report to Prince Cetshwayo first before going to the British. Filer, by so doing, said Cetshwayo, was exposing Zulu affairs to the British, which could be misunderstood.

In this thesis I intend to focus on the region of Northern Zululand, which became the scene of border disputes and later of wars.

The disputes began as an encroachment by the Boers as far back as 1840, when they illegally crossed uMzinyathi River, which the Boers demarcated as a boundary between the Zulu kingdom and the Boers, after annexing Shaka's country in that year. After the Boers had been defeated by the English, they breached their own border stipulation by crossing the very boundary they had demarcated in 1840. After that, they moved into the areas of Utrecht, Lüneburg and Vryheid. Having crossed that boundary, they started to harass the Zulus along the uMzinyathi River by driving them away from their grazing land and declaring the land as their own.

Cetshwayo, during an interview in Cape Town in 1881, is reported to have stated:

“and the country where Utrecht now stands he [Mpande] gave nominally to a Boer, whose Zulu name was Ginginizi, who was to be the outside, or border, Boer. Panda was very glad to see the English take Natal from the Boers; he did not trust the latter, and was always in fear that they would turn on him and make further demands”.¹

Cetshwayo continued his vivid description of how the Boers were encroaching on Zululand when he said:

“The Boers then came to Boza’s kraal in large numbers, quite a small army and fired outside the kraal at a hillock, saying to Boza’s people, ‘Get you away from here; leave this kraal, as we want to live here ourselves.’ The Boers then carried on their wrong doings by driving their cattle into the Zulu gardens, and when the Zulus - men and women - tried to save their food by driving out the cattle, the Boers simply half-killed these men and women by whipping them”.

Cetshwayo continued to state:

¹ Zulu, Cetshwayo, in Webb, C. de B. and Wright, J.B. (eds), *A Zulu King Speaks: Statements made by Cetshwayo kaMpande on the history of his people*. (Pietermaritzburg, University of Natal Press and Durban, Killie Campbell Africana Library, 1987), p. 14. Hereafter *A Zulu King Speaks*.

“After this, the Boers came into my country in the North with many men as if they came to war with us, surrounded the Zulu kraals, and beat the inmates, telling them to leave their homes, as they [the Boers] were going to live there. They went to Qodi’s kraal and Mahlebe’s kraal and did the same. [...] At this juncture the Boers said, ‘We are going now to enter the Zulu country commencing at Seketwayo’s, then passing on to Enkande, then passing on to Enhlazatye; we will go across all this country during the night, and in the morning we will enter Ulundi.’ During the same night they would enter the country, the Zulus heard noises of the Boers horses, ridden by Boers who were to reconnoitre the country. The Zulus then got alarmed, and armed. I also gave orders to the whole of Zululand to arm themselves and keep themselves in readiness until they were told whereabouts in the country the Boers are lying; but on my ascertaining that the Boers had gone back to their own country, I immediately apprised all my soldiers of it, and told them to go home, and keep quiet. This is what was called in Natal, ‘Cetshwayo has armed himself, and is about to fight’”.²

In the preceding statement, Cetshwayo was referring to the incident of 1865 when the authorities in colonial Natal said that the Zulus were coming to invade that area.

In this thesis, allusions will be made to these and other events that took place within northern Zululand, that is to say, the encounter that took the form of the encroachment policy committed by the British, the Boers and the missionaries. This encroachment was

² Zulu, Cetshwayo, in *A Zulu King Speaks*, pp. 47-48, 51.

the beginning of the conflict known as the Border Dispute, which reached a climax in 1878. Under Mpande's successor, Cetshwayo, the population of the northern part of the Zulu kingdom came under increasing pressure from the Transvaal Boers. Cetshwayo sought support against Boer encroachment on the kingdom from the British colonial government of Natal in the person of Sir Theophilus Shepstone. Shepstone initially agreed to set up an alliance with the Zulu kingdom to confront the encroaching Boers, who had annexed the independent Zulu kingdom as an obstacle to British expansion, but later on changed his position and backed the Boers, who had annexed the territory of northern Zululand (1875). When the British annexed the Transvaal two years later, and Shepstone became the Governor General of the Transvaal, he backed the Boers against the Zulu kingdom. At this news, negotiations between Cetshwayo and Shepstone broke down, and rumours of war were rife. The Zululand-Transvaal boundary dispute served as a pretext for Shepstone's proposed annexation of Zululand. To investigate the border conflict, the Natal administration, under Sir Henry Bulwer, appointed a Boundary Commission. The publication of the Commission's report was delayed. Even though it supported the Zulu king's claims, its publication was coupled with an ultimatum to the Zulu king. Among other measures, fines were imposed on Zululand inhabitants for alleged border violations (which were not confirmed by the report of the Commission), and the Zulu military system was to be abolished. How the spoil was to be divided up is reflected in the following statement by Bulwer:

“It appears that the intention of the Boers is to take a strip of land, about four farms deep, along the whole length of the Reserve Border down to the sea: [...] this belt of land will be about 10 miles wide, and [...] the Boers intend, when this belt has been laid off, to lay off, if necessary, another similar belt of farm

alongside the first, and so on until the full number of 800 farms has been completed”.³

It is against this background that reference will be made to those politics of land dispute in which the missionaries were also involved. One of the most controversial activities of the Hermannsburg Mission in Zululand was its involvement in the land acquisition. Since 1869, the missionaries had been involved in expropriation, which often led to the suffering of black people in Zululand.

The Hermannsburg Mission founded the following mission stations in northern Zululand between 1860 and 1867: eHlonyane (1860), which later became eKuhlengeni (1867); eThaka (1862), which became Bethel (1873); eNyathi 1862; eDlomodlomo (1862); eSihlengeni (1867); and three mission stations across uPhongolo river, namely, eNtombe (1860), eNkombela (1861) and eMhlongamvula (1862). However, the last one had to be closed down due to insecurity.

The chapters of this thesis will take the following course:

One: the thesis begins with an introduction in which the motivation, aim and scope of the study is explained. Then the approach is presented, followed by a critical look at the historiography of the Hermannsburg mission.

Two: I will describe the social history of Germany, with emphasis on the northern part in an area called '*Luneburger Heide*'. The Hermannsburg Mission headquarters are situated

³ Bulwer, H., to the Earl of Derby, 12.1.1885, in: CA, August 1885, p. 15.

on the *Heide*. It is there where most of the missionaries were trained and sent to South Africa by Louis Harms.

Three: The socio- political structure of Zululand before the advent of the settlers in 1820 will be described.

Four: I will investigate the role played by Missionary Schreuder and his assistance to the Hermannsburg missionaries in establishing the Hermannsburg Mission in Natal, and the role played by Hardeland in the 1860s.

Five: I will explore the establishment of the two mission stations, namely eKuhlangeni and eNyathi. Further, I will explore the settlers' involvement, that is to say the British and the Boers in the disputed areas of northern Zululand.

Six: The emphasis is on the two mission stations across uPhongolo region, namely, eNtombe and eNkombela. The Zulu King, the Swazi King, the missionaries and the Boers too were disputing this area.

Seven: This is a summary of and an epilogue to the whole thesis.

The four mission stations eKuhlangeni (eHlonyane), eNyathi, eNtombe and eNkombela (eNcaka) have been chosen as case studies precisely because the former two lie in the heart of northern Zululand, and the latter two lie across the uPhongolo River and were claimed by the South African Republic as lying within its jurisdiction and consequently annexed.

The encroachment by the settlers on the one side and the struggle for the land by the Hermannsburg missionaries on the other resulted in what could be termed as dispossession. That dispossession caused material, physical and psychological harm to the black people who lived in the disputed area.

A detailed description of the pre-colonial history of the areas, particularly that of the Amakhosi and their people where the mission stations are situated, is necessary. The encounter had a good and bad side: good in that the missionaries brought the good news of the liberating Gospel of our Lord Jesus Christ, and bad because the process entailed land dispossession.

I will also explain how the events that took place in those areas before, during and after the arrival of the missionaries, created the issues of dispossession about which the people have complained until today.

Three developments in the area of written history have taken place. The first development concerns discoveries in the area of archaeology in Natal and Zululand. Aron Mazel, Tim Maggs and Martin Hall have addressed those discoveries about the Stone Age People of Natal.⁴ Recent discoveries have substantially influenced the non-church historians to change their ideas, especially the theory that black people came to South Africa in the seventeenth century. As a result of the above archaeological discoveries, the history of Zululand-Natal had to be rewritten.⁵

The second development is in the importance given to oral tradition as people's history in addition to the written and documented history, for example, colonial history. The awareness of the importance of the oral history as a legitimate source of historical information in the region of Zululand-Natal was increased by the discovery of the James Stuart documents relating to the history of Zululand which

⁴ Maggs, Tim, *The Iron Age Farming Communities* in Duminy, Andrew, & Guest, Bill, (eds). *Natal and Zululand - From Earliest Times to 1910 - A New History*, (University of Natal Press, Pietermaritzburg, 1989) pp.28-45 Hereafter, *Natal and Zululand*; Hall, Martin, "An iron age site on the Zululand Coast", Hall, Martin, "Enkwazini : an Iron Age Site on the Zululand Coast", *Annals of the Natal Museum*, 24, 1 (1980), pp. 97-100; *Natal and Zululand*, p. 31; Hall, Martin, *The changing past - Farmers, Kings and Traders in Southern Africa 200-1860*, (London, 1987).

⁵ *Natal and Zululand*; Wright, John, *The Dynamics of Power and Conflict in the Thukela - Mzimkhulu region in the late 18th and early 19th centuries: A Critical Reconstruction*, (Ph.D. Dissertation, University of Witwatersrand, 1989). Hereafter *The Dynamics of Power*

are stored in the Killie Campbell Collections in Durban, now called the Centre for Oral and Historical Studies.

Only since Webb and John Wright translated some of these documents from (isi)Zulu into English, have many historians had access to these documents, with the result that a debate began about the colonial past, especially its role in the slave industry and the so-called "Mfecane Wars", said to have been started by Shaka kaSenzangakhona. Julian Cobbing was responsible for this debate, for he accused the colonial governments, be they English or Boers, of involvement in the Mfecane upheavals.⁶ Julian Cobbing caused a reaction of unforeseen proportions.

A series of seminars have been held by historians since 1986, culminating with the one held at Wits in 1991 on the theme "The Mfecane aftermath - A paradigm shift". Later on, a book containing the papers presented at Wits in 1991 was published, edited by Elizabeth Eldredge and Fred Morton.⁷

⁶ Julian Cobbing's review of the James Stuart archives "A tainted well - The objectives historical fantasies and working methods of James Stuart with counter arguments", in *Journal of Natal and Zulu History*, Vol. XI, 1988, pp. 115-154.

⁷ Eldredge, E.A. & Morton, Fred, *Slavery in South Africa Captive Labour on the Dutch Frontier*, (Pietermaritzburg, Natal University Press, 1994); Shell, Robert, *Children of Bondage. A Social History of the Slave Society at the Cape of Good Hope, 1652-1883*, (Witwatersrand University Press, 1994). Hereafter *Slavery in S.A.*

Carolyn Hamilton challenged Cobbing's assertion that the missionaries and the British Government at the Cape and later Natal were involved in slavery before 1820.⁸ Hamilton not only challenged Cobbing to bring forward more evidence and sources for his assertion, but also described in detail the nature of the debate. Unfortunately, Cobbing refused to contribute to the publication of the above-mentioned book.

For this *metanoia* and *catharsis* on the part of the historians in South Africa we are grateful, and are indebted to the recording and interpretation of oral tradition as people's history.

The third area of development that motivated me, is the social history of mission in South Africa. Some time back, a South African historian, Dr E. Brown, said:

"I would like to advance the thesis that we are in need of a black church history of South Africa for two reasons: (1) In order to enable a true church history of S.A. and (2) to prove that a black church history of S.A. is not necessarily a true S.A. history."

⁸ Hamilton, Carolyn, *The Mfecane aftermath, Reconstructive Debates in South African History* (Natal University and Wits University Press, 1995). Hereafter, *The Mfecane Aftermath*

Brown continued further:

"What I really want to point out, is that the writing of church history must come to a comprehensive context and orientation and theological approach [...] a black church history of S.A. is indeed needed and will be in tune with the general tendency in the South African church historiography."⁹

It is known that Brown's statement came within the context of black theology evolution in South Africa. Today the South African church historians slowly but surely have managed to come to grips with the reality of the contribution made, and the role played, by the black Christians in South African church history. Theologians like Nehemiah Thile, Tiyo Soga and Ntsikana, John Dube and Paulina Dlamini, to name just a few, feature strongly in the role played by black Christians.

In the light of the above debates, my focus will be on the history of the Hermannsburg Mission in North Zululand as constitutive to the church history of the Lutherans in Natal in particular, but also to its place in South African Church History in general.

⁹ Brown, E., "The Necessity of a 'Black' South African Church History", in *Relevant Theology for Africa, A Consultation of Missiological Institute on the 12th-21st September 1972*, (Umfhumulo, 1972), pp. 79-116.

1.1 Method

The research and writing method used, employs both written and oral evidence. It uses written evidence since the objective of the thesis is to prove that the encounter of the Hermannsburg Mission Society with the black people, resulted in the land dispossession of the black people, Christians and non-Christians alike, in Natal, but especially in northern Zululand. Therefore, the approach taken is firstly to give a historical overview of the socio-political structure of Zululand under the Zulu kings and the ruling lineage chiefs¹⁰, secondly, to relate the life history of the missionaries and founding of the mission stations, and then point to the inevitable problems, which led to conflicts or disputes over the property rights. This thesis, therefore, claims to be a history of mission, which takes cognizance of the history of the black people in Natal and Zululand with emphasis on northern Zululand. In conducting such an investigation, written documents are indispensable. These will include correspondence material such as letters and the official journals of the Mission Society, found in archives and libraries, which were formerly stored in ePhangweni (Moorleigh) and in 1976

¹⁰ In the subsequent literature, the structure and hierarchy of the Zulu kingdom that is the king, the nobles and the clans can be found. Guy, J. *The Destruction of the Zulu Kingdom : The Civil War in Zululand 1879-1884*, (London, 1979, Ravan Press Johannesburg, 1982), pp. 21-40, 248-252, vide pp.24-27, 31,33,35; Lugg, H.C., *Life under a Zulu shield Shuter and Shooter Pietermaritzburg*, 1975, pp. 31-39; Pridmore Julie, *The diary of Henry Francis Fynn: 1883. Vol I INTRODUCTION* (M.A. Thesis in History, University of Natal, Pietermaritzburg, 1987) especially Chapter III The nature of the Zulu state c 1780-1883, pp.26-91; Marks, Shula, *The Traditions of the Natal "Nguni": A second look at the work of A.T. Bryant*, in *African Societies in Southern Africa*, (ed) L. Thompson (London) 1969; Marks, Shula, *Natal, the Zulu Royal family and the Ideology of segregation in Journal of Southern African Studies*, Vol.4. no1 (1977).

transferred to Hermannsburg, Germany. These documents are invaluable as they not only supply evidence of the founding of the mission stations and the successes and failures of such undertakings, but also shed light on the stress, disappointment and despair of the missionaries in their daily lives.¹¹

Oral evidence is also used. The tradition of orality as oral history is, in any historical project, indispensable, for it helps the researcher to fill in the obscure gaps of accounts and descriptions found in official documents in the archives and libraries. The conditions for successful and adequate empirical evidence, however, presuppose a firm and well-established tradition of orality in the villages or mission stations situated in the rural areas, in short, to at least get a balanced picture of what the missionary has written (in official historical documents) as opposed to, or in agreement with, the well-established oral tradition as people's history. What did the missionary think and write about the people, and what did the people think and say - and still say - about the missionaries?¹² Where there is a lack of a firmly established oral tradition, it is almost impossible to cross check the written documents. Experience has shown that memories of people differ in aptitude. Some families or tribes have genealogies going as far back as 700 years. This is the case with the history of Royal Houses. The written documents are mostly in the German language, except in the case of correspondence either from English or Boer colonists.

¹¹ Archives of the Hermannsburg Mission Society (Germany) in which various documents and letters are to be found dating from 1854-1960, Hereafter HMBL and HMS.

¹² King Mother : Nkosi, Ntoloji Tryphina kaSitimela kaSambane Zondo eNcaka (Nkombela) interview 16-01-1997.

Both methods - oral and written - have been used wherever and whenever possible.¹³ Therefore, my theoretical position and method is a narrative critical analysis, translation and discourse with both written and oral history sources on the history of mission.

In the following section, I want to critically evaluate and appraise the written sources on the Hermannsburg Mission and the Lutheran Church in general.

1.2 A Critical Look at the Historiography on the Hermannsburg Mission

The history of the Hermannsburger Mission Society is intrinsically interwoven with the person of Ludwig Harms as founder, strategist and propagator of his mission ideas.¹⁴ Soon after his death, his brother, Theodor Harms, wrote and published a biography of Ludwig Harms.¹⁵ By 1874 the biography was widely circulated in mission circles. A second attempt at presenting Louis Harms' life was made by Georg Haccius in his second volume of the *History of the*

¹³ See a list of interviews conducted between 1980 and 1997 in the end of the unpublished Primary Sources in the Bibliography; Vansina, J. *Oral Tradition, A Study in Historical Methodology*, (London, 1969), Hereafter, *Oral Tradition*.

¹⁴ Harms, L., in HMBL, 1854, pp. 13-16, 43; Harms, Louis, (= Ludwig Harms) *Das Missionshaus in Hermannsburg in: Zeitschrift für Angelegenheiten der Lutherischen Kirche 10*, (1851), p. 85ff.

¹⁵ Harms, Theodor, *Lebensbeschreibung des Pastor Louis Harms*, (Hermannsburg, 1911⁸)

*Hermannsburg Mission Society and its related mission stations in South Africa.*¹⁶

Pastors Wilhelm Wendebourg and Wolfram Kistner have published the latest biography of Harms.¹⁷ Friedrich Speckmann wrote a comprehensive and detailed history of the religion and customs of the black people in Natal and Zululand. This also contains a detailed history of the mission stations in Natal and Zululand in which he described the origin and development of mission work under consecutive missionaries.¹⁸

A closer look at all the above mentioned writings on the Hermannsburg mission history will inevitably lead the reader to conclude that these books were written from one perspective, namely, that of personal salvation. This understanding was the understanding of the church and society of nineteenth-century Germany. The church and mission understood itself as standing outside time and history. In everything, they saw in life and nature, particularly within the South African context, God's anger or wrath.¹⁹

¹⁶ Haccius, G., *Hannoversche Missionsgeschichte*, Vol. 2, (Hermannsburg, 1910), pp. 1-30, Hereafter HMG II².

¹⁷ Wendebourg, Wilhelm, *Louis Harms als Missionsmann. Missionsgedanken und Missionstaten des Begründers der Hermannsburg Mission*, (Hermannsburg, 1910); Kistner, Wolfram, *Louis Harms (1808-1865)*, (Hermannsburg, Missionshandlung, 1965).

¹⁸ Speckmann, Friedrich, *Die Hermannsbürger Mission in Afrika*, (Hermannsburg, 1876), Hereafter *Mission in Afrika*.

¹⁹ HMBL., 1862, p. 94; Meyer, Friedrich, A:SA 41. 11e, pp. 1-8, eNtombe Mission Station Chronicles; Romans 1:18-19 in NIV Bible; HMBL., 1856, p.3f; Hasselhorn, F. pp. 33-34; Christensen, Torben, and Hutchison, R. William, (ed). *Missionary Ideologies in the imperialist Era: 1880-1920*, Copenhagen, 1982.

In *nuce*, the historiography of the Hermannsburg Mission from 1865-1960 was too narrow and self-gratifying. The mere fact that the official history of the mission society was written and ratified by mission directors and inspectors who were insiders, proved to be one of the greatest weaknesses and disadvantages of the Hermannsburg Mission Society, for this attitude concealed the internal conflicts and realities under which many of its loyal servants suffered enormously.²⁰

Two theses are important: the one written in 1966 by Heinrich Schlag, *Lutherische Zusammenarbeit und Einigungsversuche im südlichen Afrika*, (unpublished M.Th. Thesis University of Hamburg, 1966) and the other in 1970 by Wolfgang Albers, *Evangelisch-Lutherische Kirche im südlichen Afrika*, (unpublished M.Th. Thesis at the University of Hamburg, 1970). They contributed greatly in analysing the attitude of the Lutheran churches, especially the Black Lutheran Church, emanating from the mission societies to the unity of the synods and the merger leading to the founding of ELCSA in 1975. Another thesis that attempts to break with the HMS tradition of writing a history of personal salvation is that of Georg Scriba submitted at the University of Erlangen in 1974.²¹ At that time Scriba was focusing on the possible church unity and its responsibility to spread the Gospel all over the world. He asked what the objective of the Lutheran churches at that time was. Was it to become a “people’s

²⁰ Speckmann, F., *Mission in Afrika*, p. 1f.

²¹ Scriba, Georg, *Kirche als Ziel der Mission - Volkskirche oder Weltkirche? Dargelegt am Beispiel der Hermannsbürger Mission in Südafrika*, (unpublished M.Th. Thesis at the University of Erlangen, 1974).

church” (*Volkskirche*) or a church which takes into consideration the wider context of the church as an ecumenical movement? A year later, the black ELCSA was formed as a merger between the Botswana and SE Regions-Lutheran Churches with different missionary backgrounds. Scriba was involved in intensive unity talks with the Free Lutheran Church in South Africa (*FELCISA*) and the Natal-Transvaal Lutheran Church on the one hand, and the black Lutherans (ELCSA) on the other.²²

It was only in the late 1970s and 1980s that a profound and comprehensive analysis of both archival and written material on the Hermannsburg and other mission societies was made.

In 1979, a thesis was presented by Ulrike Kistner at the University of the Witwatersrand in Johannesburg, which looked into the position, writing and social behaviour of the German missionaries in South Africa between 1880 and 1920.²³ She pioneered the research into the thinking of the Germans as missionaries in South Africa, irrespective of their mission society, that is, whether

²² Scriba, Georg, *Zwischenbilanz der Gespräche Zwischen der Evangelisch-Lutherischen Kirche im südlichen Afrika Natal/Transvaal und der Freien Evangelisch-Lutherischen Synode in Südafrika seit 1990*, (Luthos Publications, 1990).

²³ Kistner, Ulrike, *Die politische Rolle der Unpolitischen: Entwicklungen und Tendenzen in der Südafrikanischen Gesellschaft im Spiegel des Deutschen Missionsschiffertums über Südafrika, 1880-1920*, (B.A. Thesis with Honours, University of the Witwatersrand, Johannesburg, 1979). Hereafter, *Die politische Rolle*.

they came from the Rheinisch, Berlin or Hermannsburg mission societies. The other groups were German settlers and teachers at so-called German schools.²⁴

From Germany especially, the pietistic groups had a belief that neutrality was the best *modus vivendi et operandi* in any given society. They were known as the "Silent Ones" in the country ("*die Stille im Lande*"). This was understood to mean to be apolitical.²⁵ However, in a conflict situation, like South Africa at the time, it was practically impossible to be neutral. The irony, however, was that whilst they claimed to be apolitical, they were indeed political through their writings, which clearly reflected their racial superiority complex and contempt towards the black people of this country. By studying their documents and correspondence, Kistner could show beyond any doubt that they were politically active and undoubtedly collaborated with the then existing political authorities. In a way, the Germans contributed in edifying apartheid.²⁶ The British laid the foundations, Germans built the walls on it and the Boers completed the roof, and by 1948 it was a complete house, which was called 'apartheid'.

²⁴ Dehnke, H., "*Volkstum und Schule auf dem Hermannsburger Missionsfeld in Transvaal.*" *Vom Missionsdienst der Lutherischen Kirche: Berichte und Übersichten dargeboten von der Missionskonferenz in Sachsen.* Hg. W. Gerber, 2 (1939), S. 68 -72; *Mission und Schule*, p. 296f in Wickert, W., (ed). *Und die Vögel des Himmels Wohnen unter seiner Zweigen, 100 Jahre Bauern Mission in Südafrika*, (Hermannsburg, 1949), Hereafter *Und die Vögel des Himmels*.

²⁵ Schnabel, Franz, *Deutsche Geschichte im 19. Jahrhundert* Vol. 4. "*The Religious Forces*", p. 298; Proske, W. *Botswana und die Anfänge*, p. 116; Schulenburg, in HMBL, 1908, pp. 88-90, 114-117.

²⁶ Oepke, P., *Die Verbindung Von Mission und Kolonisation in her Hermannsburger Südafrikaischen Mission in: Jahrbuch der Sächsischen Missionskonferenz für das Jahr 1917*, (Leipzig, 1917), p. 21ff.

In 1985, Kistner's findings were followed by a work written by Leuschke and presented in the History Department of the University of Natal, Pietermaritzburg, as a BA Honours thesis.²⁷ Leuschke's starting point was the analysis of the activities of the Hermannsburg Mission Society in Natal and Zululand in the period 1854-1865.²⁸ This period covers the times of Ludwig Harms until his death in 1865. The founding of the mission in Natal was a strange occurrence, which at times is referred to as a coincidence, for their destination was Oromoland (Gallaland) in Ethiopia. The mission was aborted after two attempts, in both cases the obstacle being the Islamic Sultanate in both Zanzibar and Mombasa on the East Coast of Africa.²⁹ In despair, dejected and disappointed, they stopped in Natal on their way to Europe. Their arrival in Natal was not a coincidence as is usually asserted. Natal was an alternative, known to both Louis Harms and his missionaries. Missionary Wilhelm Posselt had been in constant correspondence with Louis Harms on the possibility of mission work in Natal and eventually in Zululand. Rebmann had repeatedly pointed to this possibility in the face of difficulties in beginning a mission within the Sultanate in East Africa. Leuschke's work is of great value as it describes the birth and evolution of HMS in the aforesaid territories, particularly its entanglement with colonial Natal. In short, his work is a survey of the history of HMS from its origin in 1849 in Germany until 1865, with emphasis on the period between 1854 and 1865 in which the missionaries, the colonial government, Africans and finally Hardeland,

²⁷ Leuschke, A.H.M., *The Hermannsburg Mission Society in Natal and Zululand, 1854-1965*, (B.A. Hons. Thesis, University of Natal [History Dept], Pietermaritzburg, 1985). Hereafter *Hermannsburg Mission Society*.

²⁸ Kistner, W., *Ludwig Harms (1808-1865)*, (Hermannsburg, 1965), p. 1f.

²⁹ Harms, L., in HMBL, 1854, pp. 152-155, 156-163.

in Natal and Zululand, were involved. He concludes his work by looking briefly at the English mission.

Fritz Hasselhorn (1988) was the first secular historian to analyse and expose the activities of the Hermannsburg missionaries in South Africa.³⁰ He exposed how the HMS acquired and at times appropriated land from the indigenous people. Hasselhorn's research has gone beyond just pointing to the achievements of the mission and, therefore, of Christianity. He proved that the Hermannsburg missionaries came from a poor rural background at home in Germany, and being a missionary overseas was a chance for survival.³¹ The Mission Society could not support its workers in the mission field; hence, the missionaries were bound and obliged to acquire land for cultivation and subsistence. The Mission Society adopted the policy of acquiring land as its *modus vivendi et operandi*; this was more so as almost all the mission stations were in the rural areas. Therefore, it was a peasant mission.³² A piece of land was bought in Natal and the former Transvaal. Hasselhorn's thesis was a research into the overall work and position of the HMS and its entanglement with colonial politics of dispossession. Hasselhorn, with reference to Sanneh Lamin and Paul Jenkins, stressed the need for an indigenous theology, that is, a theology, which will seriously reappraise and take into cognizance the role-played by black clergy and their lay people in the furtherance of Christianity in South Africa.³³ Fortunately, the School of Theology at the University of Natal, Pietermaritzburg, has heeded this call in the discipline of the History of Christianity. A project "Black Clergy under Apartheid" has been undertaken, which looks into the role of

³⁰ Hasselhorn, Fritz, *Bauernmission in Südafrika - Die Hermannsburg Mission im Spannungsfeld der Kolonialpolitik 1880-1939*, Vol. 6, (Erlangen, 1988). (Hereafter *Bauernmission in Südafrika*).

³¹ Hasselhorn, F., *Bauernmission in Südafrika*, p. 37ff.

³² Ibid., p. 37ff; Rüter, Kirsten, *Social Strategies in African Conversion to Christianity : The Experience of the Hermannsburg Mission in South Africa, 1854-1879*, (M.A. Thesis, University of Hannover, 1995), pp. 16-31. (Hereafter *Social Strategies*).

³³ Jenkins, Paul, "Missionsgeschichte: Ein Manifest", *Zeitschrift für Mission*, (1983), pp. 8-18.

those ministers in the period between 1948-1960. Given its critical nature, Hasselhorn's book forms a basis for future researchers into the activities of the HMS.

Finally, Dr Wolfram Kistner has written an important preface to the book written by Frietz Hasselhorn. Kistner pointedly reminded the churches in South Africa and abroad to take stock and give an account of their faith and witness in society. He strongly called for “awareness and confession of guilt” for what their predecessors in the mission field had done.³⁴ Therefore, Hasselhorn's findings on land and dispossession will be constitutive to this thesis.

A subsequent thesis appeared in 1989 written by Wolfgang Proske, which exposed the entanglement and activities of the Hermannsburg Mission Society in Botswana. He was a historian and social scientist³⁵. Furthermore, Proske also proved and described in detail the communal life of the missionaries in Natal and how this life was disturbed by Hardeland's authoritarian attitude. Proske went into detail in studying the Batswana society in the pre-colonial era. This enabled him to prove that the Batswana society came under stress and disintegration through its contact with colonialists, settlers and missionaries.³⁶ In other words, three parties were involved in dispossessing and disintegrating the Batswana society, namely, the Boers, the British and the missionaries. Among the missionaries were the English Moffat, Livingstone, and MacKenzie, and the

³⁴ Kistner, W., in *Bauernmission in Südafrika*, pp. 9-13.

³⁵ Proske, Wolfgang, *Botswana und die Anfänge der Hermannsburger Mission Voraussetzungen, Verlauf und Scheitern eines Lutherischen Missionierungsversuches im Spannungsfeld divergierender politischer Interessen*, (Ph.D. at the University of Bremen, 1988); Published in (Peter Lang Frankfurt am Main, 1989). *Hereafter; Botswana und die Anfänge der Hermannsburger Mission*.

³⁶ Proske, W., *Botswana und die Anfänge der Hermannsburger Mission*, pp. 43-84; 148-158; 171-184; 239-249.

Hermannsburg missionaries, Schroeder and Schulenburg. The Batswana kings had to cooperate and form alliances with each of these groups in order to survive. In the midst of those divergent and often conflicting interests, the Hermannsburg missionaries attempted to do mission work, which according to Proske, was doomed to fail.

The works of Winkler and Lange are significant studies on the HMS and the Lutherans in the South African context. Lange convincingly argued that the division of the Lutheran Church into black and white churches had its root cause in the constitution drafted by Louis Harms.³⁷ His findings were strengthened and complemented by Winkler's M.A. thesis submitted in 1989 at the University of Cape Town³⁸. Winkler investigated the historical origins of the Lutheran Churches from their respective mission societies. His emphasis was on analysing the Lutheran Churches and their role in the social context. The analytical aim was to examine the Lutheran churches in their internal complexity in relation to their social context, and to examine the interaction between internal struggles and external context. His thesis shows how the struggles internal to Lutheran Churches, particularly the struggle between dominate and a prophetic (black) theology, have affected their ability to participate in the broader struggle for liberation in South Africa. Winkler's thesis is, therefore, an historical analysis of the problems within the Lutheran Churches, and a critique, at the same time, on all Lutherans in South Africa to date,

³⁷ Lange, B.H., *One Root, Two Stems : A Study of the Origin and Consequences of the Constitution of the First Missionary Congregation of the Hermannsburg Mission Society in South Africa*, (University of Natal (PMB) Church History III Project, 1988). (Hereafter *One Root, Two Stems*).

³⁸ Winkler, Harald, E., *The Divided Roots of Lutheranism in South Africa. A Critical Overview of the Social History of the German speaking Lutheran Mission and the Churches originating from their work in South Africa*, (M.A. Thesis, University of Cape Town, 1989). Hereafter *The Divided Roots*.

irrespective of their missionary origins, with emphasis, however, on the Hermannsburg and Berlin Mission societies.

Heinrich Bammann has undertaken in his work (1990) the task of comparing the understanding of *koinonia* in the theology of Bruno Gutmann and that of the Hermannsburg missionaries in Southern Africa. His starting point was to investigate Bruno Gutmann's understanding of "*Urtümliche Bindungen*" (the ontological oneness) in which clan and tribe are pillars of a community. These will develop to the understanding of oneness of origin (*Abstammungs einheit*), the neighbourliness and age old comradeship. Bammann attempted to compare these terminologies with the origin (*Herkunft*) of the missionaries themselves, from Lüneberger Heide and Hermannsburg under Louis Harms' authority. The Hermannsburg missionary left Hermannsburg or Germany for good (and adopted the culture of diaspora and the Christian Communalism). Furthermore, he looked at the encounter of the Hermannsburg missionaries with Batswana and their traditional religion and culture. The significance of his work is the study he made on the views of the Hermannsburg missionaries in the face of their struggle against Anglicization, Ethiopianism, the city life and particularly, their views on racism and races. His results and conclusion were that Gutmann was by far the best in contextualising his theology. The Hermannsburg missionaries never engaged themselves in the socio-anthropological studies; therefore, their work produced two black and white Lutheran churches.³⁹

³⁹ Bammann, H., *Koinonia in Afrika: Koinonia bei Bruno Guttmann (Tanzania) und bei den Hermannsburg Missionare im Südlichen Afrika* (Badliebenzell, Liebenzeller Mission, 1990).

Again, another work came from a secular historian, Hans-Jürgen Oschadleus, in the form of a Master of Arts thesis submitted at the University of Natal, Pietermaritzburg, in 1993. Oschadleus's project was to study the life and times of missionary Heinrich Christoph Prigge. Prigge was a Hermannsburg missionary placed at eMvutshini, Zululand. He was deported from Zululand. He then went to KwaNgema (Good Hope) near Piet Retief. Oschadleus's work was apologetic for the Hermannsburg Mission. He wanted to prove through studying the life and activities of one missionary, that they were not collaborators with the colonial powers against the Africans. In a way it is a critical response to the works of Hasselhorn, Proske, Winkler and Lang.⁴⁰

In 1991, The German Lutheran missionaries, now called co-workers (*Mitarbeiter*), jointly with other black Lutherans in South Africa published their articles for the Lutherans in Germany. This was an attempt to come to terms with the present situation and the mission of the church today. *Wege über die Grenzen hinaus*, a second edition, appeared in 1995.⁴¹

Two theses on the HMS have been written. The one by Andrea Mignon aimed to investigate the ethno-anthropological interaction of the Hermannsburg missionaries with the Bamalete tribe in pre-colonial Botswana (1995).⁴² The other thesis is by Kirsten

⁴⁰ Oschadleus, Hans-Jürgen, Heidenmissionar, *The life and times of Heinrich Christoph Prigge (1831-1920)* (M.A. Thesis in History at the University of Natal, Pietermaritzburg, 1993). (Hereafter *Heidenmissionar*).

⁴¹ Bammann, Heinrich, (ed), *Wege über Grenzen Hinaus - Lutherische Mission im Südlichen Afrika* (Hermannsburg, 1991, 1995).

⁴² Mignon, Andrea, *Ein Vorkolonialer Missionsversuch in Botswana: Eine ethnohistorische Studie zur Geschichte der Hermannsburger Mission bei den Bamalete im 19. Jahrhundert Dissertation zur Erlangung des Doktorgrades der Philosophie der Grund- und Intergrationwissenschaftlichen Fakultät der Universität Wien, Wien (Vienna) 1990, later published under the title *Dürre und Segen Die Hermannsburger Mission und die Gesellschaft**

Rüther. Rüther concentrated on what she called ‘social strategies in African conversion to Christianity’ in the period between 1854 and 1879 (1995).⁴³ She analysed the social background and origin of the Hermannsburg missionaries and their encounter with the Africans in Natal and Zululand. Hopefully, she will still go deeper into analysing their social behaviour beyond the concept of being the "Silent ones in the country" (*Die Stille im Lande*), and also the misunderstood Lutheran concept of “two-kingdom teaching” and its aftermath in the South African socio-political arena.

Other noteworthy writings which address the origin, development and structures of the Lutherans in South Africa are: Hans Florin’s *Lutherans in South Africa*, (Benoni, 1965); H. Schleyter’s *The History of the Cooperating Lutheran Missions in Natal, 1912-1951*, (Durban, Lutheran Publishing House, 1953); and Homdrom’s *The Problem of Lutheran Unity in South Africa*, a thesis submitted to the graduate Faculty of Luther Theological Seminary, Minneapolis (1959).

Only three of the above-mentioned works deal with the question of dispossession of the black Africans by the Hermannsburg missionaries: Hasselhorn’s work covers a large area of HMS's involvement with land disputes together with the settlers’ disputes and colonial rule; Proske deals with dispossession among the Abetswana; and Winkler addresses the land question in concluding chapter two of his thesis, but very briefly.

My thesis and contention is that the Hermannsburg Mission Society and its missionaries were party to dispossessing the blacks living on those stations pointed out by King

der Bamalete im Vorkolonialen Botswana, (Ph.D. Universität zu Wien 1990, Beiträge für Missionswissenschaft und interkulturellen Theologie 4, Münster, 1995).

⁴³ Rüther, Kirsten, *Social Strategies*, pp. 16-31.

Mpande when allowing them (the missionaries) to settle among his people. Whilst the role of the HMS in spreading the Gospel in terms of the general Commission is appreciated,⁴⁴ in many instances the HMS was involved in actual dispossession and connived with the policy of the settlers during the colonial rule. The area of focus is, however, on the history and entanglement of the missionaries in northern Zululand.

In the next chapter I am going to deal with the socio-political situation in Germany and the establishment of the Hermannsburg mission prior to the missionaries' departure for Africa.

⁴⁴ The Gospel according to St. Matthew 28:18-20 from the *New International Version - Disciple study Bible*, (Holman Bible Publisher Nashville, 1984,1988), Hereafter, in *NIV Bible*; Assion, Peter, "*Deutsche Kolonisten in Südafrika; Zum Verhältnis Zwischen Auswanderung Mission und Kolonialideologie*", *Zeitschrift für Volkskunde* 73 (1977), pp. 1-23; Hasselhorn, Friez Mission, *Land Ownership and settlers' ideology exemplified by the German Hermannsburg Mission in South Africa*, (South African Council of Churches, Johannesburg, 1987), p. 3ff; Comaroff, John and Jean, "Christianity and Colonialism in South Africa", *American Ethnologist* 13, 1986, pp. 1-22; "Through the Looking Glass : Colonial Encounter of the first kind" *Journal of Historical Sociology* 1:1, 1988, pp. 6-32.

CHAPTER TWO

THE HERMANNSBURG MISSION PRIOR TO THE MISSIONARIES' ARRIVAL IN SOUTH AFRICA 1789-1860

1. THE SOCIO-POLITICAL SITUATION IN GERMANY: 1789 - 1848

This chapter will deal with the socio-political situation in Germany during the period 1789 to 1848. The subjects under discussion will be the antecedent of the Hermannsburg Mission Society in Germany, its founding, development, extension abroad, and failures and successes. It is historically and politically true to say that Reformation ideas contributed to a large extent to the social changes in Europe between 1648 and 1879.¹ Europe never looked the same after the thirty years war of 1618 to 1648. But it is also true to say that the Reformation, which began at first as a religious movement but later developed into a political movement with socio-economic results, had a positive and a negative impact on the European society of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. The impact was positive in terms of the spirit and sense of justice, that is, a yearning for liberty in all spheres of life that grew unabated, and negative in that the price for obtaining religious and socio-political freedom was very high. This becomes more apparent when one considers the Counter Reformation and the Thirty Years War (1618-

¹ Holborn, H., *A History of Modern Germany 1648-1840*, (London, 1965). Valentin, Veit, *Deutsche Geschichte* Vol. 1. Droemersche Verlagsanstalt Th. Knauer, München/Zurich 1965, pp. 199-322; Grundmann, Herber-Gebhart *Handbuch der deutschen Geschichte* Vol. 2, 9th revised edition, Union Verlag (Stuttgart 1970), pp. 241-359.

1648). That war left Europe, particularly Germany, in a state of confusion and socio-economic misery.²

It was not in Germany but in England that the ideas of the Renaissance and Enlightenment germinated. However, they found fertile soil in France and Holland. The writings of the French thinkers like Voltaire, Montesquieu and particularly those of Rousseau, prepared the French people for the beginning of the French Revolution, whose aftermath shook the rest of Europe both in a positive and negative way. On the positive side, Europe saw the separation between the all-powerful and too-dominant church, and the secular state. This development meant that the yoke, which had been imposed by the church on the masses since the Middle Ages, was finally cast off, never to emerge again.

The other side of the coin, which could be regarded as negative, is the fact that the French Revolution became a reign of terror as it swept across France under the leadership of Robespierre and Danton, finally producing dictators like Napoleon Bonaparte. Napoleon, through waging many wars, emerged as a modern ruler through his social reforms (*Code Civil*). The Napoleonic wars resulted in reactionary ideas, which came out of the so-called "Restoration era". This happened after the defeat of Napoleon in 1814/15. The Congress of Vienna came up with the idea of reversing and restoring the previous geo-political structures of Europe.

The Congress of Vienna, under the influence of Prince Clement von Metternich and the Russian Tsar Nicolas I, resolved to restore the old Order by reinstating the pre-

² Valentin, Veit, *Deutsche Geschichte, Vol. 1*. pp. 236-240; Grundmann, H., *Gebhardt Handbuch der Deutschen Geschichte, Vol. 2*, (Stuttgart, 1970), pp. 161-188.

Napoleonic era. This resolution was bent on punishing France and Germany. This plunged Europe into civil wars of revolt, particularly in France, where Charles X was deposed and a republic under Louis Napoleon was established³. These political upheavals from neighbouring France spilled over to Germany and the rest of northern Europe, particularly the Scandinavian countries. The socio-political uprisings in the 1830s and 1840s, and the demand for a unitary German state, are social indicators of the spirit gained from the French Revolution.⁴

The 1830s in Germany saw waves of insurrection and revolt sweeping across the country. Political rights for the peasants and the bourgeoisie were demanded, and the unification of Germany was called for in the strongest possible terms. The 1840s were a crucial phase in the history of Germany. For the first time, the middle classes in Germany stood up and demanded a more liberal constitution, culminating in the convening of the national assembly in Frankfurt am Main in Pauls Kirche in 1848.⁵

The July revolution of 1830 in France had a tremendous impact on the neighbouring countries. These events as they were unfolding meant victory for the cause of socio-

³ Thompson, J.M., *Louis Napoleon and the Second Empire*, (Oxford, Basil Blackwell, 1954), pp. 30-62, 63-96, 97-136; Ebenstein, William, *The German record. A Political portrait*, (New York, Toronto, 1945), pp. 81-129; Grundmann, *Herbert-Handbuch der deutschen Geschichte* 9th revised edition, Vol. 3, (Stuttgart 1970), pp. 2-96, 99-160.

⁴ Raff, D., *History of Germany: From the Medieval Empire to the present time*, (Oxford Berg, 1988), p. 44; MacDonald, Morton (JR), *A History of France, Vol. 3*, (Methuen & Co. Ltd., London, 1915), pp. 246-275, 276-296; McPhee Peter, *A Social History of France 1780-1880*, (Routledge, London), pp. 93-110, 111-130, 131-152, 153-196; Price, Roger, *A Concise History of France*, (Cambridge University Press, 1993), pp. 47-48, 79-141, 142-191 especially pp. 165-179 discussing the socio-political events between 1830-1848 in France.

⁵ Valentin, Veit, *Deutsche Geschichte, Vol. 1*, pp. 404-409. Vol. 2, pp. 475-490; Holborn, H., *A History of Modern Germany 1840-1945*, (London 1970); Hamerow, T.S., *Restoration Revolution and Reaction - Germany in 1815-1871*, (Princeton, 1958).

political revolution in both France and Germany.⁶ Duke Karl of Braunschweig, a very proud man, had to abdicate and escape to exile in England. His brother, a dignified and quiet man, took over after his brother left. Hessen was also affected by the insurrection against high taxes. The elector had to abdicate and relinquish power in favour of his son. From 1831 onwards there was a progressive constitution in Frankfurt compared with other states in Germany. It consisted of one chamber, which held responsibility for ministers, the swearing in of the army, the constitution and the judicial system. This type of constitution was regarded as an achievement of the liberals within Germany.⁷

The kingdom of Saxony also had to introduce a series of constitutional reforms in 1831. Hannover had to follow suit as well. In 1833 a new constitution was introduced. It must be mentioned that various factors and developments in the society contributed more or less to the changes in Germany, which led to the Revolution of 1848. These were political and literary writers, the influence of socialism, communism, which was by then gaining grounds in Germany, the cultural struggle in Germany and, finally, the first *coup d'etat* in the Kingdom of Hannover, where Duke Ernst August of Cumberland unilaterally reversed the seemingly progressive constitution of 1833.⁸ He declared the constitution to be null and void. Seven professors from the University of Göttingen protested against the duke's decision to suspend the constitution. They were summarily

⁶ Robertson, Priscilla, *Revolution of 1848 - A Social History*, (Harper Brothers, New York, 1960), pp. 9-103 (on France) pp. 107-185 and (on Germany); Stearns, Peter N., *The Revolution of 1848*, (Weidenfeld and Nicolson, London, 1974); Sperber Jonathan, *The European Revolutions 1848-1851*, (Cambridge University Press, 1994).

⁷ Valentin, Veit, *Deutsche Geschichte, Vol. 2*, p. 448. Ramm, Agatha, *The making of Modern Germany 1618-1870*, pp. 203-258 (especially p. 246) in Pasley, Malcom, (ed), *Germany - a companion to German studies* (2nd edition), (Methuen, London 1972-1982).

⁸ Valentin, Veit, *Deutsche Geschichte, Vol. 2*, p. 466; Holborn, H., *A History of Modern Germany 1840-1945*, (London, 1970).

dismissed from their chairs and were deported from Hannover state. The following were events preceding and leading to the Revolution of 1848: the pre-March movement of 1848; the pre-parliamentary and national assembly; the rise of nationalism in Schleswig-Holstein; the beginning of a counter-revolution; and eventually the adoption of the Imperial Constitution in Frankfurt on the 28th of March 1849.⁹

In the next section I shall deal with the agrarian reforms and their effects on the German peasant societies.

1.1 The Agrarian Reform and its Aftermath on German Society

As the political landscape was changing in Germany, so was the agricultural scene. In spite of some sweeping changes in the agrarian sector, Germany appeared in the 1850s as still lagging behind other regions in Europe. The peasants were becoming poorer and poorer due to a shortage of arable land. People had to move from one area to another in search of an abode.¹⁰ Despite the fact that there were setbacks here and there, other historians consider the agrarian reforms of early nineteenth century Germany as far reaching events of modern German history.¹¹ Schneider and Seedorf in their writings describe how the changes in the social revolution in Germany were carried out. According to them, the changes came mostly from the working class of the urban

⁹ Valentin, Veit, *Deutsche Geschichte, Vol. 2* pp. 475-490, especially p. 486.

¹⁰ Willms, J., *Nationalismus ohne Nation: Deutsche Geschichte 1789-1914*, (Düsseldorf Claassen, 1983), p. 571 in Oschadleus, Hans-Jürgen *Heidenmissionar* pp 11- 12. , Hereafter, *Nationalismus ohne Nation*; Grundmann, Herbert, *Gebhardt Handbuch der deutschen Geschichte, Vol. 3*, (Union Verlag, Stuttgart 1970), pp. 512-520, 529-41.

¹¹ Sagara, E., *A Social History of Germany, 1648-1914*, (London, Methuen, 1977), p. 344.

population where industrialisation was growing rapidly. As a result of these events and other related factors, the emigration from Germany took place. Those who could financially afford the trip overseas by ship, especially to Brazil, the USA and Australia, grabbed the opportunity.¹² Zimmer uses the term “*Raumnot und Rassenerbe*” to denote the lack of space and tradition of migration¹³.

"The seigneurial (feudal) nobility were to preserve much of their paramountcy over the educated middle classes engaged in commerce and industry but a significant agrarian reform policy initiated changing relations on the land. This was probably the most significant factor for the rural Lüneburgers. The reforms which included crop rotation and the use of artificial fertilizers, increased productivity and created a labour surplus."¹⁴

The state of agrarian developments in the Lüneburger Heath (*Heide*) needs special attention since this case study deals with the geo-political setting of the Hermannsburg Mission in the Lüneburg Heath (*Heide*). Geographically, the Lüneburger Heide occupied an area of about 7000 square kilometres stretching between the Aller and Elbe Rivers in the north-west part of Germany.¹⁵

¹² Schneider, K.H., & Seedorf, F.H.H., *Bauernbefreiung und Agrarreformen in Niedersachsen*, Hanover Nieder-Sächsischen Landes Zentrale für politische Bildung, 1989. p. 1ff; Willms, J., *Nationalismus Ohne Nation*, pp. 102-4.

¹³ Zimmer N., *Der Siedlungsweg der Niedersachsen über die Erde*, (Hanover, Holgerselke, 1934), pp. 12-19 in Oschadleus, Hans-Jürgen *Heidenmissionar*, p. 11.

¹⁴ Raff, D., *History of Germany*, p. 98, Oschadleus, Hans-Jürgen *Heidenmissionar* p. 11.

¹⁵ Uelschen, Gustav, *Die Bevölkerung im Wirtschaftsgebiet Niedersachsen 1821-1939* (Oldenburg, 1942), pp. 74-75.

The Heath meanders through an uneven, sparsely populated landscape, without commercial roads connecting the scattered communities. Not until the mid-nineteenth century was there an attempt to lay at least four commercial roads linking the larger towns.¹⁶ Hermannsburg is situated in the southern part of the area, near Celle, the early modern capital of the Lüneburg Prince Bishopric (*Fürstentum*) Lüneburg therefore lay in a landscape of ± 150m above sea level.

Hermannsburg was in many ways torn between Lüneburg and Hannover. Finally, the Lüneburg and Calenburg Prince Bishoprics were united under the elector, the Duke Ernst August of Cumberland, forming the Electorate Hannover (Kurfürstentum Hannover) at the beginning of the eighteenth century. Hannover became the capital city of this union. After the end of the Napoleonic military administration, the Congress of Vienna turned the electorate into a Kingdom. In 1866 Prussia annexed the Hannover Kingdom and converted it into the Province of Hannover. The largest part of the Lüneburg Heath lay in the District of Lüneburg (*Landdrostei Lüneburg*).¹⁷

However, before the union and eventual annexation of Hannover by Prussia, there were separate and independent developments within the Lüneburg Heath with regard to agrarian reform and the land tenure system.

Most parts of Germany had remained a feudal if not a semi-feudal system, in spite of the Reformation and French Revolution. Up until the 1830s, farmers worked as labour

¹⁶ Völksen, Gerd, *Landschaftsentwicklung der Lüneburger Heide. Entstehung und Wandel einer alten Kulturlandschaft. Die Lüneburger Heide (Landschaften Niedersachsens und ihre Probleme)* (ed). Dieter Brosius et alia (Leer, 1984), pp. 5-33.

¹⁷ Rüter, Kirsten, *Social Strategies*, pp. 16-23.

tenants for the landlord. Sometimes they kept a piece of land as a family property, but had to pay an annual fee or give part of their harvest and labour service to the landowner.

During the 1830s, attempts were made at introducing sweeping land reforms with the intention of improving the plight of the peasants. At that time, the landlords, under pressure from the seething past of social revolution, introduced a land ownership system. Those farmers who were entitled to inheritance of the land they had worked, received the right to pay the landlord a certain amount of money, thereby becoming the landowners themselves.¹⁸

In her thesis, Kirsten Rüter has vividly described the situation of the farmers in the wake of industrialisation in early nineteenth century Germany in the following terms:

"During the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries Germany industrialised. Where formerly rural people had survived on agricultural production and on by-industries, urban centres gradually developed which started to offer employment in factories. Nevertheless, the German urban economy continued to rely on agricultural production in the countryside."¹⁹

The reforms related to the enclosures of the common wastes and the reallocation of scattered strips of land were viewed with more scepticism. In the Lüneburg Heath, by-

¹⁸ Rüter, Kirsten, *Social Strategies*, p. 17.

¹⁹ Rüter, Kirsten, *Social Strategies*, p. 17; Bade, Klaus J.(ed.), *Die Deutsche überseeische Massenauswanderung im 19 und frühen 20. Jahrhundert: Bestimmungsfaktoren und Entwicklungsbedingungen Auswanderer, Wanderarbeiter Gastarbeiter. Bevölkerung, Arbeitsmarkt und Wanderung in Deutschland seit der Mitte des 19. Jahrhundert, Vol. 1* (Ostfildern, 1984), pp. 259-299.

industries had for centuries relied on the local forests. Firewood was needed in the local brickworks, timber for weaving and flax for spinning. Where the forest was devastated, heath (*Calluna vulgaris*) spread in the aftermath. The sandy soils were exposed to rain and lost even more of their scarce fertility. The local climate was responsible for the destruction of the forest, which no longer served as a protection against cold temperatures in early autumn and spring. The Lüneburg Heath became susceptible to late frosts. This made the regeneration of the region with trees even more difficult. As a result, the heath spread and the soil lost further minerals. Now the chance for a natural regeneration of the woods was nearly impossible.²⁰

From the preceding passage or citation it becomes clear that the peasants had no choice but to vacate the area in search of better pastures or migrate to larger cities in search of employment. The most affected ones were those sons who could not expect to inherit a piece of land from their parents, as only the eldest or youngest could be the inheritor. Those who were lucky did get a leap forward as the number of farms up to 5 hectares doubled between 1832 and 1882. Other farmers managed to diversify their stock breeding by introducing horses, cows and pigs. Irrigation schemes were also introduced and developed which made it easier for watering their crops. All this was an attempt to cope with an ever-increasing challenge from technology²¹ and the industrial revolution.

²⁰ Rütther, Kirsten, *Social Strategies* p. 17; Völksen, Gerd, *Landschaftsentwicklung* pp. 5-33. Borges, Hartmut, *Staatliche Reformen des 19. Jahrhunderts in Strukturschwachen Gebieten der Land drostei Lüneburg* (Unpubl. M.A. Thesis, University of Hannover, 1992), Hereafter Borges, H., *Staatliche Reformen*.

²¹ Wächter, Hans Helmut, *Die Landwirtschaft Niedersachsens von Beginn des 19 bis zur mitte des 20. (Jahrhunderts* Bremen-Horn, 1959) pp. 88-152, Hereafter *Die Landwirtschaft Niedersachsens*.

The Lüneburg Heath was, so to speak, a place of experimentation, amid the struggle for survival in the face of decreasing productivity due to the increasing barrenness of the soil. A sort of “economic system”, as Rüter puts it, was developed. The large acreages covered with heath became essential for fuel and straw substitute. Sheep farmers grazed their sheep on the heath or wastes, thereby depriving the wastes of their productivity.

Fields did not render much agricultural produce due to the poor quality of the soil. Those farmers who were better off, did, to a certain extent, appreciate the agricultural modernisation, which meant an increase in agricultural produce, making chances for selling on the market more probable, or it meant keeping the farmers’ incomes above the breadline.²²

As the farming methods improved to a certain degree, so did the population density. This caused some strain on the ecological and economic structure of the rural areas generally, and on the heath in particular. Peter Marschalck, in his research on population tendencies came out with the observation that family construction was still oriented along pre-industrial social structures, that is, more children as insurance during old age but also for labour on the fields, which needed cultivation and harvesting. This attitude inevitably led to an increase in the population.²³

²² Blessing, Werner, *Umwelt und Mentalität in Ländlichen Bayern. Eine Skizze zum Alltagswandel in 19 Jahrhundert* (Archive für sozialgeschichte 19, 1979), pp. 1-42, Hereafter *Umwelt und Mentalität*.

²³ Marschalck, Peter, *Die Bevölkerungsentwicklung in Deutschland 1850-1980. Entwicklungslinien, und Forschungsprobleme. Auswanderer, Wanderarbeiter und Gastarbeiter*, edited by Klaus J. Bade, pp. 78-109, Hereafter *Die Bevölkerungsentwicklung*.

"While proto-industrial production broke down between 1830 and 1850 early industrial production was not able to absorb the masses of surplus labour. Only from 1880 onwards would German industry be thus far established that would offer enough jobs for the majority of the German labour force. For many people emigration seemed to be the solution to their economic problems."²⁴

The years between 1860 and 1880 saw an increase in migration within Germany and emigration to other parts of the world. Marschalck observed, as a result of his investigation on the German nineteenth century emigrants, that the importance of religious emigration increased.²⁵

It seems, according to Rüter, that religious motivation preceded this wave of emigrants. The Hermannsburg missionaries were no exception to this phenomenon. Most of the Hermannsburg missionaries under Ludwig Harms left Germany for overseas to preach the gospel to the Gentiles. Ludwig Harms had the opportunity of going to North America or India.

As the socio-political order slowly but surely was changed and tended towards accepting the influence of the Enlightenment and modernity, the protestant outlook also changed. On the one hand, it was anti-enlightenment, sceptical of modernity and secularisation. The pietists were calling for the restoration of old religious traditions. On the other hand, there developed a liberal protestant thinking known as New Protestantism or liberal

²⁴ Rüter, Kirsten, *Social Strategies*, pp. 18-19.

²⁵ Marschalck, Peter, *Deutsche überseeauswanderung in 19. 8 Jahrhundert. Ein Beitrag für soziologischen Theorie der Bevölkerung*, (Stuttgart, 1973) in Rüter, Kirsten, *Social Strategies*, p. 19.

theology under the influence of Kant, Schleiermacher, Harnack and Troeltsch. This type or way of thinking was dominant in European universities until the 1920s. Karl Barth and his contemporaries, known as dialectical theologians, emerged in the 1920s to challenge and even attempt to revise the whole system of liberal theology.²⁶

The Awakening as a reactionary movement has also to be briefly dealt with since it had a direct influence on the Lüneburg Heath where Ludwig Harms was born and brought up.

2. LUDWIG HARMS AND THE FOUNDATION OF THE HERMANSBURG MISSION

2.1 The Awakening Movement in the 19th Century

The Awakening Movement should be understood in the context of the socio-political and religious developments in Europe. It had an impact both on the church and people's lives. In each country, however, it went through different phases, which were socio-political and economical in nature. However, what is common about this pious movement was its emphasis on bringing back the Biblical reformation teaching, namely, the teaching against sin and the stressing of grace. The complaint was that the church had abandoned these teachings as a core of Reformation theology. This movement complained bitterly about the influence of rationalism and ever-increasing secularization as a result of the

²⁶ Graf, Friedrich-Wilhelm, *"Die Spaltung des Protestantismus. Zum Verhältnis von Evangelischer Kirche, Staat und Gesellschaft im frühen 19". Jahrhundert Religion und Gesellschaft in 19. Jahrhundert*(ed). Wolfgang Schieder. Stuttgart, 1993 pp. 157-190, vide pp. 167-168; Hågglund, Bengt, *Geschichte der Theologie ein Abriss*, (Chr. Kaiser Verlag München, 1983), pp. 313-319.

ideas of the Enlightenment. They were also against the orthodox teaching of the old Protestantism, that is, against their theological ideas and formulas.²⁷

Whereas the Awakening Movement seems to be connected with baroque pietism on the one side, it was an independent movement, which differed from the liberal theology and piety of the Enlightenment. Therefore, to a certain degree, this was a new movement with a particular emphasis. Therefore, it is of cardinal importance to take the Awakening Movement into account in order to understand the development of Protestantism in its historical vicissitudes.²⁸

Whilst the focus is on Germany and the development of the Awakening Movement, mention must be made of England's religious renewal. These religious movements had an impact on the religious development in Germany. England was then the centre of the Enlightenment and deism ideas. Slowly, in reaction to these ideas, religious societies were established whose forerunner was the school of Phillip Jacob Spener and the German pastor Anton Horneck (1641-1697). These theologians were confronted by the increasing poverty in the ever-increasing urbanisation. Their reaction was to establish schools for the poor and supply them with the necessary literature.

As this movement gained momentum, Methodism under John Wesley, Charles Wesley and George Whitefield complemented it. It reached many people, especially the

²⁷ *Die Religion in Geschichte und Gegenwart - Hand Wörterbuch für Theologie und Religionswissenschaft 3rd revised edition, Vol. 2*; J.C.B. Mohr, (Tübingen, 1958), pp. 621-629, 630-631, Hereafter RGG; Beyreuther, Erich, *Die Kirche in ihrer Geschichte, Die Erweckungsbewegung*. (Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, Göttingen, 1977) pp. 1-4, Hereafter, *Die Erweckungsbewegung*; T.R.E. Vol. 10, (Berlin, and New York, 1982), pp. 205-227.

²⁸ RGG, p.621.

industrial proletariat. With his musical talents, Charles Wesley made the movement more attractive and richer in hymns.²⁹ Through their efforts, the so-called Low Church movement within the Anglican Church was born.

Scotland, though with different emphasis, had similar experiences of awakening under Alexander and Robert Halden. Thomas Chalmers called for the restoration of the old-diaconical work and self-reliance. Chalmers' ideas were echoed on the continent in Germany, and Friedrich William IV of Prussia received them by Fliedner and Friedrich August Tholuck. They saw the success of the diaconate in solving the social problems. In fact, with regard to Germany, one could say that that was the beginning of the *innere Mission* in Germany. Unfortunately, the State in Germany was not in a position to take those challenges seriously and address the social question in their Prussian general synod of 1846.³⁰

Switzerland, the Netherlands, France, North America and the Scandinavian countries had similar experiences of a sweeping religious movement, which was an ecclesio-social phenomenon. However, they cannot be dealt with in detail as this will go beyond the limits and framework of this thesis. Emphasis has to be placed on Germany, the northern part in particular.

From 1780, Germany was experiencing a movement known as "Romanticism". Romanticism called for freedom and self-assertiveness from religious piety. This movement was a product of the French Revolution and the Napoleonic wars, which

²⁹ *Ibid.*, pp. 621-22; Beyreuther, Erich, *Die Erweckungsbewegung*, p. 49.

³⁰ RGG, p. 622; Beyreuther, Erich, *Die Erweckungsbewegung*, p. 29.

brought about misery in central Europe. The religious piousness and the spirit of enlightenment were two contending ideologies. Slowly, within the church some groups started voicing their dissatisfaction about romanticism and enlightenment. Württemberg belonged to the first areas within Germany where the Awakening Movement started. From there it spread to the rest of Germany. The region of Hannover was proclaimed a kingdom in 1814. Pastors like Carl Friedrich Wilhelm Weibezahn (1804-1844), Ludwig Adolf Petri (1803-1873) and Phillip Spitta (1801-1859) were working within this kingdom. They introduced revival through their pious sermons and hymns. Petri, at that time, was working with pastors Edward Niemann and August von Arnswald. As already mentioned above, the Napoleonic wars brought radical changes geo-politically, through the restructuring of the political region of Hannover. This made it possible, and perhaps easier, for the revival movement to spread within given borders.³¹

On the *Lüneburger Heide*, a pastor called Ludwig Harms was very active through sermons and visitations. He managed to spread the teachings of revived Lutheranism.³² Now we will have a closer look at his life.

³¹ Beyreuther, Erich, *Die Erweckungsbewegung*, p. 22.

³² *Ibid.*, p. 42; Harms, Hans Otto, *Lebendiges Erbe; Ludwig Harms, Theodor Harms und die Hermannsburger Mission* edited by Wolfgang A. Bienert, (Hermannsburg 1980), pp. 15-134, Hereafter *Lebendiges Erbe*.

2.2 The Life of Ludwig Harms and the Founding of the Hermannsburger Mission in 1849

Lüneburger Heide is situated between two major cities: Hannover and Hamburg. Developments taking place in and around these cities influenced the life of this area. The Awakening Movement in its development and aftermath triggered the founding of the North German Mission, of which Ludwig Harms was a founder member.³³

Before we embark on the long and arduous journey through and within the history of the founding and development of the Hermannsburger Mission, it is expedient first to look at the life of Ludwig Harms and his family.

The Harms family was a peasant family. This is evident from the family history of Ludwig Harms' father. His grandfather came from a farming family in Moorburg close to Harburg. His wife came from a pastor's family near Hamburg. Later on in life, the Harms family settled as peasants at Walsrode.³⁴ Ludwig Harms' father was a second pastor at Walsrode, to which he had emigrated in 1817. (Hermann under the Count of Billung led this area). On the 5th of May 1808, Ludwig Harms was born in Walsrode. His father was Pastor Hartwig Christian Harms and his mother was Lucie Dorothee Friedericke Heinze. She came from a pastor's house near Hannover. Her father, Pastor Heinze, was born and bred at Attenburg. His wife was a daughter of a pharmacist, Gebler, at Walsrode.³⁵

³³ Haccius, Georg, *Hannoversche Missionsgeschichte, Vol. 2*, (Hermannsburg, 1910), pp. 1-2. (Hereafter *HMG II*²)

³⁴ Harms, Hans Otto, *Lebendiges Erbe* pp. 15-30.

³⁵ *Ibid.*, pp. 15-16.

Ludwig Harms was baptised at Walsrode and he received the names George Louis Detlef Theodor.

He is said to have been the most intelligent of nine children. The children were educated at home by their parents. When Ludwig was nine years old, his parents settled at Hermannsburg where he spent most of his life. He was sent to school in Celle, where he received his primary education between 1824-1827. Upon finishing his schooling at Celle, he commenced his studies at the University of Göttingen between 1828 and 1831.³⁶ On arriving in Göttingen, he was confronted with or was exposed to the secular type of education under the influence of rationalism. Eager for education, Harms began his studies in Latin, Hebrew, Greek, German literature, History, Philosophy, Mathematics, Physics, Astronomy and Theology. Furthermore, he is said to have studied Sanscrit, Syrian, and Chaldian, Italian and Spanish languages. However, there was no peace in his heart and mind.³⁷ The restlessness of his mind continued as he studied in Göttingen. One night as he was reading through the Bible, he came across the Gospel of John 17:3.

"An eternal life means knowing you, the only true God and knowing Jesus Christ, whom you sent."³⁸

This verse, according to his brother, Theodor Harms, led to his conversion and he began a new life. His brother Theodor stated that for Harms, this was a coincidence, since at the

³⁶ Haccius, Georg, HMG II², p. 4.

³⁷ Hopf, Friedrich Wilhelm, Ludwig Harm's, *Selbstzeugnisse*, (Hermannsburg 1980), pp. 93-94, Hereafter *Selbstzeugnisse*.

³⁸ John 17:3 in NIV Bible.

university and at the lectures he attended there was no sign of piousness. "Wherever he attended the lectures he heard the braying of a donkey which is reason".³⁹ On many occasions he never attended the lectures because he had his own timetable, where he would rather use the time to go to the library than waste the time learning the teachings and influence of rationalism. He completed his studies in theology *ca* 1830. After that, the church could not employ him, as there were too many pastors and theology candidates at that time. So he had to find some job to earn a living.

He went to Lauenburg where he became a tutor for the children of a Chamberlain Von Linstow, an officer managing a royal or noble household. He stayed nine years teaching and helping within the family. From there, he went to Lüneburg again as a tutor (*Hauslehrer*) of the Pampels, who were farming at Lüneburg. Harms stayed there until 1843. From time to time he received invitations to become a teacher or a preacher, but he turned down all those invitations, for he had decided to go to Hermannsburg where his ageing father was working. He wanted to be at his side and assist him.

Before Harms left Lauenburg for Hermannsburg, he started a pietist group. He held Bible studies, visited the patients in the hospital and the convicts in prison. In 1831, there was an outbreak of cholera in the area of Lauenburg and its surroundings. Harms continued his work unabated among the sick people, for he strongly believed that he could not contract cholera.⁴⁰ Harms' activities were seen by liberals as being reactionary, subversive, a return to mysticism and therefore contrary to the ideas of the

³⁹ Harms, Otto, *Lebensbeschreibung des Pastors. Louis Harms*, (Hermannsburg 1868), (1), 1911 (8) p. 36; Hugold, Grafe, *Volkstümliche Predigt des Louis Harms*, (Göttingen, 1974), (2) p. 237. Hereafter predict.

⁴⁰ Proske, Wolfgang, *Botswana und die Anfänge der Hermannsbürger Mission*, p. 111; Rüter, Kirsten, *Social Strategies*, pp. 16-28.

Enlightenment. In spite of receiving death threats, he continued his work. He established a mission society in Lauenburg in 1834 and he became its representative at the founding of the North German Mission Society in Hamburg in 1836.⁴¹

During the course of discussions at the conferences of the mission society in Hamburg, in which Lutheran and Reformed churches were involved, Harms stressed the fact that the unity of the protestant church was important and had to be maintained. The confessional differences, wherever they may exist, should not be carried on to the future mission fields.⁴²

The tension between the liberals and pietists became apparent as Harms conducted his Biblical devotions in the village. This was not allowed in those days. In 1841, Harms was suspended from the pulpit for a year. The reason for suspension was that Harms did not abide by the given orders of prayer, namely, to pray for the late Queen of Hannover. He refused to mention her title in the prayer.⁴³

⁴¹ Proske, Wolfgang, *Botswana und die Anfänge der Hermannsbürger Mission*, p. 111; Harms, O., *Lebendiges Erbe*, p. 22, 23; Neill, Stephen, *A History of Christian Missions*, (Penguin Books, London, 1964); Meyer, J., *Kirchengeschichte Niedersachsens*, (Göttingen, 1939), p. 199.

⁴² Proske, W., *Botswana und die Anfänge der Hermannsbürger Mission*, p. 112; Meyer, Johannes, *Kirchengeschichte*, pp. 191, 199; Bienert, Wolfgang, *Im Zeichen des Kreuzes Christi. Eigenart und Bedeutung der Hermannsburg. Erweckungsbewegung*. Gr. Oesingen 1986, p. 12. Harms, O., *Lebensbeschreibung* p. 81; Grafe, Hugald, *Predigt* p.26

⁴³ Proske, W., *Botswana und die Anfänge der Hermannsbürger Mission*, p. 114; Grafe, H., *Predigt* p. 17; Harms, T., *Lebensbeschreibung*, p. 84; Harms, H.O., *Lebendiges Erbe*, p. 23.

This suspension was lifted or withdrawn after Harms had assured the church authorities he would continue to be obedient to the church laws. He declared this on protocol.⁴⁴ Harms had been playing with an idea of going to India or to the Americas; however, his father was strictly against that idea.⁴⁵

In 1843, Harms gave up teaching the family in Lüneburg and returned to Hermannsburg for the second time. In the autumn of 1843, he was accused by the superintendent of conducting conversions into pietism and was seriously reprimanded and warned by the authorities through a resolution. Through his father's intervention and mediation, Harms was permitted to be appointed on October 12th 1844 in Hermannsburg as a co-pastor to his father, and was ordained on November 20th 1844 in Hannover.⁴⁶

Whilst he was in Hermannsburg, Harms gained much support and influence. This was made possible by the fact that his father slowly but surely kept himself in the background and left the forefront open for his son Ludwig Harms. The other reason was that his sermons were appealing. The authorities were watching him closely. One officer, a certain Mr Dreyer, said of Harms on the 10th of February 1845: "Harms is a pietist in the strictest sense of the word. He preached according to the literary meaning of the Biblical word. In so doing he could reach the simple man." He regarded Harms as a very

⁴⁴ Grafe, H., *Predigt*, p. 18; Proske, W., *Botswana und die Anfänge der Hermannsburger Mission.*, p. 114.

⁴⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 114; Harms, T., *Lebensbeschreibung* p. 84; Grafe, H., *Predigt*, p. 18.

⁴⁶ Harms, T., *Lebensbeschreibung*, p. 86.

dangerous man, for he spoke a Low-German (*platt deutsch*) dialect and through that he could drive a wedge into the hearts of his listeners.⁴⁷

His brother, Theodor Harms, wrote about him: He wanted a Christian discipline and order, a Christian life, which will function as a strong wall against the world. For he does not accord the world any right whatsoever. He condemned all types of dancing, clubs, theatre and the playing of cards. His conviction was:

Everything that you do in words or in deeds, do it in the name of the Lord Jesus and thank God through him. “This is a quotation from Colossians 3: 17 and I Corinthians 10:31. Against this word of the Scripture everything must fall and be condemned if it does not happen in the name of the Lord Jesus said Harms.”⁴⁸

Harms continued:

“We Lutherans should specially protect ourselves from forgetting the oil through which the lamp is burning namely the Holy Spirit, which effects the true conversion (*metanoia*) in us, as we rejoice about pure doctrine and unfalsified sacraments, which is the lamp”.⁴⁹

⁴⁷ Gercke, Achim, Hermannsburg. *Die Geschichte eines Kirschspiels*, Celle/Adensen, 1965, p. 59, - therein a report of Dreyer of the 10-02-1845 is to be found; Lange, B.H., *One Root Two Stems*, p. 19.

⁴⁸ Harms, T., *Lebensbeschreibung*, p. 89, in: Proske, W., *Botswana und die Anfänge der Hermannsburger Mission*, p. 115.

⁴⁹ Grafe, H., *Predigt*, p. 31 therein Ludwig Harms' letter dated 23.11.1861 is cited.

After the death of Pastor Harms (senior), the congregation at Hermannsburg wrote to the consistory in Hannover pleading for the induction of Rev. Ludwig Harms as successor to his father at the congregation in Hermannsburg. This request was granted. From then on, Harms remained pastor of Hermannsburg until his death in 1865.⁵⁰ To cement his mission ideas, Harms established a mission house in which young aspirant missionaries could be trained and sent abroad.

2.3 The Establishment of the Mission and Preparation of the First Missionaries

Having succeeded his father at the age of 41, and therefore *de jure* becoming a pastor of Hermannsburg, Harms saw that his time had come to realise and effect his dreams which he had had for so long. His target was the so-called " silent ones in the country" by which it is meant those people who did not participate in the 1848 Revolution, which demanded the introduction of democratic rights in Germany and therefore the unity of the country.⁵¹

These people constituted a fertile soil for the message Harms wanted to drive home and thereby materialise his plans for the mission. With his struggle against the world and his decisive conviction on matters of faith, Harms gathered his strength and mobilized the masses at the Lüneburger Heath.⁵² His endeavour was not without resistance from those who saw in Harms' undertakings a regression into an unwanted past. In spite of this, the

⁵⁰ Grafe, H., *Predigt*, p. 20; Gerck, A., *Kirchspiel*, p. 60; Proske, W., *Botswana und die Anfänge der Hermannsburger Mission*, p. 115.

⁵¹ Schnabel, Franz, *Deutsche Geschichte im neunzehnten Jahrhundert*, Vol. 4. "The religious forces", (Freiburg, 1951), Hereafter, *Religious forces*, (2) p. 298; Proske, W., *Botswana und die Anfänge der Hermannsburger Mission*, p. 116.

⁵² Harms, T., *Lebensbeschreibung*, p. 94; Harms, H.O., *Lebendiges Erbe*, p. 73 and Haccius, Georg, HMG. Vol. II², p. 17; Meyer, J., *Kirchengeschichte*, p. 201.

pious masses brought forward offerings and donations for his project. His way of preaching and straightforwardness excited many people, especially the youth so that they volunteered to become missionaries.⁵³ Among others, the consistory (*consistorium*) in Hannover rejected Harms' plans. All his applications for recognition were flatly and categorically rejected. Harms was, so to speak, alone when it came to dealing with official church policy. The situation was made worse by the fact that the North German mission had had to be abandoned because of confessional differences. Harms single-handedly established the Hermannsburg Mission on October 12th 1849.⁵⁴

How did it come to be established? Proske described the situation in the following terms:

"Higher up in the echelon initially people believed to be able to ignore the idea of a crazy and assuming Heath pastor more so as Harms refused to write advertisements and calls for donations, he relied completely on God's help. However, that soon proved to be a premature judgement. For Harms financially involved his Hermannsburg village community instead of outside assistance. The village community identified itself with that project as "its mission" in a short space of time. Later on, this led the church historians seeing and believing that the founding of the mission society and its success was a result of a village revival (awakening). Apart from donations from the friends of mission, the village community or church congregation managed to raise all the necessary funds to

⁵³ Harms, T., *Lebensbeschreibung*, pp. 89, 98, 104; Harms, H.O., *Lebendiges Erbe*, pp. 89,93; Haccius, G., HMG. Vol. 2, p. 134; Grafe, H., *Predigt*, p. 212ff.

⁵⁴ Haccius, G., HMG.II, pp. 35-36.

acquire a small though not yet complete farmhouse with something over to buy a plot for 4000 Imperial Taler Gold."⁵⁵

Proske continues to say:

"Up to that point Harms did everything on his own. However, when he tried later to register the Mission House under the Consistory in Hannover as the official property of the Regional Church, he failed to do so. Until 1856, the Consistory kept aloof from L. Harms' private undertakings. Thus far initially there was no supporting and securing institutional framework."⁵⁶

In spite of this opposition on the part of the church authorities in Hannover, Harms made preparations for commencing the lessons in earnest. There were twelve candidates, all of whom were between 20 and 30 years old. The admission of the candidates into the seminary became easier. This was due to the fact that they were not going to be called for military service. Parents gave their consent as well. According to Haccius, they were devoted Lutherans and most of them came from the class of peasants and artisans.⁵⁷

⁵⁵ Proske, W., *Botswana und die Anfänge der Hermannsbürger Mission*, p. 117; Oehler, Wilhelm, *Geschichte Deutschen Evangelischen Mission*, 2 vols. (Baden-Baden, 1949/1951), There in Vol. 1 p.162; Haccius, Georg, HMG II² p. 65ff.

⁵⁶ Proske, W., *Botswana und die Anfänge der Hermannsburg Mission*, pp. 117-118; Haccius, Georg, HMG II², pp. 103-104, 109; Harms' letter to the Consistory in Hannover dated 4.3.1850 and the Consistory's response to Harms' letter dated 16.5.1850; Schmidt, Rudolf, "Die Anträge von Louis Harms auf Einordnung der Mission in die verfasste Kirche", in: *Jahrbuch für niedersächsische Kirchengeschichte* 56 (1958) p. 47ff.

⁵⁷ Harms, T., *Lebensbeschreibung*, p. 99; Haccius, Georg, HMG II² p. 40; Hasselhorn, Fritz, *Bauernmission in Südafrika* p. 29, p. 224; Proske, W., *Botswana und die Anfänge der Hermannsbürger Mission*, p.118; Grunder, Horst, *Christliche Mission, und Deutsche Imperialismus: Eine politische Geschichte ihrer Beziehungen während der deutschen*

Louis Harms had a vision for his students who were to be sent out to Africa as soon as they completed their training at Hermannsburg. For him, mission was and is connected to culture. In 1851, Harms wrote his understanding of mission in the following terms:

"[...] so that within a shortest possible time the whole area will be encompassed by a net of mission stations, and the people be converted and be armed (empowered) with a Christian education and ethics, so that they could successfully defend themselves against decadent European encroachment and thereby become victims (subjects) of the European [...]" ⁵⁸

The above statement reflects how Harms understood the countries to which he was sending his missionaries. In the following section we shall look at his presuppositions.

2.4 L. Harms' Anthropological and Theological Presuppositions

At the beginning of this section, where we dealt with Ludwig Harms' student days, mention was made that he studied a variety of disciplines, *inter alia*, Latin, History and Literature. While he was a student, Harms, according to Haccius, read antique literature

Kolonialzeit (1884-1914) unter besonderer Beruecksichtigung Afrikas und Chinas, (Paderborn-Schoenig,1982), pp.20-24

⁵⁸ Harms, Ludwig, cited in :Petri, Ludwig Adolf,(ed). *Zeitblatt fuer die Angelegenheiten der Lutherischen Kirche,1851*, p. 87. See also Hermannsburg Mission papers 1871, p. 35ff; Elfers, August, Bodenständige Volkskirche als Ziel der Heidenmission. Missionsgrundsätze bei Ludwig Harms, in: *Jahrbuch der Gesellschaft für Niedersächsische Kirchengeschichte* 56 (1958) p. 39ff; Proske, W., *Botswana und die Anfänge der Hermannsburger Mission in Südafrika*, p. 31; Haccius, Georg, HMG II² pp. 222-224.

and found joy in reading it.⁵⁹ On the anthropological level, Harms was fascinated by the way the Germanic forefathers lived, as described by Tacitus, the Roman author.

Tacitus, in his literary production, among other things, wrote extensively about the Germans. Julius Caesar also did the same in his book (*Bellum Gallicum*) the Galian war, though here the Germans were portrayed negatively as being primitive and war-like. Ludwig Harms employed those methods of writing and story telling in which he praised the discipline, moral and high ethical standards practised by the German forefathers. In terms of honesty, ethics and loyalty, the Christians could learn a lot from the lives of the ancient forefathers. However, the ancient forefathers were still lost and were living in darkness, in spite of their admirable ethical standard. Harms, in describing the achievements of Christianity in relation to heathenism said the following:

“In everything, what we are and have we owe to Christianity. Science, art, farming, craftsmanship, cities, towns, houses, roots etc., all this, was brought to us by Christianity, since in earlier times [...] our forefathers were walking around naked in the forest and had acorns as nourishment”.⁶⁰

From the preceding statement one can deduce that Harms understood or wanted to see no difference between the Africans and the Ancient Saxons; hence, culture is inevitably bound to Christianity, that is, only after the advent of Christianity in any given primal culture of the world, was there a real improvement and development. Hasselhorn correctly observed that:

⁵⁹ Haccius, Georg, HMG, II², p. 4.

⁶⁰ Harms, L., in HMBL, 1854, p.43.

"With such an opinion or world view Harms made it extremely difficult for the missionaries to have a positive access to the African culture."⁶¹

If the African cannot produce his own valuable culture, according to Harms, this could create an impression that all African customs and *modus vivendi* (manner of living) should be eradicated as soon as possible. Harms was also very harsh with the Christians as well. He left no stone unturned in search of the suitable *modus operandi et vivendi*. Harms criticised the Christians for having fallen into immorality and apostasy so that they were doing things, which were hated and resented by the German ancestors the so-called "pagans". Harms:

“What I could not understand is how, in today’s Germany, one hears of so many lies, unfaithfulness, fornication, and adultery, since our heathen forefathers were faithful, honest, chaste and modest people. I thought that every German Christian should be ashamed before his heathen forefathers.”⁶²

One could say that this worldview provided by Harms had a positive and negative effect at the same time as to how the missionaries were encountering the Africans in the mission field. Indeed, what Harms had been saying was positively in favour of the Africans, confirmed by the experiences of the missionaries in South Africa. Hohls:

⁶¹ Hasselhorn, Fritz, *Bauernmission in Südafrika*, (Erlangen, 1988), p. 30.

⁶² Harms, Ludwig, in: HMB 1854, p. 41; Hasselhorn, Fritz, *Bauernmission in Südafrika*, p. 30; I Corinthians 5:1-13 in NIV Bible.

"I was assured that if anything was stolen, one could be sure that it was not a Kaffir, but a white man who was the thief, as one often experienced"⁶³

Hohls was writing home as part of his monthly or annual correspondence and reports. This sentence is very interesting to read in the light of the previously commonly held assumption in South Africa that black people are prone to steal.

On the theological level, Harms' thinking was influenced by two socio-political and ecclesiastical factors - socio-political, for Germany was going through a transformation whose outcome was uncertain. These social upheavals were caused by, or were a reaction to, the inherent absolutisms in Europe prior to and after 1879. Rationalism and romanticism went hand-in-hand during that era. Harms went to school and studied under the influence of rationalism. The aftermath of the French Revolution was felt in Germany in the 1830s and 1840s. Harms was a staunch opponent of revolution and he was a supporter of confessionalism, monarchy and patriarchy.⁶⁴ Romanticism for Harms, and many other revivalists, was responsible for the bad moral state in Germany. There is no doubt that Harms was a monarchist. For a small town like Hermannsburg, it was a sensation when in 1857 the King of Hannover, George V, participated in the ordination of the missionaries. Haccius stated:

"There was a lively participation of the friends of missionary work in the city of Hannover. Interestingly, was the presence of King George V in all the ordination

⁶³ Hohls, H., in: HMBL 1856, p. 25.

⁶⁴ Lange, B.H., *One Root Two Stems*; pp. 12-15.

ceremonies. The king attentively observed all the church celebrations and he was consciously aware of his responsible position as the highest bishop."⁶⁵

Haccius concluded his chapter on the Hermannsburger Mission, the church and the position of the king by saying:

"and so this is how the relationship between Ludwig Harms and his mission house, and his king stood, with to the church as well as with the state government. It was a good and a blessed one and his heart was full of joy when in recognition of his mission house and the mission church in the heathen world as being one of the home church which is a cordial relationship without which he could not have achieved this relationship."⁶⁶

As far as patriarchy was concerned, Harms was *par excellence* a patriarchist and paternalist, for whenever the missionaries were writing to him they addressed him as 'Father' and he in turn would address them as his 'sons' or 'children'.⁶⁷

When it came to ecclesiastical or confessional matters, Harms was uncompromisingly adamant. Harms was a victim of the Enlightenment philosophy of rationalism during his studies at the university. However, after his conversion, he declared war against any signs and remnants of rationalism within the church. Orthodoxy and pietism had to

⁶⁵ Haccius, Georg, HMG II², pp. 130-132; Schmidt, D.K., *Grundriss der Kirchengeschichte*, 8th edition, (Goettingen, Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1984), Hereafter *Kirchengeschichte*, p. 420.

⁶⁶ Haccius, Georg, HMG II², p. 132.

⁶⁷ Harms, L., in: HMBL 1863, June, pp. 84, 87, 91; Lange, B.H., *One Root Two Stems*, p. 18.

merge in order to fight successfully against rationalism, whilst doctrine and creed, which were the strength of orthodoxy, also known as Old-Protestantism orthodoxy, had to accept and yield to or accede to the personal conversion, profession of faith and the practice of Christian life daily as demanded by pietists.⁶⁸

Lange rightly divided the revival movement into three discernible groups.⁶⁹

- (a) The Biblicists were fundamentalist in their approach for they took the text of the Bible literally and understood it as thus inspired.
- (b) The Emotionalists, who as Lang puts it, emphasised the emotion of experiencing grace. This tendency could lead to fanaticism and Anabaptism as the reformation process in Europe has shown.
- (c) The Confessionalists, who are so depicted for they were at the beginning enthusiastic about the common course of mission, that is, the Lutherans and the Reformed.

However, during the course of time, the Lutherans and the Reformed discovered that they had different emphases. This realisation led to the disbandment of the North German Mission Society of which Ludwig Harms was an important member. Harms as a confessionalist, (the Bible and the creeds including the Confessio Augustana (Augsburg confession) were a *conditio sine qua non*), had to leave this mission and eventually established the Hermannsburg Mission.

Lange observed:

⁶⁸ Schmidt, K.D., *Kirchengeschichte*, pp. 460-63.

⁶⁹ Lange, B.H., *One Root Two Stems*, p. 16.

"Especially for the ecclesiological understanding the revival (movement) had great consequences. The renewed emphasis on creed combined with the surviving understanding of the enlightenment that the church is a religious society which is constituted by a constitution led to a concept which saw the church as, although an institution instituted by Christ, constituted by its confessional writings and creeds."⁷⁰

We can conclude the theological part of Harms' presuppositions and worldview by saying that he was indeed a product of his time and background, always seeing the French Revolution in his mind's eye. Harms had no sympathy for any revolution and democracy. In these, he saw God's order being negated. Man was glorifying himself and using a majority vote to transgress God's will. In the existing world, he saw God's creation. Whenever man interfered with the structures, it led to chaos.⁷¹

With all his vision, Harms was only human. He could not perceive of a democracy different from the attempts that he saw in his present and immediate past. In the same way, he regarded the formation of synods with electoral powers as something alien to his understanding of scriptures and the confessional writings of the church. For him, it was totally against the intention of the church that lay people, perhaps even unbelievers, should decide by majority vote on the inner issues of the church. This left the church vulnerable to heresy.⁷² We will have a closer look at the constitution.

⁷⁰ Lange, B.H. *One Root Two Stems*, p. 16.

⁷¹ Hopf, R.W., *Selbstzeugnisse*, p. 114f.

⁷² Lange, B.H., *One Root Two Stems*, p. 21.

2.5 The Constitution for the Missionaries in South Africa

As part of his ecclesiastical and of his missionary understanding, Harms wrote down the constitution for the missionaries in South Africa.⁷³ The first part of the constitution deals with general matters, or rather with legal status. The second part explicates the ecclesiastical matters, and the third part deals with civil matters (see Appendix 2 for detailed articles of the constitution).⁷⁴

The original spirit and letter of the constitution has various sources.⁷⁵ One of these backgrounds is ecclesiastical, for already, from as far back as 1750, various epochs of revival movement had emerged. The first one is known as the “preparatory time in the eighteenth century”; the second one is to be placed at the early revival time during the Napoleonic era; and the last one could be observed from 1815, after which time this movement gained full momentum. The Barmer Mission, Berliner Mission and Leipziger Mission grew rapidly. Asia, India in particular, was earmarked for active missionary work. Later, Africa and North America followed suit on the map of the Mission societies.⁷⁶

⁷³ HMBL, 1854, pp. 13-16; Haccius, Georg, HMG II² pp. 224-25; Lange, B.H., *One Root Two Stems*, pp. 3-6.

⁷⁴ This Constitution has been translated from the original in the German language, see HMBL 1854, pp. 13-16; Haccius, Georg, HMG II², pp. 224-25; Lange, B.H., *One Root Two Stems*, pp.3-6.

⁷⁵ Spindler, M., *Die Kirchlichen Erneuerungsbestrebungen “Bayern in 19.Jahrhundert”* in: H.J.G. 1952, p. 197ff; Geiger, M., *Das problem der Erweckungstheologie*, ThZ 14, 1958, pp. 430-450; Katzenbach, F.W., *Die EB Studien zur Geschichte ihrer Entstehung und ersten Ausbreitung in Deutschland* 1957.

⁷⁶ Beyreuther, Erich,- *Die Erweckungsbewegung*, (Göttingen, 1977), pp. 22-23.

Between 1815-1830 a strong sense of unity prevailed among the different organisations known as mission societies or "*die Vereine*", irrespective of their confessions. However, by 1830, tendencies towards confessionalism could be traced. In spite of the first flaws, which could be seen within the various societies, the North German Mission Society was established in 1836. Various speakers, of whom some were anthropologists and others missionaries from overseas who had come to Germany via Halle, visited the North German Society from time to time. Professor D. Hofmanns was one of them. He held a series of lectures in Rostock and Hamburg.⁷⁷ Haccius stressed the fact that the idea of connecting mission to the existing colonial structure was not proposed or initiated by Harms. Harms according to Haccius, found it already there.⁷⁸

Haccius summarised the ideas of the missionary thinking of those days, when he said:

"The plan to link mission with colonisation was not new and was neither conceived by Harms nor especially peculiar to him. This plan used to be recommended and discussed frequently during both the English and German mission itineraries".⁷⁹

Another source of information for Harms was of an anthropological kind. Johann Ludwig Krapf (1810 to 1881) was sent to East Africa by the Swedish Evangelical Mission to begin mission work in Ethiopia in 1838. Krapf reported from Africa and during his trips to Germany about his experiences in Ethiopia with the Oromo people (Galla). His reports

⁷⁷ Haccius, Georg, HMG II², p. 226.

⁷⁸ Haccius, Georg, *ibid.*, p. 226.

⁷⁹ Haccius, Georg, HMG II² p. 226, pp. 247-251. Haccius George, HMG II², p. 375.

inspired Ludwig Harms with an interest in the Oromo people; hence, his first priority was to build a ship and name it *Candace*. The ship was earmarked for Oromoland.⁸⁰

More will be said about the missionaries Ludwig Krapf and Johann Rebmann (1820 to 1876) (see Appendix 1). Another figure of vital importance, who to a greater extent shaped Harms colonial worldview, was David Livingstone. David Livingstone (1813 - 1873) was born in Blantyre in Scotland He was brought up in a pietistic home. His dream as a young man, was to go to China as a missionary, but his desire never materialized. He met Robert Moffat as a youth. Moffat persuaded him to join him as a missionary in South Africa. This he did, and from 1840 to 1855, he worked as a missionary in the service of the London Missionary Society.⁸¹ During his stay in Africa, Livingstone travelled extensively through South Africa, South and Northern Rhodesia, Nyasaland and Tanganyika.

Sahlberg sums up the vision of Livingstone by saying:

"The life of Livingstone was to find the Zambezi River, "God's highway into the interior", as he called it. From there a convenient trade route into Central Africa should be found. For Livingstone this central route would open up the continent for the Word of God and for legitimate commerce, which would improve the living conditions of the people. "Christianity and commerce" became something of a life motto for Livingstone as he urged good cooperative relations with the

⁸⁰ Sahlberg, Carl-Erik, *From Krapf to Rugambwa - A Church History of Tanzania*, (Nairobi, 1986), pp. 23-30, Hereafter, *From Krapf to Rugambwa*; Proske, W., *Botswana und die Anfänge der Hermannsbürger Mission*, pp.125-128; Lange, B.H., *One Root Two Stems*, p.7

⁸¹ Sahlberg, Carl-Erik, *From Krapf to Rugambwa* - pp. 31-33.

tradesmen, Arabic, African or European, who earlier had shown negative or directly hostile attitudes toward the missionaries"⁸²

Sahlberg continues:

"He was a man of Europe and Africa, Scotland and Nyasaland, Blantyre and Bangweolu. For Livingstone, Africa was a continent of action and he was the actor and playwright on his self-chosen stage. He mastered a continent but others did the patient planting of the faith" (Northcott). He was no settled missionary, for that his character was too restless and energetic. "Yet the fact remains, that it was Livingstone the individual, and not the C.M.S. missionaries with their twelve years start and their powerful society behind them, who set in motion the missionary invasion of East Africa" (Oliver). His call "I beg to direct your attention to Africa" was really heard. When Livingstone reached his last destination at Ilala in 1873 the students from Oxford and Cambridge in the ministry of UMCA had already arrived for their work in East Africa."⁸³

Livingstone's influence had reached Germany. Harms had been following Livingstone's reports with great interest. In addition to other information which was accessible to missionary societies and to Harms in particular, Haccius revealed the information on Livingstone and the degree to which his information had influenced Harms.

Haccius described Livingstone's views in the following words:

⁸² Sahlberg, Carl-Erik, *ibid.*, p. 31.

⁸³ Sahlberg, Carl-Erik, *ibid.*, p. 33.

"Unlike Hofmann and Harms who went to great lengths to explain or understand and stress the importance of the church, David Livingstone, with the same objective and dealing with the question from the practical side, entertained the same ideas and he recommended the connection of mission and colonisation with life's communism. When he presented his ideas about the erection of the mission station on the highveld, he intended to connect this with the settlement of the Christian settlers and thought that by so doing, Christianity could be spread much better and faster. The English people could enjoy good health in this region and it could be of great use if they encouraged the diligent inhabitants to farm wool, maize, sugar cane and other valuable produce. In that way they could be induced to trade with European produce. At the same time through teaching and example they could preach the great truth of our Christian religion. Every day the conviction in my mind became stronger, namely that, if we are to be successful, the English colonisation is a major precondition. I would like to know why we couldn't have the old monastery system without celibacy."⁸⁴

From the preceding accounts and references we attempted to show that Harms' idea of formulating such a democratic and communalistic constitution had various sources of influence; therefore, it was neither a question of a change of conviction for Harms in matters affecting socio-political spheres of life nor the ecclesiastical ones. But the harsh realities in the countries to which Harms was sending the missionaries demanded this cognisance. The lives and labours of missionaries Krapf and Rebmann as forerunners for protestant missions to East Africa, though they were not Missionaries of the

⁸⁴ Haccius, Georg, HMG, II², pp. 227-228.

Hermannsburg Mission Society, are important and therefore indispensable for and constitutive to the origin and development of the HMS.

3. THE FIRST AND SECOND ATTEMPT OF MISSIONARY WORK IN EAST AFRICA

3.1 First Attempt

The Hermannsburger missionaries made the first attempt in 1854. They left Hamburg on October 18th 1853, arrived at Cape Town on January 21st 1854 and after a stop over at Durban on 9th March, they reached Zanzibar in April 1854. On their arrival at the harbour, they were welcomed by four German merchants from Hamburg, who told them to forget their planned mission to reach the African tribes in the hinterland, for that was a futile exercise and they might be killed on the way.⁸⁵

The primary reason for their unhappiness with the arrival of their countrymen lay in the fear of competition, and, therefore, sabotage of their prospective plans to trade with the interior people.

In spite of the motive behind such news, ironically the warnings came true. They were never allowed to advance into the interior. The missionaries' last hope was to sail to Mombasa, where they could find missionary J. Rebmann, who had been living for quite some time among the Manyika tribe, in an area situated 4km from Mombasa. Rebmann

⁸⁵ Speckmann, F., *Mission in Africa*, p. 17-18.

had arrived in East Africa in 1846, and had therefore been there for at least 8 years. The son of Sultan Said had received them in Zanzibar, and in a short conversation with the missionaries, had given them verbal permission to sail to Mombasa without a written document. They only realised their mistake when they reached their destination five weeks later.

However, the missionaries were doubly unfortunate. When they left Zanzibar for Mombasa, their ship was driven away by the sea currents in the wrong direction. This happened five times. As a result, their trip from Zanzibar to Mombasa took them five weeks.⁸⁶

On arrival in Mombasa, they were refused entry, since they did not have a written permit from the Sultan or his deputy in Zanzibar. The missionaries attempted negotiating entry but in vain. They told the Muslim governor in Mombasa that the Sultan's son had assured them his consent of entry and passage in Mombasa. They were told that no information to that end had been received from Zanzibar.

After lengthy negotiations, they were given permission to send for Rebmann who came to see them immediately. After discussions with them, they came to the conclusion that they should sail back to Natal and try to enter Zululand under Mpande kaSenzangakhona.⁸⁷

⁸⁶ Speckmann, F., *Mission in Afrika*, pp. 18-19.

⁸⁷ Speckmann, F., *Mission in Afrika*, pp. 20-21; Groves, C.P., *The planting of Christianity in Africa II*, pp.114-115.

The Muslim administrator was prepared to allow missionary Meyer to stay in Mombasa, since he had some knowledge of medicine. He could therefore be of some help to the town. Three missionaries attempted to infiltrate the hinterland without permission; they were Schröder, Hohls and Müller. Their intention was to visit the chief of the Wapokomo tribe in the hope to secure his consent for erecting a mission station in his territory. They were to travel three to four days in order to reach the Wapokomo tribe.

By that time the missionaries had learned some Swahili words, helped by a small dictionary prepared by Krapf and Rebmann. On their way to the Wapokomo people, black people helped the missionaries. Wherever they went, they were given water and food.

A certain man whom they met on their way told them that the Wapokomo people were still far away. Then the missionaries decided to change their itinerary plans and went to missionary Rebmann, who lived at Rabbai among the Wanyika and Wakamba tribes. Again, Rebmann stressed his apprehension and premonitions about the whole undertaking. From there they returned to their ship, sad and dejected.⁸⁸

Louis Harms was very sad and disappointed upon hearing the news of the unsuccessful mission. He wrote in the official mission newspaper:

⁸⁸ Speckmann, F., *Mission in Afrika*, 24-26; Haccius, G., HMGII², pp. 252-256.

"In the last newspaper I reported with a bleeding heart about the rejection of our brothers."⁸⁹

Speckmann was of the opinion that the Imam had refused them entry because he was a Muslim, and, therefore, an enemy of the Christians. He continued to say: "like Muhammad who was a false prophet so are all his followers because their religion is from the devil." The second reason given by Speckmann was the fact that the Imam (*Sultan*) was a non-African chief; he ascended to power over the coastal people through his powerful cannons. Furthermore, he was a slave trader who feared for his business and wanted to be the sole undisputed trader. The ivory, the slaves and everything from the interior should pass through his scrutiny and be sold only to him alone. He, in turn, sold it to the European ships in Zanzibar. If the Europeans came to the coast or penetrated through to the interior, they would dominate the trade. This the Sultan did not like. After some debate about whether or not they should return to Natal, they finally and unanimously agreed to return to Natal, where they arrived on the 2nd of August 1854.⁹⁰

Other authors, like Groves, are of the opinion that the reason for the Sultan's refusal lies partly in missionary Krapf's lack of diplomacy.

"Surprising as it may sound, Krapf was the cause of the Sultan's refusal. It happened in this way. In conformity with his expressed policy of cultivating African rulers whose consent determined the life or death of a mission, he had favoured Kimweri King of uSambara by furnishing to his officer, names of

⁸⁹ Harms, Louis, in HMBL, 1854, pp. 152-156; Speckmann, F., *Mission in Afrika*, pp. 27-28; Haccius, G., HMG II², pp. 258-260.

⁹⁰ Speckmann, F., *Mission in Afrika*, pp. 27-28; Haccius G., HMG II², pp. 260-262.

European and American firms in Zanzibar with whom he might trade directly. This cutting out of the Swahili middleman bitterly antagonised them, and Krapf was so far aware of it. It was naturally a thorn in the side of the Swahili, because I had taken an unbeliever (*kafrir*) to Zanzibar where he could see with his own eyes things as they were."

What he seemed not to be aware of, was the weapon he unwittingly put into their hands. While in Zanzibar with Erhardt in April 1852, he was asked, in conversation with the French consul, whether a certain stretch of coast he had just visited was in reality under Said's authority. It would seem that Erhardt realised the risk of answering, but Krapf would not be warned and reported how Kimweri had actually levied a tribute on the Coast.

There were listening ears and it was soon voiced abroad that Krapf had said that the Sultan's writ did not run on a stretch of Coast of considerable commercial importance. Further, there were already fears of a French colonizing venture on the Coast, and now Krapf's journey to uSambara was seen as a thread in the tangled diplomatic web. Krapf was meddling in politics. Prince Said had been in Muscart during these events, but on his return he heard it all, and doubtless with some embroidery at Krapf's expense. So it came about that when the Foreign office wanted Hamerton, the British Consul, to render any necessary assistance to the Hanovarian missionaries, he replied: "I have cause to believe that this or any other missionary expedition will not be received by the Imam or his people." The change in the attitude to missionaries was due to a different view of their intentions, "which I regret to say, has been caused by Dr Krapf." Small wonder that the

refusal to permit the *Candace's* passengers to settle on the mainland and found a "Christian Colony" was rigid and unbending.⁹¹

The first attempt by the Hermannsburg missionaries to reach Oromoland, legally or illegally, had been a disaster. This failure was Harms' personal failure, for he had placed everything on the success of that mission to Oromoland. Perhaps Harms, for the first time, recognised his limitations. In a subsequent presentation, it will be shown whether or not the second attempt succeeded.

After this experience of a failed mission to the Galla (Oromo) people, Harms had become wiser. He consulted a number of people and asked their opinion. One of these people was Wilhelm Posselt, a Berlin missionary in Natal in 1837. Posselt wrote to Harms, explaining to him his knowledge of the tribes inhabiting the East Coastal region whose language was similar to the Zulu language, whereas the Galla language is totally different to the Bantu language. He advised Harms in the following words:

"If you are by now ready to begin the Galla mission, then I would advise you to start that mission with a small number of missionaries. The reason being that the pagans rightly have wrong conceptions about the white people, namely that the whites are there either for money and profit or for the appropriation of their land. Therefore the quieter and humbler the whites approach them, the better. When

⁹¹ Coupland, R., *East Africa and its invaders*, 1938, pp. 414-15; Burton, R.R., *The Lake Regions of Central Afrika*, Vol. I, Everyman p. 7, p. 7¹; Groves, C.P., *The Planting of Christianity in Africa*, Vol. 2, pp. 116-117.

one has gained the trust and entry among them, then with pleasure an army of the evangelist can follow."⁹²

3.2 The Second Attempt

When the second group of missionary students completed their course at Hermannsburg in autumn 1857, Louis Harms asked the students who was willing to make a second attempt at reaching the Oromo tribe. The students responded by saying he should choose for himself whom he wished to send.⁹³ He then chose Filter, Prigge and Klasen. Three settlers were to accompany them, namely, Glatthaar, Kröger and Meyer. Harms told these young men that he had organised an interpreter from Natal, who was going to accompany them to the Oromo people in East Africa. He further assured them that he had heard that the Bantu languages are related to one another from the Cape to Mombasa. Subsequently, the ship *Candace* left Hamburg for Natal with the aspiring missionaries.

On their arrival in Natal, they travelled to Hermannsburg in South Africa. By March 31st 1858 they were ready to leave for Mombasa. Two black Africans were on board with the missionaries. The crew consisted of 16 persons. The sea was very unfriendly on the way. On several occasions they were driven away from their course. At times, the wind became so wild that one of their members, Dietrich Junge from Altona, was blown out of the ship into the sea at night.

⁹² HMBL., 1856, p. 36; Haccius, G., HMG II², pp. 262-264.

⁹³ Speckmann, F., *Mission in Afrika*, pp. 28-29; Haccius, G., HMG II², pp. 264-265.

They sailed towards Formosa Bay and arrived there on the 16th of April 1858. Their attempt at halting at the Bay was unsuccessful, for they could find no suitable place to stop. After a long search, they eventually found a river mouth into which they sailed. However, this river could not take them further. Dejected, they returned to the ship and sailed towards Somalia.⁹⁴

On their arrival in Somalia, accompanied by the chief whom they met on their way, they tried their best to go inland, but in vain. Kröger and Klasen had to remain in the ship for they had malaria fever. When the rest of their colleagues returned to the ship, the two were critically ill. Klasen died, and Kröger recovered entirely.⁹⁵ From there, they set course for Natal via Mauritius, but they could not pass Mauritius for the wind was too strong.

Whilst they were struggling to sail past Mauritius, there came the idea of sailing to Zanzibar with the intention of travelling further on land to the Oromo, if possible. On arrival at Zanzibar, they received the news that there was a new ruler, Prince (Seyyid) Majid Said, Sultan of Zanzibar, and there was a new English Consular General.

They soon searched for missionary Rebmann, whom they found without difficulty. He too was waiting for a new passport, which would allow him to go to the Manyika tribe in Rabbai Mpye, where he had his station. Preparations for applications to the Sultan via the British Consulate were promptly made. Indeed, after a while in June 1858, Rebmann

⁹⁴ Speckmann, F., *Mission in Afrika*, pp. 38-39; Haccius G., HMG II², pp. 266-267.

⁹⁵ Speckmann, F., *Mission in Afrika*, pp. 44-45; Haccius G., HMG II², pp. 268-269.

received his passport as a British citizen. But the Hermannsburger missionaries were categorically refused.

Filter and Prigge were busy learning the Kiswahili language, hoping after which to penetrate the interior via Rebmann's station. However, all these efforts were futile. The British Consular General was not prepared to talk on their behalf to the Sultan. The Sultan had said, right from the beginning before he met them, that he did not want any discussion about travelling to the interior, nor to Mombasa, for he could not be responsible for them.

Filter and Prigge, accompanied by two Swahili speaking blacks, Jabolu and Sholani, left Zanzibar for Natal, heartbroken and disappointed.⁹⁶ Due to the then socio-political constellation, the missionaries attempted in vain to enter the hinterland. We shall now look at the reasons given by the Hermannsburger leadership, Harms and Speckmann.

It seems Harms had the idea of sending missionaries for a third attempt to enter Oromoland, when he wrote in 1861:

"They were told that there was a hope that the door to the Galla people was opening, seeing that the English Consul had requested more missionaries through Rebmann because the Sultan had made the whole coast available to the missionaries. A letter had already been written to Superintendent Hardeland,

⁹⁶ Speckmann, F., *Mission in Afrika*, pp. 46-54; Haccius, G., HMG II², pp. 271-272.

therefore it remains to be seen some may be commissioned for the task of going to the Gallas"⁹⁷

Speckmann gave the following reasons:

"There must be a certain influence against us, if we see things correctly then the reason would be the major enemy namely the spirit of trade, when one considers the fact that we have our own ship with which we could jeopardise the trade interest of the other party."⁹⁸

Rebmann was also unfortunate that he had to evacuate his station from among the Wanyika tribe and move to Zanzibar, for the Massai had invaded the Manyika Territory and were plundering. He wrote:

"I am certain that the East African Mission has not been abandoned but just stopped for a while, until the Lord opens the doors again and not through the Mohammedan mediation, but through the hand of a Christian authority."⁹⁹

In preceding sections we have dealt with the founding and challenges faced by the HMS in Germany and Ethiopia. In the following chapter, we will have a closer look at the Zulu background prior to the arrival of the Europeans in Zululand.

⁹⁷ Harms, Louis, In: HMBL., 1861, p. 186; Haccius, G., HMG II² pp. 272-273.

⁹⁸ Speckmann, F., *Mission in Afrika*, p. 51.

⁹⁹ Haccius, G., HMG II² p. 273; *Evangelische Missions - Magazin* 1858, p.101.

CHAPTER THREE

THE ZULU BACKGROUND

1. ZULULAND: THE SOCIAL AND POLITICAL STRUCTURE OF THE ZULU KINGDOM BEFORE THE ARRIVAL OF THE WHITE PEOPLE

The starting point is the homestead (*umuzi*). Every grown up man who wished to be a progenitor should establish an *umuzi* through his wife or wives. He would then become an *umnumzana* and later on, if possible, become a chief of a particular lineage.

Homesteads and lineages were never discrete units, but were united under the political authority of the chief. Chiefly powers were an extension of the authority of the head of the homestead, its material base being the chief's power to extract surplus from those under him. As leader of the clan, he had the duties of imposing fines against the offenders, but also he had to protect the clan from outside dangers. Homestead production formed the basis of the society; chiefdoms existed, but they were brought under the authority of the ruling chiefdom, and the polity referred to as a kingdom.

In the Zulu case, the material power of the king was based on his ability to draw on the labour of all men for approximately twenty years of their lives. This labour was dependent to a large degree on the homesteads from which the men were drawn. Therefore, political control of economic transactions was vested in the dominant lineages of the stronger clans, who acquired the status of the hereditary chiefdoms.

These territorial chiefs acted between the *imizi* heads and the lineage heads, and their functions in ensuring the reproduction of the entire social formation were indispensable. The dominant chief could, through this social function of cattle exchange, accumulate wealth and through the custom of *ukusisa* (the lending out of cattle to an individual who will later on be expected to bring the returns). This system ensured political support. Another form, which characterised the chiefdom, was the custom of age-sets (*amabutho*), which was the grouping together of youths. This custom replaced the obsolete ancient custom of circumcision. The *Amabutho* had retained a variety of productive functions before being adopted by Dingiswayo, and then Shaka, for military purposes. In the next section, I will analyse the pre-Shakan kingdoms in the uPhongolo region.

2. THE UPHONGOLO REGION 1800-1830

The period between 1700 and 1750 in South East Africa (North Nguniland) underwent dramatic historical vicissitudes, which saw the formation and the development of the Mabhudu, Ndwandwe, Mthethwa, Qwabe, eMbo, (Mkhize-Hlubi) Dlamini Ngwane Ngcobo and, finally, the Abakwa Zulu kingdoms.

2.1 Different Theories on the Origin and Creation of Chiefdoms in South East Africa

Bryant is the first writer to attempt to create a synthesis of the historical and political events and present them in a chronological order. He wrote three books in which he

presented his case.¹ It has to be said that Bryant wrote these volumes with an anthropological interest amid the debate on the origin of black people. For a long time, Bryant's works remained unchallenged and thus were used as references for any study in the history and anthropology of the Abenguni on the Eastern part of South Africa.

However, in the early 1950s, the 1970s and the 1980s, other theories began to emerge, pointing at some flaws in Bryant's theories.²

Bryant developed three categories in his theory of black movements. Firstly, Bryant spoke of a period when the people he calls the Abenguni migrated into the region of South East Africa, coming from the north and northwest, and dispersing in their separate 'clans' to the localities where many of them were still to be found at the beginning of the nineteenth century.³ Secondly, he spoke of a 'Golden Age' of East Nguni history, which was a period when the people lived in peace and stability under benevolent patriarchal rule. Thirdly, he referred to the period of aristocracy, which started with Shaka's accession to the kingship of the Abakwa Zulu Clan *ca* 1816.

¹ Bryant, A.T., *Olden Times*, Chapters 1, 2 and pp. 232-35; 313-17; *Natal and Zululand*, p. 50; Bryant, A.T., *The Black People as they were before the white men came*, (Pietermaritzburg, 1949), Hereafter *The Black people; A History of the Zulu and Neighbouring tribes*, (Cape Town, 1964), Hereafter *A History of the Zulu*. For the discussion of major literature on the history of South Africa and Zululand see Hamilton's *Ideology, Oral Tradition and the Struggle for Power*, pp. 28-34, 35-43.

² Hamilton, Carolyn, *Ideology, Oral Tradition and the Struggle for Power in the Early Zulu Kingdom*, (M.A. Thesis at Witwatersrand University, Johannesburg, 1985). Hereafter *Ideology, Oral Tradition and the Struggle for Power*; Wright, John, *The Dynamics of power*; Laband, J., *Rope of Sand : The Rise and Fall of the Zulu Kingdom in the nineteenth century* (Jonathan Ball Publishers, Johannesburg, 1995), pp. 1-46, Hereafter *Rope of Sand*.

³ Bryant, A.T., *Olden Times*, Chapters 1 & 2, and pp. 232-235, 313-317.

Shaka's advent into the political scene in *eBunguni* set in motion a drastic political change, in which primordial systems of many clans and independent chieftains were demolished and replaced by autocratic rule.⁴ Bryant's views about his findings were rather ambiguous, for he would on the one hand praise and on the other hand criticize his sources and his finding.

Bryant came to his conclusion, because of his preconceived opinion, that the oral traditions from which he derived his evidence could be taken at face value, and that the clans referred to in the traditions were historically real entities whose internal organization remained essentially unchanging, even when they altered in size. Furthermore, in denying the validity of oral tradition and history, Bryant went on to say that the amount of information that can be gleaned from the tradition is strictly limited, since it focuses mainly on warfare and raiding.⁵ Where tradition survives, he argues, it may, with qualifications, be taken as containing a core of historical fact. He put it this way:

"As a general rule, we may say that every early native historical tradition is based upon and born of fact; and secondly, that, the basic fact is the only reliable element in the tradition. The various minor circumstances in the progress of an event do not appear strongly to the native mind, to it the only matter of real importance is the main issue, the fundamental fact. According to Bryant, each native witness will report the same occurrence in a slightly different manner, will fix upon such details only as made an impression upon his own mind, and repeat

⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 71, see also Chapter 9.

⁵ Bryant, A.T., *History of the Zulu*, p. 139.

statements in his own wording, and all alike will embellish the narrative according to their own peculiar gifts of verbosity or imagination."⁶

Should there be variations of a tradition, as often has been the case, these should be regarded as simply products of individual 'native minds'. The business of the historian who uses this kind of evidence is, in Bryant's words:

“ [...] to put the crooked straight and to fill in the gaps, linking together disconnected facts by probabilities based on other knowledge, moulding discrepant statements so that they harmonize with their surroundings, drawing conclusions following naturally from well-founded premises”.⁷

Here falsification could happen. Where different versions of traditions existed, he writes: "We [...] have selected that for presentation here which bore the weightier evidence, or at any rate, an equal measure of probability". His expressed concern then was to produce an internally consistent and coherent account by ironing out contradictions and inconsistencies, and filling in gaps by means of informed conjecture.

Another area, according to historians, in which Bryant erred was to think that the group histories, which are contained in many of the traditions, are to be read as the histories of discrete politics. As he saw it then, the basic political unit throughout the precolonial period was the clan, which he described as: “ the magnified family in which all alike

⁶ Bryant, A.T., *Olden Times*, pp. 18-19.

⁷ *Ibid.*, p. viii.

were descendent from the same original ancestor, all were now ruled by that ancestor's direct living representative and all [...] dwelt and moved together in one great block" ⁸ .

Many of Bryant's assertions, like the terms Nguni and Mtungwa, Amathonga, Amanhlengwa and Amalala, as he explicated then, are now not only challenged but also rejected. In his thesis, John Wright has shown and convincingly proved that Bryant had synthesized the histories recorded by his predecessors⁹ like Holden, Shooter, Fynn and Shepstone.¹⁰ Therefore, Bryant's main theory had to be abandoned. Gluckman in the 1940s and 1950s developed an alternative theory to Bryant, namely, that political change in the eighteenth century South East Africa was a product of intensified conflict over resources consequent on the growth of the region's human population. This theory was adopted and uncritically advanced by Omer-Cooper in his book *The Zulu Aftermath*.¹¹ Guy has come out with another variation. For him, the intensified conflict lay not so much in an increase of population but in the decline in the productivity of grazing and agricultural land resulting from centuries of unscientific farming practices.¹² This theory is challenged by new archaeological findings, which do not show such strains in

⁸ *Ibid.*, p. x.

⁹ Wright, J., *The Dynamics of Power*, pp. 96-150; 151-155.

¹⁰ *Ibid.*, pp. 103-116.

¹¹ Gluckman, M., *The Kingdom of the Zulu of South Africa, African political systems* (ed). M. Fortes and F.E. Evans-Pritchard (London, Oxford University Press, 1940), pp. 25-46; Gluckman, M., Analysis of a Social Situation in Modern Zululand, Part B in *Bantu Studies*, 14 (1940), pp. 147-154; Omer-Cooper, *The Zulu Aftermath, A Nineteenth Century Revolution in Bantu Africa*, (London, 1966), pp. 24-37; *Natal and Zululand*, pp. 56, 61.

¹² Guy, Jeff, "Ecological factors in the Rise of Shaka and the Zulu Kingdom", paper presented to the Conference on Southern African History National University of Lesotho, 1-6 August 1972.

Zululand-Natal. Martin Hall, Aron Mazel and Tim Maggs have come forward with important findings in their field, which helped the debate move forward.¹³

Hence, the demographic and the environmental arguments are speculative and are not based on firm evidence and cannot by themselves explain why conflict over resources should have begun, when and where they did, nor why they should have produced the particular political effect that it did.¹⁴

The most persuasive arguments so far put forward are based on the hypothesis that the initial dynamic, at least, was provided by the effects of international trade. This theory claims that the arrival of the Europeans on the African South East Coast has to a greater extent prompted and invigorated the expansion of the Mabhudu, Ndwandwe and Methethwa kingdoms.

¹³ Hall, Martin, *Settlement patterns in the Iron Age in Zululand : An Ecological Interpretation* (Oxford, British Archaeological Reports, 1981, BAR International Series 119), Chapters, 5-9, *Vide* pp. 177-78.

¹⁴ Chanaiwa, "The Zulu Revolution : State Formation in a Pastoral Society", *African Studies Review* 23 (1980), pp. 1-20.

2.2 The Emergence of the Mabhudu, Ndwandwe and Mthethwa Kingdoms and their Power Struggles for Territorial Hegemony

The Mabhudu-Tembe kingdoms are some of the oldest in South East Africa. There is no doubt, judging from oral and recorded history, that their expansion is partly as a result of contact with the foreign traders, be they Arab, Portuguese or Dutch and English. That contact was mainly on the basis of trade in ivory and later in slaves.¹⁵ Historians are of the opinion that the conflict among the aforesaid kingdoms began when the Mabhudu expanded to the South and the Ndwandwe-Mthethwa to the North. In establishing a coherent semi-central authority, the formation of the Amabutho was initiated. The competition and perhaps the fear of invasion by other neighbouring kingdoms, sparked off the centralization of power and influence. This expansion occurred in the later part of the eighteenth century.¹⁶ The Mthethwa King, Khayi kaMadango KaXaba, began very early to consolidate his power. Communities newly subjected to the overlordship of the Mthethwa ruling house were incorporated into Mthethwa's Kingdom through manipulation of their traditions of origin in a way that enabled them to be able to claim to be kinsfolk of the ruling house. In the reigns of Jobe and his successor Dingiswayo, which spanned the turn of the century, political incorporation began to take place on a different basis. Chiefdoms subjected to Abakwa Mthethwa rule were now no longer incorporated into the core group which claimed kinship links with the ruling house; instead, they were deliberately prevented from making such claims, and so came to form

¹⁵ *Natal and Zululand*, pp. 61-62; Cobbing, Julian, The Tainted Well in *Journal of Natal and Zulu History*, Hereafter, *JNZH*, pp. 115-154; Smith, A., *The Struggle for Control of Southern Mozambique 1720-1835*, (Ph. D. Thesis, University of California, Los Angeles, 1970); Slater, H., *Transition*, pp. 318-319.

¹⁶ Slater, H., *Transition*, pp. 277-281; Hedges, *Trade and Politics*, pp. 195-99; Wright, J.B., "PreShakan Age-Group Formation among the Northern Nguni", *Natalia* 8 (1978), pp. 22-30; Hamilton, C., *Ideology, Oral Traditions and Struggle for Power*, pp. 116-119, 330-33.

a stutum with the Mthethwa's polity that was politically and socially quite distinct from, and subordinate in status to, the core of groups linked to the ruling house. The emphasis on common origins that had earlier served to unite subjected groups with the Abakwa Mthethwa ruling house now gave way to an emphasis on the distinction that existed between the core of the older groups and the newly subjected ones, with the latter being excluded from certain rights and privileges enjoyed by the core and subjected to demands for tribute in cattle and labour.¹⁷

The emergence of this distinction can be seen as marking the beginnings of the formation of embryonic social classes within an embryonic state. In this policy, the power exercised by the emergent aristocracy over the class of commoners (*Abantukazana*) was increasingly based, not only on the ruling chiefs' ritual and managerial authority but also on the growing coercive power at his disposal. The dynamics behind the Ndwandwe emergence are still not fully clear yet.¹⁸ Whilst the above-mentioned powers developed there were also small chiefdoms, in the interior and coastal regions that also had undergone a process of centrality though very small in size as compared to the Ndwandwe-Mthethwa powers. These polities were Qwabe, Ngcobo and eMbomkhize on the coast and the Hlubi, Ngwane, Dlamini, Shabalala, Hlatswayo-Kubheka Zwane-Mazibuko in north west of iMfolozi. These polities and their powers were less centralized and less stratified than those of the Mthethwa and Ndwandwe.¹⁹

¹⁷ Hamilton, C., *Ideology, Oral Traditions and the Struggle for Power*, pp. 112-118; 122-130.

¹⁸ Bryant, A.T., *Olden Times*, pp. 160, 162, 276-77, 686, 690, 691; Bryant, A.T., *History of the Zulu*, pp. 12-13; Hedges, D.W., *Trade and politics*, pp. 156-64.

¹⁹ Hamilton, C., *Ideology, Oral Tradition and the Struggle for Power*, pp. 156-160; Bryant, A.T., *Olden Times*, pp. 404-5; Hedges, D.W., *Trade and Politics*, p. 176; Wright, J., & Manson, A., *The Hlubi Chiefdom*, pp. 9-11; Bonner, P., *Kings, Commoners and Concessionaires*, pp. 9-26.

As these chiefdoms grew and expanded, they became dependent on the maintenance of *Amabutho*. As this dependence grew, so did the necessity for rulers to acquire extra resources of cattle redistribution as largesse (free gift) and reward (*ukuxoshisa*) to the *Amabutho*. There was no way in which these needs could be met from the ruling house's own cattle holding, or from the cattle which it was politically safe to extract from their subordinates in the form of tribute. To meet their immediate demands, cattle could be acquired only by raiding them from other chiefdoms. The rise of *Amabutho*-based states therefore saw the development of raiding as a structural necessity. Raids had no doubt been frequent enough among these chiefdoms before emergence of states, but from the late eighteenth century they increased in frequency and scale. And, as the political importance of cattle as a means of supporting the *Amabutho* system increased, so raids began to turn into wars of territorial conquest aimed at bringing regions of good grazing land under the permanent control of expanding chiefdoms.

It is in the midst of this competition that the conflict between the AbakwaNdwandwe and AbakwaMthethwa appeared in the scene. Dingiswayo by then had allowed a relative autonomy over the tribute paying chiefs and they could form their own *Amabutho* as well. This was the case in Senzangakhona Zulu.²⁰

The conflict and vying for territorial supremacy ended with the Ndwandwe emerging as victors. Dingiswayo was mysteriously killed. There is no coherent account as to how he was actually killed by Zwide's forces. Now that Dingiswayo was dead, the Abakwa

²⁰ Hamilton, C., *Ideology, Oral Tradition and the Struggle for Power*, pp. 117-20, 124-135.

Mthethwa called on Shaka to lead their armed forces and protect them against the Ndwandwe pending menace. While all that happened Senzangakhona had also died. He is said to have died before Dingiswayo. This was a long awaited opportunity for Shaka to show his military skills at the hour of national need and insecurity. Shaka merged the two Mthwethwa and the AbakwaZulu forces and waited for Zwide to take a first step. Zwide did attack Abakwa Zulu three times. The bloodiest conflict was at Mhlathuze and at Gqokli hill. Shaka came out victorious. From there the regions between uThukela and uPhongolo lay open for him as undisputed leader.²¹ Shaka continued and increased the custom of the *amabutho*.

²¹ Bryant, A.T., *Olden Times*, pp. 162-66; Hamilton, C., *Ideology, Oral Tradition and the Struggle for Power*, pp. 136-138, 172-90, 245-47; 246-264.

2.3 Shaka's Consolidation of Political Power and the Creation of the Zulu Kingdom

The need of the cattle was aggravated by the drought and famine known as *indlala kamadlantule*. Historians have confused the proper meaning behind this word. They always wrote uMadlathule, (eat and remain silent) which inevitably gave a wrong meaning.²²

A system for controlling the *Amabutho* was to *ukubutha* them (recruiting them to the army) and *ukuthunga isicoco* (the putting on of a headring) and then, later *ukujutshwa bayoganwa* (the permission to get married). Males and females were conscripted. Females would stay at their parents' homes whilst the males would be called on to serve at the various *Amakhanda* scattered around the kingdom. In this way, Shaka's power grew rapidly.²³ One could say that this system, strange as it may sound, served the society of that time in two important ways: firstly, the birth of illegitimate children was unknown in those days; secondly, it served to check the population explosion, for men only got married at an advanced age, at approximately 35 years. As Shaka's rule expanded, the Qwabe, Khumalo and eMathenjini resisted Shaka domination. Another innovative move, which Shaka undertook, was the formation of an aristocracy known as

²² Bryant, A.T., *Olden Times*, pp. 63, 88; Guy, J., *Ecological Factors*, pp. 111-112, Bonner, P., *Kings, Commoners and Concessionaires*, pp. 20-23. As opposed to the wrong writing and the meaning given thereto. The correct version is herewith given. *Umadlantule* - eat and still be in want, i.e. still remain hungry and search for more food.

The second term whose meaning has been misconstrued and misinterpreted by many white historians is eMkhondo meaning at the path or track; the third is the term *iSandlwana*. This is mistaken for *isandla* (hand), therefore a small hand. However, the correct meaning is *iSandlwana*, a small house, for the little hill resembles a small house.

²³ Bryant, A.T., *Olden Times*, Chapters 22, 25, 26; Hedges, D.W., *Trade and Politics*, pp. 25-28, 214-16; Slater, H., *Transition*, pp. 326-340; Hamilton, C., *Ideology, Oral Tradition and the Struggle for Power*, pp. 246-329, 353-63.

izikhulu. The King, the princes (most were his brothers) and the *izikhulu* (the former Amakhosi) followed by the *izinduna* and the *izilomo* formed the ruling class.²⁴

The second group was Amantungwa or ubuntungwa as opposed to the lower group known as *Amalala*, *Amamhlengwa* (Thonga) and *iziyendane*. The structure became so rigid that Shaka would appoint his brothers from the collateral Royal House and place them in different regions of his kingdom.

By 1826/27 Shaka attacked and defeated Sikhunyana kaZwide Ndwandwe and his brother Soshangane, 1827 at *izindololwane-eNcaka* Mountains²⁵. Finally, mention should be made of the Mfecane upheavals. Historians used to hold Shaka solely responsible for the Mfecane wars, but later evidence emerging pointed to other forces at work namely the slave traders. The Boers during the Great Trek and their creation of a servile community through the politics of *inboekseling* (servile and registered labour on Boer farms), also played a role.

Shaka's military expansion was a factor in the Mfecane upheavals but not the motor to it.²⁶ Historians and anthropologists are currently debating the possible causes of the Mfecane turmoil.²⁷

²⁴ Bryant, A.T., *Izindaba Zabantu*, Marianhill, pp. 44-45, 48-49; Hamilton, C. *Ideology, Oral Traditions and the Struggle for Power*, pp. 207f; *The James Stuart Archives of recorded historical evidence on the History of the Zulu and neighbouring peoples*, University of Natal Press, Pietermaritzburg & Durban, 1976-1986 Vol. 1, pp. 28, 186-87 (Hereafter, *JSA*); Stuart, J., *uHlangakhula*, (London, 1924), pp. 16-17; Wright, J., *The Dynamics of Power*, pp. 116-121.

²⁵ *The Diary of Francis Fynn* (ed.), by Stuart, J., & Malcolm, (Pietermaritzburg, 1950), pp. 122-128; Hedges, D.W., *Trade and Politics*, pp. 201-202.

²⁶ Eldredge, E.A., and Morton, F., (eds.), *Slavery in South Africa : Captive labour on the Dutch Frontier* (University of Natal Press, Pietermaritzburg, 1994); Eldredge, F.A., *Sources of Conflict*, C 1800-1830; "The 'Mfecane' considered", *Journal of African History*, 33,

2.4 The Interaction with the Settlers

By 1824 Shaka had firmly established his rule in Northern Nguniland. Clearly the monarch needed to retain control of trade routes in order to ensure wealth resources.²⁸

Through use of his tightly organised hegemony into the Delagoa Bay hinterland and maintained a trading contact with the Portuguese traders through the medium of Tsonga middlemen traders.²⁹

He also engaged in conflict with Swaziland in order to obtain cattle supplies for trading ventures.³⁰ By far the most important trading contacts were those made between Shaka and the English traders at Port Natal from 1824.³¹ Through this connection, Shaka

1 (1992), pp. 1-35; Eldredge, E.A., Delagoa Bay and the Hinterland in the early Nineteenth Century : Politics, Trade, Slaves and Slave trading, In *The Slavery in S.A: Captive Labour on the Dutch Frontier*, 1994, pp. 127-165.

²⁷ Hamilton, C. (ed). *The Mfecane Aftermath*. In this volume major papers on the Mfecane debates can be found.

²⁸ Hedges, *Trade and Politics*, Chapter 7, Peirez, *Before and After Shaka* Introduction, pp. 14-15; Slater, *Transition in the Political Economy*, pp. 151-152

²⁹ Stuart, J., and Mck Malcolm, (eds). *Diary of H.F. Fynn*, pp. 17-18; Bryant, A.T., *History of the Zulu and Neighbouring Tribes*, p. 98; Harris, P., History Ethnicity and the Ingwavuma land deal: the Zulu northern frontier in the nineteenth Century in *Journal of Natal and Zulu History* 4 (1983) pp. 1-2.

³⁰ Bonner, P., *Kings and Commoners and Concessionaires. The Evolution and dissolution of the Nineteenth Century Swazi State* (Cambridge, 1983), pp. 39-45.

³¹ Stuart, J., and Mck Malcolm (eds). *Diary of H.F. Fynn*, Chapter 5, Ballard, C.C., The Role of Trade and Hunter Traders in the Political Economy of Natal and Zululand 1824-1880 in *African Economic History*, No. 10, 1981, pp. 1-6; Trade Tribute and Migrant Labour. Zulu and Colonial Exploitation of Delagoa Bay hinterland 1818-1879 in Peirez, J.B., *Before and After Shaka*, pp. 110-118, Natal 1824-1844, The frontier interregnum in *Journal of Natal and Zulu History*, 5 (1982), pp. 50-52 and 55-57.

retained a royal monopoly on European imported firearms and incorporated the traders into the Zulu society using them in military campaigns and giving them chiefly status.³²

In the year 1824 three English adventurers from the Cape Colony came in a small vessel called the Julia to the shelter inlet which has since been known as the Port of Natal, with view to endeavour to open a trade with the blacks of the neighbourhood. The adventurers were: Lieutenant Farewell of the Royal Marines, who had some years before been upon the coast in the prosecution of exploring or surveying duties, Lieutenant King and Mr Fynn who was afterwards one of the magistrates of Natal. After some delays they were permitted to settle along the shore. The interaction between the settlers and the Zulu king grew as the time went on. Shaka persuaded by the settlers sent his *induna* Sotobe kaMpangalala Sibiya with his retinue as an envoy to the Cape Colony to establish diplomatic relations.³³ This encounter between Shaka and the settlers had rather unpleasant repercussions namely, that the descendants of the settlers claimed that Shaka had sold a piece of land Port Natal to the settlers. This claim is strongly to be reputed since there was no policy for selling land in Zululand before, during and after Shaka. One, even the king cannot alienate land.

Dingana succeeded Shaka and continued the link with the settlers especially John Cane and Henry Ogle, who after Fynn's departure for the Cape Colony took charge of the trading settlement at Port Natal. The American missionaries in Zululand preceded the English missionaries. However, they could not settle in Zululand, hence they left for

³² Ballard, C., *Natal 1824-1844: The frontier interregnum*, pp. 55-57.

³³ Mann, Robert, J., *The Zulus and Boers of South Africa - A fragment of recent history*, (London, 1879), pp. 15-22.

Natal. Captain Allen Gardiner visited King Dingana kaSenzangakhona to ask for permission to preach the gospel among the Zulu people. He later on went to England and came back with Rev. Owen. Both missions were a failure, they could not convince King Dingana to accept Christianity. Another group of settlers came from the Cape. These were Pieter and Jacobus Uys, Hans de Lange, Stephanus Maritz and Gert Rudolph. They left the Cape Colony out of protest against the English rule, which abolished slavery in 1834. In the following year another party of dissatisfied settlers came to Natal led by Hendrick Potgieter and Pieter Retief. They initially met the English settlers and later travelled to eMgungundlovu to meet the Zulu King Dingana. Now I shall consider the life and times of King Mpande.

3. THE CONTROVERSIAL ROLE OF KING MPANDE 1840-1872

None of the Zulu kings was involved in colonial history as much as Mpande kaSenzangakhona Zulu. The protagonists within Zululand claim that Mpande saved the Zulu Kingdom from havoc and extinction, which was partly brought about by Dingana kaSenzangakhona. Dingana, they claimed, had killed almost all his father's sons and furthermore had brought wrath and misery upon Zululand by killing Piet Retief and his party and thereby provoking the Boers into war against the Amazulu, which almost destroyed not only the Royal House but also the country at large. Mpande had no option but to act as he did in order to save both the Royal House and Zululand. The evidence of Mpande's peaceful character, they claim, is vindicated by peace and stability, which Zululand enjoyed between 1840 and 1872.³⁴

The protagonist among the colonists including the missionaries speaks of Mpande's reign as being the best in Zululand. Besides being the best, Mpande was the only king whom the whites could trust. They could take thousands of hectares of land without any protest from Mpande and the Amazulu as the Boers did in 1840.³⁵ The missionaries saw in Mpande a God-given king allowing them to select places where they could establish mission stations without any fear and disturbance. As early as 1835 missionaries were

³⁴JSA. Vol. 1, pp. 6, 19, 46, 100, 102, 127, 136, 169, 172, 196, 197, 143, 248, 260, 313; Wright, John, in: *Black Leaders in Southern African History*, (ed), by Christopher Saunders, (Heinemann, London, 1979), pp. 45-60; Morris, D.R., *The Washing of the Spears*, (New York, 1965), pp. 172, 260; Bryant, A.T., *Olden Times in Zululand and Natal*, (London, 1929), pp. 679-680.

³⁵ JSA, Vol. 1, pp. 6, 19, 22, 127, 172, 194, 196, 197, 317, 321, 343; Bird, John, *The Annals of Natal, 1495-1845*, Vol. 1, (Pietermaritzburg, 1888), pp. 536-544, 577-593, 594-603; Du Plessis, A.J., "Die Republiek Natalia" in *Archives Year Book for S.A. History 1942, Part 1* (Cape Town, 1943), p. 1ff.

arriving in Zululand, for example, the missionaries from the American Board of Mission in Boston, namely Daniel Lindley (1801-1880), George Champion, Aldin Grout and Lewis Grout. The missionaries from the British Missionary Society also came to Zululand, namely Gardener and David Owen. King Mpande deported Aldin Grout from Zululand, because he is alleged to have corrupted the Zulu people into insubordination towards the king and Zulu customs. His Zulu converts were kept in his mission station as *amakholwa* (convert Christians) and were not allowed to mingle with the “heathen Zulus”. This action challenged King Mpande’s authority, especially as he needed young men to serve in the army as *amabutho*. King Mpande saw no other way to solve the problem other than to deport Grout in 1842.

The spread of the Gospel and prosperity of the church is due to Mpande’s positive disposition to the colonial government and missionaries.³⁶

The antagonists have their case against Mpande to be heard as well (*audietur et alteria pars*). They state clearly and unequivocally that Mpande was nothing but a betrayer and he deserved no place in the ranks and annals of the history of resistance in South Africa. Mpande not only betrayed his brother Dingana and his Prime Minister Nzobo alias Dambuza kaSobadli Ntombela and his companion *induna* to the Boers across the uThukela River, which led to their execution, but also through his treacherous and wavering character he gave away or, to be more precise, he cowardly allowed the Boers

³⁶ Welsh David, *The Roots of Segregation*, (Cape Town, 1971), pp. 1-3; Young, Lindsay, III, The native policy of Benjamin Pine in Natal 1850-1855, *Archives Year Book for S.A. History Vol. 11*, (Cape Town, 1951); Smith, E., *The Life and Times of Daniel Lindley (1801-1880) Missionary to the Zulus, Pastor of the Voortrekkers*, (London, 1949); Booth, R. Alan, *Journal of the Rev. George Champion, American Missionary in Zululand 1835-1839*, (Cape town, 1967); Kotze, D.J., (ed)., Letters to the American Missionaries 1835-1838, *Van Riebeeck Society, No. 31*, (Cape town, 1950).

to take the largest fertile area of Zululand and hitherto known as Natal.³⁷ Mpande furthermore either under pressure from the Natal colonial government or under power of drunkenness allowed missionaries to infiltrate Zululand and thereby contaminating and eventually destroying the customs and traditions of *Abantu Abamnyama* (the black people). The backlash and aftermath of Mpande's weaknesses was not only the annexation of the land but also the removal, dispossession and enslavement of the masses on their land, then serving under their new masters, the Boers and the English alike.³⁸

Worst of all, the missionaries, with a few exceptions, connived and collaborated with the colonists in the process of dispossession.³⁹ The question which faces both secular and church historians (in KwaZulu-Natal) is: Did Mpande and his followers have any options open to them to act otherwise than they did? Given the fact that Mpande's personal life was in danger, was there any alternative left than to escape and seek aid abroad? The same question, however with a different emphasis, could be asked with regard to Dingana's attitude to the colonists. Were the people rallying around Mpande and opted for a rebellion which invited a foreign power to intervene to the destruction and loss of Zululand, in order to salvage the Royal House and the entire country from internal

³⁷ Du Plessis, A.J., *Die Republiek Natalia in A.Y.B.*, Part 1, (Cape Town, 1943); Chase, J.C., *The Natal Papers, A reprint of all Notices and Public Documents 1488-1843*, Vol. I-III, (Grahamstown, 1843); Notule Natalse Volksraad (met bylae) 1838-1845, *S.A. Archival Records, Natal No. 1*, (Cape Town, 1953).

³⁸ Lambert, John, *Betrayed Trust - Africans and the State in Colonial Natal*, (Univ. of Natal Press, 1995), pp. 7-20; Slatter, H., "Land, labour and capital in Natal: the Natal Land and Colonisation Company in 1860-1948", *Journal of African History*, 16. No. 2, 1975, pp. 266-270.

³⁹ Delius, Peter, *The Land belong to us*; Majeke, Nozipho, *The Role of the Missionaries in Conquest*, Society of Young S.A. (Johannesburg, 1952), p. 1ff; Williams, D., *The Missionaries on the Eastern Frontier of the Cape Colony*, (Ph.D. Dissertation, Univ. of the Witwatersrand, Jhb, 1959), p. 1ff; Cope, R.L., *Christian Missions and Independent African Chiefdoms in South Africa in the Nineteenth Century*, *Theoria* 52: 1979, pp. 1-23.

destruction?⁴⁰ These and other questions are open for debate for the present scholars and the posterity. The white conquerors were coming to take the land through *rapprochement* if possible, or through force, i.e. war if necessary.⁴¹ What we know is that both the white settlers and the churches occupied vast areas of land, whereas a large number of black people are still landless following the annexations in 1840 and 1843 respectively. The question of land restitution and distribution remains an open challenge to both the government and the churches.⁴²

In the following section I shall look at the Hermannsburg mission in the Thukela region beginning with the role played by Missionary Schreuder, the founding of the Hermannsburg mission in Natal and the establishment of the mission stations in Southern Zululand. In the subsequent section we shall look at Kwantabankulu and the life of Amakhosi prior to the arrival of the missionaries.

⁴⁰ Mael, R., *The Problems of political integration in the Zulu Empire*, (Ph.D. thesis, University of California, Los Angeles, 1974); Kennedy, P., *The Fatal Diplomacy: Sir Theophilus Shepstone and the Zulu Kings 1839-1879*, (Ph.D. thesis, University of California, Los Angeles, 1976).

⁴¹ Beinart, W., & Delius, P., & Trapido, S., (eds). *Putting a Plough to the Ground: accumulation and dispossession in rural South Africa, 1850-1930*, (Johannesburg, Ravan Press, 1986), p. 1f; Delius, Peter, *The land belongs to us. The Pedi-Polity the Boers and the British in the Nineteenth Century Transvaal*, (Berkeley, Los Angeles, 1984).

⁴² Mthethwa, Siphon, Joseph, *The Role of the church in the socio-political transformation of rural communities: A theological reflection on community development with special reference to church land use in Natal*, (M. Th. Thesis, University of Natal, Pietermaritzburg, 1995), p. 17f; Marcus, Tessa, *et al. Down to Earth: Land demand in the New South Africa*, (Land and Agriculture Policy Centre, University of Natal, Durban, 1996), p.1ff; Makula, Nkululeko, Abednego, *A quest for ubulungisa - Justice in the distribution of land in S.A.* (Queenstown, 2000), pp. 5, 25-31, 74-108.

4. KWANTABANKULU OR NORTHERN ZULULAND BETWEEN 1750-1840

The area known as KwaNtabankulu, which is situated between the sources of two rivers the iMfolozi eMnyama (Black iMfolozi) and the iMfolozi eMhlophe (White iMfolozi) was since time immemorial occupied by two clans. The Abakwakhumalo and the abaseMantshalini⁴³ Abakwakhumalo were under King Zikode kaMkhatshwa⁴⁴ and the abaseMantshalini were under King Mlotha Mtshali.⁴⁵

When Zwide was ruling over the abakwaNdwandwe tribe between the iMfolozi eMnyama and the uPhongolo rivers,⁴⁶ the abakwaNdwandwe were predominant in those days, in fact competing with the abakwaMthethwa under Dingiswayo kaJobe for political supremacy.⁴⁷

At the same time King Mashobana kaZikode was ruling the abaKwa Khumalo *ca* 1800. Mashobana was attacked and killed by Zwide kaLanga. Mzilikazi, one of Mashobana's sons survived the massacre. He then subsequently gathered the remnants of his tribe and

⁴³ Bryant, A.T., *Olden Times in Zululand and Natal*, (London, 1929), pp. 162, 172-75, 417-423.

⁴⁴ Shooter, Joseph, *The Kaffirs of Natal*, pp. 375-376; Sithole, T., *Izibongo nezithakazelo zaKwaZulu*, p. 36-37; JSA, Vol.2, p25; Khumalo, R.S., *Uphoko-Umqulu*, 1 (Reach Out Publishers, Pietermaritzburg, 1995), pp. 129-138, 138-146.

⁴⁵ Bryant, A.T., *Olden Times*, p. 162; JSA., Vol. 1, pp. 30-31; Sithole, T. *Izibongo nezithakazelo zaKwaZulu*, p. 80.

⁴⁶ Hamilton, C.A., *Ideology, Oral Tradition and the Struggle for Power*, p. 44ff; Wright, John., *The Dynamics of Power*, pp. 155-193.

⁴⁷ *Ibid.*, pp. 159-163; Shooter, Joseph., *The Kaffirs of Natal* , p. 376.

asked for protection under Shaka or voluntarily combined his forces with those of Shaka Zulu in defence against Zwide's next imminent onslaught.⁴⁸

Zwide in the course of his conquest attacked the abaseMantshalini. In that attack King Mlotha was killed. His tribe was ruled by Hlangabeza kaMabhedla and Khondlo kaMagalela all of them being chiefs of the Amantshali clans.⁴⁹ On the western side of KwaNtabankulu there lived the Amangwane tribes under King Matiwane kaMasumpa Hlongwane, between Utrecht and uPhongolo. North of Ntabankulu lived and ruled the Amangwe tribe under King Mangethe kaNdlovu Zwane. They inhabited this area together with offshoot tribes Abakwa Mazibuko at eNcaka under King Phuthini kaMashoba, Cebekhulu and AbakwaLinda.⁵⁰ The years between 1800-1820 underwent violent historical vicissitudes; Shaka Zulu completed the wars of conquest begun by Zwide kaLanga Ndwandwe and Dingiswayo kaJobe Mthethwa.⁵¹ Having driven Zwide kaLanga out of the kwaNongoma area, Shaka, in order to secure the Northern border of his kingdom, placed Maphitha kaSojiyisa Zulu of the abaKwaMandlakazi collateral Royal House between eMkhuze and eMfolozi eMnyama near the upper Mona River. He placed Mathaka kaMpasa kaMnomo Zulu and Sithayi, kaMbuzi (alias Mavunula) kaNdaba and Ntshingwayo kaGanganana kaNdaba Zulu of eGazini collateral Royal

⁴⁸ Shooter, Joseph, *The Kaffirs of Natal*, pp. 186-193; Bryant, A.T., *Olden Times*, pp. 172-175; 417-423.

⁴⁹ Bryant, A.T. *Olden Times*, p. 162; Sithole, T., *Izibongo nezithakazelo Zakwazulu*, p. 80.

⁵⁰ Bryant, A.T., *Olden Times*, pp. 175-184; Msimang C., Buzani kuMkabayi, (Pretoria, 1982), pp. 183-190; Khumalo, R.S., uPhoko Vol. 1 pp. 147-149.

⁵¹ Hamilton, C.A., *Ideology, Oral Tradition and the Struggle for Power*, pp. 122-3; 133-35; 335; Wright, J., *The Dynamics of Power*, pp. 174-176.

House at Kwaceza on the source of the iThaka River.⁵² After these arrangements, Shaka subsequently attacked AbaKwaZwane under Mangethe. Mangethe's people left the area later on and settled across UMzinyathi River below the Drakensberg Mountains. (*Izintaba zokhahlamba*).

Shaka subsequently placed his aunt Mkabayi kaJama Zulu in that area previously inhabited by AbakwaZwane and iKhanda was built at eDumbe close to eZungwini and was named eMhlabaneni, later renamed as eBaqulusini. Henceforth all the regions north of Vryheid and Obivane were put under the jurisdiction of eBaqulusini.⁵³ Furthermore, Shaka placed Mnqundane kaNobhongoza at eNgoje, which later on became KwaNgenetsheni under Hamu kaNzibe. He also placed Ntshosho at eNgoje as well. He furthermore placed at eMkhuze river Mamba kaNcidi kaNtopho kaNdaba Ntshangase of eMgazini an offshoot of eGazini collateral Royal House.⁵⁴ He placed Xongo kaMthinitise Ngobese (eMaqungebeni) at eNquthu area after Mzilikazi kaMashobana Khumalo had left that area and moved to the north.⁵⁵ The part known as Northern Zululand or eBaqulusini had remained under KwaZulu's jurisdiction from 1820 to 1884.

⁵² Bryant, A.T., *Olden Times* pp. 128, 130, 660-661; Stuart, James., uThulasizwe, (London, 1923, 1937), pp. 51-52; JSA., Vol. 1, p. 7; Hamilton, C.A., *Ideology*, pp. 219-224; Hedges, D.W., *Trade and Politics* pp. 214-216; Guy, Jeff, *The Destruction of the Zulu Kingdom: the civil war in Zululand, 1879-1884*, (London, 1979), pp. 37, 249; JSA., Vol. 4, pp. 278, 314, 318, 321, 357, 358; Wright J., *Dynamics of Power*, pp. 174-176.

⁵³ Msimang, C.T., *Buzani kuMkabayi*, pp. 183-190; Interview with Prince Phiwangubani kaKchangeza Zulu (eGazini) eTholakele on 22.9.1994.

⁵⁴ Bryant, A.T., *Olden Times*, pp. 39-40, 315-318; Khumalo, R.S. *Uphoko*, Vol. 1., pp. 146-147; Stuart, J., *uHlangakhula*, (London, 1924), pp. 70-76; Stuart, J., *uKhulu- methule*, (London, 1925), p. 1f.

⁵⁵ Bryant, A.T., *Old Times*, pp. 129-131, 316; Khumalo, R.S., *Uphoko* Vol. 1., pp. 68-71; Unterhalter, Elaine, "Confronting Imperialists: the people of Nquthu and the Invasion of Zululand," in *the Anglo-Zulu war, New Perspectives*, Duminy, Andrew and Ballard, Charles., (University of Natal Press, Pietermaritzburg, 1981), pp. 98-119.

Most of the abaseGazini sided with Mpande and eventually crossed the uThukela to the Boers and to ask for their assistance against Dingana. Godide kaNdlela Ntuli, Maphitha kaSojjiyisa Zulu and Masiphula kaMamba Ntshangase remained loyal to Dingana until his overthrow in January 1840. After Mpande's victory the people returned and reoccupied their former territories. EGazini Princes Mkhanyile alias Nobetha kaZivalele kaMnomo and Nkunga kaSithayi kaMbuzi were placed at Ntabankulu. Mathaka kaMpasa kaMnomo was placed at Ngwibi area above Imfolozi River. Mkhanyile kaZivalele kaMnomo kaNdaba built his *amakhanda* eMyandlini and eNjeni along iMfolozi emhlophe towards eMabedlane and EMhlahlane River. His heir Nkankane lived not far from eHlonyane. The territory, which Mpande allocated to his brother Mkhanyile the heir of the AbaseGazini collateral Royal House, starts from eNhlopheni at the police camp to eNhlanzatshe (eMkholokotho River). From there to the eMfolozi eMnyama (Black iMfolozi) through eNcunje (Driefontein), to eLenjane eMnyathi next to abakwaMdlalose. From there to the iMfolozi eMhlophe (White iMfolozi) there connecting to eNhlopheni, where we began.⁵⁶ Nkunga built at kwaMnyathi, kwaHanisi at eLenjane opposite AbakwaMdlalose. He was placed in the territory designated for uMkhanyile, the heir of aBasegazini Collateral Royal House. This House is, originally the Great House where the heir (*iNkosana yaseNdlunkulu*) to the throne of the abaKwaZulu clan was born since the days of King Ndaba kaMageba kaZulu. This heir was Mnomo kaNdaba Zulu.

Shaka had also placed Ngqengelele Buthelezi at Esikhwebezi and eThaka areas after he had defeated the Ndwandwe kings. In 1840 when a new order was launched in Zululand

⁵⁶ Zulu, Walter kaMyekeni at eMhlahlane eNjeni of eGazini lineage, interview 30/31-01-1997; Zulu, Gijima kaBotha, kwaNtabankulu eMathongeni (Bethel) of eGazini lineage interview 28/01/1997; *HMBL* 1862, pp. 106-157, 178-190, 191-192; 1863, pp. 73-80, 73-80, 84-87; Stuart, James., *uHlangakhula*, (London, 1924), pp. 132-142; *JSA.*, Vol. 1, p. 109; *JSA.*, Vol. 3. p. 162; *JSA.*, Vol. 4. p. 284, 378.

after Mpande's ascendency to the throne, Mnyamana kaNqengelele was ruling over AbakwaButhelezi in eSikhwebezi.⁵⁷

⁵⁷ HMBL., 1862, pp. 99-100, 179-180; HMBL., pp. 179-180; Speckmann, F., *Mission in Afrika*, pp. 455-462; Dlamini, Paulina, *Servant of Two Kings* (ed). by S. Bourquin (University of Natal Press, Pietermaritzburg, 1986), pp. 12, 34, 63, 64, 65; Buthelezi, Mangosuthu, *The Early History of the Buthelezi clan in Argyle*, J. and Preston Whyte, E., *Social System and Tradition in South Africa*, (Cape Town, Oxford University Press, 1978), pp. 19-35; see the James Stuart archives, Vols. 1-4 index under Buthelezi.

**5. CHIEF MKHANYILE KAZIVALELE ZULU (WASEGAZINI IZIMPOHLO
IBUTHO): 1840-1873**

Mkhanyile and Mpande belonged to izimpohlo regiment.⁵⁸ Shaka had forbidden them to marry. Their task was to fight wars. As time went on it happened that Mpande got sick and could not go out and fight. Shaka decided to exempt Mpande from military duties. He was sent home to eMlambongwenya. Shaka instructed Mkhanyile to accompany Mpande and look after him. He should go around and look for the herbs (izimbiza nekhat hazo) for healing Mpande. Gradually Mpande recovered from his illness.⁵⁹ Shaka, however, never called him back to the army; instead Shaka gave Mpande one of his Royal girls (uMndlunkulu) as a wife so that he should bear children for their father Senzangakhona. The Royal girl (uMdlunkulu) was Monase kaMntungwa Nxumalo. She bore uMbuyazi, who later fought against Cetshwayo in December 1856. He contested the succession to their father Mpande. However, Mbuyazi was killed at the battle of Ndongakusuka. Cetshwayo was victorious and remained an undisputed leader until his coronation in 1873.

Through Mpande's ailment and subsequent procreation, Mkhanyile was able to take wives and bore children. In that way Mkhanyile's house survived to date.

Mkhanyile and Nkunga protected and assisted Mpande during Dingane's reign. Nxagwana is the one together with Mathunjana kaSibhaca Nkwanyana, who saved Mpande from being killed by Dingane consequently Mpande fled from

⁵⁸ JSA, Vol. 1, pp. 29, 109, 213, 238; Vol. 2, pp. 90-91, 92, 93, 98, 200-201; Vol. 3, p. 162; Vol. 4, pp.67, 92-93, 143-144, 284, 331, 347, 378.

⁵⁹ Per Absai Zulu and Richard Zulu interview 15.10.98.

eMlambongwenya and cross uThukela River to the Boers in Natal in October 1839. This rebellion is referred to as *ukugqabuka kwegoda*.⁶⁰ On their return from Natal Mpande gave Mkhanyile the area between KwaNtabankulu, eMfolozi emnyama and eMfolozi eMhlophe.⁶¹ Mkhanyile alias Nobethe built his ikhanda eMyandlini because eGazini is the house which originally bore the Kings. Mkhanyile the heir and head of all abaseGazini settled at iMfolozi eMhlophe not far from eMhlahlane where he had his amaKhanda eMyandlini and eNjeni, where, Mandlenyathi and Sichocho were living. Later on Mkhanyile's heir and successor Nkankane (ibutho uThulwana ca 1830/32), left eMyandlini to establish his own ikhanda eMeveni and eMathongeni.

Mpande in gratitude to Mkhanyile's support and service gave him one of his Royal wives (*uMdlunkulu*) namely kaMtshali. Then as Mkhanyile's wife and iNkosikazi of eNjeni she bore Sichocho. Sichocho's descendants today are Walter and Elphas kaMyekeni (uVukayibambe ibutho) kaSichocho kaMkhanyile. Myekeni took kaMhlongo as his wife and bore Walter and Elphas. Walter, born in 1920 (ibutho Ntabayezulu) is now deceased at his homestead at eNjeni eMhlahlane next to eMabedlana. Also living at eMhlahlane is Elphas' son Zwelibanzi born ca 1954 (ibutho iNala).⁶² Mkhanyile had other brothers Godolozzi and Ndabazwe kaZivalele, who bore Hlezibana. Godolozzi a brother of Mkhanyile built his ikhanda eNtolelweni at eKuhlangeni. From eNtolelweni sprang out the following Amakhanda under Godolozzi and Ndabazwe, viz; KwaPhangumbuso, Dedelabenabe, Gabangani, eZitheni, eSalukazi and eNdlabephika. Augustus kaHezekiya (Dakwakusutha) from KwaDedelabenabe now lives in Soweto at Dube and Richard

⁶⁰ JSA, Vol. 1, p. 197, Vol. 4, pp. 67-68.

⁶¹ Walter Zulu interview 30/31 January 1997; JSA, Vol. 4, pp. 357-358, 378.

⁶² Per Zwelibanzi Zulu interviews 28.9.1994; 1.3.97; 3.5.97.

kaAbisayi from eNdlabephika, Gabangani and eZitheni lives in Soweto.⁶³ Today, Mnomo's descendants at eMathongeni kwaNtabankulu are; Gijima (Esau) kaBotha and Masusa kaMabhekeshiya kaNkankane kaMkhanyile kaZivalele kaMnomo kaNdaba. Mthunzini also built at eKuhlengeni. There are other people of eGazini like Nxumbunxumbu.

6. ENYATHI UNDER CHIEF NKUNGA KASITHAYI ZULU (WASEGAZINI) ca 1840-1873

Nkunga kaSithayi kaMbuzi Zulu (eZeni) of eGazini collateral Royal House was born somewhere in Babanango, Mpembeni or Mkhumbane area.⁶⁴ The *ikhanda* (homestead) in which he was born was eGazini, which was established by Mageba.⁶⁵ Other Amakhanda next to eGazini were eMqekwini, Nobamba and eSiklebeni. After Shaka had returned to Zululand from KwaMthethwa, and had taken over the reigns among the Zulu clan, and had subsequently defeated Abakwa Ndwandwe, Shaka placed Sithayi and Ntshingwayo in the North at KwaCeza.⁶⁶

⁶³ Per Richard kaAbsai Zulu, Augustus kaHezekiya and Mrs - Mehlwana (born kaHezekiya Zulu), interview, Soweto, 10.10.98.

⁶⁴ Bryant, A.T., *Olden Times*, pp. 39-40, 129-131, 222-227; Bryant, A.T., *Zulu-English Dictionary*, (Mariannhill 1905), pp. 757-758; 761; *JSA.*, Vol. 1, p. 29, 202, 355-356; Vol. 2, pp. 84, 210-213.

⁶⁵ *JSA.*, Vol. 1, pp. 20-25, 174, 200; Vol. 2, p. 252; Vol. 3, pp. 108, 135, 196; Vol. 4, pp. 76, 115, 116, 117, 119, 121; Zungu, Maphelu's Account at Pietermaritzburg on Wednesday, December 10, 1941, in H.C. Lugg Collection, file 2, MS 1406 pp.1-6, KCAL, Durban.

⁶⁶ Hamilton, C.A., *Ideology Oral Tradition and the struggle for power :Thesis*, pp. 218-225, 231-233; Bryant, A.T., *Olden Times*, pp. 128. 660-61; Stuart James, *uThulasizwe*, (London, 1923), pp. 51-52.

Nkunga was subsequently recruited in the *isiphezi* regiment. Isiphezi has three meanings: first it is a mountain in today's eNquthu district; secondly it is the name of a Royal ikhanda and finally a name of a regiment.⁶⁷ Shaka recruited Nkunga as ukubuthwa into this regiment from 1818 to 1820. It seems Nkunga was an *induna* of this regiment or as prince (*an uMntwana*) played a major role in building and shaping its reputation.⁶⁸ All the princes (*abantwana*) of eGazini during the days of uShaka, were sent to the battle without exception wherever and whenever necessary. They were Mkhanyile, Mbopha, Nkunga, Nkabana, Mpaphe, Shibela, Mathaka, Klwana and Nkunziyezindlovu to name just a few.⁶⁹ One of these legendary battles was against the Abakwa Ndwandwe under Zwide kaLanga. These battles were fought at Mvemve along the UMhlatuze River and at eGqokli hill towards eNkandla. During these battles Shaka had shown and proved his military genius, which determined the cause of Nguniland in the following ten years.⁷⁰

Nkunga led the isiphezi regiment at the battle of eMvemve along the UMhlatuze River.⁷¹ From eSiphezi Nkunga moved to KwaMathikhulu at the foot of Magula hill, south of eShowe.⁷² Nkunga left isiphezi from the north, and moved southwards because his life and the lives of all eGazini people were no longer safe. This change in the situation was brought about by the death of Shaka kaSenzangakhona at the hands of Mkabayi, Dingana, Mhlangana and Mbopha kaSithayi Zulu. After this incident Mbopha

⁶⁷ *JSA.*, Vol. 1, pp. 16, 18, 20, 281, 303, 312; Vol. 2, p. 1, 18; Vol. 3, pp. 51-52, 271.

⁶⁸ *Ibid.*, Vol. 1, 18.

⁶⁹ Bryant, A.T., *Olden Times*, pp. 659-662, 667, 669, 670, 674.

⁷⁰ Laband, John, *Rope of Sand : The rise and fall of the Zulu Kingdom in the Nineteenth Century*, (Johannesburg, 1995), pp. 19-30; *JSA*, Vol. 1, pp. 28. 186-87.

⁷¹ *JSA.*, Vol. 1, p. 18.

⁷² *JSA.*, Vol. 2, pp. 236, 238, 258.

was subsequently killed.⁷³ Not only Mbopha, but many of Senzangakhona's sons were eliminated during the general purge. Mkhanyile, Nkunga and others of abase Gazini moved southwards to rally around Mpande and Gqugqu the only remaining sons of Senzangakhona. In ensuring Mpande's safety and security Mkhanyile was influential.⁷⁴

Dingana and Mkabayi, after eliminating Mbopha, called upon Nkunga to raise (*ukuvusa*) Mbopha's house. Nkunga complied with this request, as Mbopha was his elder full brother.⁷⁵ Nkunga took a woman for Mbopha and sired offspring for him. This woman was placed at an *ikhanda* called *eKuvungameni, uZulu uyavungama* (at the mumbling place).⁷⁶ This was a reference to the state of the nation during Dingana's purging times. The descendants of Mbopha through levirate i.e. bearing children for his deceased brother Mbopha (*ukuvusa*) by Nkunga live below mount *izihlalo zikaManyosi Mbatha* at Mahlabathini. Ekuvungameni homestead is under Mbongiseni Alford Zulu eGazini kaMfanawezinsizwa (ibutho Nqabayembube) kaTshikoza (ibutho Vukayibambe).⁷⁷

By October 1839, the political situation was for Prince Mpande and the rest of the Abasegazini no longer safe. Mkhanyile kaZivalele, Ndlela kaSompisi Ntuli and Nzobo alias Dambuza kaSobadli kaDlukula Ntombela and Maphitha kaSojiyisa were the most

⁷³ JSA., Vol. 1, pp. 6, 19, 22, 127, 169, 172, 194, 196-97, 318, 321, 343, Vol. 2, p. 93; Vol. 4, pp. 317-18, 324-25; Bryant, A.T., *Olden Times*, p. 670.

⁷⁴ JSA., Vol. 1, p. 238; Vol. 2, pp. 200-201; Vol. 4, p. 67; Fynney, Fred, *Zululand and the Zulus - The Rise and fall of the Zulu Nation...PMB 1880*, (Pretoria, 1967), pp. 9-11; Stuart, James, *uHlangakhula*, (London, 1924), pp. 132-142; JSA., Vol. 1, p. 109; JSA., Vol. 3, p. 162; JSA., Vol. 4, p. 284, 378.

⁷⁵ JSA., Vol. 1, p. 109; Vol. 2, p. 238; Fuze, Magema, *The Black People and Whence they came - A Zulu View*, (University of Natal Press, Pietermaritzburg, 1979), pp. 70-72; Fynn, F., *The Diary*, pp. 156-161.

⁷⁶ Zulu, Mbongiseni, (eGazini) eKuvungameni interview 31-01-1997).

⁷⁷ *Ibid.*, interview 31.01.1997; Vol. 1, p. 322; Vol. 4, pp. 357, 401-402.

influential people during Dingana's reign.⁷⁸ Mkhanyile, Ndlela and Sotobe kaMpangalala Sibiya never showed Dingana their dissatisfaction about his conduct and rule.

Dingana had then recently presented uMpande with a herd of cattle, upon which according to Zulu courtesy Mpande was expected to come in person to express his gratitude for this favour from his brother Dingana.⁷⁹ Mkhanyile advised uNdlela to tell those soldiers who were driving the cattle to uMpande at eMlambongwenya namely: Ngxagwana kaZivalele Zulu and Mathunjana Nkwanyana to tell prince Mpande never to come to King Dingana to express his gratitude for the gift, for that was a trap to entice and eventually to kill him.⁸⁰ After this warning Mpande prepared in earnest to leave Zululand and cross the uThukela and ask for help from the Boers. In October 1839 Mpande, Mkhanyile, Mathaka, Nkunga, Nkabana, Mpaphe Sotobe and Mbilini kaCungela Mkhwanazi rebelled in what was called *ukugqabuka kwegoda* (the tearing of a rope). They took a large number of people with them. Those who remained with Dingana, Ndlela, Nzobo, Maphitha, Masiphula, and Godide kaNdlela and the rest of Abaqulusi were called Ndlela's rectum (*umdididi kaNdlela*).⁸¹

On arrival across the uThukela, the Boers, who wanted to know the reason for such an exodus, met Mpande and his eGazini brothers? Mkhanyile, Nkunga and Mbilini accompanied Mpande at that meeting of the eHlawe River.⁸² The result of the meeting

⁷⁸ JSA., Vol. 2, pp. 93, 201-203; Laband, J., *The Rope of Sand*, pp. 49-110.

⁷⁹ Laband, J., *Rope of Sand*, pp. 107-121; Vide p. 112; JSA., Vol. 1. p. 197; Vol. 2, pp. 200-201; Vol. 4, pp. 67-68.

⁸⁰ Ibid., Vol 4. pp. 67-68.

⁸¹ JSA., Vol. 4, pp. 67-68.

⁸² JSA., Vol. 1, pp. 100, 109, 172, 197; Vol. 2, p. 258; Zulu, Cetshwayo, in *A Zulu King Speaks*, p. 13.

was that Mpande and his brothers returned to Zululand and fight against Dingana's forces to prove that Dingana was really a danger or an enemy for Mpande. Mpande returned to Zululand and his forces were led by Nongalaza kaNondelamzimba Mnyandu an offshoot of the Qwabe clan.⁸³ Nongalaza's forces met with Ndlela's forces in a historic encounter at eMaqonqo hill. The Boers did not fight; they stood at a distance behind Nongalaza's forces. Mpande's forces were victorious. Mpande was then crowned by Mkhanyile, Godolozzi, Nkunga, Nkabana, Mpaphe, Sotobe and Mbilini and later on at a meeting was confirmed and endorsed by the Boers.⁸⁴ Mpande was so grateful for the unwavering support he received from eGazini people; he then placed Mkhanyile in the area between the iMfolozi eMnyama and the iMfolozi eMhlophe towards eMhlahlane. Mkhanyile built his place of dwelling at eHlonyane⁸⁵, eMyandlini and eNtolelweni. Furthermore Mpande gave one of his uMdlunkulu to Mkhanyile. She was a girl from eMantshalini clan. She was the mother of Sichocho, and Mandlenyathi kaMkhanyile eNjeni.⁸⁶

The present head and leader of eNjeni in the House of Sichocho, is Walter kaMyekeni kaSichocho eMhlahlane.⁸⁷ At eMhlahlane lives Zwelibanzi kaElphas kaMyekeni kaSichocho as well. On settling at eNyathi Nkunga built the following Amakhanda: eMantshunguntshwini, eSikhonkwaneni, eNzwabuhlungu, eMoneni, eKhamukhamu, eMpumalanga, eNzangabomu and eKuvungameni.⁸⁸ Nkunga's umuzi was situated at

⁸³ JSA., Vol. 3, p. 245, 258, 292; Vol. 4, pp. 68, 70, 165, 166, 167; Laband, J., *Rope of Sand*, pp. 115.

⁸⁴ Ibid., p. 123; Bird, John, *Annals of Natal*, Vol. 1, pp. 536-544, 577-591, 592-603.

⁸⁵ Zulu, Gijima eGazini eMathongeni interview 28.1.1997; HMBL, 1862, pp. 9-13, 22-24, 169-175, 190-192.

⁸⁶ Zulu, Zwelibanzi eGazini interviews, 28.9.94; 1.3.97; 3.5.97.

⁸⁷ Zulu, Gijima, interview 28.01.1997, see Abasegazini, pp. 246-47.

⁸⁸ Zulu, Nwele, Solomon eGazini, KwaCeza interview 1-2 March 1997.

eLenjane close to abakwa Mdlalose under Ndengezi kaKhuzwayo Mdlalose.⁸⁹ Nkunga had ca 30 wives.⁹⁰ Nkunga, Ndengezi and their people did not take part in the battle of eNdondakusuka in December 1856. Nkunga reasoned that Cetshwayo and Mbuyazi were not supposed to settle their succession dispute through arms. However, if they were to fight he, Nkunga, did not want to be part of the spilling of the royal blood.⁹¹ Mpande encouraged them to settle their scores through a battle as he had also done against Dingana sixteen years before.⁹² It was known that Mpande was in favour of Mbuyazi's cause.⁹³

Cetshwayo was victorious, Mbuyazi died. Mpande was furious at Nkunga and Ndengezi for they did not fight on the side of his favourite Mbuyazi. Cetshwayo was also angry with Nkunga, he suspected him of favouring his opponent Mbuyazi.⁹⁴ According to Zulu laws Nkunga was Cetshwayo's father (*uBaba omncane*) therefore he could not challenge Nkunga openly and fight against him. Cetshwayo secretly ordered a certain chief whose name is not known to attack Nkunga and Ndengezi at night.⁹⁵

⁸⁹ HMBL, 1861, June, pp. 90-91; Wagner, Christian, in: HMBL, 1862, p. 19; Haccius, G., HMG II², p. 401; Zulu, Walter eGazini, eNjeni eMhlahlane interview 30-01-1997.

⁹⁰ Wagner, Chris, in HMBL May 1863, pp. 73-76.

⁹¹ *Speckmann, F., Mission in Afrika, pp. 464-65; Simensen, Jarle, The Norwegian Missionaries, p. 78; Zulu, Cetshwayo, in A Zulu King Speaks, pp. 15-17.*

⁹² JSA., Vol. 2, p. 241.

⁹³ *Ibid.*, pp. 241-245; Zulu Cetshwayo, in *A Zulu King Speaks*, pp. 15-17.

⁹⁴ JSA, Vol. 2, pp. 241-245; HMBL 1862, pp. 16, 19; *Speckmann, F., Mission in Afrika, pp. 464-465.*

⁹⁵ *Ibid.*, pp. 464-465; HMBL 1861, pp. 90-91; 1862, pp. 16, 19; Zungu, Maphelu's account pp. 1-2; Duminy, A.H., *et alia, The Anglo-Zulu War* pp. 20-21; *The Anglo-Zulu War, pp. 18-21, 48.*

Indeed the order was carried out. Nkunga's *imizi* were invaded and burnt down, however Nkunga and Ndengezi survived the massacre. They hid themselves in the mountain eNyathi, 1857 to 1861.⁹⁶ Mthonga, Mgidlana, Nkunga and Ndengezi escaped to Utrecht in hiding. Cetshwayo's forces including Nomantshali kaZigulana Ntuli killed Mpoyiyana the youngest son of Mpande.⁹⁷ Mkhungo and Sikhotha escaped to Natal across the uThukela.⁹⁸

Cetshwayo sent his envoys from eMangweni under Mnyakanya kaMandondo Xulu to request the Boers to hand over Mthonga, Mgidlana Nkunga and Ndengezi. The Boers refused, but later on agreed on condition that Cetshwayo would not kill them. Cetshwayo kept his promise. Mthonga never went with Nkunga and Ndengezi for he feared for his life more than the two.⁹⁹

When Nkunga and Ndengezi returned to KwaNtabankulu, Cetshwayo gave orders that they should move with their people (*isizwe*) to KwaMandlakazi under Maphitha kaSojjiyisa Zulu, the *izinduna* and abaseGazini opposed Cetshwayo's plans to move Nkunga and his people to KwaMandlakazi, therefore Cetshwayo had to back down and withdrew the plans. The people of eNyathi refused to move as well. Nkunga was reunited

⁹⁶ Speckmann, F., *Mission in Afrika*, pp. 464-465; Zulu Cetshwayo, in *A Zulu King Speaks*, pp. 15-17; HMBL, June, 1861, pp. 90-91; WMP 2/3/1 Blencowe to Pearse, 27 July 1861.

⁹⁷ Cope, Richard. *Ploughshare of War: the Origins of the Anglo-Zulu War of 1879* (university of Natal Press, PMB, 1999) pp 10-26 see pp 24-25; BPP, C2242, p. 76, *A Remembrance between Us and the Zulu tribes: how matters went on, P.L. Uys, 1 Dec. 1877.*

⁹⁸ JSA., Vol. 3, p. 232; Vol. 4. p. 381; Colenso, J.W., *First Step of the Zulu Mission* 1859, p. 110; SPG, Folio D25: Colenso to Bullock, 4 May 1861.

⁹⁹ JSA., Vol. 2, pp. 52, 188, 190, 207, 208, 215, 259; SNA 1/7/5 Shepstone, 30 March - 1861; SNA 1/8/7 Shepstone to Scott, 22 June 1861.

with his people and was then left in peace. Nkunga had his many children of whom Mlandu was an *inkosana* (heir). He belonged to a regiment (ibutho) called *ukhandampevu*;¹⁰⁰ others say he belonged to uMxhapho regiment together with Zibhebhu kaMaphitha born in ca 1837 and recruited in 1868 under Mkhosana kaMvundlana kaMenziwa Biyela eMabedlana - Mhlahlane area. His other sons were; Lugwembe (Lazarus), Malungana, Nyamana, Simbosendoda and Obed.¹⁰¹

In June 1862 the missionaries Christian Wagner, Albert Liefeld and Hans Heinrich Schroeder arrived at eNyathi. Nkunga was reluctant to receive them and he even refused to accept their present (*isethulo*).¹⁰² Nkunga told them to go with *izinduna* and get a confirmation from Mpande. Mpande sent his *izinduna* to notify Cetshwayo and Nkunga that he had met the missionaries; if Nkunga wished them to settle at his place he could accept them or refuse them.¹⁰³ There was another reason for Nkunga's refusal to welcome the missionaries, namely, the events which had taken place two years before which almost cost him his life were fresh in his memory. Therefore Nkunga did not want to involve himself with national political affairs. The smallpox epidemic, which swept across Zululand in 1863, brought sorrow to Nkunga's family and people. Four of Nkunga's wives were swept away by the epidemic.¹⁰⁴ The missionaries Filter, Wagner

¹⁰⁰ JSA., Vol. 1, pp. 67, 200, 283, 294, 356; Vol. 2, pp. 124, 149, 303, 306, 307, 315, 319, 328; Vol. 4, pp. 70, 97, 109, 129, 148, 154, 283-84; Haccius, G., HMG II², p. 83; HMBL, 1897, p. 100.

¹⁰¹ JSA., Vol. 4, p. 70, 72, 73, 83, 85, 87, 90, 93-95, 97, 115, 118, 126, 128, 133-135; 139, 146, 147-48.

¹⁰² Speckmann, F., *Mission in Africa*, pp. 465-66; Haccius, G., HMG II² pp. 400-401.

¹⁰³ *Ibid.*, p. 401; HMBL 1863, pp. 73-76.

¹⁰⁴ HMBL, January 1864, pp. 14-16, Vide p. 15.

and Liefeld described Nkunga's attitude towards them as being positive.¹⁰⁵ Colenso reported that Nkunga died of sickness during 1872 or 1873.¹⁰⁶

One of Nkunga's *izinduna* was a member of the Madide family. Mlandu succeeded his father as chief of *abaseGazini* in the House of Nkunga kaSithayi kaMbuzi (*eZeni*).¹⁰⁷ The head and leader of the House of Nkunga kaSithayi was Mfaniseni kaBafana kaSiphiwe kaMlandu. Other than Bafana, Siphiwe had other sons like Andreas Khifa, Melule, Bosimile and Gasa¹⁰⁸

Now we are moving to a period under Mlandu kaNkunga eNyathi in the 1870s, 1880s and 1890s.

¹⁰⁵ Speckmann, F., *Mission in Afrika*, pp. 465-66; Haccius, G. HMG II², p. 401.

¹⁰⁶ Colenso, J.W., Series I, pp. 48-49.

¹⁰⁷ Haccius, G., HMG. III, 2, p. 83; HMBL, 1869, pp. 209-216; HMBL 1897, p. 100.

¹⁰⁸ Zulu, Nwele Solomon WaseGazini-KwaCeza eMkhulwana interview 1-2 March 1997.

6.1 Chief Mlandu kaNkunga Zulu (waseGazini uMxhapho regiment)

ca 1873-1920

Mlandu kaNkunga must have been born ca1837 that is to say before the battle of Thulwana against Amaswazi.¹⁰⁹ Mlandu would have grown up and known the area of eNyathi from childhood. Nkunga, as has already been shown in the previous chapter, occupied eNyathi after their return with Mpande from the Ehlawe (*Thungathi*) River, where they met the Boers.¹¹⁰ Like any other young soldier Mlandu was recruited (*wabuthwa*) into the uKhandempevu regiment, which was named after the *ikhanda* (homestead) under the induna Mkhosana kaMvudlana kaMenziwa Biyela.¹¹¹ This regiment was recruited around 1868/9,¹¹² following *uthulwana* regiment which put on its head ring (*ukuthunga isicoco*) in 1867.¹¹³ UKhandampevu put on the head ring in ca 1872/73 under Cetshwayo. Cetshwayo, then a prince, lived at the Ukhandampevu *ikhanda* at Mabedlana. This regiment fought gallantly in the battle of Esandlwana, Ehlobane, Kwakambule and Ulundi.¹¹⁴ Mlandu was also present in all these battles. This regiment had three major divisions (*Amaviyo*) under Mkhosana kaMvundlana Biyela,

¹⁰⁹ JSA., Vol. 1, p. 172, 197; Vol. 2, pp. 200-202; Vol. 4, pp. 67-68; Laband, John, *Rope of Sand*, pp. 107-121; Vide, pp. 116-117; Zulu, Cetshwayo, *A Zulu King Speaks*, pp. 15-17; Zungu, Maphelu kaMkhosana's Account, *Zulu Society Collection* (16665), pp. 1-2.

¹¹⁰ JSA., Vol. 1, pp. 100-109, 172, 197; Vol. 2, p. 258; Delegorgue, Adulphe, *Travels in Southern Africa*, Vol. 1, (University of Natal Press, Pietermaritzburg, 1990), pp. 82-95; 101-127.

¹¹¹ JSA., Vol. 1, p. 67, 200, 294; Vol. 2, p86, 31; Vol. 3, pp. 124, 303, 306, 307, 315, 319, 328.

¹¹² Bryant, A.T., *Olden Times*, p. 646; JSA, Vol. 4, pp. 61, 70, 72, 73, 83, 85-87, 90, 94, 97, 109, 115, 118, 126.

¹¹³ Filter, Jacob, in HMBL, 1867, pp. 72-73.

¹¹⁴ Shamase, M.Z., *Zulu Potentates; From the earliest to Zwelithini kaBhekuzulu* (Durban, S.M. Publications, 1996), pp. 56-75.

Vumandaba kaNtethi Biyela and Nquqa kaMpundulwana Zungu respectively.¹¹⁵ Mlandu showed his leadership qualities as early as 1868/69 when he openly challenged missionary Jacob Filter, for Mlandu was against his brothers becoming Christians; hence he fetched them and chased them away from mission stations.¹¹⁶ Other oral sources claim that Chief Mlandu was of the uMxhapho regiment, which would make him as old as Zibhebhu kaMaphitha Zulu from KwaMandlakazi.

Mlandu's chieftainship was more challenged after the battle of eSandlwana in January 1879. His area eNyathi suffered severely during the civil war of 1880 to 1884. Troops, both Royalists and opposition were roaming through his territory.¹¹⁷ Mlandu, kaNkunga, Hlezibane kaGodolozzi and Simoyi kaNkabana kaSithayi were represented by their *izinduna* in the 1882 deputation for the return of King Cetshwayo.¹¹⁸ Many people out of Mlandu's territory died during the ambush at eNqotheni laid by the abakwaNgenetsheni in which Hlezibane kaGodolozzi kaZivalele fell.¹¹⁹ Two months later a massacre conducted by the Mandlakazi forces led by Zibhebhu kaMaphitha took place at Ulundi Royal Palace on July 21, 1883. Mlandu survived that carnage, however Sichothe kaMkhanyile fell in action with many leading *izinduna*.¹²⁰ When Cetshwayo eventually

¹¹⁵ JSA., Vol. 4, p. 70.

¹¹⁶ Filter, J., in HMBL., 1869, pp. 209-216; Speckmann, F., *Mission in Afrika*, pp. 478-495.

¹¹⁷ HMBL., 1879, pp. 54, 75; 1881, p. 241; 1882, p. 52; Wiese, Heinrich, *Auf Schwerem Posten*, pp. 29-445.

¹¹⁸ C 3247, Enclosure 1 in No. 78, pp. 67-70; 1882, *A Meeting with Commissioner for Zululand* Mr Melmoth Osborn, 21.4.1882.

¹¹⁹ Colenso, J.W., in Colenso series 2, p. 654, BPP, C 3705, pp. 51, 55; Guy, Jeff, *The Destruction of the Zulu Kingdom*, pp. 33, 38, 140, 194, 196, 203, 249.

¹²⁰ Cope, Trevor, *Izibongo-Zulu Praise Poems: Collected by James Stuart and translated by Daniel Malcolm*, Oxford, (at Clarendon Press, 1968), pp. 203-207; Guy, Jeff, *Destruction of the Zulu Kingdom*, pp. 201-204, 217-239; 240-246.

died on February 8, 1884 the civil war continued which temporarily ended at the battle of Etshaneni on the 5th June 1884.¹²¹ Capitalizing on the predicament in which the uSuthu forces found themselves, the Boers took a large territory from Northern Zululand in which they declared the 'Nuwe republiek', 1884-1888. Mlandu's area fell within this area therefore he virtually lost eNyathi to the Boers.¹²² From that time the missionaries were no longer consulting the hereditary chiefs (*Amakhosi eNdabuko*) in matters concerning the expropriation or dispossession of land.¹²³

As a result of the land expropriation by the Boers, the people of eNyathi had to leave the area and settle at Bethel not far from eNcunje.¹²⁴ It seems that at the beginning of the 1890s Mlandu and his family had become Christians. Missionary Friedrich Stallbom reported in 1897 about his discussion with Chief Mlandu kaNkunga Zulu on matters pertaining to the expulsion of Missionary Filter out of Zululand by Mlandu and Cetshwayo in 1869.¹²⁵ Furthermore Stallbom wrote about Mlandu's daughters being baptized between 1895 and 1897.¹²⁶ Ndukwana kaMbengwana Masondo-Mthethwa in his conversation with James Stuart spoke of Mlandu living at KwaNtabankulu.¹²⁷ Missionary David Wolff, who was serving at eKuhlangeni around 1900, wrote:

¹²¹ Guy, Jeff, *Destruction of the Zulu Kingdom*, pp. 201-204.

¹²² Haccius, G., HMG III², pp. 82-83.

¹²³ Haccius, G., HMGIII², pp. 82-83.

¹²⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 83.

¹²⁵ Stallbom, F., in HMBL., 1897, p. 100.

¹²⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 100.

¹²⁷ JSA., Vol. 1, p. 356; Vol. 4, p. 283, 291; Nyembezi, Sibusiso, *Izibongo zaMakhosi*, (Pietermaritzburg, 1958, 1983), p. 110.

"Again, I have recently spoken to one of the important men of the station, a heathen with 6 wives. He is from the Royal House. As far as I could judge he realizes that without Christ he is lost. I wanted to bring him to Christianity as I have often done it, more so as some of his children are already Christians. However, he always had an excuse by saying how can I be a Christian with so many wives? It appears to me as though a struggle within himself is unfolding. May he not succumb during this struggle."¹²⁸

Missionary Detlef Junge wrote from Bethel in July 1913:

"The chief Mlandu, who together with his father Nkunga deported the late Filter from eNyathi in 1869, now attends diligently the church services under Samuel. Some weeks ago as I was at a small preaching place (*Filial*) KwaNtombazi to hold a church service. The first question put forward by a respected family head (*Angesehener Kraalherr*) with many wives. Will you baptize me as well, almost all my children are Christians and I always go to church!"¹²⁹

Another report was written by Missionary F.B. Schuhmann from Bethel, in which he states that a chief from Bethel was baptized and he died shortly after that, ca 1911/1912.¹³⁰

¹²⁸ Wolff, David, *Unter den Zulu*, pp. 20-21. That chief could have been Mabhekeshiya kaNkankane Zulu or Mlandu kaNkunga Zulu.

¹²⁹ Junge, Detlef in HMBL., 1915, p. 113; Haccius, Georg, HMG III, 2 p. 107.

¹³⁰ Schuhmann, F.B., HMBL., 15. 5. 1913, p. 190.

In connection with the mission station Bethel, mention of Chief Shibela Zulu eGazini kaMkhanyile or kaSithayi who lived at eNcunje or Bethel has to be made. Shibela, apparently became a Christian, in the early 1890's, however died in 1897 and was buried in Bethel by F. Stallbom. Shibela requested as part of his testament that his family and people become Christians and break with African beliefs.¹³¹ According to the annals of the Hermannsburg mission history in Northern Zululand, Shibela's descendants, it should be remembered, played an important role in spreading the Gospel and assisting the missionaries in the areas of eNcunje and Bethel. The son of Chief Shibela Zulu, namely Samuel Zulu became an evangelist of the Hermannsburg Mission at Bethel. Samuel kaShibela Zulu eGazini was baptized at Bethel on the 19th February 1893, together with Samuel Mthethwa, Stefanus Vundla, Jastine Vundla, Nathaniel Mtshali and Christine Khumalo.¹³² Shibela's descendants live at different places today. Rev. Leonard kaMisael kaSamuel kaShibela Zulu eGazini at Winterton (eMangweni) and Mzamo kaPheneus, kaSamuel, kaShibela Zulu, lives at KwaNongoma.¹³³ The next section will briefly look at the life and times of Chief Ndengezi kaKhuzwayo Mdlalose.

¹³¹ Haccius, G. HMG III, 2 p. 83.

¹³² SA. Acc. 76, 1136, Church Register for Bethel; HMBL, 1891, p. 203; 1892, pp. 9, 81; 1894, p. 175.

¹³³ Zulu, Nwele Solomon kaNyamana eGazini kwaCeza interview, 2 March 1997; Zulu, Mzamo kaPheneus eGazini kwaNongoma interview, 01-03-1997 eMathongeni; Zulu, Leonard eGazini interview, 27-04-97 and 24-11-2000 Winterton.

7. CHIEF NDENGEZI KAKHUZWAYO MDLALOSE *ca* 1800-1900

The AbakwaMdlalose clan is an offshoot from the Zulu clan. Like the Abakwa Ntombela, so were the AbakwaMdlalose excised (*badatshulwa*) from the Zulu Royal House as far back as the times of uZulu and Malandela.¹³⁴ In the history of Zululand the AbakwaMdlalose were and are always connected with Abakwa Zulu. There are by now different houses of the Mdlalose clan. The ruling house is that of the descendants of Sekethwayo kaNhlaka kaDikane Mdlalose. Other houses are those of Ntuzwa kaNhlaka, Tondolozzi kaNhlaka and Ndengezi kaKhuzwayo Mdlalose. Today Abakwa Mdlalose live under *inkosi* B.J. Mdlalose at oThaka in the Vryheid area.

Here we will briefly look at the career of Ndengezi kaKhuzwayo Mdlalose. He was not only related to the Zulu Royal House, but also he encountered the Hermannsburg missionaries and he also suffered the fate of dispossession, for his chiefdom lay in the disputed area and he suffered under the occupation and dispossession by both the Boers and English in Northern Zululand. Ndengezi must have been born ca 1800 for by 1818 he was already fighting in Shaka's expeditions as a soldier.¹³⁵ He was one of the most exalted Shakan heroes. His career stretches from Shaka - Mpande¹³⁶ until Dinuzulu in the 1880s and 1890s. Missionary Friedrich Volker spoke of him as being very old and had fought under Shaka and Dingana as a soldier, hence he estimated his age to be in the 90s.

¹³⁴ Bryant, A.T., *Olden Times*, p. 53; JSA, Vol. 2, pp. 52-53, 175-176; Vol. 3, pp. 105, 179, 210, 211, 268, 275, 305; Vol. 4, pp. 283-284, 377; Sithole, Thamsanqa, *izithakazelo* p. 62; Hamilton, C.A. *Ideology*, pp. 216-217, 227-228.

¹³⁵ Volker, F. in HMBL., 1891, pp. 201-202.

¹³⁶ *Ibid.*, pp. 201-202.

When James Stuart in the early 1890s made an investigation into the past history of the Zulu Nation, he interviewed many old people and recorded their evidence.

Dinya kaZokozwayo Qwabe told Stuart the following on Ndengezi:

"Ndengezi Mashuni was a great warrior of Shaka's. He fought in battles against Zwide. Shaka rewarded him with a number of cattle. Ndengezi was dissatisfied with the number given him because of the heroism he had displayed and the many people he had killed." Shaka said "But Ndengezi, are you the only warrior among all my people?" Ndengezi invited Shaka to tell off a section of Zulus to fight him single-handed. Shaka did not accept the challenge, knowing Ndengezi would kill them off. Ndengezi's contention was that his reward should be such a number that a stick might be laid on their backs and be carried off some distance toward his home without falling to the ground..."¹³⁷

Madikane kaMlomowethole Cele told James Stuart the following about Ndengezi:

"Ndengezi is not the actual name of this man (longer form Ndengezi mashumi). I do not know his real name. He came to be called Ndengezi because of his being obliged to comply with the custom, after killing people (at war) of getting a potsherd (*udengezi*), putting in medicine and sucking it from the fingertips (*ukuncinda*). He would have only one potsherd even though many people had

¹³⁷ JSA., Vol. 2, pp. 52-53, interview 26-05-1905.

been killed. *Umdaka onga zukoma* was another of his praises. i.e. the mud that never dries for he was always going out to fight."¹³⁸

Shaka could not comply with the request therefore Ndengezi went home collected a herd of cattle and brought them to Shaka to say farewell and went somewhere else where his service would be better appreciated. Shaka did not oppose that decision. Dinya says it is believed that Ndengezi went and settled at Soshangana's country. Dinya knew neither his regiment nor his tribe.

Mgidlana kaMpande, also James Stuart's informant, put it this way:

"Ndengezi was the son of Khuzwayo of the Mdlalose people. He was a great warrior, Tshaka, some conflict being imminent, possibly against Zwide, promised that the man who led the way in battle would be given enough cattle to fill a gully, so many that a stick placed on their backs would not fall to the ground as they moved. Ndengezi led the way in the fight. Tshaka duly gave him cattle. Ndengezi refused to accept them, saying, they are not as many as the king promised,Tshaka replied, Ndengezi were you the only man fighting for me, that you refuse so many cattle? Go and die in the wilderness. I do not want to kill you for refusing so many cattle because you fought for me."¹³⁹

As Mgidlana continued his story, Ndengezi left there and then for eMdlazi for the Mpondo country. The Emdlazi, according to C. de B. Webb and J.B. Wright, the editors

¹³⁸ JSA., Vol. 1, p. 107, interview 01-04-1905.

¹³⁹ JSA., Vol. 3, p. 109, interview 07-06-1921.

of the James Stuart archives, was an *umuzi* (homestead) of the Cele Chief Magaye near the Mhlali river south of present Stanger.¹⁴⁰ Judging from the weight of evidence from the Abasegazini (Zulu) family history corroborated by Missionary Volker's report of 1891, particularly Mgidlana kaMpande's evidence, there is no doubt, that Ndengezi was of the Mdlalose family and was the same Ndengezi who was a warrior and hero during Shaka's days. Ndengezi had apparently returned from his wanderings during the days of Dingana after Shaka's death, for he is said to have continued to serve under Dingana and Mpande. Ndengezi's name appears in the Report of the Hermannsburg Missionaries in 1863.¹⁴¹ He was the Chief of the Mdlalose people at the ELenjane River below eNyathi Mount. Cetshwayo's forces attacked Nkunga and Ndengezi as neighbours in 1861, where they narrowly escaped from death. They fled to Utrecht where the Boers were situated at that time.¹⁴² The preceding history covers the three chiefs Mkhanyile Zulu, Nkunga Zulu and Ndengezi Mdlalose, whose areas were largely dispossessed and then demarcated by the colonial powers.

Having dealt with the history of the chiefs and their political situation at eNyathi we will now look at the history of the Amakhosi/Chiefs and their political situation at eMhlongamvula, eNtombe and eNcaka/eNkombela areas. These areas across uPhongolo River were disputed areas namely eNtombe and eNkombela prior to and after the arrival of the missionaries.

¹⁴⁰ JSA., Vol. 3, p. 113.

¹⁴¹ HMBL., 1861, pp. 90-91; 1862, p. 19; Speckmann, F., *Mission in Afrika*, pp. 464-465; Zungu, Maphelu kaMkhosana's Account pp. 1-2.

¹⁴² HMBL., 1861, pp. 90-91; 1862, p. 16; JSA., Vol. 2, pp. 188, 190, 197; Duminy, A., and Ballard, C., (ed). *Anglo-Zulu War*, pp. 18-21; 48; Zulu, Cetshwayo, in *A Zulu King Speaks*, pp. 15-17; Cope, Richard. *Ploughshares of War*, pp.24-25.

8. THE REGION BETWEEN THE IGWA (VAAL RIVER), UPHONGOLO AND IMFOLOZI EMNYAMA 1700-1800

This area has rendered posterity significant information both archaeological and historical - archaeological, for in the second millennium gatherers, hunters and pastoralists inhabited this region successively.¹⁴³ The period however, which will be discussed is the late eighteenth (1750) and early nineteenth (1820) centuries. The Abenguni were the last group of inhabitants of this region. The AbaseMbo and Amanhlangwa branch of the Abenguni were predominant until the times of Zwide kaLanga Ndwandwe.¹⁴⁴

The eMbo people included the Amahlubi, Dlamini and AbakwaMkhize. After some socio-political changes, the Ndwandwe clan became victorious and thus dominant until the 1820s. A branch or related clan was that of the Nkosi-Ngwane, which later came to be known as the Dlamini Royal House in today's Swaziland.¹⁴⁵ The abakwaNkosi clan has become slowly independent but still bound to the dominant Ndwandwe clan by paying tribute and show of loyalty.

¹⁴³ Hall, Martin, *The Changing Past - Farmers, Kings and Traders in Southern Africa, 200-1860*. (Cape Town, London, 1987), pp. 1ff; Hall, Martin, *The Role of the Cattle in Southern African Agropastoral Societies, More than bones can tell - Prehistoric pastoralism in Southern Africa - South African Archaeological Society, 1986, Goodwin Series*, pp. 83-87; Hall, M., *Archaeological and Modes of Production in Precolonial Southern Africa, Journal of South African Studies*, p. 518; Bonner, Philip, *Kings, Commoners and Concessionaires*, pp. 11, 25, 93.

¹⁴⁴ Khumalo, R.S., *Uphoko*, Vol. 1, pp. 1-8; Bryant, A.T., *Olden Times*, pp. 158-59, 316-17; Kuper, Hilda, *An African Aristocracy, Ranks among the Swazi Kings*, (Oxford University Press, 1947, 1961), p. 12.

¹⁴⁵ Matsebula, J.S.M., *A History of Swaziland*, (Longman, Southern Africa, Cape Town 1972), pp. 1-23; JSA., Vol. 1., p. 142; Kuper, H., *The Swazi*, (London, 1952), pp. 1-15.

Under Langa kaNkosi this clan was living closer to the uPhongolo River.¹⁴⁶ Out of the Nkosi clan, two houses developed or rather broke away viz, the Shabalala and Hlatshwayo-Kubheka.¹⁴⁷ Shabalala went to settle in the area then known as eMhlongamvula.

9. MHLONGAMVULA: ABAKWA SHABALALA UNDER MATHE KANDAWONDE AND MADLANGAMPISI KAMATHE 1800-1860

Shabalala and his few followers settled below the Mount known as uMhlongamvula. Almost nothing is known about the reign of Shabalala. However, reference is made to his son Langa, who from time to time had to engage Ndungunya in an armed conflict, one of the reasons being the rivalry for seniority between the two.¹⁴⁸

Ndawonde kaLanga has left almost no record of his reign among the Shabalala chroniclers of the oral tradition. Mathe kaNdawonde is the actual Shabalala ruler who is known and one could say the history of the AbakwaShabalala and their rule began with Mathe to take shape. Mathe was constantly under threat of invasion either from Shaka Zulu or Sobhuza Dlamini. Mathe was not only related to the neighbouring tribes like the Amagonondo, under Magonondo kaKhathide Kubheka eNtombe, Phuthini kaMashoba Mazibuko eNcaka and Muthimkhulu kaBhungane Hadebe eMahlutshini, through

¹⁴⁶ Bonner, Philip, *Kings, Commoners and Concessionaires*, pp. 9-26; 27-46; Bonner, P., *et alia*, *In Pursuit of Swaziland's precolonial past -Kulandza umlandvo - Swaziland Oral History Project*, (Macmillan Boleswa Publishers, Manzini, 1990), pp. 34-78.

¹⁴⁷ Hlatshwayo, Mafuzela kaNkunzemnyama interview 8-01-1997 eNtombe; JSA., Vol. 2, p. 15 per Mabhonsa kaSidlayi Kubheka, interview 27-01-1909, 28-01-1909; Sithole, T. *izithakazelo*, pp. 92, 103.

¹⁴⁸ Jones, H.W.M., *A Biographical Register of Swaziland to 1902*, (University of Natal Press, Pietermaritzburg, 1993); Matsebula, J.S.M., *A History of Swaziland*, pp. 4, 7, 19.

neighbourliness, but also through intermarriage among these tribes which had been going on for ages.¹⁴⁹

When Shaka was engaging Sikhunyana kaZwide at the battles of eZindololwane, eNtombe and eNcaka, and eventually defeated him, all the Kings, who had hitherto been paying tribute to the Ndwandwe Kings, pledged loyalty to the Zulu Kings without a fight.¹⁵⁰ When King Mathe Shabalala died, his two sons Madlangampisi and Sibankwa contested the right to succession. Shaka intervened in favour of Madlangampisi, and Sibankwa was either killed or went to exile.¹⁵¹ Matsebula gave a different account of the same incident, however not Shaka but Mswati intervened and Sibankwa was killed. "On several occasions Mswati used his armies to settle disputes in regard to the succession. Along the upper Mkhondvo River, near the Simakade peak, in the Drakensberg range, there lived a clan under a chief called Ndawonde Shabalala. When Ndawonde died his two sons, Madlangampisi the elder (Lisokanchanti) and Sibankwa, disputed the heirdom and took up arms against each other. Madlangampisi was defeated and fled to Mswati to ask for military help. Thereupon Mswati sent an army into the area in which the dispute had arisen. Sibankwa was killed and Madlangampisi was installed as chief, after having paid allegiance to the Swazi King."¹⁵²

¹⁴⁹ JSA., Vol.2, pp. 11, 14, 17, 19, 20, 24, 27, 32, 33, 250, 261; Hlongwane, Msebenzi, *History of Matiwane and the Amangwane tribe as told by Msebenzi to his kinsman Albert Hlongwane* (ed.) by N.J. Van Warmelo, (Pretoria, 1938), pp. 224-232.

¹⁵⁰ JSA., Vol. 1, pp. 18, 201; Vol. 2, pp. 250, 261; Bonner, Philip, *Kings, Commoners and Concessionaires*, pp. 37-40; Colenso, J.W. *Series 1*, pp. 38-44, 118, 127-131, 331; Wright, J. *The Hlubi Chieftdom*, pp. 22, 28, 33.

¹⁵¹ Colenso, J.W., *Series 1*, pp. 38-44, 118, 127-131, 331.

¹⁵² Matsebula, J.S.M., *A History of Swaziland*, p. 19.

The name Madlangampisi is well known in the British and Transvaal records. Madlangampisi must have been very influential indeed, for the AbakwaShabalala tribe came to be known as the Madlangampisi tribe as far back as 1860.¹⁵³ Rev. James Allison visited King Madlangampisi on June 11, 1844. Madlangampisi, according to Allison's estimates, ruled over 5000 people.¹⁵⁴ Allison had previously been stationed among the Batlokwa tribe in the Orange Free State. His intention was to found a chain of mission stations, firstly among the Abesuthu, then among the Amahlubi of Langalibalele kaMthimkhulu Hadebe, among Madlangampisi kaMathe Shabalala, among Nyamayenja kaNciliba Nkosi, among Thathawe kaThulasizwe Kubheka, Mlambo kaMavundla Nhlapho, Ndida kaSidubela Nkosi and finally in Swaziland in King Mswati's people.¹⁵⁵ This objective did not materialize, for the King of Swaziland was anti missionary activities. One of the reasons for King Mswati to be against the missionaries was an incident in which his brother Malambule disputed the kingship in Swaziland. A civil war erupted. Malambule's forces were repelled, they had to retreat to Mahamba mission station where Allison was living.

Mswati interpreted Malambule's temporary abode as a refuge offered to him by the missionary for he sympathized with him. On September the 14th, Mswati's iNyathi regiment invaded 1846 Allison's station KwaMahamba. There was a blood bath in which many people died. Allison who was unharmed, had to leave KwaMahamba station for Natal.¹⁵⁶

¹⁵³ Hardeland, A., in HMBL, 1862, pp. 100-101.

¹⁵⁴ Jones, HUW M., *A Biographical Register of Swaziland to 1902*, p. 518.

¹⁵⁵ Jones, HUW, M., *A Biographical Register of Swaziland to 1902*, pp. 11-14.

¹⁵⁶ *Ibid*, pp. 11-14.

On leaving Swaziland, Missionary Allison travelled with about 200 Christian followers to Pietermaritzburg and arrived there in November 1846. He bought a piece of land called Welverdiend (today called Edendale). His followers settled on that land.¹⁵⁷

In spite of those setbacks, one could say; Missionary Allison's attempts at establishing mission stations among the Amadlangampisi, Amangwe (Mazibuko), later were replaced by Nyamayenja, (Nkosi), Amagonondo (Kubheka) and eventually at Mahamba in Swaziland, were not in vain. Sixteen years later the Berlin and Hermannsburg missionaries revived his work respectively.¹⁵⁸

Between 1860 and 1862 several attempts were made by the Hermannsburg missionaries to establish mission stations in Swaziland, however, all attempts failed. They have cited Allison's case as the reason for the Swazi King's refusal to allow missionaries in his kingdom.¹⁵⁹

¹⁵⁷ Ibid, pp.11-14; HMBL., 1863, pp. 162-64.

¹⁵⁸ HMBL., 1863, pp. 162-164; Merensky, A., *Erinnerungen aus dem Missionsleben in Transvaal, 1859-1882*; Bielefeld and Leipzig 1888, (Berlin, 1899), pp. 9-23.

¹⁵⁹ Hardeland, A. in HMBL., 1863, pp. 20-32; 162-164; HMBL., 1860, pp. 87, 92-93, 94; 1861, pp. 3, 8-9, 59; Haccius, G., HMG II², pp. 358-359.

9.1 eMhlongamvula: AbakwaShabalala under Kings Simahla and Hlomendlini kaMadlangampisi 1860-1910.

After Madlangampisi's death, Simahla his heir apparent succeeded him on the throne of the Shabalala dynasty. Simahla, however, was constantly molested by Mswati's attacks until he and his tribe were forced to emigrate to Basuthuland.¹⁶⁰ Amidst those political upheavals, not all the Shabalala tribe did emigrate, part of it decided to stay in their old places under the younger brother Hlomendlini kaMadlangampisi.

When the Hermannsburg missionaries visited those areas namely Mhlongamvula, eNtombe and eNcaka, they earmarked Mhlongamvula, or rather the tribe of Madlangampisi for mission work under missionary Wiese in 1862.¹⁶¹ Simahla or Hlomendlini was 17 years old when the Hermannsburg missionary visited eMhlongamvula. His father Madlangampisi died in the winter of 1861. Missionary Wiese, however, left the Hermannsburg mission amid the controversy against Hardeland.¹⁶² In fact, according to Hardeland's plans. Missionary Moe was supposed to settle among the Amadlangampisi tribe, however, this did not materialize. Moe finally settled among the iNyamayenja tribe at eNcaka under King Mkhontowendlela kaNyamayenja Nkosi. During May and June of 1862, Mswati invaded the Madlangampisi tribe and drove them out of eMhlongamvula. They scattered to the Orange Free State and Lesotho. Hardeland remarked after that incident that, perhaps the

¹⁶⁰ Windham, W., *A short history of the native tribes of the Transvaal*, (Pretoria, 1905) p. 53; Massie, R.H., *The Native tribes of the Transvaal*, (Prepared for the General Staff War Office, London, 1905), pp. 91-93.

¹⁶¹ Hardeland, A., in HMBL., 1862, p. 61; 1862, pp. 12-13.

¹⁶² HMBL., 1860, p. 180; 1862, pp. 82-88, 149, 1863, p. 126; Haccius, G., HMG II², pp. 351-353, 354-355.

Amaswazi would not have invaded that region, if a white missionary had been living among the people.¹⁶³ Hardeland stated further, "I am afraid we should completely delete AbakwaMadlangampisi from the register of our mission plan, which in the past years was one of the most promising tribes."¹⁶⁴

King Hlomendlini has survived the wars of 1879, 1880 to 1881, 1899 to 1902 and 1906 to 1908. When the second Anglo-Boer war of 1899 broke out and some of the battle took place in his area, Hlomendlini fled into the caves of the uMhlongamvula Mountain. He was persuaded to come out of the caves for negotiations. Hlomendlini refused for he was afraid that the whites might arrest him and deport him as they did with King Cetshwayo and Manyonyoba in September 1879. He finally acquiesced and came out. The whites asked him: who is the ruler of the area between Othaka (Wakkerstroom) and eMkhondo? Hlomendlini responded by pointing at Mswati kaGinigini kaHawana Zwane.¹⁶⁵

Mswati contradicted King Hlomendlini's statement by denying that he was a ruler. Seeing that there was no truth to be found from the two, the whites arbitrarily divided the area between the two leaders. From Othaka to eMhlongamvula would be Hlomendlini kaMadlangampisi Shabalala's area and from eMhlongamvula to eMkhondo would be the area of Mswati kaGinigini Zwane.¹⁶⁶

¹⁶³ Hardeland, A., in HMBL, 1862, pp. 107-108.

¹⁶⁴ Hardeland, A., in HMBL, 1862, p. 110.

¹⁶⁵ Chakijana kaNyabela kaNomampukuyana Madonsela, eNtombe, interview 13-9-1994; JSA., Vol. 1, p. 201.

¹⁶⁶ Ibid., Interview 13-09-1994.

Around 1905, Hlomendlini was estimated to be seventy years old. He lived peacefully with other neighbouring tribes like that of chief Dlangayana.¹⁶⁷ The next section deals with the Kubheka Chiefdom in eNtombe prior to the arrival of the missionaries.

10. ENTOMBE UNDER THE KUBHEKA CHIEFDOM 1860-1879

10.1 Chief Magonondo ka KhaHude Kubheka ca 1800 – 1830.

The Kubheka-Hlatshwayo clan inhabited Entombe area at the beginning of the eighteenth century. This clan was a branch of the Amanhlengwa or abaseMbo under Langa kaNkosi II.¹⁶⁸ When the abakwaNkosi separated from the Ndwandwe, the AbakwaKubheka-Hlatshwayo went with abakwaNkosi to form an independent clan, which later was led by Ngwane III.¹⁶⁹ They settled at the Uphongolo Valley. Again a certain member of the abakwaNkosi was for a certain offence going to be killed. He ran away for his life and was chased by members of the AbakwaNkosi clan. Fortunately he escaped unharmed. Henceforth he broke with his Nkosi clan.¹⁷⁰ He changed his name to Hlatshwayo for he was going to be stabbed, just like Godongwana of the Mthethwa who later became Dingiswayo.¹⁷¹ When Ngwane or Ndungunya was attacked by Zwide kaLanga he moved

¹⁶⁷ Windham, W., *A short history of the native tribes of the Transvaal*, p. 61; Massie, R.H., *The native tribes of the Transvaal*, p. 92.

¹⁶⁸ Hedges, D.W., *Trade and Politics*, pp. 133-4; 138-9; Bonner, P., *Kings and Commoners and Concessionaires*, p. 9.

¹⁶⁹ Bonner, P., *Kings and Commoners and Concessionaires*, p. 9.

¹⁷⁰ Hlatshwayo, Mafuzela kaNkunzemnyama, Interview, 08-01-1997, eNtombe.

¹⁷¹ Shepstone, T., "The Early History of the Zulu-Kaffir Race of South-Eastern Africa", in Bird, J., *Annals of Natal*, Vol. I, pp. 155-66; Koopman, A., Dingiswayo Rides Again, in *JNZH*, 1979, pp. 1-12.

with his Nkosi clan northwards.¹⁷² The Kubheka-Hlatshwayo clan remained behind and were for sometime under the Ndwandwe rule headed by Sikhunyana kaZwide Ndwandwe until 1826 when they were finally defeated and dispersed by Shaka's forces.¹⁷³ This battle between Shaka and Sikhunyana took place between two historic mountains namely eNcaka and eZindololwane. The Hlatshwayo-Kubheka clan is situated in this area below *izindololwane* at eNtombe River¹⁷⁴ and the Amangwe of the AbakwaMazibuko under Chief Phuthini kaMashoba occupies eNcaka area over the uPhongolo river.¹⁷⁵

Chief Magonondo kaKhathide Kubheka should have been an eye-witness to these events as they were taking place in this region. What is known is that the three chiefs, Mathe Shabalala, Magonondo Kubheka and Phuthini Mazibuko submitted to Shaka's rule and henceforth were paying tribute to the Zulu kings.¹⁷⁶

The Amagonondo and Amadlangampisi tribes witnessed and experienced Mzilikazi's army in flight to the north. Mzilikazi kaMashobana Khumalo rebelled against his King

¹⁷² Bonner, P., *Kings, Commoners and Concessionaires*, pp. 10-26.

¹⁷³ Fynn, H.F., *The Diary of Henry Francis Fynn*, pp. 122-28; Hedges, D.W., *Trade and Politics*, pp. 201-202; Wright J., & Manson, A., *The Hlubi Chiefdom*, p. 22.

¹⁷⁴ Bryant, A.T., *A History of the Zulu*, pp. 2, 10; JSA., Vol. 1, p. 18, 201, Vol. 2, pp. 250, 261.

¹⁷⁵ Wright, J., *et alia*, *The Hlubi Chiefdom*, pp. 16, 27.33, 35-36; JSA., Vol. 1, p. 291; Vol. 2, pp. 4-6 per Mabindela kaNtuli Mazibuko 19-12-1910; pp. 27, 32-33, 40, per Mabhonsa kaSidlayi Kubheka, Interview 2-2-1909; Bryant, A.T., *Olden Times*, pp. 181, 182, 184.

¹⁷⁶ JSA., Vol. 2, pp. 250, 261; Wright, J., *The Hlubi Chiefdom*, p. 22, 33; Bryant, A.T., *A History of the Zulu*, pp. 2, 10; Bryant, A.T., *Olden Times*, pp. 308-334, pp. 586-594, Vide - pp. 91, 590; Duminy, Andrew and Guest, Bill, *Natal and Zululand* pp. 73-74; Phiri, P.D., *From Nguni to Ngoni A History of the Ngoni Exodus from Zululand and Swaziland to Malawi, Tanzania and Zambia*, (Popular Publications, Limbe, Malawi, 1982), pp. 52-53.

Shaka, since he could not challenge and combat Shaka's forces directly he emigrated out of Zululand.¹⁷⁷ Wherever he passed through with his army he attacked minor tribes and took their cattle as free boot. The Amagonondo and the Amadlangampisi tribes were victims to such invasion either from Zululand or from Swaziland.¹⁷⁸

¹⁷⁷ Rasmussen, R.K., *Migrant Kingdom: Mzilikazi's Ndebele in South Africa*, (London and Cape Town, 1978), pp. 25-45.; Bryant, A., *Olden Times*, pp. 428- 446; Ngcobo, A.B. and Rycroft, D.K. (eds). *The Praises of Dingana - izibongo zikaDingana*, (University of Natal Press, 1988), pp. 72-75, 78, 80, 191.

¹⁷⁸ Bonner, P., *Kings, Commoners and Concessionaires*, pp. 24-26, 49-64; 74-84; HMBL 1862, pp. 61-62; 90-91, 104, 107.

10.2 eNtombe : Chiefs Jijila kaMagonondo and Thulasizwe kaJijila

Kubheka ca 1830-1860

With the dissolution of the Ndwandwe Kingdom, Shaka became an undisputed ruler of the region between the uThukela and the Vaal (Igwa) River.¹⁷⁹ The years between 1829 and 1837 were full of turmoil for the areas beyond the uPhongolo River. Dingana twice sent a follow up expedition to Mzilikazi, who left Zululand in ca 1821. Again in 1833 sent an expedition to Mozambique against the Gaza Kingdom.¹⁸⁰ The Amagonondo, who were on the way whenever a Zulu army left Zululand to the north suffered severely. If they were alerted in time through their own spies of the on-coming Zulu army, they would hide themselves in the caves of *ukhoza*, eMbongeni and the Mhlongamvula mountains respectively. But if they were taken by surprise, they would run for their lives leaving their livestock behind, thus giving free boot for the marauding army.¹⁸¹ The Amagonondo had experienced this when Shaka attacked Sikhunyana kaZwide Ndwandwe in 1826, again when Shaka sent his army to oBhalule to fight against Soshangane kaZwide Ndwandwe, who had fled from Ophongolo to Mozambique in 1827.¹⁸² They also suffered at Dingana's expeditions to Mzilikazi as the army traversed

¹⁷⁹ Wright, J. and Manson, A., *The Hlubi Chiefdom*, pp. 6, 12-16, 21-28, 33-36; Bryant, A.T., *Olden Times*, pp. 212-216.

¹⁸⁰ Liesegang, Gerhard, *Dingane's attack on Lourenco Marques in 1833 in Journal of African History* X, 4, (1969, London), pp. 565; Okoye, Felix, N.C., *Dingane : A reappraisal in JAH*, X, 2 (1969, London), pp. 221-236; 237-252; Ngcobo, A.B. & Rycroft, D.K. (ed) *The Praises of Dingana - izibongo zikaDingana*. (University of Natal Press, Pietermaritzburg & Killie Campbell, Durban 1988), pp. 76, 78, 80.

¹⁸¹ Hardeland, A., in HMBL, 1862, pp. 88-96, Vide, pp. 90-91; Meyer, F., in A:SA 41.11e, p. 6; Haccius, G., *Erlebnisse und Eindrücke Meiner Zweiten Reise durch das Land Hermannsburg Missionsgebiete in Südafrika (1912-1913)*, (Hermannsburg, 1913), pp. 93-95, 96-98.

¹⁸² Laband, J., *The Rope of Sand*, pp. 21-22; Bryant, A.T., *Olden Times*, pp. 172-175, 212-216, 586-594, 604-606, 626-632; JSA., Vol. 2, p. 163.

through eNtombe and eMhlongamvula or eNcaka through the Nhlapho tribe under Chief Mlambo kaMavundla past eNtabande to eNkulunge hill beyond igwa (Vaal River) through the open plain called KwaDedangendlale then confronted Mzilikazi north of Pretoria.¹⁸³

The old people relate about those events until today as to how chiefs Jijila and Thulasizwe together with their people used to hide in the caves. Even to date remains of those people who died in the cave during the siege can still be seen.¹⁸⁴

Between the years 1840 and 1846 most of the attacks came from Swaziland. King Mswati ascended to the Swazi throne as usual an *ihlambo* (washing of the spears) had to be carried out. In practical terms that meant that an *ibutho* (regiment) usually the one to which the king had belonged (*Inyathi*), whilst still a prince, would be sent out for a raid to the minor neighbouring tribes.¹⁸⁵ These normally included the Amagonondo (eNtombe) Amadlangampisi (eMhlongamvula) AbakwaNhlapho (eNtabande) and iNyamayenja (eNcaka). These tribes since 1826 were subject to the Zulu kings and were paying tribute, but due to their distance across the uPhongolo River in Northern

¹⁸³ Webb, C.B. de & Wright, J., (ed.), *The Zulu King Speaks*, pp. 54-55, Stuart, James, (ed.), *Uthulasizwe*, (London, 1923), 1937), pp. 65-70; UBaxoxele, (ed.) (London, 1924), pp. 110-125; Bryant, A.T., *Olden Times*, pp. 428-446; Matsebula, J.S.M., *A History of Swaziland*, pp. 19-20.

¹⁸⁴ eNtombe Oral Tradition as told by Zulu Johanna, born Nkosi 1964-1984; Mtshali, Dina, born Mabuya, 1945-1984; Mlilo, Rosta born Mthabela, 1945-1984; Madonsela, Chakijane, 1984-1997; Hardeland, August, in HMBL 1862, pp. 25, 60-64, 90-91; Jones, HUW M., *A Biographical Register of Swaziland to 1902*, pp. 328-331.

¹⁸⁵ Matsebula, J.S.M., *A History of Swaziland*, pp. 16-23; Bonner, *Kings, Commoners and Concessionaires*, pp. 47-64.

Zululand, had no substantial protection from the Zulu kings.¹⁸⁶ On several occasions the chiefs of the above mentioned tribes would leave their area and go hiding in eMahlutshini or Orange Free State.

When Allison came in 1844 he found the tribes in a restless state constantly fearing a sudden attack from Swaziland.¹⁸⁷

Allison wanted to establish a mission station in eNtombe among Amagonondo of Chief Jijila Kubheka as early as 1844. However due to the unstable state of affairs he proceeded to Swaziland.¹⁸⁸

Another incident, which in the history of eNtombe and eNcaka needs special attention, is the civil war in Swaziland whose aftermath was felt in these areas.¹⁸⁹

Between 1836 and 1840 Malambule had been a regent for Mswati, who was then still a minor when his father Sobhuza I died. In 1840 Mswati reached his majority and ascended the Swazi throne. Malambule on relinquishing office had allegedly taken a number of

¹⁸⁶ Bonner, P., *Kings, Commoners and Concessionaires*, pp. 39-46; Matsebula, J.S.M., *A History of Swaziland*, pp. 17-20; Hardeland, A., in HMBL, 1862, pp. 25, 60-64, 88-91, 92-96.

¹⁸⁷ Jones, H.U.W., M., *A Biographical Register of Swaziland to 1902*, pp. 11-14, 328.; HMBL, 1862, pp. 12-13, 105-110

¹⁸⁸ Allison, J., *Reports of the Wesleyan Methodist Missionary Society*, (London Box 1886-91), Transvaal Records in Bonner, P., *Kings, Commoners and Concessionaires*, pp. 51, 52, 55, 56, 57, 172, 244.

¹⁸⁹ E.C.A., Vol. I, 75, 78, 82-83. *Annexure 1 to meeting 7 Message of Panda to Lieutenant Governor*, 6 August 1846 and the latter's reply on the same date; *Natal Witness*, 9 October, 1846, *Message from Panda to Lieutenant-Governor*, pp. 1847-48; Correspondence, 87-88; Enc. 5 in Encl. in No. 38, *A Grant to Secretary for government*, 6 May 1846; Bonner, P., *Kings, Commoners and Concessionaires*, pp. 56-57; 247.

Royal cattle with him. Mswati sent his *induna* to liaise with Malambule and warn him of the consequences of retaining the royal cattle for him.¹⁹⁰ Malambule was adamant; he refused to return the royal cattle. Mswati, according to Mathebula, had no choice but to attack Malambule who by then had gathered around him some followers, mostly from the old guards of his interregnum.¹⁹¹ Mswati had to deal with such a case in order to assert his authority or else he would have lost any credibility in the eyes of the people particularly his regiment iNyathi to which he belonged.¹⁹²

The Izinyathi regiment was a fierce *ibutho*, which could attack and kill mercilessly. Malambule knew that his followers were no matches against Mswati's iNyathi regiment. He retreated and went to camp among Sigweje kaMngayi Kunene, Mswati attacked them. They all moved in flight to Mahamba to Allison's station, where a massacre took place.¹⁹³ When Missionary Allison moved to Natal via eNtombe, Malambule with his brothers, Ndlela, Fokothi and Sidubela went to Zululand to eBhadeni and eMbizeni.¹⁹⁴ Mpande allowed them to settle among Abaqulusi, after the *induna* of the Mthethwa clan Mthakathi kaDukuzana kaSiwango kaMbikwana kaKhayi, had reported their presence to the king. Their arrival is known as *ukwehla* or *ukufika ngesilulu*, which means to leave

¹⁹⁰ Matsebula, J.S.M., *A History of Swaziland*, pp. 16-17; Bonner, P., *Kings, Commoners and Concessionaires*, pp. 50-52.

¹⁹¹ Matsebula, J.S.M., *A History of Swaziland*, p.16.

¹⁹² Bonner, P., *Kings, Commoners and Concessionaires*, pp. 50-52; Bryant, A.T., *Olden Times*, pp. 326-327.

¹⁹³ Bryant, A.T., *Olden Times*, pp. 326-327, 331-333.

¹⁹⁴ Matsebula, J.S.M., *A History of Swaziland*, p. 17; *Natal Witness*, 9 October 1846, *Natal Witness*, 2 October 1847.

and arrive at a particular place in large numbers and in flight.¹⁹⁵ Malambule was eventually killed at Mpande's orders after he had committed an offence there.¹⁹⁶

After the fiasco between Malambule and Mswati, another incident occurred. Somcuba also was a claimant to the Swazi throne. Mswati managed to deal with him partly by entering a pact with the Boers.¹⁹⁷ Further development of the history associated with Malambule's brothers especially Nciliba and Sidubela will be dealt with when we analyse the history of eNcaka (eNkombela).¹⁹⁸ In the subsequent section we will deal with the events during the chieftaincy of Thathawe and Manyonyoba. These two chiefs met and lived with the Hermannsburg missionaries in the 1860s and 1870s.

10.3 eNtombe During the Times of Chiefs Thathawe kaJijila and Manyonyoba kaThulasizwe Kubheka (1860 – 1879)

Between the years 1857 to 1860 Mswati stepped up his military activities and conquest. While pursuing Somcuba, who initially fled to the Boers in the Barberton area but later

¹⁹⁵ Zulu, Phiwangubani kaKhangeza, interview 22-09-1994 eTholakele, eGazini,; Nkosi, Ntolozi Tryphyna born Zondo eNcaka, interview, 16-01-1997.

¹⁹⁶ JSA., Vol. 2, p. 30; Vol. 4, pp. 298, 342, 391, 398; Bryant, A.T., *Olden Times*, pp. 326-327.

¹⁹⁷ Cope, Richard, *Ploughshare of War*, pp.21-25; Bonner, P., *Kings, Commoners and Concessionaires*, pp. 58-60, 73-76, 110-113; Parliamentary Papers 1878-1879, c 2220, 293 Encl. 2 in No. 109, Appendix A *Treaty of Cession of 21 July 1855*.

¹⁹⁸ HMBL., 1862, pp. 134, 147; 1863, pp. 84-87; 1864, pp. 37, 175; 1866, pp. 8, 67, 84, 156.

went down to uPhongolo, Mswati invaded the minor clans; the Amadlangampisi, Amagonondo and iNyamayenja.¹⁹⁹ These activities were made possible for Mswati by the political upheavals in Zululand between Cetshwayo and his brothers on the one side and between Mpande and Cetshwayo on the other.²⁰⁰ Chief Thulasizwe kaJijila Kubheka and his heir Velaphi were driven out of eNtombe to Newcastle in Natal where Amahlubi were living.²⁰¹ Thulasizwe appears to have died there and the heir apparent Velaphi never returned to his ancestral land. That vacuum was filled by Thathawe kaJijila, a younger brother of Thulasizwe.²⁰²

Mswati is said to have signed an agreement with the Boers in July 1855. This accord was understood as a protection from the aggressive Zulu army which had been raiding into Swaziland in 1847/48, 1852 and 1854 respectively.²⁰³ During the 1854 raid Cetshwayo was present in the regiment called uThulwana (Amamboza) that battle was called *impi yokufunda kuka Thulwana* (the learning of uThulwana).²⁰⁴

¹⁹⁹ Pretorius and Kruger, *Argiefstukke, 227, Memorie aan Volksraad*, 8 June 1846, C.P., File IVB (Swazis), 1164.

²⁰⁰ Zulu, Cetshwayo in, *A Zulu King Speaks*, pp. 15-17.

²⁰¹ Wright, J. and Manson, A. *The Hlubi Chieftdom*, pp. 1-36; JSA., Vol. 2, pp. 11-41.

²⁰² Hardeland, in HMBL., 1862, pp. 93-96, 99-101; 102-112; Jones, HUW M., *A Biographical History of Swaziland to 1902*, p. 328.

²⁰³ Parliamentary Papers 1878-79, c 2220, 293, Enc. 2 in No. 109, Appendix A *Treaty of Cession* of 21 July 1855; Zulu, Cetshwayo, in *A Zulu King Speaks*, pp. 14-15; JSA., Vol. 1, p. 218; Bonner, P., *Kings, Commoners and Concessionaires*, pp. 326-334.

²⁰⁴ Bryant, A.T., *Olden Times*, pp. 326-334.; Zulu, Cetshwayo, in, *A Zulu King speaks*, pp.14-15

Another reason Mswati had for signing such an accord, if ever he did, was to curtail Somcuba's movements and to make his escape almost impossible.²⁰⁵ In that dubious accord, it is said Mswati is said to have given the Boers a free hand of the area north of uPhongolo River. They could settle there.²⁰⁶ Mswati however, did that for tactical reasons as mentioned above. This accord was only valid as long as there was a potential danger from Zululand.

Again the Boers claimed that they had entered into an agreement with Mpande in which he allocated to them the Uphongolo-Luneburg region including Utrecht.²⁰⁷ However, the Natal Border Commission of 1878 repudiated these demands and Cetshwayo affirmed the repudiation during the interview he gave in Cape Town in 1880/81.²⁰⁸

Amid those controversial relations between the Amazulu, the AmaSwazi and the *Amabhunu*, the Hermannsburg missionaries arrived at eNtombe and eNcake with the permission from King Mpande. Chief Regent Thathawe Kubheka sceptically received

²⁰⁵ Parliamentary Papers 1878-1879, C2252, 49, Frere to Hick Beach, 24 January 1879, S.S. 6, 321, R 721/54; P. Schutter, Commandant Mooi River to G. Gruger, Acting Commandant-General 14 November 1854; S. 5. 9, 111-112, R24/54 Memorial signed by W.J. Joubert to Volksraad 307 16 September 1854, Bonner, P. *Kings, Commoners and Concessionaires*, p. 252.

²⁰⁶ Bonner, P., *Kings, Commoners and Concessionaires*, pp. 85-102; Vide, p. 92-94, 256; S.N.A. 1/3/7, 456, No. 151, R.M. Ladysmith to S.N.A. 25 October 1858; Ibid 511, Enclo. in No. 165, Statement by Jan, 10 November 1858.

²⁰⁷ T.A.E.V.R. 562, *Originelle Tractate Met Panda*, 8.9.1854; T.A. Souter Versamelling, Packet 7, Republiek Lydenburg, Volksraadsbesluit, 16-4-1856; Zulu, Cetshwayo, in *A Zulu King Speaks*, p. 14.

²⁰⁸ Cope, R.L., 'Shepstone and Cetshwayo 1873-1879', a full discussion of the report of the boundary commission is presented in chapter 13; BPPL II of 1878-79, C 2222; *Frere, Various memoranda accompanying Commission report on the Zulu-Transvaal border dispute forwarded to Hicks Beach, 16 November 1878*; C. 1137, p. 4; Zulu, Cetshwayo, in *A Zulu King Speaks*. pp. 14, 53-59; A: SA 41.11e, p. 9. *On the founding of eNtombe Mission Station*, Guy, J., *The Heretic*, pp. 261f, 267, 276.

them. He only did so after King Mpande assured him that they were allowed to settle in Northern Zululand at uPhongolo region.²⁰⁹ Swazi raids were happening eight or ten times a year in that area. Chief Regent Thathawe also received people who were refugees either from Swaziland or from the Boers. Mpande or Cetshwayo would from time to time send an expedition against Thathawe or Nyamayenja's people to acquire cattle as meat for the army.²¹⁰ To assert his authority further Mpande sent his *induna* Ntshingwayo kaMahole Khoza to erect a homestead (*ikhanda*) at eNcaka, this *ikhanda* was named *Indlabeyithubula* for it was a controversial area where the Boers claimed their rights to graze their stock.²¹¹ Then as soon as Ntshingwayo had accomplished his task and returned to eNquthu, the Boers demolished that *ikhanda*, chased the people who stayed in it, and told them to leave the area.²¹² Some months later Mpande or Cetshwayo sent some girls to Chief Thathawe as his wives (*ukuganisela*) he was expected to pay *ilobolo* for them to Cetshwayo. However, Chief Thathawe and his people could not accept the royal offer, as they were poor, their cattle being raided now and again by the AmaSwazi. To avoid a punitive action by his king, Thathawe and his people moved away from eNtombe, and travelled to Othaka (Wakkerstroom).²¹³ Othaka was a place inhabited by the Abakwa Shabalala people under Chief Simahla kaMadlangampisi. On approaching Othaka, the Boers halted Chief Thathawe and they demanded a document allowing him

²⁰⁹ HMBL., 1860, pp. 87, 92-94, 172; 1861, pp. 3, 8-9, 59, 157; 1863, p. 42, 126, 162.

²¹⁰ A; SA. 41 11e, *Entombe Station Chronicle*, p. 12.

²¹¹ JSA., Vol. 4, pp. 136-137 *indlabeyithubula an ikhanda at eNcaka erected by Ntshingwayo kaMahole Khoza and Sikhobobo ka Mabakazana Sibiya*; Zulu Society Collection [1666] *The Account of Maphelu kaMkhosana kaZanqwana Zungu* in the Killie Campbell Centre for Oral and Historical Studies, (Durban, 1942), p. 111-115.

²¹² Zulu, Cetshwayo, in *A Zulu King Speaks*, pp. 24-28; HMBL., 1862, pp. 61-62. Cope, Richard, *Ploughshare of War*, pp. 167-168; G.H. 789, Confidential Shepstone to Bulwer, 11 pm, 16-11-1877; BPP, C2242, pp. 62-63. Clarke and Rudolph to Shepstone, 19-11-1877.

²¹³ HMBL., 1863, p. 46.

to pass through their territory.²¹⁴ Thathawe obviously did not have that document, then a battle began, the Boers shot at Thathawe and his people also called the Amagonondo. Thathawe and a few others were seriously wounded; he died a few days later.²¹⁵ His people were within moments without a chief. The Boers arrested them and distributed them on their farms as labourers. Furthermore the Boers went to eNtombe and annexed it.²¹⁶ On hearing those atrocities Cetshwayo sent an army to repossess eNtombe and eNcaka (eNkombela).²¹⁷

The subsequent section will briefly describe the Abakwamazibuko and Nkosi Chiefdoms prior to the arrival of the missionaries.

²¹⁴ HMBL., 1866, 59, Speckmann, F., *Mission in Afrika*, pp. 518-519.

²¹⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 518; Speckmann, F., *Mission in Afrika*, pp. 536-540.

²¹⁶ HMBL., 1862, p. 25; HMBL., 1868, pp. 11,61; 1869, pp. 199, 205.

²¹⁷ Zulu, Cetshwayo, in: *A Zulu King Speaks*, p. 14.

11. ENCAKA TERRITORY UNDER THE KINGS OF THE ABAKWAMAZIBUKO CLAN AND ABAKWANKOSI CLANS TO 1913

11.1 The AbakwaMazibuko Clan under Chief Phuthini kaMashoba ca1800 -1848

Like other areas eNcaka had had its ancient inhabitants the Abathwa and Amalawu (*the Qoyi-San*). The origin of *abakwa Mazibuko* can be traced back to the Zwane, Ngwane, Hlubi and Ndwandwe clans who are commonly known as the AbaseMbo tribe. The eMbo in turn are distant relatives of the Amathonga (the Maronga people).²¹⁸

The *abakwa Zwane* were either closely related to the *abakwa-Nkosi-Dlamini* or the *abakwa-Ndwandwe* under Zwide kaLanga. However, what is certain is that when Ngwane or Sobhuza left Uphongolo area for the Masekoland (Swaziland), the Zwane people did not migrate with him. They remained between oBivane and eMfolozi emnyama. They had the Ndwandwe clans on the southeast; the Amahlubi on the West towards the source of the UMzinyathi River and the North West had the Amangwane clan under Matiwane kaMasumpa Hlongwane.²¹⁹ Behind the Ngwane clan there were the Amagonondo and the AbakwaShabalala. All these clans paid tribute to the Ndwandwe Kings after the conquest and supremacy of Zwide kaLanga.²²⁰ The Abakwa Zwane had a clan name Amangwe. After the defeat of Zwide by Shaka's forces, the Zwane clans were the next to be visited for they lived in close proximity to the Ndwandwe. They moved

²¹⁸ Bleek, W.H.I., *Researches into the relations between the Hottentots and Kaffir races*, (Cape Town, 1857), pp. 200-296; *Report concerning bushmen 1873, Second report Concerning Bushmen, 1875*; Fuze, Magema, *Abantu abamnyama nalapho Bavela ngakhona*, (Pietermaritzburg, 1922); Khumalo, R.S., *uPhoko*, Vol. 1, pp. 1-35; 42-59.

²¹⁹ Bryant, A.T., *Olden Times*, pp. 135-184.

²²⁰ Bonner, P., *Kings, Commoners and Concessionaires*, pp. 9-26.

away to the West close to eMahlubini their distant relatives. Their place at eHlobane at Mangethe's ikhanda known as eNtshenteka was henceforth occupied by Mkabayi kaJama Zulu. She built an *ikhanda* called eMhlabaneni. Later however, it was renamed eBaqulusini. There are different versions as to the origin of the name eBaqulusini, (the place of those who display their buttocks). Bryant says this reference was to the Amangwe and the Amahlubi hitherto resident in those regions, which had the habit of exposing their buttocks, by wearing the Sutu breechcloth instead of the regulation Zulu *umutsha* (hanging girdle of skin). Such a costume in the Zulu's estimation, was low and unrefined, hence they contemptuously nicknamed the Sutus *iziNgadanqunu* (people who run about naked).²²¹

Bryant went on to say:

"Both these tribes, the Amangwe and the Amahlubi affected the same tartan because they were both of the same stock, and close cousins. They belonged along with the Ngwane-Swazis, Ndwandwe, Khuzes and others, to what we have termed the eMbo branch of the Nguni family. The Amangwe, along with the Zwanes and others, sprang from a certain common ancestor Ntsele, a different individual from Ntsele, father of Bhungane."²²²

Msimango has a different version altogether: Mkabayi coined the name eBaqulusini. She constantly complained about the cold winters of the high veld.

²²¹ Bryant, A.T., *Olden Times*, p. 181.

²²² *Ibid.*, p. 181.

"At that time Mkabayi kept on complaining... Oh you descendant of Khayi what am I going to build here, for I am just stooping in the grass, with my buttocks uncovered. Edumbe (Paulpietersburg) is not like the warm heartland of Zululand. It is a highveld where the summer is hot and the winter is cold. It is a grassland."²²³

In the face of repeated attacks either during the battle of eZindololwane against Sikhunyana kaZwide (1826) or during Mzilikazi's rebellion and escape 1822/3 the Zwane migrated once more; some with Mzilikazi, and some remained behind and hence were referred to as the AbakwaMazibuko under Phuthini kaMashoba kaMgabi kaMafu.

Tradition says that the Abakwa Mazibuko-Mwelase *ongaweli ngazibuko kepha owelange sikhenga somfula*.²²⁴) Abakwa Zwane adopted those who cross the river by using the raft). The Abakwa Zwane, Mazibuko, Cebekhulu and Linda according to recorded oral tradition are all related to one another. Phuthini kaMashoba was the longest reigning King of the Mazibuko clan, his time ranging from Shaka to Mpande.

Mpande is said to have complained now and again saying, "why is Phuthini not dying"; All his contemporaries (kings) in power, had all died but he was then still living. Mpande said Phuthini must be the one who bewitched other kings,²²⁵ and Mpande also accused them of having stolen his cattle. In 1847/48 Mpande sent several expeditions to invade

²²³ Msimang, C.T., *Buzani kuMkabayi*, pp. 183-190, vide p. 190.

²²⁴ Sithole, T. *Izibongo nezithakazelo zaKwaZulu*, p. 56; Bryant, A.T., *Olden Times*, pp. 155, 181, 212, 417-424, 590; JSA., Vol. 2, p. 14.

²²⁵ JSA., Vol. 2, p. 27, Kubheka, Mabhonsa kaSidlayi's evidence 01.02-1909; Zulu, Cetshwayo, in *A Zulu King speaks*, pp. 14 - 15; Bryant, A.T., *Olden Times*, pp. 155, 181; Wright, J. & Manson, A., *The Hlubi Chiefdom*, pp. 32-36.

Amahlubi under Kings Langalibalele kaMthimkhulu kaBhungane Hadebe and Amangwe under Phuthini kaMashoba Mazibuko.²²⁶ Therefore the area in which they had been living, before they were driven to Natal was called eNcaka. Langalibalele's mother Ntambose was the daughter of Mashoba kaMgabi kaMafu Mazibuko. Langalibalele grew up among his mother's people.²²⁷ There was intermarriage among the AbakwaShabalala, Hlubi, Mazibuko and Kubheka-Hlatshwayo chiefdoms. Whenever these clans were pressed hard by a common danger or enemy they used to move together in defence against or in flight away from the threat. They fled for Natal and occupied the areas known as eMnambithi (Ladysmith) for the Amahlubi and Klip River for Amangwe.²²⁸ Mpande, having driven away both Amahlubi and Amangwe had one remaining encroaching enemy namely the Boers who by that time were in coalition with the Amaswazi. Malambule and his party had left Swaziland *ngesilulu (en masse)* driven out by Mswati after the eruption of the civil war 1846.

From Mahamba Mission station, they left for Zululand and asked for protection from Mpande. They temporarily settled at eMbizeni and established eBhadeni homestead. Mpande took or rather commanded one of these Swazi princes Nciliba, father of Nyamayenja to move to the vacant area eNcaka. Henceforth the eNcaka area is ruled by AbakwaNkosi under Mhlabunzima (Mgedla), kaMakhehlana, kaLuphondo, kaMabukangengazi, kaMkhontowendlela, kaNyamayenja, kaNciliba, kaSamukezi.²²⁹

²²⁶ Ibid, pp. 32-36; JSA., Vol. 2, pp. 27, 33.

²²⁷ JSA., Vol. 2, p. 14.

²²⁸ Bryant, A.T., *Olden Times*, pp. 147-158, Vide, pp. 155-158; JSA, Vol. 2, pp. 27, 33.

²²⁹ Nkosi, Ntolozi kaSitimela Zondo, interview 16.01.1997, eNcaka; Zulu, Cetshwayo, in *A Zulu King Speaks*, pp. 14-15.

CHAPTER FOUR

THE BEGINNINGS OF THE HERMANSBURG MISSION IN THE THUKELA REGION (SOUTHERN-ZULULAND)

1. A LUTHERAN PIONEER: HANS PALUDAN SMITH SCHREUDER 1845-1882

Prior to the arrival of Schreuder in Zululand missionary activities had been taking place for a decade before. These came mainly from the United States of America. These missionaries were: Henry Venable Daniel Lindley, Charles Johnston and Aldin Lewis Grout.¹ Their presence and activities in the then Natal and Zululand were made possible by the friendly overtures and disposal which Dingana, the King of Zululand, had shown to them. However, due to what they called insecurity, they left Zululand and lived among the Boer settlers or British colonial rule, which had asserted its rule after the annexation in 1843.²

¹ Smith, E., *The Life and Times of Daniel Lindley (1801-1880)* (London, 1940), pp. 1f; Booth, Alan, (ed). *Journal of the Rev. George Champion* (Cape Town, 1967) p. 1ff; Koetze, D.T., (ed). *Letters of the American Missionaries*, Van Riebeeck Society No. 31 (Cape Town, 1950), p. 1f.

² Hattersley, Alan, F., *The British Settlement of Natal: A study of imperial migration*, (Cambridge, 1950); Gardiner, Allen, *Narrative of a Journey to the Zulu Country*, (London, 1836), pp. 31-221; Marsh, John, W., *A Memoir of Allen F. Gardiner*, (London, 1857).

Mention has to be made of British missionaries who served and lived under King Dingana 1835-38. They were Allen Gardiner and Francis Owen.³ Again emphasis has to land upon the undisputable fact that colonial rule, in the case of South Africa, and more so in Zululand, was the precursor of missionary activity. The key figure to that programme was Theophilus Shepstone, who has been mentioned before. Shepstone, himself the son of a Wesleyan missionary, Rev. Shepstone, from the Wesleyan Mission Society, who was a missionary among Amampondo tribe under King Faku kaNgqungqushu kaTshole kaMpondo, had hoped to open the way for the missionaries to evangelise first the black people under colonial rule across the uThukela River and finally those living in Zululand.⁴

1.1 Schreuder: Missionary and Diplomat - Visiting King Mpande at Kwanodwengu in July 1845

It is important to mention the role played by Schreuder as a precursor to the Hermannsburg Missionaries' crossing the uThukela River and encountering the Zulu king. Without his early contacts to the Zulu king, it would have been almost impossible for the Hermannsburg Missionaries to enter Zululand. His importance lies in the fact that he was a Lutheran missionary. (See Appendix 1 for further information on H.P.S. Schreuder.)

The first task facing Schreuder and Thommesen when they arrived in Durban was to learn the isiZulu language. Missionaries like Newton Adams gave them shelter south of

³ Gardiner, A., Narrative, pp. 31ff; *The Diary of Rev. Francis Owen Missionary with Dingaan in 1837-38*, edited by G.E. Cory Van Riebeeck Society, No. 7 (Cape Town, 1926).

⁴ Welch, David, *The Roots of Segregation*, pp. 1-31.

Durban. Adams, Champion and Grant had been in Natal and Zululand since 1835. However, they had to leave Zululand in 1843. Mpande deported all the missionaries from Zululand after he accused Missionary Grout of contaminating and corrupting his people, especially the young able-bodied men (*Amabutho*). These young men, according to Mpande, had become insubordinate. They were neither respecting customs and tradition, nor working in the fields and looking after livestock for the king, after becoming Christians. Therefore, for these reasons, Lewis Grout had to leave Zululand immediately. After that incident, the king and his *izinduna* were no longer keen to allow missionaries to enter Zululand.⁹

Indeed, the American missionaries provided help for Schreuder and Thommesen in teaching Schreuder isiZulu. The missionaries' encounter with the *Amakhosi* had two dimensions, namely, the political and ecclesiastical dimensions. The political aspect of the encounter developed into a land dispute in later years. The ecclesiastical aspect of the encounter relates to the conversion of the black people, which called for the establishment of the church. After spending some time learning the language, Schreuder felt that the time had come for him to move on and visit the king. On the 14th of July 1845, he spanned the ox wagon and left for Zululand. On arrival there, he was kept waiting until the king was ready to see him on the 23rd and the 30th of July 1845. Both these interviews were fruitless for Schreuder. Mpande and his *izinduna*, Premier Masiphula kaMamba Ntshangase in particular, refused to allow him to preach in Zululand. They referred to the Grout incident. Disappointed, but not frustrated, Schreuder and Thommesen left Nodwengu, but did not return to their original place of abode with Missionary Adams. Instead, they went to the Umdloti river valley and

⁹ Lislrud, Gunnar, in *Norsk Missions Lexikon*, pp. 706-707.

preached to the *Amazulu*. After some time, a second attempt was made in 1847 to infiltrate Zululand; however, it was without success. That meant that the second mission was abortive as well.¹⁰

Schreuder, as he observed, had come to a proud and powerful people. The *Amazulu* were willing to welcome hunters and business people who came and went. However, they feared the missionaries who settled among them, learned their language and thus could look as though they were chiefs, who were building a state within a state. For the king and his *izinduna*, the reality was like this: the Englishmen had taken the land south of the uThukela River; hence, it was imperative for the *Amazulu* to be on guard against the white men, who encroached along their borders. Given these circumstances, the missionaries could be a formidable force, building bridges for the English annexation and conquest. Schreuder's failure in his first and second attempt to enter Zululand could be explained against the background of a situation posed by political premonition and apprehensiveness.¹¹

The suspicions were so high that it was practically impossible for Schreuder, at that stage, to proclaim the Gospel to the Zulus. Telling the story about the Creator God, his right to all men's lives and his judgement over sin did not convince the Zulus. The

¹⁰ Listerud, Gunnar, Schreuder, in *Norsk Missions Lexikon*, p. 707.

¹¹ Cope, Richard, *Ploughshare of War*, pp.10-44; Lapping, P.H., *The influence Panda had on the early settlement of Natal 1843-1856*, (History Thesis, University of Natal, Pietermaritzburg, 1963), p. 1f; Stander, H., "Die Verhouding tussen die Boere en die Zoeloe tot die dood van Mpande in 1872", (Cape Town, 1964), *Argiefjaarboek vir Suid Afrikaanse Geskiedenis*, 1964, Deel I, p. 1f. Cope, R.L., *Christian missions*, pp. 1-23; Lambert, John, *Betrayed Trust*, pp. 7-20; Slatter, H., Land, Labour and Capital in Natal in *Journal of African History*, 16, No. 2, 1975, pp. 266-270.

Amazulu only saw a white man who was trying to entice them into allowing the whites to appropriate their hunting field and grazing land.

As part of the encounter, Schreuder prepared a short liturgy for his church services. It looked like this: (a) a Psalm translated into isiZulu by himself; (b) prayer - a free prayer and then "Our Father"; (c) a sermon; (d) a reading of the Ten Commandments with explanation; and, finally, (e) a Psalm.¹²

After the aforesaid failed attempt to convince uMpande and his *izinduna*, Schreuder decided to leave Natal for China. Unfortunately, he could not stay long in China. Within a short time he returned to South Africa. Before his return to South Africa, he wrote a letter to Norway with the following words:

"I must, with a bleeding heart, confess that I am not suitable for this work here (China), but I have to go back to my dear kaffir people for whom my heart has burnt warmer and warmer the longer we have been apart, and in the face of the Lord (before the Lord) I have pleaded and promised that nothing but death should separate us."¹³

Early in June 1848, Schreuder left Hong Kong and on September 17th he arrived back in Cape Town and three months later in Durban. During his stay in China, and on his way to South Africa, he completed the first part of the Grammar of the isiZulu language and was working on the Zulu-Norwegian and Norwegian-Zulu Dictionary.

¹² Lislrud, G., Schreuder in: *Norsk Missions Lexicon* pp. 706-708.

¹³ Lislrud, G., *ibid.*, p. 709.

Having returned to Natal, Schreuder bought a farm of 15000 acres known as *Uitkomst* for £1500 (between Pietermaritzburg and Durban). "While the purchase price is unknown, it is believed to have been about 25c an acre. However, there was a Methodist Mission not far away, and an American Board Mission in the area, and Schreuder felt that there was not enough room for him. Eventually he sold the farm to the then Norwegian Consul in Durban, Mr George Cato. Today we recognise this to be one of the few mistakes Bishop Schreuder made, for this farm is today Cato Ridge, one of the Republic's rich industrial areas."¹⁴ The farm was good for agriculture and cattle, and there were about 100 families living on the property. This place should, therefore, be considered the first Norwegian mission station in South Africa.

By 1849, Schreuder had completed writing his isiZulu Grammar and had it printed in Christiania (Oslo) in 1850. With it, there was a specially prepared reading book in isiZulu, which was printed in Cape Town in 1850. In October 1849, Schreuder was joined by new missionaries from Norway, namely, Oftebro, Udland and Larsen. Larsen came with his wife. They were fortunate in that they could use Schreuder's pioneering experience and knowledge of the language, not only through him in person, but also through his books. At *Uitkomst*, he had a young man by the name of Umbotho who was learning for baptism. In 1850, Schreuder succeeded in founding a mission station among the Amaphumulo people situated about 10km from the uThukela river. He named his mission station uMphumulo. Here at uMphumulo a young girl by the name of

¹⁴ Lewis, C. Ian, *uMphumulo Monument*, p. 67; Lislrud, G., *Schreuder, in Norsk Missions Lexicon*, pp. 710-712.

Mathenjwase kaNondumo Shange was baptised on the 6th of June 1858.¹⁵ uMathenjwase grew up and married an ox driver, uMbijane, on the American mission station in Umvoti location. He was later ordained as a pastor.

1.2 Mpande's Ailment and a Bottle of Medicine Open the Way for the Mission Work in Zululand

One day, chief Mkhonto kaMagaye Cele from the Maphumulo area came to Schreuder and reported that Mpande was sick. He was suffering from gout or rheumatism attacks. Schreuder should come to the king with his medicines and see if he could do something, as Mpande's doctors were not able to cure the king.¹⁶ Schreuder grabbed this opportunity and hurried to the King at KwaNodwengu and treated the swollen leg for two weeks. After two weeks, there was a visible improvement in the king's leg. Schreuder had won. Mpande wanted to keep Schreuder as close as possible. He allowed him to build along eMpanga, which was named eMpangeni in 1850/51.¹⁷

Mpande gave Schreuder four big elephant tusks and many cattle as a sign of gratitude for the treatment he received from Schreuder's medicines. Schreuder became famous and was regarded as a great doctor (*inyanga*) of the king.¹⁸ Subsequently, a station was founded next to the hill Intuma, hence the name eNtumeni. This station later on became

¹⁵ Lislrud, G., *Schreuder, in Norsk Missions Lexicon*, p. 710; *Scandinavians and S.A.*, pp. 128 and 134.

¹⁶ Lislrud, G., *ibid.*, p. 710; Lewis, C.I., Umpumulo Monument p. 67.

¹⁷ Staven, Ole Olsen, *The Norwegian Missionary Society: A Short Review of its work among the Zulus*, (Stavanger, 1918). Hereafter, *The Norwegian Missionary Society; Scandinavians and S.A.*, pp. 76 and 127-129.

¹⁸ Schreuder, Hans, *Statement of Mission Claims in Zululand, July 30, 1881*, C.O. 179/138.

the centre of the Norwegian Mission in Natal and Zululand. Schreuder's work grew rapidly between 1850 and 1851. The eMpangeni, Uitkomst, uMphumulo and eNtumeni mission stations had been established.¹⁹

By 1854, Schreuder had finished his translation of Luther's small catechism and it was printed in 1855. Again, in March of 1854, assistance came from Norway: Tonnesen, a carpenter and teacher; Olsen, a carpenter; and Samuelson, a senior carpenter. They worked tirelessly building church houses and schools at newly-established mission stations. However, they were not happy with their jobs; they wanted to be full pastors so that they could teach and preach. Conflict was looming and became unavoidable. They eventually left Schreuder and the Norwegian Mission Society to join the Church of England under Bishop John William Colenso. Colenso soon ordained them and they henceforth worked for the English Church and also became exposed to the English colonial affairs.²⁰

1.3 The Civil War of December 1856

On the 2nd of December 1856, a war broke out between the supporters of the two contending sons, who claimed seniority in the succession to the throne after Mpande's

¹⁹ Sommerfelt, Halfdan F., *Den Norske Zulumission*, (Christiana, 1865), pp. 285-288; *Scandinavians and South Africa*, pp. 76 and 127-129.

²⁰ Samuelson, Quarterly Report, June 1877 SPG, E32; Samuelson, *ibid.*, March 1878, SPG E33.

death. They were Princes Cetshwayo and Mbuyazi. At this disastrous encounter, 4000 of Mbuyazi's supporters were massacred.²¹

The civil war caused a lot of commotion within Zululand. Those who supported the opposing party, which lost the war, had to run for their lives. Most of them crossed the uThukela River and populated the reserves. Others went to the mission stations.

Schreuder continued his work between 1856-1860 unabated. On August 14th 1859 Schreuder baptised a 16-year-old boy by the name of Mzuza (*Nzuzza*) at eNtumeni.

Another aspect of Schreuder's contributions was to serve as a diplomat between the king and the colonial government. This task carried a heavy responsibility. Schreuder had to prove to the kings that he was different from his predecessors, like Grout, who had to be deported from Zululand for his alleged subversive behaviour.

Schreuder, in order to be able to remain in Zululand, had to fulfil the following conditions: neutrality, loyalty and faithfulness. He promised not to convey the internal affairs of Zululand to the British. In addition to the above principles, Schreuder, unlike his predecessors, had allowed the young Christian converts as *Amabutho* to go to the royal *Amakhanda* to render their service to the king. As a token of appreciation and satisfaction for his service, Schreuder was given a Zulu name: "*uMankankanana*".²²

²¹ *HMBL* 1856, p. 38; Lislrud, G., pp. 710-712; Staven, O., *The Norwegian Society*: p. 9ff; Myklebust, Olav G., *Det Norske Misjonsellskaps Historie*, Vol. III, *Sor-Afrika, China, Sudan*, (Stavanger, 1949), p. 27ff.

²² Simensen, Jarle, (ed). *Norwegian Missions in African History*, Vol. 1, 1986, pp. 103-186, p. 111.

Zululand experienced a difficult and challenging time in the years between 1857 and 1861. Cetshwayo and Mpande were competing for control and influence and therefore for the consolidation of power in Zululand.²³

Schreuder served during these years as a diplomat - indeed as an envoy for peace. Judging from the balance of power in Zululand, one could say that Mpande remained *de jure* ruler of Zululand between 1861 and 1872, whereas Cetshwayo remained a *de facto* ruler of Zululand after he became victorious against his brother in 1856. The colonial government knew about this balance of power and the political status in Zululand. Whatever the colonial rule was undertaking in relation to Zululand had to be done via uCetshwayo and his *izinduna*.²⁴ When Cetshwayo ascended the throne succeeding his father, Schreuder was no longer loyal to the Zulu kings. He became more and more in favour of the British interventionist policy. His letters to Shepstone bear evidence of his changed attitude and his call for a colonial military intervention, if necessary, to eventually dissolve Zululand. The dissolution of Zululand, Schreuder thought, would pave the way for missionary activities. The relationship deteriorated between Cetshwayo and the missionaries on the one side and the colonial rule on the other until 1878.²⁵

²³ Simensen, Jarle, *Norwegian Missions in African History*, vol. 1, pp. 118-135; HMBL., 1862, p. 19.

²⁴ Duminy, Andrew, and Ballard, Charles, (ed). *The Anglo-Zulu war, New Perspectives*, (University of Natal Press, Pietermaritzburg, 1981), pp. 13-52.

²⁵ SNA 1/1/23 Schreuder to Cato, 11 March 1873; CO 179/123: minute on Bulwer to Carnarvon, 27 April 1877, CP, pro 30/6/23 Shepstone to Carnarvon, 11.12.1877; CP, Pro 30/6/33 Frere to Carnarvon 9.7.1877; *The Anglo-Zulu war, New Perspectives* 1981, pp. 41-43; Simensen, Jarle, *Norwegian Missions in African History* vol 1., pp. 166-167; 168-178.

In this above and preceding section on Schreuder, I have shown how indispensable the role of Schreuder was in opening and preparing the way for the future work of the missionaries in Zululand and particularly his intellectual output and relentless struggle in attempting to set foot in Zululand. An attempt has been made to show how crucial the person and role of Schreuder was. Later, when we deal with land issues, focus will be placed on the negative role played by the missionaries.

2. THE FOUNDING OF NEW-HERMANNSBURG IN NATAL 1854-1857

The area of eBunguni (Natal) had long been settled by black people before the arrival of both the Arabs and the Portuguese.²⁶ Contrary to the Eurocentric world view, the historical analyses and writings of Martin Hall, Mazel and many others proved on the basis of archaeological evidence, that the area of South East Africa was inhabited by Africans long before the Christian era. Their descendants were those whom Vasco da Gama met when he stopped in what was then Port Natal on Christmas Day in December 1497 and spoke the words *Hodie dies natalis Domini est* (today is the day of the Lord's birth).²⁷

²⁶ Hall, Martin, *The changing past - Farmers, Kings and Traders in SA 200-1860*. (Cape Town, 1987), pp. 1-4; Mazel, A.D., "Evidence for the pre-later stone age occupation of the Natal Drakensberg", *Annals of the Natal Museum*, 25 (1982), pp. 61-65.

²⁷ *Journal of the first voyage of Vasco da Gama 1497-98* (ed), E.G. Ravenstein (London 1988); Theal, G.M., *The Portuguese in S.A. 1505 to 1795*, Vol. 2 (London, 1907), pp. 47-74.

Three hundred years passed before the English came to Natal. The Portuguese were driven away from their monopoly of the Eastern Coast by the Dutch, who sent Jan van Riebeeck to the Cape in April 1652.²⁸ Another hundred and forty years passed, and then the English came to the Cape between 1795 and 1806 at the invitation of the Dutch government in Holland during the Napoleonic wars in Europe. Finally, the British took the Cape by force in 1813. Around 1825, Fynn, Nathaniel, Farewell and King visited Shaka, and henceforth a small settlement developed at the coast: "Port Natal". But it was in 1843 that the British at the Cape annexed Natal.²⁹ The Boers, under Piet Retief, Andries Pretorius and Potgieter arrived in Zululand in 1838. After a bloody confrontation with the *Amazulu*, they confiscated the whole of Zululand between Uthukela and uMzimkhulu.³⁰

The Voortrekkers, however, only stayed in the newly acquired Republic of Natalia from 1840 to 1843. After they were defeated, the Boers established the so-called Orange Free State. Potchefstroom, Utrecht, Lydenburg and Zoutspanberg were also established. I say "so-called" because they were established against the will of the Batswana inhabitants. Each of these semi-republics had a *Volksraad* and a President.³¹ These republics were constituted to deter any attack from 'outside'. In 1849, a People's Council (*Volksraad*)

²⁸ Thom, H.B., (ed). *The Journal of Jan van Riebeeck* Vol. 1, 1561-1662, (Cape Town, 1952).

²⁹ Brokes E.H., & Colin Webb. *A History of Natal*, (Pietermaritzburg, 1965). pp. 42-48.

³⁰ Cloete, Henry, *Five Lectures on the Emigration of Dutch Farmers from the Cape and their Settlement in Natal until their formal submission to her Majesty's authority in 1843*, (Cape Town 1856); Agar Hamilton, J.A., *The Native Policy of the Voortrekker*, (Cape Town, 1928), p. 1f.

³¹ Haccius, G., *HMG II*² 1910, p. 288; Thompson, Leonard, *A History of South Africa*, (London, 1990), p. 96, Hereafter *A History of South Africa*.

was constituted.³² There was in-fighting among these semi-republics. In 1852, in what is known as the Sand River Convention, a treaty was signed between the British colonial rulers and the Boer Republics in which the cessation of slave trade was called for³³ and the Boers achieved independence from British colonial rule. Governors in colonial Natal, Cloete, West, Benjamin Pine and Scott came and went. In the *Annals of Natal*, the year 1845/6 is significant, for that is the year in which a systematically organised policy of destabilization and the eventual destruction of Zululand was planned and executed under Theophilus Shepstone, the colonial secretary for Native Affairs.³⁴ He also worked with the missionaries in his mission of sabotage. When the Hermannsburgers came to Natal, they had to deal with Shepstone for formal written documents³⁵ in order to get a site.

The Hermannsburg missionaries' attempt to enter Oromoland via Zanzibar and Mombasa had twice been a dismal failure. The only hope left was to return to Natal, from where they could infiltrate KwaZulu as both missionaries Rebmann and Posselt had advised.³⁶ Fortunately for the Hermannsburg missionaries, there were already missionaries operating in Natal in the persons of John Williams Colenso, who came

³² Haccius, G., *HMG II*², 1910, p. 288.

³³ Thompson, Leonard, *A History of South Africa* (London, 1990), pp. 96-100.

³⁴ Wolfson, Freda, *Some Aspects of Native Administration in Natal under Theophilus Shepstone, Secretary for Native Affairs 1857-1875*, (M.A. Thesis, University of the Witwatersrand, 1946); Sullivan, J.R., *The Native Policy of Sir Theophilus Shepstone* (Johannesburg, 1928); Welsh, D., *The Roots of Segregation*, pp. 1-31.

³⁵ Deeds Office, PMB Grant No. 4695, of 13.12.1860, 510 acres Freehold, SNA 1/1/10 No. 15.

³⁶ Speckmann, F., *Mission in Afrika*, pp. 27-28; Haccius, G., *HMG II*² pp.260-264. Harms, L., in *HMBL* 1854, pp. 152-155.

from the London Missionary Society in 1854, Wilhelm Posselt, who came from Berlin in 1847 and H.P.S. Schreuder, who came from the Norwegian Mission in 1844.³⁷

Posselt advised the Hermannsburg missionaries to establish contact with missionary Schreuder, who was situated within the borders of KwaZulu. Since Schreuder had had contact with King Mpande, this would enable the missionaries to set foot in Zululand across the Uthukela River. Schreuder could then be of great help to other missionaries since by 1854 he had a respectable command of the isiZulu language. Furthermore, Schreuder advised the missionaries to settle on the border of Zululand, so that from the one side, in case of hostilities, they could be in a safer place and, on the other side, they could monitor the situation in Zululand and, if conducive, from there could infiltrate the kingdom.³⁸ These two missionaries, Schreuder and Posselt, were also of vital importance to the Hermannsburgers, not only in terms of experience and expertise but also in terms of the language. As a result of this advice, the Hermannsburg missionaries decided to buy a plot close to the border of Zululand. Again, Posselt served as a middle man in contacting the authorities in Pietermaritzburg. Missionary Colenso had by that time established a working contact with the Zulu King Mpande and Prince Cetshwayo.

He rode on horseback to Pietermaritzburg to ascertain from the government officials whether or not a piece of land could be sold to them. He was not successful though.

³⁷ Posselt, Wilhelm, S. Bourquin (eds). *The Story of labours among Xhosa and Zulu 1815-1885*, (Bergtheil Museum, Durban, Westville, 1994). pp. 60-67; Lislrud, Gunnar, & "Schreuder" in *Norsk Missions Lexikon*, Vol. III (Stavanger 1967), pp. 705-716.

³⁸ HMBL., 1854, October, pp. 156-165; Speckmann, F., *Mission in Afrika*, pp. 186-200; Haccius, G., HMG II² 1910, pp. 294-297; Lange, B.H., *One Root Two Stems*, pp. 24-25; Harms, L., in HMBL., 10 1854, pp. 156-163.

Luckily, Posselt had a friend in Pietermaritzburg who was a merchant from Hamburg, namely, E. Behrens. After Posselt had put his case to Mr Behrens, Mr Behrens took this matter up with the authorities, and negotiated with them until they sold him some land. This land cost £600 and was 6018 acres in extent.³⁹

The area was called Perseverance; however, after the missionaries had bought it from Carl Behrens, it was renamed New Hermannsburg. It is situated 21 kilometres east of Greytown (Umgungundlovana), in today's Umvoti district.

Greytown was established as a town in 1854 to serve as a British Military Depot, and a garrison was stationed there to defend Natal from any attack from Zululand. Since the missionaries arrived at their new place during the rainy season and were prevented from building a proper house, a temporary shelter had to suffice until the next winter. When the appropriate time came, they built a massive clay brick house that was about 39 metres long and 16,5 metres wide. It had 16 bedrooms and 10 other rooms.

Later on, a church building was erected and a school thereafter.⁴⁰ On the 5th and 6th of July 1855, the missionaries arranged their belongings. On the 25th of September 1855, the house was dedicated and on the 26th of September, German, English and Dutch visitors came to congratulate and celebrate with them.

³⁹ HMBL., 1885 No. 1 pp. 20-33; Speckmann, F., *Mission in Afrika*, p. 189; Haccius, G., HMG II², 1910, pp. 294-297; Deeds Office, Pietermaritzburg, Grant No. 4695,0 13.12.1860, 510 acres Freehold, SNA 1/1/10 No. 15.

⁴⁰ HMBL., 1855 p. 199; Speckmann, F., *Mission in Afrika*, p. 199; Haccius G., HMG II² 1910, pp. 299-200; Wickert, Winfried, (ed), *Und die Vogel des Himmels*, pp. 26-30; Proske, W., *Botswana und die Anfänge der Hermannsburger Mission*, 1989, pp. 128-131.

2.1 The Early Years in New Hermannsburg 1855-1857

Now that a place of abode for the missionaries had been secured, the farming had to begin in earnest. They soon acquired livestock, pigs, horses and other domestic animals. A German traveller, researcher and philologist W.H.I. Bleek, when visiting the new settlement recorded:

"The society consists of 17 men of which there are six ordained missionaries, two catechists and the remaining nine are colonists. They all have some agricultural experience and many of them are tradesmen as well. They are all extremely industrious and besides they are very pleasant and nice people. The whole represents the most effective example of practical communism."⁴¹

None was in receipt of a salary; whatever work they performed or earnings they received became the property of the society. They expected in a very short time to be able to subsist without assistance from overseas and to defray the costs of running the mission from the income derived from the farm.

The challenging part of their task was for the missionaries to establish the link with the *Amazulu* or the *Oorlams*,⁴² the British, the Boers and lastly the German settlers in New

⁴¹ Spohr, O.H., *The Natal Diaries of Dr W.H.I. Bleek 1855-1856*, (Balkema, Cape Town 1965), p. 30.

⁴² *Oorlams*, (*amakhoboka*) are the Black Africans; sometimes of Qoyi-San or Bantu descent, who were captured by the Boers during their raids on African villages

Germany and elsewhere. The *Oorlams* were sometimes exposed to Christianity, depending on the Boers' disposition to religion. These people could no longer speak Qoyi-San neither the *isinguni* nor *SeSotho* language. Since the missionaries spoke low German (*platt deutsch*) they could easily communicate with the Africans as the low German is related to Dutch. At the beginning, it seems the missionaries were successful with their lessons of Christian teaching to the *Oorlams*.⁴³ Almost without exception, all the people around Hermannsburg then spoke and understood Dutch. However, if there happened to be someone who could not communicate in Dutch, he/she was sent to Posselt for instructions in the isiZulu language. Harms' original intention was that the missionary, as soon as he could communicate in the indigenous language, should go into the homesteads and preach the Gospel there.

However, this method proved to be unsuccessful as compared to the work-conversion method, as Leuschke puts it. The work-conversion method basically meant that they got the Africans (heathens) to work for them. While working they could achieve the double goal of teaching the Gospel and at the same time teach them some skills and instil in them "the Christian way of life, hard work, honesty and loyalty".⁴⁴

and put under service as slaves. They spoke only Dutch. On the term *Oorlam*, vide *JSA.*, Vol.1, pp.221,249,269 Vol. 2, p. 116, 137 according to Mahaya kaNongqabana Jali Interview 26, 8, 1905; Bryant, A.T., *Zulu-English Dictionary*, (Marianhill 1905), p. 308. See Delius, Peter, & Trapido, Stanley, "Inboekselings and Oorlams the Creation and transformation of a servile class", in *Journal of Southern African Studies* 8, 2, 1982, p. 214ff; Speckmann, F., *Mission in Afrika*, p. 205.

⁴³ R  ther, Kirsten, *Social Strategies*, pp. 37-39; HMBL., (2), 1855, pp. 185-195; HMBL., (4) 1857 p. 108, HMBL., (10) 1863, pp. 92-96.

⁴⁴ Leuschke, A.M.H., *The Hermannsburg Mission Society* p.32; Lange, B.H., *One Root Two Stems*, 1988, p. 26.

The catechists had to teach the people the Biblical stories and catechism. However, those people never experienced a free and independent conversion into Christianity but they became Christians in order to survive against the ever-increasing colonisation pressure.⁴⁵

Difficulties in communication and perceptions resulted in misunderstandings, which were partly culturally based. The results were that sometimes the missionary would tend to dominate the Africans, for at times he regarded them as being lazy or too slow.⁴⁶

Harms, though exceptionally critical of the colonial government's policies towards Africa or Asia, had to change this attitude due to the harsh realities in the field. For the Hermannsburg missionaries to be able to pass through the British territorial waters with their ship, Harms had to apply to the British authorities in London for passage. This instance shows once more that the cooperation with the given colonial structures was inevitable for the missionaries, in order to establish themselves in Natal.⁴⁷

Again in Natal, the Hermannsburg missionaries had to work through the given geo-socio-political structures. At the beginning the Natal Colonial Government was not keen to give them building sites or protection.⁴⁸ However, with the introduction of the Shepstonian policy towards the "natives", namely, of fostering the culture and customs of the *Amazulu*, the Hermannsburg method of work got unexpected government support

⁴⁵ Haccius, G., HMG II², 1910, pp. 301-313.

⁴⁶ HMBL., 1858, p. 175; Lange, B.H., *One Root Two Stems*, 1988, p. 26.

⁴⁷ HMBL., 1854, pp. 38-39, HMBL., 1855, pp. 69-71.

⁴⁸ Speckmann, F., *Mission in Afrika*, pp. 187-188; Haccius, Georg, HMG II², 1910, p. 295. Wilson, Monica, & Thompson, Leonard, M., (ed). *The Oxford History of South Africa*, Vol. 1 (London, 1969) p. 375.

in that the government encouraged the chiefs to send their people to be trained. Unwittingly, Hermannsburg had pursued the same strategy that the colonial government was implementing in the Eastern Cape to maintain stability at the border area. If the missions were to achieve this goal for the government, then they should be encouraged.⁴⁹ Therefore, the Hermannsburg missionaries as Lutherans had no problems in acquiescing and conforming to the colonial policy. The wrong concept of Lutheran teaching on two kingdoms provided a basis for that attitude.

The third group of contacts was the German settlers, mainly in the vicinity of New Germany. These settlers, who mostly came to South Africa in 1848, were initially of great help to the missionaries. They came from Germany in the area of Osnabrück, and were expected to grow cotton in the area of New Germany. However, the project was a failure.⁵⁰

A businessman, Mr Jonas Bergthiel, who brought them from Germany to grow cotton, left them to their own fate. They had no alternative, but to become farmers. Posselt ministered to them from time to time.⁵¹

Part of the reason for leaving Germany was the poverty caused by both the industrialization and the revolution of 1848, which brought about the poor economic

⁴⁹ Leuschke A.M.H., *The Hermannsburg Mission Society*, 1985, p. 31; Lange, B.H., *One Root Two Stems*, 1988, p. 27.

⁵⁰ Leuschke, A.M.W., *The Hermannsburg Mission Society*, 1985, p. 4; Scriba, Georg, *The growth of the Lutheran Churches in S.A.* (Luthos Publications, 1997), p. 7; HMBL., November 1854, pp. 168-169; Posselt, W., *The Story of His Labours*, 1994, pp. 69, 85-94.

⁵¹ Posselt, W., *ibid.*, pp. 85-94; Leuschke A.M., *The Hermannsburg Mission Society*, p. 4.

conditions coupled with challenges faced by spinners and weavers as a result of the introduction of machine-produced textiles.

The arrival of the German missionaries in the area brought a spiritual revival to the almost estranged German settlers. Later on, some of the settlers moved inland and established their own congregation in New Hannover in 1858.⁵² Pastor Schutze was called as their pastor. He was expected to work among the surrounding *Amazulu* and at the same time serve the German congregation.⁵³ This venture did not last long as serious disagreements developed between Missionary Schütze and his congregants. The congregants wanted to allow the Reformed Dutch to be members of the congregation, thereby alleviating the financial situation of their church, whereas their pastor wanted a purely Lutheran church in word and sacrament. The pastor had to be transferred and was followed by Missionary Struve from Hermannsburg.⁵⁴

The fourth group to be mentioned with whom the Hermannsburgers had contact was the Boers, then known as the Dutch. This was the immediate and the largest group surrounding the missionaries. Given the fact that the Boers had no pastors and had to travel long distances for church services and especially to baptise their children, the arrival of the missionaries was a welcomed opportunity. Communication was not a problem as the missionaries spoke Platt *deutsch* i.e. low German language and the Boers understood it well. As the news of such contacts was reported to Harms in Germany,

⁵² Speckmann, F., *Mission in Africa*, pp. 287-290.

⁵³ Bodenstein, W., *25 Jahre Arbeit der Hermannsburger Deutsch-Evangelisch-Lutherischen Synode in Südafrika ein Jubiläumsbuch*, (Hermannsburg, 1937), p. 22.

⁵⁴ Bodenstein W., *ibid.*, p. 22; Speckmann, F., *Mission in Afrika*, pp. 287-290.

Harms was not enthusiastic about it at the beginning. For Harms the Boers were like the Africans, an object or target for mission. His dictum was

"the conversion of the whites is also a blessing for the heathen and the apostasy of the whites was a curse for the heathens."⁵⁵

Harms furthermore put forward the views of the missionaries in the following words:

"By the way our brothers speak openly about the extreme oppression which the Kaffir people (*Kaffernvolk*) are suffering from the Boers. The Boers are treating their Kaffir, who work for them like dogs and could not expect it otherwise from the Boers, for they are at the same level with the heathens when it comes to religion, their ignorance is perplexing."⁵⁶

Another challenge, which confronted the missionaries in their daily contact with the Boers, was the behaviour of Giessing. This farmer was living on Mr Carl Behrens' plot, "Perseverance".⁵⁷ When the missionaries came they found him there. At the beginning their relationship was cordial and humane. However the problem began when the missionaries started to preach the Gospel to the Africans known as *Oorlams*. The pious Boer (Giessing) protested in the strongest possible terms against this undertaking. He was of the opinion that the blacks, as soon as they understood the Gospel and became Christians, would become disobedient. Giessing firmly believed that according to the

⁵⁵ Harms, Ludwig, in HMBL., 1856, p. 5; Haccius, G., HMG II² 1910, p. 300.

⁵⁶ Harms, L., in HMBL., 1855, p. 30.

⁵⁷ Speckmann, F., *Mission in Africa*, p. 192; Wickert, W., *Und die Vögel des Himmels*, 1949, p. 28.

order of creation, the Black people were the children of Ham and therefore were predestined for and condemned to eternal servitude, hence the Godly order would be kept intact. Whoever preached and taught them the gospel, was committing sin and was against God.⁵⁸

The attitude of Giessing reflects hidden and hitherto unknown misconceptions of the Boers. This conception or perception namely that the Gospel liberates a person to disobedience like Moses did against Pharaoh is for our South African context very challenging and interesting indeed. This perception that the Black people are children of Ham, were cursed and therefore objects of slavery is not new, i.e. it did not originate here in South Africa, it originated in Europe in the 17th century if not earlier.⁵⁹ The question of racism therefore is still today haunting not only South Africa but also the whole world at large. The theologian J.H. Heidegger postulated in his work published 1667 in Amsterdam with the title *The History of Biblical Patriarchs* that the hairs of Kanaan wrinkled or cramp and his face became completely black at the same moment when Noah pronounced the curse.⁶⁰ The history and basis for the development of racism began in Greece, and continued via Rome, Holland, France, England and Germany. With the advent of humanism and Renaissance the concept of a particular aesthetics was

⁵⁸ Genesis, 9:18-29 in *NIV Bible*; Speckmann, F., *Mission in Afrika*, pp. 198, 204. Haccius, G., HMG II² 1910, pp. 303-305; Niederberger, Oskar. Kirche Mission-Rasse. Die missions-auffassung der Niederländisch reformierten Kirchen von Südafrika in: *Neue Zeitschrift für Missionswissenschaft, Supplementa IX*, Schöneck-Beckenried (CH) 1959, p. 144, 155.

⁵⁹ Mosse, L., *George, Rassismus, Ein Krankheitssymptom in der Europäischen Geschichte des 19, Und 20, Jahrhunderts*, Athenäum Königstein ITS, 1978, p. 9ff. Hereafter, *Rassismus*.

⁶⁰ John J., *Wir nannten sie Wilde*, (München, 1964), p. 7f; Genesis 9:18-27, in *NIV Bible*.

developed. These secular ideas later on infiltrated the Christian thinking.⁶¹ However a close look at the Bible gives a positively different picture when it comes to Africa's contribution to the development of mankind.⁶²

A concentrated study of race took place in the 18th century in Europe. In France it was Comte Joseph Arthur de Gobineau. He was succeeded by De Lapouge who advocated Gobineau's ideas.⁶³

The idea of racial supremacy was later advocated by the anthropologists in England, before and after Charles Darwin.⁶⁴ The theory of racial supremacy reached its height in Germany culminating in the teachings of National Socialism⁶⁵.

⁶¹ Kaiser, Gerhard, *Pietismus und Patriotismus im Liberalen Deutschland*, (Wiesbaden, 1961), p. 1f.

⁶² Genesis 39:7ff until Chapter 50:1-26; Genesis 10:6-20; Exodus 1:1ff until Chapter 17:1-7; Psalm 68:32, in *NIV Bible*.

⁶³ Biddis, D. Michael, *Father of racist ideology : The social and political thought of Count Gobineau*, (London, 1970); Gobineau de A, *L'Essai sur L'Inégalité des Racez Humaines*, (Paris, 1967); Lapouge de, G. Vacher, *Les Sélections sociales* (Paris, 1896).

⁶⁴ Jordan, D. Winthrop, *White over Black; American attitudes toward the Negro 1550-1812*, (Chapel Hill N.C. 1968); Walvin, James, *Black and White The Negro and English Society 1955-1945* (London, 1973); Fairchild, Hoxie Neale, *The Noble Savage*, (New York, 1928); Tyson, Edward, *Orang-Outang sive Homo Sylvestris Or, the Anatomy of a pigmie compared with that of a monkey, ape and a man etc.* (London 1699).

⁶⁵ Blumenbach, J.F. "*De generis humana varietate nativa*". *The anthropological Treatises of Johann Friedrich Blumenbach*, (London, 1865); Blumenbach, J.F., *Über die Natürlichen Verschiedenheit im Menschengeschlecht*, (Leipzig 1798); Mosse, L., George, *Rassismus*, p. 9ff.

Even in the present times racism is still following and haunting us. The inspector of the Rheinisch Mission Society in charge of Namibia, then South West Africa, Mr. F. Fabri, once wrote in 1958 about the Blacks, who were then called *Negers*.

"These are not only the features of a primeval man, who has been deformed through sin and materialism, but here lies a special mystery which transcends all marks of history."⁶⁶

Another aspect of racial prejudice could be observed in the history of mission, when looking at the writings of missiologists like Warneck, Mirb and J. Richter. These missiologists wrote about the racial inferiority of the non-European people,;the missing strength of their character; about the necessity of a radical transformation of autochthon (the original) personality. The missionaries and missiologists were sort of projecting their world views on the life of the Africans and in so doing, so they believed, were attempting to civilize them.

This attribute and worldview was transferred to South Africa. The case of a showdown between the Hermannsburg missionaries and the Boers whose outlook about the Black people was perverse, is symptomatic of such a distortion not only of "labour" in the words of Karl Marx and of "communicative action" in the words of Jürgen Habermas but also a distortion of a Christian faith namely that a human is created in the image of

⁶⁶ Fabri , F., *Entstehung des Heidentums*, (Barmen, 1958), p. 7f; Richter, Julius, *Geschichte der evangelischen Mission in Afrika*, Vol. 3., (Gutersloh, 1922), South Africa, pp. 231-534.

God.⁶⁷ The Hermannsburger missionaries were not immune to such anthropological distortions.⁶⁸

Briefly, let it be said that anthropologically, black people of Africa have nothing to do with Genesis 9:18f and Genesis 11:1-9 as interpreted by the Europeans namely that the blacks are the cursed descendants of Ham. However, they have something to do with Genesis 15:6 and Romans 4:1ff and Galatians 3: 28-29. Because like Abraham who believed and was justified by faith so the black people will be justified by faith, and will be called the children of God and descendants of Abraham like the Israelites. As Louis Harms stated:

“One of our brothers was talking to a farmer recently and heard from him the view that the good Lord had made the Kaffirs black because they were meant to be slaves, and the farmer quoted Genesis 9: 25 to support this. During the rest of the conversation he added, ‘if you were to shake hands with a kaffir or let him eat with you, or treat him like a white man, you would lose all respect from the whites.’ Our brother then answered: ‘There is neither Jew nor Greek, there is neither bond nor free, there is neither male or female: for ye are all one in Christ Jesus.’ “In response to the misuse of the Old Testament to justify subjugating the Africans, Ludwig Harms emphasised the witness of the Epistle to the Galatians (3:28) to one community in Christ transcending all national barriers.”⁶⁹

⁶⁷ Kamphausen/Ustorf, “Deutsche Missionsgeschichtsschreibung, Anamnese einer Fehlentwicklung”, in *Verkündigung Und Forschung*, (Heft 2, 1977), p. 57f.

⁶⁸HMBL., 1855, pp. 116, 166, 169.

⁶⁹ HMBL., 1855 p.41; 1856, p.3f, Gal.3:28-29, Romans 10:8-17; Diop Cheikh Anta, *The African Origin of Civilisation Myth or Reality* edited by Hercer Cook, (Chicago, 1974), pp. 1-10; Gurland, Rudolf, HMBL., Jahrgänge 1854-1940, Part III

The row between Giessing and the missionaries was resolved through the ejection of the Boer Giessing from the Hermannsburger Mission's property.

By 1856 the Hermannsburger missionaries were in a position to visit the areas adjacent to the eHlimbithi and the eNadi rivers bordering the uThukela river.⁷⁰ Among the Amabomvu-Ngubane tribe under King Somahashi KaNzombane a Mission Station eHlanzeni was established in 1856.⁷¹ Further mission stations were established among the following tribes under King Phakade ka Macingwane; Ethembeni Mission station in 1851,⁷² Alt-Müden later named Ophathe in 1859,⁷³ and finally eMakhabeleni in 1863 under King Gayede.⁷⁴ We are parting with colonial Natal and focusing on Zululand.

In the next section I shall briefly describe the arrival of the Hermannsburg missionaries to the Zulu kings.

(Mission stations registrar) eMhlangane 1861, p. 165; *The Cambridge Encyclopedia of Human Evolution Cambridge*, (Cambridge University Press, 1994), pp. 320-21.

⁷⁰ HMBL., October 1854, pp. 163-65; Speckmann, F., *Mission in Afrika*, pp. 201, 204, 205; Haccius, G., HMG II 1910, p. 278.

⁷¹ HMBL., 1856, p. 123; Speckmann, F., *Mission in Afrika*, pp. 226-240; Haccius, G., HMG II² 1910, pp. 309-310, 313.

⁷² HMBL., 1856, pp. 122, 153; 1857, pp 4, 142; 1858, pp. 35, 41; Speckmann, F., *Mission in Afrika*, pp. 240-255.

⁷³ HMBL., 1859, pp. 105, 148, 191; 1860, pp. 71, 88, 91; Speckmann F., *Mission in Afrika*, pp. 255-267; Haccius, G., HMG II² 1910, pp. 311, 317; Hasselhorn, F., *Bauernmission in Südafrika*, 1988, p. 37.

⁷⁴ HMBL., 1863, p. 95; 1864, pp. 62, 123; Speckmann F., *Mission in Afrika*, pp. 268-87, 332-360.

3. THE HERMANNSBURGER MISSIONARIES ENCOUNTERED THE ZULU KINGS

It was four years later in 1858 that the Hermannsburg missionaries were able to visit King Mpande at kwaNodwengu.⁷⁵ After a conference of the missionaries, which was held at Hermannsburg in February 1858, missionaries Jacob Filter, Friedrich Meyer, Thomas Prydtz, Volker and Wiese were commissioned to visit the king. They left on 22nd March 1858 for Zululand and on 2nd April 1858 they arrived at kwaNodwengu.⁷⁶ After a long discussion with the king and his *izinduna*, permission was given to them to erect two stations in Southern Zululand namely eMlalazi and eNyezane, respectively.⁷⁷ Again on the 2nd of February 1859 the missionaries Meyer Prydtz, Casten and Heinrich Ahrens visited the king at kwaNodwengu.⁷⁸ This time Mpande and his *izinduna* were reluctant to specify a place where they could build a mission station. This happened only after Mkhanyile had spoken to uMpande in favour of allowing them to settle in Zululand

⁷⁵ Haccius, G., HMG II², pp. 317-18; Speckmann, F., *Mission in Afrika*, pp. 378-379.

⁷⁶ HMBL., 1858, pp. 16, 162-176; Speckmann, F., *Mission in Afrika*, pp. 378-379; Haccius, G., HMG II², p. 317.

⁷⁷ HMBL., 1859, pp. 179-180; Speckmann, F., *Mission in Afrika*, pp. 378-403; Haccius, G., HMGII², pp. 317-319.

⁷⁸ HMBL., 1859, pp. 179-180, 82: 1861, 59, 139, 142; Speckmann, F., *Mission in Afrika*, pp. 394-396; Haccius, G., HMG II², p.317.

and let them tell their story.⁷⁹ The following day Mpande acceded to the missionaries' request. Another factor which contributed to Mpande's friendly disposition to the missionaries, perhaps changing his mind was that the missionaries had offered him their service skills in making wagons for him.⁸⁰ The missionaries reported the meeting as almost a failure. When the hopes of being permitted to settle in Northern Zululand were fading away, according to them a miracle happened which was interpreted by them as God speaking through a thunderstorm. At night a strong thunderstorm came. It was almost a sleepless night for everyone.⁸¹ The following morning Mpande and his *izinduna* summoned them and told them to go to uMkhanyile's territory i.e. KwaNtabankulu, eHlonyane and eNyathi. Hardeland and some missionaries had also visited Zululand at kwaNodwengu during the course of 1860. According to Hardeland, Mpande had allowed him to erect mission stations in the uPhongolo region, namely at eNtombe, eNcaka and eMhlongamvula.⁸²

4. THE HERMANSBURG MISSION AND THE FIRST MISSION STATIONS IN ZULULAND

4.1 Southern Zululand (1858-1860)

⁷⁹ Zulu, Gijima (eGazini) eMathongeni interviews 28/01/1997.

⁸⁰ HMBL., 1859, pp. 76; 1861, pp. 59, 61; Etherington, N., *Preachers, Peasant and Politics*, pp. 36-38.

⁸¹ HMBL., 1859, pp. 78, 176, 179-180, 182; Speckmann, F., *Mission in Afrika*, pp. 394-396.

⁸² Hardeland, in HMBL., 1861, pp. 3, 9, 139, 142; 1862, p. 61; 1862, p. 171; 1863, pp. 7, 14, 20-32, 37-48, 55-64, 73-80, 84-87, 146, 157.

In the third chapter of this thesis, we initially dealt with the political order in Zululand. We looked at the relationship between Mpande and the missionaries and through them his contact with the colonial regime in Natal across the uThukela River. Furthermore we looked at the roles played by the two important missionaries in the history of Natal and Zululand, namely Schreuder and Colenso. In dealing with them, we have shown how they laboriously worked sometimes serving as envoys for the Zulu kings.⁸³ Their position was a volatile and precarious one as the leadership in Zululand changed. This is true of Prince and later King Cetshwayo; how he rejected Schreuder as his diplomat to the colonial rule and replaced him with John Dunn,⁸⁴ who later betrayed his King who had made him a man and extended to him the gesture of *ubuntu* uplifting him from a status of utter and abject poverty to a status of induna within KwaZulu.⁸⁵ In this section we will look into the development of the Hermannsburg mission, how it crossed uThukela River and got established in Zululand.

The aftermath of the battle of eNdongakusuka in December 1856 in which Cetshwayo was victorious and henceforth became *de facto* ruler of Zululand was felt in colonial Natal.⁸⁶ Subsequently every political decision had to be taken in consultation with Cetshwayo. It is said that after 1856 Mpande realized that his position in Zululand was no longer stable. He then changed his attitude towards the missionaries. He allowed

⁸³ Hernaes, P., & Simensen, J., *The Zulu Kingdom and the Norwegian missionaries, 1845-1880, Conference Paper on the History of Natal and Zululand*, (Durban, 1985).

⁸⁴ Ballard, Charles, *John Dunn, The White Chief of Zululand*, (A.D. Donker Publishers, 1985), pp. 50-90; 91-123. *Here after, John Dunn*.

⁸⁵ Ballard, Charles, John Dunn, 1985, p. 50; Moodie, D.R.C., (ed). *John Dunn, Cetshwayo and the three Generals*, (Cape Town, 1888), Vol. II, p. 1.

⁸⁶ Simensen, Jarle, *Norwegian Missions in African History*, Vol. 1, pp. 74-77; HMBL., 1857, p. 51; 144.

them to settle within Zululand and establish mission stations.⁸⁷ In doing so King Mpande had hoped to induce the colonial rule in Natal to monitor the political situation in Zululand⁸⁸.

Schreuder was the major adviser of the Hermannsburg missionaries. He encouraged them to venture into Zululand and if necessary he would accompany them to the king.⁸⁹ The result of Schreuder's persuasive attitude was the visit to Zululand by the missionaries Friedrich Meyer, Ahrens, Schulze, Wiese and Volker.⁹⁰ Meyer and Thomas Prydtz also visited the king. Initially they were unsuccessful in acquiring permission to build a mission station. After long negotiations and repeated visits to the king and only after the missionaries promised to construct a carriage for the king, did King Mpande accede to their request.⁹¹ Mpande allowed them to build a mission station at Ongoye Range along the river uMlalazi next to eGingindlovu (ikhanda).⁹² The mission stations were respectively named eMlalazi in 1858 and Eneyezane in 1859. In allowing the missionaries to build mission stations in Zululand, King Mpande *apriori* made it unequivocally clear to the missionaries that the land according to African Nguni Zulu law was inalienable, i.e. the land can never be sold. If a person required a place of

⁸⁷ Etherington, N., *Preachers, Peasants and Politics*, pp. 24-46.

⁸⁸ Colenbrander, P.J., *Some reflections on the kingship of Mpande, History of Natal and Zululand*, (Durban, 1985), pp.17-18.

⁸⁹ HMBL., 1854, p. 157; 1856, p. 38; Speckmann, F., *Mission in Afrika*, pp. 378-382.

⁹⁰ HMBL., 1858, p.67, 106, 161-162; 164.

⁹¹ Gurland, R., *In Hermannsburger Missiostations Register 1858*, pp. 165-169; 1858, pp. 170-175, 178-179; 1859, p. 174; 179, 180-192.

⁹² HMBL., 1858, pp. 16, 162, 170, 171-72; 1859, pp. 76, 78, 169, 176, 179-182; Speckmann, F., *Mission in Afrika*, pp. 378-393-403; Leuschke, A.M.H., *The Hermannsburg Mission Society*, pp. 38-40.

abode, the chief or king would allocate to him a place to build. If the said person decided to move away he would have to take his property with him but the land belonged to the king and the people.⁹³ Subsequently other mission stations were established within Zululand, viz eMvutshini eNdlangubo and eNdllovini.⁹⁴ Part of the African courtesy, when visiting the chief or king, was and is to bring *isethulo* (presents) with you. The missionaries did this as well.⁹⁵ However, forty years after the death of King Mpande, the missionaries claimed the mission stations as theirs; i.e. as a property of the Hermannsburg Mission. They argued that King Mpande had, on the one side, given them as presents and on the other, they were the value of the gifts they had given to the King in the form of blankets and other services like constructing a wooden carriage for the King during their visits to him in the 1860s.⁹⁶ A closer look at Hardeland's life and labour within the HMS is necessary and unavoidable in order to understand the dynamics of that time within the colonial context.

4.2 The Hermannsburg Mission in South Africa moved into Botswana in 1857

⁹³ , Fröhling's letters dated 20-4-1884, 9-10-1884, 3-9-1885, 5-11-1885, 9-12-1886; A: SA 1.40a Die Hermannsburg im Zululand Denkschrift für das Kaiserliche Generalkonsul in Kapstadt ca. 1885, in: Hasselhorn, F., *Bauernmission in Südafrika* pp38-41.

⁹⁴ HMBL., 1859, pp. 76, 78, 176, 179-180, 182; 1861, pp. 3, 9, 59, 61, 139, 142; 1862, p. 171; 1863, pp. 7, 14, 146, 157; Speckmann, F., *Mission in Africa*, pp. 403-417; 417-426; 426-439; Haccius, G., HMG II² 1910, pp. 317-320.

⁹⁵ A:SA 1.40(b), 30-09-1890; HMBL., 1858, pp. 16, 162, 170, 171-72; 1859, pp. 76, 78, 176, 179-180, 182; 1861, pp. 59, 61, 139, 142; 1863, pp. 171, 179-180.

⁹⁶ , Fröhling's letters dated 20-4-1884, 9-10-1884, 3-9-1885, 5-11-1885, 9-12-1886; A:SA 1.40b, 30-09-1890; Depke, P., Die Verbindung von Mission und Kolonisation in der Hermannsburger Südafrikanischen Mission in: *Jahrbuch der sächsischen Missionskonferenz für das Jahr 1917*, (Leipzig, 1917) p. 21ff.

In the constitution, which Ludwig Harms had drafted and given to the missionaries when they left for Africa in 1854, he had done his best to accommodate the needs and challenges of the mission. The constitution was therefore a code of conduct for the missionaries.⁹⁷ However, Harms' Constitution was challenged by the practical realities in the field. The first of these realities was the vastness of the country and distances from one place to another. But the most peculiar challenge was the extension of the mission work beyond the borders of Zululand namely into Botswana in 1857, later known as Western Transvaal.⁹⁸ The call to the Hermannsburg missionaries is said to have come from King Sechele of the Abakwena tribe in Botswana.⁹⁹ The London Missionary Society was for a long time working among King Sechele's people under the British protection. Moffat and Livingstone were the active missionaries in the area.¹⁰⁰ However, there was a continued rivalry between the Boers and the British. The Boers were looking for ways to get rid of the British from their so-called "Republiek van Transvaal".¹⁰¹

⁹⁷ Harms in *HMBL* 1854, pp. 13-16; Haccius, G., *HMG II*² 1910, pp. 224-225; Lange, B.H., *One Root Two Stems*, 1988, pp. 3-6.

⁹⁸ Haccius, G., *HMG II*², 1910, pp. 320-321; Mackenzie, John, *Ten years north of Orange River*, (Edinburgh, 1871), p. 108.

⁹⁹ Harms, L., in *HMBL.*, 1857, p. 138; Backeberg, H.E.W., "Die Politieke Betekenis van die eerste Hermannsburgse Sendelinge op die Transvaalse Wesgrens". *Historiese Studie* 1 (2), 1939- 1940, pp.12-21; Backeberg, H.F.W. "Die Betrekking tussen die Suid afrikaanse Republiek en Duitsland tot na die inval 1852-1896", *Argiefjaarboek vir die Suid Afrikaanse Geskiedenis*, 1949 Deel I (Kaapstad, 1969).

¹⁰⁰ Moffat, Robert, *Missionary Labours and Scenes in Southern Africa*, (London, 1842); Livingstone David, *Missionary Travels and Research in South Africa*. (London, 1857).

¹⁰¹ So called because it was created after the black people were invaded, subjugated and displaced, above all their opinion was never heard; Trapido, S. "Landlord and Tenant in a Colonial Economy: The Transvaal 1800-1910", in *Journal of Southern African Studies*, 5/1978, pp.26-58, vide p.33. Tabler, Edward, *The far interior*, (Cape Town, 1955), p. 206; Chirenje, Jackson Mutero, *A History of Northern Botswana, 1850-1910*, (London, 1977), p. 61; Agar-Hamilton, *Native Policy*, p. 149.

During a conference of the Reformed Church in Rustenburg in 1853, it was resolved that only missionaries who were friendly to the Boers and their aspirations should be allowed to enter their "area".¹⁰² They decided to call on the Moravians to do the mission work among the Africans. Apparently the Moravians turned down the invitation because of lack of resources within their mission society to do that job, and this will remain debatable.¹⁰³ In the face of all these setbacks the *Amabhunu* (Boers), through their President Martinus W. Pretorius, requested the Hermannsburg Mission to visit King Sechele of the Abakwena tribe.¹⁰⁴ The Hermannsburg missionaries responded to this invitation by moving into Botswana.¹⁰⁵ Harms conceded that with the extension of the mission into hitherto unforeseen territories, the mission would require *ad hoc* supervision. Such supervision would facilitate good communication between the Batswana mission and the leadership in Natal.¹⁰⁶

Harms announced that after fervent prayers imploring God to provide a suitable man, his prayers were answered; such a man was August Hardeland.¹⁰⁷

¹⁰² Engelbrecht, Stephanus, P., *Geskiedenis van die Nederduits Hervormde Kerk van Afrika*, 2 Vols. (Pretoria, 1936), p. 94; Proske, W., *Botswana und die Anfänge der Hermannsburger Mission*, 1989, pp. 139-143.

¹⁰³ *Ibid.*, pp. 140-141, 148-152.

¹⁰⁴ HMBL., 1857, pp. 138, 140f; 1859 p. 157, 158; Speckmann, F., *Mission in Afrika*, pp. 205-206; Haccius, G., HMG II² 1910, p. 311 320-329.

¹⁰⁵ Proske, W., *Botswana und die Anfänge der Hermannsburger Mission*, pp. 139-143; Haccius, G., HMG II², 1910, p. 311, 320-329.

¹⁰⁶ Harms, L., in HMBL., 1858, p. 15; Haccius, G., HMG II², p. 330.

¹⁰⁷ Haccius, G., *ibid.*, 330.

4.3 Hardeland's Authoritarian Superintendency and the Conflict with the Hermannsburg Missionaries

Shortly before Hardeland's departure for South Africa in July 1859, Harms gave Hardeland a new revised constitution for the mission work in Africa. This new constitution replaced most of the important paragraphs of the old constitution. The old constitution was more democratic with communalistic tendencies.¹⁰⁸ Harms had reversed most of those important paragraphs and replaced them with more autocratic hierarchic ones.

Harms realised that superintendency would have to be created at the regional level to take over direct control of the missionary work in the area. The congregational method could no longer be effective because of the vast distances involved and Harms' greatest fear was that the mission would disintegrate.¹⁰⁹ One man would have to take over control locally and make all the necessary decisions.¹¹⁰

¹⁰⁸ Proske, W., *Botswana und die Anfänge der Hermannsburger Mission*, p. 191.

¹⁰⁹ Leuschke, A.M.H., *Hermannsburg Mission Society*, pp. 48-49; Harms, L., in HMBL., 1858, p. 15.

¹¹⁰ Wickert, W., *Und die Vögel des Himmels*, p. 37.

The office of the superintendent had not been catered for in the original constitution, which had been drawn up by Harms and to which everyone in the society was subjected. Harms capriciously instructed the missionaries and settlers that he expected them to swear an oath of allegiance and obedience to the superintendent as the official representative of the Director of the HMS in South Africa.¹¹¹

Given this state of affairs and the fact that the missionaries and settlers were unable to accept this arbitrary decision on the part of Harms and his new superintendent Hardeland,¹¹² they had no alternative but to resist.

For them this meant the change of a democratic structure which, seen from a Christian perspective, is not far from being Christian and full of justice.¹¹³ What aggravated the situation even more was the fact that the Superintendent had the right, in consultation with the local community, to change the constitution where he thought necessary. Some of the local Germans felt that the superintendent should also be subject to the constitution. Harms nevertheless realised that if that were to be so, the powers of the superintendent in local affairs would virtually be negated. Harms realised too late that the spheres of authority of the old and new posts should have been clearly defined

¹¹¹ Haccius, HMG II², pp. 338-339; Leuschke, A.M.H., *Hermannsburg Mission Society*, p. 49.

¹¹² Leuschke, A.M.H., *ibid.*, p. 50.

¹¹³ The Gospel according to St Matthew 22:39-40; Romans 13:8-10; Acts 2:44-47, *NIV Bible*; Cetshwayo kaMpande, *The Castle*, Cape Town, 1880 in: Ballard, Charles, John Dunn - *The White Chief of Zululand* 1985, p. 50.

before Hardeland left Germany for Natal.¹¹⁴ The controversy was resolved by assuring the missionaries in the field through Hardeland that; the instructions were seen as amendments to the original constitution.

On July 12 Hardeland left Germany and arrived in Cape Town South Africa on October 29, 1859 on the ship Candace.¹¹⁵ After he had settled in Cape Town with his in-laws, the family of Rev. Parisius, who was in charge of the German congregation in Cape Town,¹¹⁶ Hardeland wrote a letter to the Hermannsburg missionaries in Botswana. In this letter he arbitrarily informed the missionaries in Botswana that he had been appointed as superintendent of the HMS in South Africa. All the decisions pertaining to ecclesiastical and secular matters lay in his hands.¹¹⁷ He announced that until his arrival in Botswana, Jürgen Schroeder should take supervision of the Botswana Mission. He called Jürgen Schroeder the "eldest and most experienced missionary in Botswana."¹¹⁸ In reality Schroeder was the youngest of all the missionaries there. This was a blunder and showed weakness on the part of Hardeland. In addition to his mistake, he did not enclose a copy of the altered or amended constitution; therefore he left the missionaries in the dark about his person and powers. Hence the Botswana missionaries had no option but to resist Hardeland's arbitrary attitude.¹¹⁹

¹¹⁴ Haccius, G., HMG II², 1910, p. 341; Leuschke, A.M.H., *Hermannsburg Mission Society*, p. 50.

¹¹⁵ *Hannoversches Missionsblatt* 10/1891 p. 74; Haccius, G., HMG II² p. 335.

¹¹⁶ Schmidt, Pretoria, Werner, *Deutsche Wanderung nach Südafrika in 19. Jahrhundert*, (Berlin, 1955), p. 147, Hereafter, *Deutsche Wanderung* ; Haccius, G., HMG II², p. 337.

¹¹⁷ Proscke, W., *Botswana und die Anfänge der Hermannsburg Mission*, p. 193; Haccius, G., HMG II², p. 342.

¹¹⁸ Proske, W., *Botswana und die Anfänge der Hermannsburg Mission* , p. 193.

¹¹⁹ Haccius, G., HMG II², p. 341ff.

Hardeland left Cape Town after three weeks, for Natal. He arrived in December 1859 and on his arrival in Pietermaritzburg he visited various dignitaries including Lieutenant Governor Scott who promised to help him and the society in any way he could. Hardeland eventually took up his duties in Hermannsburg, Natal on 4th January 1860.¹²⁰ By February 1869 the above-mentioned controversy had reached its pitch.

Hardeland responded to the Botswana missionaries by writing to Harms and saying that indeed he was aware of the fact that the new instructions would alter the old drastically in South Africa. Nevertheless, he stated that if anybody could not and would not accept the new instructions then he should leave the HMS. Furthermore Hardeland argued that the Bible referred only to the monarchical system of government, not to a democratic or republican form and thus the institution of the superintendent was not contrary to the teaching of the Bible. The same view, Hardeland added, was held by the Lutheran Church as a whole. He considered it was the right of the Directorate of the mission to change the constitution if and when it deemed necessary. At any rate the constitution of the Hannoverian Church, of which the HMS was a member, made provision for change to the constitution as well as providing for the creation of superintendency. Thus the post could be created within the HMS as well. Hardeland condemned the missionaries who refused to subject themselves to his authority as undermining the very constitution they were trying to protect.¹²¹

¹²⁰ Haccius, G., *HMG II*², p. 337; Leuschke, A.M.H., *Hermannsburg Mission Society*, p. 49.

¹²¹ Haccius, G., *HMG II*², pp. 343-345; Leuschke, A.M.H., *Hermannsburg Mission Society*, pp. 51-52.

Another aspect of Hardeland's criticism against the missionaries in general and to those in Botswana in particular entails the question of the spirit of trade. As part of the struggle for survival, the Hermannsburg missionaries in Botswana had to trade with the Boers and *Batswana*. Hardeland had now forbidden this. He felt that the Boers had made the missionaries dependent on them in that harsh environment, so that the Boers could manipulate them for their own ends.¹²² This assumption by Hardeland, as Leuschke puts it, did irreparable harm to any process of conciliation between him and the missionaries in Botswana.¹²³ For Harms, the whole fiasco was not only an embarrassment because of his shortsightedness but also it was a personal tragedy. He expressed his disappointment to the missionaries in Botswana and asked them to 'repent' before it was too late. Schulenburg, one of the rebellious missionaries, told Harms that three of the six rebellious missionaries had decided to acknowledge Hardeland's authority. Apparently this letter never arrived in Germany or Harms never received it, for Harms only heard about the change in attitude much later when it was already too late.¹²⁴ Missionary Schulenburg and the two settlers Meyer and Herbst were the moderate ones in the group of six resistant missionaries. They were finally dismissed from the HMS.¹²⁵ The height of the controversy reached its pitch in the duel between Schulenburg and Hardeland. The end of it was the suspension of Missionary Schulenburg. He was placed under church discipline and probation for two years, during which time he had to live and work as a settler subsisting on farming. He obeyed and in

¹²² Haccius, G., HMG II², p. 346.

¹²³ Haccius, G., HMG II², p. 346.

¹²⁴ Haccius, G., *ibid.*, pp. 347-349.

¹²⁵ Haccius, G., *ibid.*, p. 348, Leuschke, *Hermannsburg Mission Society*, p. 54.

humility began his arduous task. He was readmitted and began his service among the Baga Maleté tribe in 1865 where he established the mission station *Patele copa*.¹²⁶

The freedom and material success which the Botswana Hermannsburg missionaries achieved prior to the arrival of Hardeland were in jeopardy. Hence to protect that freedom they protested vehemently in contrast to the missionaries in Natal and Zululand who accepted Hardeland and his instruction without any formal protest.¹²⁷ Only the settlers voiced their protest. At the beginning of 1862 three missionaries H.A. Wieser, Liefeld and J. Meyer withdrew from the mission in Zululand. In addition, five settlers left the HMS and became independent farmers. They were Rabe, Hinze, Kohrs, Kroger and Glatthaar. The major reason for their leaving the society was that not only Hardeland but also the missionaries had repeatedly stated that the settlers were a burden to them.¹²⁸ The settlers left but maintained ecclesiastical links with the Lutheran Church. In the following section we will look closely at Hardeland's theological and anthropological views towards the indigenous people of South Africa. Hardeland and Harms directly and indirectly laid the foundation for the land dispossession of the blacks by the Hermannsburg missionaries in the years to come and Hardeland, contrary to Harms, shared the same views as the Boers on why and how the blacks should be maltreated.

¹²⁶ Proske, W., *Botswana und die Anfänge der Hermannsburger Mission*, p. 213; Leuschke, A.M.H., *Hermannsburg Mission Society*, p. 51; Haccius, G., HMG II², pp. 349-50.

¹²⁷ Haccius, G., HMG II², p. 338; Proske, W., *Botswana und die Anfänge der Hermannsburger Mission*, p. 197; Leuschke, A.M.H., *Hermannsburg Mission Society*, p. 50.

¹²⁸ Hardeland, A., in HMBL., 1862, p. 149; Haccius, G., HMG II², pp. 352-353.

4.4 Hardeland in Partnership with the Boers Against the Black People in South Africa

During Hardeland's stay in Borneo in the 1840s and 1850s slavery was practised under the authority of the Dutch colonial government. This resulted from usurious interest in money lending, causing debt and slavery.¹²⁹ As a result of this policy there were 1100 slaves valued at 30 000 German Mark. In other words, Hardeland and other missionaries collected 30 000 German Mark in order to buy these slaves who were Malayan. These bought slaves were not set free by the missionaries, but were instead brought to the mission stations where they would work and where they were to be converted to Christianity.¹³⁰ Whether this method of forced conversion did work, is not known. However what is certain is that Hardeland brought this worldview and attitude to South Africa, where he projected and spearheaded it towards the blacks.¹³¹ Initially, not only Harms and Hardeland but also all the missionaries were against the maltreatment of the black people. They protested and criticised the Boers in the strongest possible terms.¹³² However, as the missionaries in their daily contact with the Boers and colonists, slowly but surely changed their previous attitude, they started speaking in terms of socializing and educating black people to learn to work (*Erziehung zur arbeit*).

"Our brothers speak out publicly that the servitude which the Kaffir people (*Kaffernvolk*) are suffering from the Boers, is extremely severe. The Dutch

¹²⁹ Proske, W., *Die Anfänge der Hermannsburg Mission*, pp. 187-188.

¹³⁰ Proske, W., *ibid.*, p. 188.

¹³¹ Proske, W., *ibid.*, p. 222; Leuschke, A.M.H., *Hermannsburg Mission Society*, p. 57.

¹³² Harms in HMBL., 1855, p. 30.

settlers treat their Kaffirs who work on their farms, partly as dogs and one cannot expect otherwise from the Boers because they are on the same level with the heathen when it comes to religion and their ignorance is astonishing."¹³³

In terms of educating the blacks to the ethics of disciplined labour, Haccius had the following to say:

"In Hermannsburg our brothers are diligently busy training the kaffirs to work, in order to teach them farming and other types of manual work. It was not an easy task. However, due to the necessity of education, it was significant. If the (missionaries) have them (the blacks) at work then this was a preparation for them (blacks), which could not be sufficiently appreciated or estimated. The work gave them discipline (*zucht*), a place of abode and a blessing for their body and soul, which they hitherto have never known and experienced. What an influence should the exemplary life of diligent, steady, thorough work and an honest loyalty to work, make to them in addition to that of the exemplary Christian life."¹³⁴

As we follow the history of the Hermannsburg mission unfolding before us, we shall observe and discover that the missionaries directly and indirectly participated in the systematic justification of their role in dispossessing the black people. The form of colonialism and dispossession on the part of the Boers was the system of forced labour on the farms which they robbed from blacks through sudden invasion and deliberately

¹³³ Harms, *ibid.*, p. 30; Proske, W., *Die Botswana und die Anfänge der Hermannsburg Mission*, p. 133.

¹³⁴ Haccius, G., *HMG II*² pp. 311-312.

catching children and making them servants and slaves on their farms in a system called *inboekseling* (registration on servile labour). These children who grew up in that situation naturally forgot not only their tradition and customs but also more seriously forgot their language. Then they were called "Oorlams" (*Amakhoboka*) or acculturated slaves.¹³⁵

Obviously Hardeland did not only intermingle with his fellow missionaries but also he had contact with colonial authorities in Natal. On his arrival he was received and greeted by Lieutenant Governor Scott who had succeeded Pine in 1856. Hardeland, like other Hermannsburg missionaries at first, did not take the Boers seriously, but later on called them quite reasonable people in dealing with the blacks.¹³⁶ He found the Boers open and receptive to the Word of God and described them as good, hardworking and active in their faith, holding morning and evening devotions every day. During his tour of Zululand in 1862 he held a service in one of the Laagers of a trek party who were on their way to the Ophongolo region.

Hardeland wanted to send missionaries into the area, after he had had talks with Mpande. Mpande agreed to the request of the missionaries to establish stations in Southern Zululand in order to check on Cetshwayo and in the north to check on the *Amabhunu* (Boers) who were encroaching and infiltrating the uPhongolo region for grazing land. Wherever they came, they dispersed people. Hardeland asked the Boers

¹³⁵ Delius, Peter. *et alia*, "Inboekselings and Oorlams: The creation and Transformation of a servile Class" *Town and Countryside in the Transvaal* (ed.) Bozzoli, Belinda, (Johannesburg, 1983), pp. 53-88; Delius, Peter, "The Ndzudza Ndebele. Indenture and Making of Ethnic Identity, 1983-1914" In *Holding their Ground. Class, Locality and Culture in Nineteenth and Twentieth Century South Africa* (ed.) Bonner, Philip et al. (Johannesburg, 1989), pp. 227-258. Rüter, K., *Social Strategies*, p. 38.

¹³⁶ HMBL., 1862, p. 37, 54; HMBL., 1862, p. 58.

under what conditions they would allow missionaries to settle in Northern Zululand.¹³⁷ The *Amabhunu* (Boers) responded by saying: Firstly the missionaries should not incite the blacks against the whites and secondly, that no guns or powder were to be sold to the blacks.¹³⁸ Hardeland was also advised to approach the Volksraad in Utrecht and Potchefstroom. The *Amabhunu* (Boers), in doing so, were already asserting their rule and authority in the northern part of Zululand. This claim they maintained until 1888. They told Hardeland that any new mission station in the area could only be established once permission had been obtained from the Zuid Afrikaanse Republiek.¹³⁹ In dispossessing and displacing the people of Northern Zululand the Boers adopted a policy of scattering the *Amazulu* into smaller homesteads all over the countryside in order to avert or pre-empt any potential danger and mass uprising in one area.¹⁴⁰ This policy was contrary to the intentions of the missionaries who wanted a densely populated area in order to achieve a mass conversion into Christianity.¹⁴¹

Hardeland, like the Boers and the British, regarded menial labour as a work fit only for the blacks and not to be done by missionaries, an opinion contrasting with that of Ludwig Harms.¹⁴² Hardeland felt that the soft treatment of blacks would eventually lead to disrespect. The situation could only be contained and averted by restricting blacks to manual labour and strict discipline, a discipline, which Hardeland exercised from time

¹³⁷ HMBL., 1862, p. 25.

¹³⁸ HMBL., 1862, p. 62.

¹³⁹ Hardeland, in HMBL., 1862, pp. 100-101.

¹⁴⁰ Hardeland, in HMBL., 1862, pp. 60-64.

¹⁴¹ Hardeland, in HMBL., 1862, pp. 60-64; Haccius, G., *ibid.*, pp. 355-357; Leuschke, A.M.H., *The Hermannsburg Mission Society*, pp. 56-57.

¹⁴² Haccius, G., *HMG II*², p. 223.

to time by wielding his riding whip.¹⁴³ This was the only way, in his view, in which the blacks could be civilized. He reported to Harms that once the blacks had accepted this relationship of master-servant and therefore knowing that they could be caned any time, then a white master could be assured of the peace of his mind.¹⁴⁴

In this case it is also important to note for historians and posterity that the same attitude and view was expressed by the apartheid prime minister, H.R. Verwoerd, in the early 1960s, when he said that subjects like science and mathematics are not to be taught to black people. He said that the black people should be taught any European language in order to enable them to follow the orders given by whites. The concept and ideology of master-servant relationships was, for Verwoerd, a prerequisite for the survival and supremacy of the white people in South Africa.

Hardeland was an outspoken critic of the idea of the equality of different races. Any person who was inclined to believing in equality of people be they British or missionaries, would be criticised by Hardeland. He was of the opinion that although the Boers treated the blacks harshly at times, their master-servant relationship was more beneficial in the long run. He continued to defend the Boers from accusations that they were engaged in slave trading.¹⁴⁵ He defended their action as being the results of an agreement between the Boers and the King of Swaziland namely, Mswati II Kasobhuza I Dlamini, to the effect that the Amaswazi would capture the children instead of killing

¹⁴³ Hardeland, in HMBL., 1862, p. 37; Oehler Wilhelm, *Geschichte der Deutschen Evangelischen Mission* Vol. 1, (Baden-Baden 1949-1951), p. 272; Proske, W., *Botswana und die Anfänge*, pp. 222-228.

¹⁴⁴ Hardeland, in HMBL., 1862, p. 53.

¹⁴⁵ Eldredge, E.A., and Morton, Fred, (ed). *Slavery in S.A.* pp. 93-127; 128-167.

them. These were the children caught during the raids by the Amaswazi king against the minor chiefs. The Boers were to give the Amaswazi blankets in return for the captive children.¹⁴⁶ Hardeland found no fault in such a violation against human dignity and human rights. There was however, no doubt in Hardeland's mind as to the exact position of the blacks in the social order where they were to be subjects of the whites.¹⁴⁷

During his time in South Africa, Hardeland once said about the blacks that

"The Boers regarded themselves as masters over the black people, and treated them badly at times unjustifiably harsh; that can never be appreciated, however, it is helpful and better than otherwise."¹⁴⁸

Another aspect of the socio-political situation of the Hermannsburg Mission in South Africa was their patriotism that led to their isolationism.¹⁴⁹ These elements were counterproductive and could be seen as negative in the development and history of the Hermannsburg mission. The roots of such a worldview came from Harms personally.¹⁵⁰ Lange and Winkler have convincingly analysed these causes and effects of division among Lutherans of Hermannsburg background.

¹⁴⁶ Matsebula, J.S.M., *A History of Swaziland*, (Longman, C.T. 1972), pp. 14-23; JSA., Vol. 2, p. 143; Leuschke, *ibid.*, p. 58.

¹⁴⁷ Hardeland, in HMBL., 1862, p. 37; Leuschke, A.M.H., *ibid.*, p. 58.

¹⁴⁸ HMBL., 1862, p. 61-62.

¹⁴⁹ Lange, B.H., *One Root, Two Stems*, pp. 31-33.

¹⁵⁰ Wickert, W., *Und die Vögel des Himmels*, p. 334.

Lange correctly called this unfortunate situation 'One root two stem'. Winkler too, in his own way did a critical survey and analysis of the social history of the German-speaking Lutheran mission. He named his observations 'The divided roots of Lutheranism in South Africa'.¹⁵¹

Not only Harms, Hardeland, but also the Hermannsburg missionaries are to be held accountable for these unfortunate divisions which have and are haunting and preventing church unity among the Lutherans even today. This scourge remains an ever-present challenge to both black and white Lutherans in this country.¹⁵²

4.5 Ludwig Harms and August Hardeland Laying the Foundation for the Division in White and Black Lutheran Churches in South Africa

4.5.1 *Volkstum* and Cultural Identity as Antecedents of the Lutheran Divisions in South Africa

Harms' positive side of his world view and nationalism (*Volkstum*) with regard to mission work was his earnest desire to prevent the colonial powers from not only invading and exploiting the indigenous people but also to prevent them from estranging them from their customs and tradition, i.e. from completely uprooting them. Harms expressed himself in this way:

¹⁵¹ Winkler, Harald, E., *The Divided Roots*, p. 1f.

¹⁵² Winkler, Harald, *The Divided Roots*, pp, 55-74; Scriba, Georg, *Die Zeichen der Zeit-Lutherische Kirche im Spannungsfeld Südafrikas*, (Kroondale, 1989), pp. 1-19.

"... so that within a shortest possible time the whole area will be encompassed by a net of mission stations, and the people be converted and be armed (empowered) with a Christian education and ethics, so that they could successfully defend themselves against decadent European encroachment and thereby not become victims (subject) of the European..."¹⁵³

The other side of the coin, however, was that Harms kept on telling the missionaries at their ordination whenever they were being commissioned to the mission field 'Never forget that they were Lutherans, Germans, and that they came from Hermannsburg'.¹⁵⁴ At face value such a statement or admonition sounds harmless and yet it did have a negative impact in the mission field here in South Africa. The German Lutheran missionaries indeed never forgot that they were Germans and therefore exclusive within the South African context. The repercussion for such an ideology is the division among the Lutherans whose foundation was laid by Harms, Hardeland and the missionaries themselves.¹⁵⁵

The question of *Volkstum* (nationality) i.e. the awareness of belonging to a distinct cultural group remains a cutting edge for everyone who propagates such an idea.¹⁵⁶ In trying to preserve the African culture, tradition and customs surely Harms had a positive

¹⁵³ Harms, L., in *Zeitblatt für die Angelegenheiten der Lutherischen Kirche* 1851, p. 87 in Haccius, G., HMG II² pp. 222-223; HMBL 1871, p. 35ff.

¹⁵⁴ Wickert, W., *Und die Vögel des Himmels*, p. 334; Lange, B.H., *One Root, Two Stems*, p. 31.

¹⁵⁵ Winkler, H., *The Divided Roots*, pp. 70-74; De Gruchy, John W., *The church struggle in SA*, (David Philip, 1979), pp. 99-101; De Gruchy, John, in *The Living Faiths in SA* (ed). Prozesky, pp. 28-30, 45-48; Villa Vicencio, Charles, *Trapped in Apartheid*, (Orbis Books and David Philip Cape Town), p. 37.

¹⁵⁶ Kistner, W., *Ludwig Harms (1808-1865)*. 1965, p. 7; Bodenstern, W., 25 Jahre Arbeit, p. 1f.

and good intention, but when he advised his own people to live an exclusive life he laid the foundation for future divisions among the Lutherans. This distinction could then be clearly observed in that two separate services were held, one in German and the other in the black Zulu language, in one and the same church.¹⁵⁷ In following Harms' admonitions, the missionaries watered the plant, which carried the roots of division among the Lutherans in South Africa. When the settlers had left the HMS and became independent, they erected church buildings of their own and requested missionaries to come and preach and administer the sacraments to them. The missionary should under no circumstances have allowed separate church services let alone allowed the German settlers to erect separate churches of their own. In a good Lutheran way he should have told them that there is already a Lutheran church in existence. Where the Word of God (Gospel) is preached and the sacraments correctly administered there is the church.¹⁵⁸

4.5.2 The Breach of the Original Constitution

Both Harms and Hardeland, seen in the African perspective and within the South African context are held solely responsible for creating this stalemate within the Lutherans. Firstly, the mere fact that Harms unilaterally decided to suspend and replace fundamental articles of the Constitution declared in 1853, which in the letter and spirit was democratic and communalistic,¹⁵⁹ suffices to hold Harms responsible for

¹⁵⁷ HMBL., 1859, p. 22.

¹⁵⁸ *Confessio Augustana* also called *The Book of Concord - The Confessions of the Evangelical Lutheran Church*, Articles VII (ed) Theodore G. Tappert *et alia.*, (Fortress Press, Philadelphia, 1959), pp. 32-33.

¹⁵⁹ HMBL., 1854, pp. 13-16.

establishing an ideology of exclusiveness characteristic of the Hermannsburger Lutherans in South Africa.

Harms handed over his revised constitution to Hardeland as he departed for South Africa, to take over the leadership of the mission work in South Africa. These instructions provided him with the full rights of superintendent according to the *Lüneburgische Kirchenordnung*. Thus all missionaries had to obey him. He could transfer people as he saw fit, inspect mission stations as and when he wished. He had also been given supreme authority in civil matters. He had full control over expenditure and he could change the existing constitution as he thought necessary; here a provision had been given that he should consult the community. It was only suggested that he should introduce elected ecclesiastical and civil advisory councils consisting of about three members each. In addition Harms declared himself willing to give up communalism, introduce fixed salaries and allow private property if Hardeland found it necessary.¹⁶⁰

Another aspect that contributed to the division is the creation of the exclusively German School in Hermannsburg. This school also laid the foundation for inter church division. Later however, non-German pupils were admitted.¹⁶¹

¹⁶⁰ Lange, B.H., *One Roof Two Stems*, pp. 29-30; Kistner, W., *Ludwig, Harms*, p. 12f; Haccius, Georg, *ibid.*, p. 341.

¹⁶¹ Kistner, Johannes, *Die Deutsche Schule in Hermannsburg - Das Deutsche Kind in Südafrikanischen Heimat*; In: *Und die Vögel des Himmels Wohnen unter seinen (Zweigen.)*, pp. 374-389; Kistner, Wolfram, *Unsere Schule*, (Hermannsburg 1956); Wittenberg, F.E.H., *A History of Hermannsburg School* (unpublished honours essay, University of Natal, 1955); Gohring, U., *The Hermannsburg School 1854-1966*, (unpublished honours essay, Natal Training College, 1966).

4.5.3 The Failure of Hardeland's Superintendency and his Return to Germany

During his visits within Zululand, Hardeland was of the opinion that the mission should spread its network as far as Swaziland and eButhonga; not only there but also as far as East Griqualand. Lieutenant-Governor Scott and Theophilus Shepstone had invited and encouraged the HMS to establish or extend its mission to East Griqualand under Adam Kok. The colonial government obviously saw (and appreciated) the idea of conducting mission work among the Natives. Thus they found it suitable as the means to secure the southern border of the colony. However unrest in East Griqualand in 1863 led to the postponement of the trip and it was never spoken of again.¹⁶²

Like Harms, Hardeland had laid down conditions for the establishment of new mission stations in Natal and Zululand. The area had to be healthy, in other words, cool, airy and, if possible, at a high altitude. Water facilities like rivers, wells should be as close as possible to the selected place for the erection of a mission station, so that irrigation could be practised. Timber for building had to be situated in the vicinity. The site for the mission station had to be accessible by ox-wagon. Furthermore, the surrounding area had to be relatively well populated.¹⁶³

¹⁶² Hardeland, in HMBL., 1863, p. 38; Haccius, G., HMG II², pp. 355-358; Leuschke, A.M.H., *Hermannsburg Mission Society*, pp. 55-56.

¹⁶³ Hardeland, HMBL., 1862, p. 182; See Hardeland's Report of his tour of inspection in Northern Zululand from January to December 1862 and the first half of 1863; Haccius, G., HMG II², pp. 357-358; Leuschke, A.M.H., *Hermannsburg Mission Society*, p. 57.

Apart from the above mentioned instructions to the missionaries, Hardeland had also instructed the missionaries to teach the blacks texts from the Old Testament and the New Testament on the Creation, the Fall, the Flood and finally about Abraham and his story. The missionaries should see it as their duty to visit the people in their homesteads twice a week. They should keep a record of their visit and experiences. These should later be sent to Hardeland. The missionaries should not baptize the blacks before consulting Hardeland and getting his consent. The Baptismal candidates should convince beyond any doubt through their conduct that they were serious about their faith in words and deeds. The Baptismal candidates would be examined publicly; only thereafter could a decision be made whether or not to baptize them.¹⁶⁴ In so doing Hardeland laid the foundation for segregation between the blacks and Germans as Etherington puts it:

"Another blow to Harms' medieval ideal was struck when Hardeland effectively segregated Germans from Africans' religious services. There was no point, Hardeland thought, in giving African station residents the sermons which were preached to Germans. The introduction of the lessons drew a *de facto* colour line which became a permanent feature of HM operations in South Africa."¹⁶⁵

Hardeland was not only a problematic person but he was also constantly ill. At the end of 1863 he asked Harms to relieve him of his job and to appoint his successor. His

¹⁶⁴ HMBL., 1863, p. 128; Haccius, G., HMG II², pp. 354-355.

¹⁶⁵ Etherington, N., *Preachers, Peasants and Politics*, pp. 36-38, quotation pp. 37-38.

successor was missionary Karl Hohls, who was superintendent from 1864-1883. At the end of May 1863, Hardeland was back in Germany. He then retired in Hannover.¹⁶⁶

Hardeland was a controversial figure indeed; he had quarrelled with Harms, the missionaries and the blacks. He was quick in lashing a black man with his whip or crop. For this reason the black people gave him the name uMashayanjalo 'the one who always beats people'.¹⁶⁷ Hardeland died in Hannover on the 27th June 1863. Two years later on the 14th November 1865 Louis Harms died and was succeeded by his brother Theodor Harms. One could say the HMS was beginning to be a family affair (nepotism).

4.5.4 Recapitulation of Hardeland's Superintendency

Given the above turbulent history of August Hardeland, therefore, it is of cardinal importance to understand why and how the Hermannsburg mission took the course it took in South Africa as from the 1860s.

The focus in this thesis will shift from colonial Natal across the uThukela and Southern Zululand where we dealt extensively with the events between 1854 and 1860. In describing those events, we had to consider the lives and roles of the personalities like Schreuder, Posselt, Colenso and Hardeland. We have observed that in order for the Hermannsburg Mission Society to establish itself it required much help. Indeed it received that help from different quarters ranging from the colonial government in Natal

¹⁶⁶ Hardeland, in HMBL., 1864, p. 54; Haccius, G., HMG II², p. 363, Leuschke, A.M.H., *Hermannsburg Mission Society*, p. 59.

¹⁶⁷ Hardeland in HMBL., 1862, p. 54; Proske, W., *Botswana und die Anfänge der Hermannsburg Mission*, pp. 222-228.

after Louis Harms had been engaged in correspondence with the British Secretary for the colonies to secure permission to enter into what is called foreign territorial waters.¹⁶⁸ In that correspondence Harms had been requesting the British authorities for protection of his ship Candace and the young missionaries, first to enter into the waters of Cape Town and Durban and later Zanzibar and Mombasa.¹⁶⁹ After the failed mission into Oromoland alias Galaland, eventually they had to try their fortune in Natal/Zululand. Having arrived there we closely observed how missionaries W. Posselt, Hans Schreuder and to a greater extent the German settlers selflessly and tirelessly offered help in the form of transport by ox-wagon and in so doing extended a hand of friendship to the young and inexperienced missionaries.¹⁷⁰

Again we saw how the British colonial government in Natal at first was reluctant to assist the missionaries in their plight of finding a land to buy and erect a mission station. However, later on, the British realised how useful in actual fact these somehow strange German missionaries were. Useful in serving as deterrents and buffer zone against the 'hostile African horde' across the uThukela in the same manner as missionaries Van der Kemp and his colleagues had been at the Cape frontier.¹⁷¹ With this realisation the colonial authorities changed their attitude with the accession of Lieutenant-Governor Scott in 1856. Scott and Shepstone did everything they could to assure the Hermannsburgers of their readiness to cooperate wherever necessary and wherever possible, including the magistrate in Greytown. Our perusal led us into studying,

¹⁶⁸ Harms, L., in HMBL., 1854, pp. 38-39.

¹⁶⁹ Harms, L., in HMBL., 1854, pp. 54-55; 68-77, 78-81.

¹⁷⁰ HMBL., 1854, pp. 77-81; Haccius, G., HMG II², p. 294.

¹⁷¹ Du Plessis, J., *A History of Christian Mission in S.A.* (London, 1911, Cape Town, 1965), pp. 99-107; 120-136.

analysing and presenting the settlement of Hermannsburg with the suggestion by Schreuder and his preparedness to accompany them to the King Mpande kaSenzangakhona in Zululand. The missionaries were lucky to be at a place like Hermannsburg, (Natal) where the German language could easily be understood. They knew that their stay at Hermannsburg was temporary for their eyes were fixed on Zululand. Having tested their competence by establishing mission stations among the African tribes who were living in the so called Reserves, i.e. eHlanzeni among the Amabomvu (Ngubane) under King Somahashi Nzombane Gayede kaMakhedama, at eMakhabeleni, Phakade kaMacingwane Mchunu at oPhathe (Müden) eThembeni, this promising success under a seemingly successful communalistic group of missionaries, was interrupted and brought to a standstill by the arrival of the unilaterally capricious and arbitrarily appointed superintendent August Hardeland. Harms, as we have shown, delivered the missionaries mercilessly to the inhumane treatment under Hardeland. In the light of Hardeland's uncompromising behaviour and attitude, the conflict between him and the missionaries and settlers at first, and finally with Harms led to him being recalled, and he was replaced by Karl Hohls. A detailed presentation of Hardeland's dealings with the Boers against the African people with regard to the Boer policy of attack, forced removal and forced labour especially of the children who were captured during the intermittent raids against black communities was imperative and therefore unavoidable.¹⁷²

Now the focus is shifting from colonial Natal and Southern Zululand to Northern Zululand. This is the thrust of this thesis. Northern Zululand from 1840 became a place of dramatic political events. First came the Boers and claimed the land in Northern

¹⁷² Hardeland, in HMBL., 1862, pp. 60-64; Haccius, G., HMG II², p. 357.

Zululand between 1850-1860 that is the area between uPhongolo and uMzinyathi Rivers, then they were followed by the missionaries who wanted to preach the gospel which later led to the land and border dispute. The British came in with their federation policy which inevitably led to the destruction of the Zulu kingdom which began in 1879. Then a tripartite conflict ensued among the contending parties, on the one side British against *Amazulu* and on the other the Boers against *AmaZulu*. This precipitated the wars of eMajuba (1880-1881) Boers vs British and then the civil war in Zululand (1880-1884). The Boers ultimately annexed Northern Zululand and declared a New Republic 1884 to 1888. The Anglo-Zulu war started in which Dinuzulu's forces versus British and uMandlakazi's forces engaged in skirmishes at KwaCeza in 1888. This war resulted in Dinuzulu being arrested, tried and banished to St Helena in 1889.¹⁷³ Again Northern Zululand was afflicted by the scourge of another war of 1899 to 1902, and finally the last war was the Bhambatha resistance of 1906 to 1908. Again Dinuzulu, fresh from St Helena was implicated, arrested, tried and banished to kwaThengisangaye in (former Transvaal) what is today known as Limpopo Province.¹⁷⁴ The king died there in October 1913.

The subsequent section will focus on the role of the missionaries in partnership with the colonists against the Africans during the struggle for the land in Northern Zululand.

¹⁷³ Escombe, Harry, *Remonstrance on behalf of the Zulu chiefs*, pp. 1-94; Ballard, Charles, *The House of Shaka*, pp. 78-79; Marks, Shula, *Reluctant Rebellion - The 1906-1908 Disturbances in Natal*, (Oxford, 1970), pp. 85-108; 249-306.

¹⁷⁴ Dlomo, R.R.R., *uDinuzulu*, (Pietermaritzburg, 1968), pp. 137-140.

CHAPTER FIVE

THE HERMANNBURG MISSION IN THE KWANTABANKULU REGION (NORTHERN ZULULAND) 1860-1913

1. EHLONYANE UNDER INKOSI UMKHANYILE KAZIVALELE ZULU (EGAZINI): THE FOUNDING OF THE EHLONYANE-EKUHLENGENI MISSION STATION UNDER MISSIONARY HEINRICH JACOB FILTER 1860-1867

Prince Mkhanyile kaZivalele Zulu returned to eHlonyane and was a chief (iNkosi) of KwaNtabankulu 1840-1873. Mpande allowed the missionaries to establish mission stations in North Zululand¹ 1860. Filter immediately seized that opportunity and travelled by ox wagon to the eHlonyane River. He arrived on 10th November 1860.² Hardly had the missionary arrived at eHlonyane when the people came to him and asked,

"What do you want here?" Filter responded by saying that "I have been to the King and because we constructed a wagon and a house for him he has allowed me to erect a mission station here so that I can teach and preach to you about salvation (*insindiso*) and how you can reach heaven after death." They responded by asking him, "Don't you see that there is drought here and the whole country is

¹ HMBL., 1861, p. 71; 1862, pp. 82-88, 88-96, 98-112, 147-160, 175-190, 191-192; Haccius, G., HMGII², pp. 395-396.

² HMBL., 1860, pp. 85-88, 89-93, 95-96, 131, 144; 1861, pp. 58-59, 60-64, 66-71, 72-80, 139-144, 147-149, 150-160; 1862, pp. 9-24, 1863, pp. 23, 77; 1864, pp. 11, 123; Speckmann, F., *Mission in Afrika*, pp. 394-395, 439-455.

white (dry grass), the maize is wilting and what is your livestock going to graze?
And what are you going to eat?"³

Filter responded:

"We *abefundisi* (pastors) have a God up there in heaven. He listens to our prayers, and I will pray to Him, you will see that He gives rain"⁴

After that the people departed, Filter realised that mission work was unknown in North Zululand, whereas in Southern Zululand it had been in operation for the previous ten years.⁵ That was Filter's first encounter and practical experience in the mission field.

Fortunately, shortly after Filter's arrival the rain came. This was understood and believed by the *Amazulu* to be the work of Filter. If, however, no rain had come he would have been driven out of Zululand for the people would have thought that he was an *umthakathi* instead of an *inyanga yeZulu*.⁶ There were many expectations that the missionary with his medicine would bring more and more improvements in terms of their daily needs. At the beginning the people were interested to hear what the missionary had to say. G. Haccius described them as follows:

³ HMBL., 1860, pp. 3-10; Speckmann, F., *Mission in Afrika*, pp. 439-440; Haccius, G., HMG, II² p. 396.

⁴ Speckmann, F., *Mission in Afrika*, p. 439; Haccius, G., HMG II², pp. 396.

⁵ Speckmann, F., *Mission in Afrika*, pp. 439-440, Haccius, G., HMG II², pp. 395-396.

⁶ Speckmann, F., *Mission in Afrika*, p. 443; Haccius, G., HMG II², p. 396.

"However, it was superstition which brought them to the missionary. It was not the trust of a child to God and his messengers."⁷

Life was not easy and it was a lonely place for the missionary. Some days after his arrival Filter visited Mkhanyile kaZivalele kaMnomo Zulu (eGazini) who was a chief of KwaNtabankulu. Mkhanyile was very old at that time. However, he was friendly and polite to the missionaries. He allowed them to settle in his area and to preach the gospel but he never became a Christian.⁸ When visiting Mkhanyile, Filter brought him a present according to the custom of the Abenguni. Unfortunately those gifts (*isethulo*) became problematic in later years after the death of Mpande and Mkhanyile. The missionaries claimed that the king reciprocated by allowing them to build on those areas which they unilaterally declared as their property.⁹

As the work of the missionaries in North Zululand progressed, Hardeland sent more missionaries to that area. He sent 7 missionaries and three settlers.¹⁰ Missionaries Ahrens and Reinstorff were then sent to eThaka (a river) under Mnyamana kaNgqengelele Buthelezi who, at that time lived between the iThaka and iSikhwebezi Rivers, and who later became Cetshwayo's prime minister (*uNdunankulu wezwe*).¹¹

⁷ Haccius, G., *ibid.*, p. 397.

⁸ HMBL., 1862, pp. 169-175; 190-192; Speckmann, F., *Mission in Africa*, p. 440; Haccius, G., HMG II² p. 396; 1861, pp. 139-144, 147-149, 150-160.

⁹ Speckmann, F., *Mission in Afrika*, p. 440; Haccius, G., HMG II², pp. 395-96; Hasselhorn, F., *Die Bauern Mission in Südafrika*, 1988, pp. 38-39.

¹⁰ Speckmann, F., *Mission in Afrika*, pp. 443-444; Haccius, G., HMG II², p. 397.

¹¹ HMBL., 1861, pp. 147-160; 1862, pp. 179-180; Buthelezi Mangosuthu, *The Early History of the Buthelezi Clan*, pp. 19-35; JSA, Vol. 1, p. 28; Vols. 1-4, Vide index under Buthelezi, Khumalo, R.S., *Uphoko* Vol. 1, pp. 106-108; Speckmann, F., *Mission in Afrika*, pp. 443-444; Haccius, G., HMG II², pp. 397-98; Sithole, Thamsanqa *Izithakazelo nezibongo zakwaZulu*, pp. 16-19; Wright, J., *Dynamics of power and*

The arrival of the whites in South Africa, Natal and Zululand was not only problematic in terms of land appropriation, but more so in terms of diseases. One of the dangerous diseases which they brought was smallpox. An epidemic threatened to destroy the entire Zulu nation in 1862/63. They were prone to any disease against which they were not immunized. However not only the *Amazulu* died, the whites died as well, among whom were missionaries Thomas Prydtz at eNtombe and Casten Ahrens at eThaka.¹²

As a result of this epidemic the headquarters of the North Zululand Mission, which had hitherto then been at eHlonyane, was removed to KwaMnyathi. The missionaries complained that eHlonyane was unhealthy and constantly posed a danger to their lives. Filter left eHlonyane and settled at KwaMnyathi, where missionaries Wagner and Liefeld had been working. In 1867 eHlonyane was closed down and abandoned as a mission station. Wagner, who was then at eHlonyane moved to eKuhlengeni, a new mission station which was still within Mkhanyile alias Nobetha Zulu's territory.

1.1 Christian Wagner as a Missionary at eKuhlengeni 1867-1871

Missionary Wagner first served at the eNyathi mission station at KwaNtabankulu in North Zululand under Chief Nkunga kaSithayi Zulu eGazini. This was his first mission

conflict, p. 163; Hamilton, C., *Ideology thesis*, pp. 128-129; Hedges, *Trade and politics thesis*, pp. 187, 189; Bryant, A.T., *Olden times*, pp. 28, 55; Bryant, A.T., *History of the Zulu*, pp. 127-28.

¹² HMBL., 1863, pp. 84, 143-47; Speckmann, F., *Mission in Afrika*, p. 444; Haccius, G., HMG II² p. 399; Guy, Jeff, *The destruction of the Zulu Kingdom*, (London, 1979 and Ravan Press, 1982), p. 15.

station from 1862 to 1865.¹³ This period will be addressed when we deal with eNyathi under Prince Nkunga kaSithayi Zulu.¹⁴ As mentioned previously the mission station at Ehlonyane was unhealthy because of malaria. The name eKuhlengeni is the name of a mountain, which means the place of rescue. This place is one and a half hours on foot south east of Ntabankulu mount, between the iMfolozi eMnyama (Black) and the iMfolozi eMhlophe (White).¹⁵ Wagner served there between 1867 and 1871. However, there were no converts. The attendance at church services was very low. Again Wagner had to leave eKuhlengeni and go to eNcaka (Zoar). His wife was continually ill and she needed a higher lying area. Shortly before his departure for eNcaka across the uPhongolo River, Wagner baptized three boys, one of them came from colonial Natal across uThukela. The other two were given the names Petrus and Johannes. Johannes was the son of Nsungulo Khalishwayo of the Ndlondlo regiment.¹⁶ (See Appendix 1 on missionary Wagner.) After the departure of Missionary Wagner from eKuhlengeni mission station there came Missionary Hans Heinrich Schröder. I shall now take a look at his work in the abovementioned station. See Appendix I for his birth, studies and commission.

¹³ Gurland and Rudolf, HMBL., Vol. 3, p. 35, Vol. 2, p. 538; Wagner, Christian, in HMBL., May 1863 pp. 73-80; Speckmann, F., *Mission in Afrika*, pp. 463-495; Haccius, G., HMG II² pp. 400-403.

¹⁴ HMBL., 1861, pp. 3-10. 58-64, 67-71, 72-74, 139-144, 147-150, 151-160; JSA., Vol. 1, p. 18, Vol. 2, pp. 236, 238, 258.

¹⁵ HMBL., 1862, pp. 169-175, 190-192; Speckmann, F., *Mission in Afrika*, p. 447.

¹⁶ Speckmann, F., *Mission in Afrika*, p. 451; Etherington, H., *Preachers, Peasants and Politics*, pp. 36-38; Pape, Heinrich, *Hermannsbürger Missionare in Südafrika = Ein Beitrag Zur Südafrikanischen Missionsgeschichte*, Vol. 1, (Montana/Rustenburg), 1986), pp. 200-201. Hereafter, *Hermannsbürger Missionare in Südafrika*.

1.2 Schröder as a Missionary in eKuhlengeni 1871-1879

As soon as he had completed his studies at Hermannsburg (Germany) Schröder was commissioned to serve in Zululand. After he had acquired sufficient colloquial knowledge of the Zulu language he was sent by superintendent Karl Hohls to eThaka as successor to the late C. Ahrens. He came to eKuhlengeni as a successor to Chr. Wagner, who by then had left for eNcaka. Schröder came to eThaka when relations between the *Amazulu* and the whites in general were at low ebb from 1863 to 1877. At that time Cetshwayo sent his envoys to colonial government in Natal to come and settle the border dispute. His diplomatic missions to the British were in vain. Hence Cetshwayo mobilised the Amabutho to get ready for an imminently pending-armed conflict between him and the *Amabhunu* (Boers) at the Northern border of Zululand.¹⁷

Time and again Cetshwayo's premonitions were confirmed by the breakdown of political relationships between the two belligerent powers.¹⁸ Under those circumstances the missionaries contributed to this breakdown as Filter, Schreuder, Robertson and Oftebro were among those who were calling for a war and ultimately the annexation of

¹⁷ HMBL., 1862, pp. 63-64; Karl Hohls, in HMBL., 1865, October, pp. 147-151, C. de B. Webb and J.B. Wright (ed), *A Zulu King speaks statements made by Cetshwayo kaMpande on the History and Customs of his people*, Univ. of Natal Press, (Pietermaritzburg, 1987), pp. 20-28, 46-60; Guy, Jeff., *The destruction of the Zulu Kingdom*, p. 14; Speckmann, F., *Mission in Afrika*, p. 446.

¹⁸ Speckmann, F., *Mission in Afrika*, p. 438; Webb, C. de B. and Wright, J.B., *A Zulu King speaks*, pp. 29-32; 33-40; Simensen, Jarle, *Norwegian Missions*, Vol.1, pp. 129-131.

Zululand. The situation continued to deteriorate, aided by such missionaries who had been feeding misleading information to the colonial authorities.¹⁹

The situation in which Schröder found himself was precarious indeed. At the time of his arrival, there was drought all over Northern Zululand; the area of Mkhanyile was hard hit by the drought. People began to suspect that Schröder was an *umthakathi* (wizard) responsible for causing the drought. Schröder was summoned to appear before Prince Mkhanyile kaZivalele Zulu eGazini eMyandlwini to defend himself against accusations of being an *umthakathi*. His case was perilous, for the chief had been told that Schröder had been chased away from eThaka because he was an *umthakathi* who prevented the rain.²⁰

According to Speckmann, it seems that Missionary Schröder could defend himself convincingly before the chief. For Speckmann says the final agreement between the two contending personalities was that Schröder should pray for the rain and the chief should send the people to church services.²¹ The above-mentioned case shows that the relationship between whites and blacks was at a critical point. Two worldviews were diametrically opposite. During his stay at eKuhlengeni between 1871 and 1877,

¹⁹ SPG, W.P., No 24, Robertson to McCrorie, 6-2-1878; Simensen, Jarle, *Norwegian Missions*, Vol 1, pp.150-178, 264; Filter, in HMBL., October 1869, pp. 209-216; Cope, Richard, *Ploughshare of War*, pp.36, 53, 55, 60, 141, 147; Cope, R.L., "Christian Missions and Independent African Chiefdoms in South Africa in the 19th Century", *Theoria*, 52 (May 1979); Cope, R.L., *Written in Character of Blood? The Reign of King Cetshwayo kaMpande 1873-1879*, J.H.H, 36, 1 (1995); G.H. 1052, Robertson to Bulwer, 7-8-1877; G.H. 1397, Petition of Zululand missionaries to Bulwer, 18-5-1877; G.H. 1325, No 396, Bulwer's reply to the above, 24-7-1877.

²⁰ Speckmann, F., *Mission in Afrika*, pp. 452-453; Schroeder, Friedel, *Eine Chronik unserer Vorfahren, Uelzen bei Glencoe*, 1985, pp.322-324.

²¹ Speckmann, F., *Mission in Afrika*, p. 453.

Schröder managed to baptize a boy, who was given the name of Andreas. His parents were against his conversion to Christianity. They used to fetch him now and again from the mission station. During the wars of 1879, 1880 to 1882 eKuhlangeni was destroyed and burnt to the ground. Only in 1882 was a second attempt made to rebuild it.²² In 1882 Schröder left eKuhlangeni for eNyathi mission station and he was succeeded by Missionary Volker. See Appendix I for the details on Volker's birth, studies and commission.

1.3 Volker as a Missionary in eKuhlangeni 1882-1893

Volker was transferred from eMlalazi mission station south of Zululand to eKuhlangeni in 1882. He had served eMlalazi from 1858-1882. When he left eMlalazi for eKuhlangeni he was accompanied by Petrus Qwabe and Matthews Mthembu, who had become Christians at eMlalazi.²³ Life at eKuhlangeni was not easy; everything had been destroyed during the wars of 1879 to 1881. He and his companions had to start from scratch. By Easter 1882, they had finished building their house which was partly used for teaching children or any person interested in learning the catechism. Soon a young missionary, Hans Heinrich Schröder, from Germany, joined Volker.²⁴ Schröder's first challenge was to learn the Zulu language at Volker's place.

²² HMBL., 1872 p. 72; 1874, p. 70; 1876, p. 189; 1877, p. 53; 1878, p. 52; 1879, pp. 54, 75; 1881, p. 241; 1882, p. 52; Gurland, Rudolf, *ibid.*, Vol. III, pp. 21-23.

²³ Speckmann, F., *Mission in Afrika*, pp. 37-417; HMBL., 1859, p. 182; Gurland, Rudolf, in HMBL., Vol. II, pp. 117-118; Vol. III, pp. 41-42.

²⁴ Wiese, Heinrich, (ed). *Auf Schwerem Posten im Zululande: Lebenserfahrungen des Missionars F. Volker nach Aufzeichnungen Seiner Gattin*, (Hermannsburg, 1928), pp.-29-45, Vide p. 32; Ballard, C. (ed). and Feist, H., (tr.) "On a tough missionary post in Zululand : The life experiences of the missionary Friedrich Volker according to the notes of his wife (1928)", *Natalia* 9 (December, 1979).

1.4 Ekuhlengeni during the Civil War of 1880-1884

Prince Nkankane kaMkhanyile Zulu eGazini who was residing at Myandlwini *iKhanda* and had succeeded his father as chief of the *Abasegazini* at KwaNtabankulu, it seems, had died before 1880. This assumption is corroborated by two events. Missionary Detlef Junge who was stationed at Bethel between 1913 to 1941 indirectly quoted a letter written by Missionary Stallbom who served at Bethel between 1873 to 1910, in which Missionary Stallbom reported the following incident. Chief Nkankane became ill; *izinyanga* (traditional doctors) were called and they did their best to heal the ailing chief. The *abaphansi* (the ancestors) were invoked and given praise, however in vain. Nkankane had diarrhoea (*Blutruhr*). He eventually died. His two youngest wives were accused of sorcery and hence of having bewitched or poisoned the Chief. The *izanus* (the diviners) were called and an *uMhlahlo* (the smelling out meeting) was held. They were arrested there and then, bound hands and feet and locked inside the house. They awaited their execution the following day. However the two women, either with someone's help, or of their own, managed to untie themselves. Instead of running away, they committed suicide. The following morning they were found hanging in the same house they were locked in. Rev. Junge referred to this incident as proof of the state in which the people found themselves namely 'superstition, fear and bondage of ignorance'.²⁵ Chief Nkankane died very young indeed. According to the laws of succession he was succeeded by his half-brother Hlezibane kaGodolozu eNtolelweni (Homestead). Hlezibane, however served as a regent for the minor Mabhekeshiya

²⁵ Junge, Detlef, *Im Zululande aus Geschichte und Religion in*, Wickert, Winfried (ed), *Und die Vögel des Himmels*, pp. 110-124, Vide p. 117.

kaNkankane.²⁶ Mabhekeshiya appears to have taken over after Hlezibane's death in May 1883. By then Mabhekeshiya must have reached the status of majority and was therefore eligible to take his father's (Nkankane's) place. A second reference to Hlezibane is Colenso. Colenso reported that when abakwaNgenetsheni, who, during the civil war of 1880 to 1884, were opposing the uSuthu party, all the royalists were approaching eNqotheni. Those Ngenetsheni people under Hamu were mistaken by the *Abasegazini* for the Royalists. The *Abasegazini*, were suddenly attacked at close range when man-to-man combat ensued. It was too late for them to retreat. Hlezibane kaGodolozzi eNtolelweni, who had led the *Abasegazini* during the civil war until the return of King Cetshwayo, fell and died in action at eNqotheni on 11th May 1883.²⁷ According to Walter kaMyekeni Zulu eGazini (eNjeni) Abakwa Ngenetsheni had sent a messenger to the *Abasegazini* to inform them that Abakwa Ngenetsheni want to rebel or desert Zibhebhu's forces and join the Royalist uSuthu. Ungenetsheni pointed a strategic meeting place at eNqotheni Mountain. Igazi under Hlezibane and Mlandu kaNkunga Zulu and Abaqulusi under Ntshingwayo kaMahole Khoza stood and waited for the uNgenetsheni party to join them. For unknown reasons the *Abasegazini* stood with their backs facing a precipice of eNqotheni Mount. uNgenetsheni attacked and stabbed the

²⁶ C 3247, enclosure 1 in No 78. *Correspondence relating to the affairs of Zululand*, 1882, pp. 67-70 (Hlezibane being represented by his brother Sichothe kaMkhanyile) Mlandu being represented by Noqongosa and Simoyi kaNkabana by Menekwana at a meeting with Commissioner for Zululand Mr Melmoth Osborn, 21.4.1882.

²⁷ Zungu, Maphelu's Account, 16665, p. 38 in Killie Campbell Centre for Oral and Historical Studies, Colenso, J.W., in *Colenso series 2*, p. 654; BPP C3705, pp. 51, 55, Guy, Jeff, *The Destruction of the Zulu Kingdom*, 1979, 1982, pp. 33, 38, 140, 194, 196, 203, 249.

unsuspecting Igazi and drove them over the precipice. Many of the eGazini people died during that encounter.²⁸

KwaNtabankulu, KwaCeza, oBivane, eMkhuze and eNquthu eBaqulusini were the centres of conflict. Beyond oBivane, Ngenetsheni forces killed about 1200 people in the area of Mabhoko, kaMasiphula kaMamba Ntshangase (eMgazini).²⁹ When the battle of eSandlwana started on 22nd January 1879 and with the battle of Ulundi ended on 4th July 1879, Cetshwayo was arrested and deported to Cape Town and later in 1882 travelled to England to defend himself. During his absence the Zulu Kingdom was divided into thirteen districts or territories, under the following appointed chiefs: John Dunn, Zibhebhu, Hamu, Mlandela, Somkhele, Mgitshwa, Mfanawendlela, Gawozi, Faku, Hlubi kaMbunda Molefe, Ntshingwayo, Sekethwayo kaNhlaka Mdlalose and Mgojana kaSomaphunga Ndwandwe.³⁰

Of these Zibhebhu kaMaphitha Zulu eBhanganomo of the KwaMandlakazi dissidents was the strongest, most treacherous and formidable of all. He contested the Kingship

²⁸ Pridmore Julie, *The Diary of Henry Francis Fynn* Vol. I, *Introduction* (M.A. Thesis University of Natal Pietermaritzburg, 1987), pp.105-108 ; Fynn's Manuscripts dated 4, 6, 22 and April 1883; 15 May and 25 May 1883; Colenso, J.W., *Digest of Zulu Affairs*, pp. 527-531, 561-563; Gibson, J.Y., *The Story of the Zulu*, (London, 1911), pp. 243-244; Guy, J., *The destruction of the Zulu kingdom*, pp. 191-193 BPPC 3705 encl.3 in 51, 13 May 1883; Zulu, Gijima, eGazini, eMathongeni KwaNtabankulu, Interview 28.01.1997; Zulu, Walter, eGazini eNjeni interview at eNjeni eMhlahlane 30.01.1997; Xaba, A., Before and after Msebe battle in Zulu Essays Killie Campbell Competitions 1942; Stuart James, *uKhulumethule - Impi kaZibhebhu yasoNdini nokwavela ngemuva kwayo*, (London, 1925), p.1f; Binns, *The Last Zulu King*, pp.204-205.

²⁹ Colenso, F.E., *The ruin of Zululand*, Vol. 1, pp. 141, 152, 154, 178, Vol. 2, pp. 159-160; Haggard Rider, *Cetshwayo and his white neighbours*, (London 1893), pp. 48-50; Guy, Jeff, *The Destruction of the Zulu Kingdom*, pp. 115-116.

³⁰ Guy, Jeff, *The Destruction of the Zulu Kingdom*, pp. 167-179, 201-204.

against Cetshwayo and his son, Dinuzulu. Hamu kaNzibe (by Mpande) from Ngenetsheni also joined Zibhebhu's forces. Mandlakazi and Ngenetsheni forces merged together in opposition to uSuthu the Royalist. Hamu and Zibhebhu were assisted by the British colonial rule in Natal. The British wanted to install Zibhebhu as King of Zululand for according to them he was friendlier to them than Cetshwayo. Therefore Cetshwayo *delendus est* (Cetshwayo must be destroyed).³¹

Most of the uSuthu supporters, especially women and children fled to the mission station and used it as a refuge. The opposing forces, i.e. uMandlakazi and uNgenetsheni interpreted this as partisanship. They regarded the missionaries at Ekuhlengeni, Bethel and eNyathi as being sympathetic to the uSuthu cause. As a result, these mission stations were attacked and destroyed.³² The civil war continued until June 1884. The uSuthu Royalists were hard pressed, lost their properties and killed. Most of them were living in caves without food and shelter as their homes were burnt to the ground.³³ Dinuzulu, Ndabuko and Shingana, sought the help of the Boers, who were awaiting such a request. The combined forces of uSuthu and the *Amabhunu* (Boers) advanced against the opposing uMandlakazi and uNgenetsheni forces under Zibhebhu kaMaphitha Zulu and Hamu kaNzibe (by Mpande) Zulu respectively. The encounter was at eTshaneni on the 4th of June 1884. The uSuthu forces with the aid of the land-hungry Boers were victorious. Zibhebhu left his KwaMandlakazi territory and fled to eShowe to his friend and patron Melmoth Osborn. Zibhebhu was returned and reinstated in his area by the

³¹ Cox, G.W., *Colenso* p. 455; *Journal of Natal and Zulu History* Vol. III 1980, p. 21; Guy, Jeff, *Destruction of the Zulu Kingdom*, pp. 167-179, 201-204.

³² Wiese, H., *Auf schwerem Posten*, 1928, pp.33-42.

³³ Guy, Jeff, *The Destruction*, pp. 222-227; Haccius, G., HMG III^{3,1} p. 211; Venter, W.A., "Dinuzulu ensy Raadgewers : 'n Vroeë besoek aan die Zoeloe Koning", *Historia*, Vol. 19, No. 1, pp. 19-64.

British with an armed force of 5000 men in 1887. This was done purposely to counteract Dinuzulu, who, according to the British, was recalcitrant.³⁴ Dinuzulu and his uSuthu forces at Kwaceza responded by attacking uMandlakazi at the battle of KwaNdunu Hill and KwaNongoma at Hlophenkulu Zibhebhu was defeated.³⁵

The assistance, which Dinuzulu received from the Boers, was very expensive, in fact it was crippling, for the Boers demanded compensation from Dinuzulu and his uSuthu party for the assistance they had given them which led to their victory against Zibhebhu at eTshaneni.³⁶ The Boers unilaterally and arbitrarily took the best portion of North Zululand for their grazing land and farming. Overnight the *Amazulu* were landless. This area was declared the *Nuwe Republiek* between 1884 and 1888 led by Lucas Meyer residing at Vryheid. Here is an *infla grandi* robbery and dispossession through cheating. The British deliberately drove Dinuzulu into this precarious position. It was an open secret-indeed an unwritten alliance-between colonial Natal and the Boers to dismantle the Zulu kingdom.³⁷

³⁴ Ballard, Charles, *The House of Shaka*, p. 78; Escombe, Harry, *A Remonstrance on behalf of the Zulu Chiefs*, (London 1889), (Pietermaritzburg, City Printing Works, 1908), pp. 58-61; 64-66.

³⁵ Laband, J.P.C., "The Battle of Ivuna (Ndunu Hill)", *Natalia* 10 (1980); Excombe, H. and Dumat, A.H., *Remonstrance on Behalf of the Zulu Chiefs*, (London, 1889), (Reprinted Pietermaritzburg 1908), pp. 1-94; Ballard, C., *The House of Shaka*, (Durban, 1988), pp. 78-79.

³⁶ Van Zyl, M.C., *Die Koms van die Boere na Zoeloeland in 1884 Genooies of Indringers?* (Pretoria, 1962); Guy, Jeff, *The Destruction*, pp. 233-235; Simensen, Jarle, *Norwegian Missions*, Vol. 1, p. 226; Haccius, G., *HMG III*^{3,1}, 1914, p. 212.

³⁷ Van Zyl, M.C., *Die Uitbreiding van Britse Gesag oor die Natalse Noordgrens Gebiede 1879-1897, Argiefjaarboek vir S.A. Geskiedenis 1966, Deel I* (Cape Town, 1966); Haccius, G., *HMG III*^{3,1} p. 212; Binns, C.T., *The Last Zulu King - the life and death of Cetshwayo*, (London 1963), p. 54.

Another incident which is connected with the civil war in North Zululand is the brutal and cold-blooded murder of the young missionary Hans Heinrich Schroeder who was new at the time from Germany. After completing his language course in Zulu with Volker at eKuhlangeni, Schroeder was sent to establish a mission station at eHlobane in 1883. However, Schroeder came at a difficult time when the country was in turmoil. He was killed on the morning of 6th June 1883 by Maphelu kaMkhosana kaZanqwana Zungu. Maphelu was an *induna* of Cetshwayo having taken over the military duties from his ageing father Mkhosana who had accompanied Cetshwayo to captivity in Cape Town and London. The hands of the British colonial rule were covered with the blood of that young missionary for having planned and waged the war in Zululand.³⁸

1.5 Ekuhlangeni Mission Station during the Civil War of 1884-1887

The civil war between 1880 and 1884 left eKuhlangeni in ruins. The missionary and his congregants had to leave the station and flee. At the end of 1884 Volker returned to his station and rebuilt the mission.³⁹ His congregants offered a helping hand during those trying times. By November 1887 the church building was completed and was dedicated.⁴⁰ The Hermannsburg Mission director Egmont Harms, the son of Theodor Harms, accompanied by the inspector of mission Dr Georg Haccius, undertook a visitation of the mission stations in North Zululand in 1887/88.

During his visits to eKuhlangeni, Haccius made the following observations:

³⁸ HMBL., 1883, p. 141f; Wiese, H., *Auf schwerem Posten*, p. 33; Pape, Hinrich, *Die Hermannsbürger Missionare* pp. 170-71; Haccius, G., HMG III^{3,1}, p. 211.

³⁹ Wiese, H., *Auf Schwerem Posten* pp. 42-43.

⁴⁰ Wiese, H., *ibid.*, pp. 42-43.

"Our old Brother Volker has been in the mission work for 30 years now among the *Amazulu*, first in South Zululand where he facilitated in the building of three mission stations. From there he came to eKuhlengeni where he had to rebuild twice. Indeed the elder brothers have suffered a lot with their families. We should never forget that, and this should always be remembered by the younger brothers now and in times to come that they may honour the elders. How hard were they working among the rock hard Zulu people! They are happy when dusk approaches, still Volker is happy that out of his twenty-one baptized congregants, sixteen baptismal candidates have been added."⁴¹

In one of his annual reports, Volker wrote the following information about the situation and development of the church in eKuhlengeni. "We have left behind us one year full of blessings, both Biblical and spiritual. We can only praise the Lord for everything He has done to and for us. The Lord has blessed enormously our modest work among the heathen.

"Last year, with the help of the Lord, I won 19 souls through baptism, among those there were 5 children from the Christian families (*Amakholwa*), who were born in the congregation. The others were heathen, their age ranging between 13-27 years old, of whom 7 were boys and 7 were girls, five of whom were taught by Martin Dlongolo (the evangelist). Of these 13 were baptised at my station on the 4th Advent Sunday and one of the girls had already received

⁴¹ *Ibid.*, p. 43. This quotation is important as it reflects the development of mission work in Northern Zululand.

baptism some months before. It was a moving moment on that Sunday when those 13 confessed in front of the altar denouncing the devil and all his works and then confessing their faith in the triune God, kneeling before the altar and receiving the sacrament of the Holy Baptism. The church was full to capacity. A large number of Christians had to stand outside the church building for there was no space inside. May the Lord keep them mercifully and let them stay in the baptismal grace and through His power, be saved. There are 18 baptismal candidates and 13 are being taught by Martin Dlongolo at eSihlengeni. Together there are 31 baptismal candidates. For a long time we had to wait for the fruits of the Gospel. Now the Lord is showing His grace so that in our old age we could reap these fruits. May He be praised, be thanked and be glorified for this!"⁴²

Not far from eKuhlengeni there were German settlers who had a small village called Glückstadt.⁴³ These settlers are said to have bought that place in 1907. It lies 6km from Bethel. In 1908, July, the church was dedicated. Pastors Volker, Wolff, Asmus and Köneke were serving that German church in addition to the church services they held in Bethel and eKuhlengeni respectively.⁴⁴ Between 1913 and 1922 Pastor Schumann was serving that congregation.⁴⁵

The founding of the German congregation at Glückstadt was unnecessary because there was already a church existing in Bethel where the Germans could attend church services. Zulu as a language was not a problem for the settlers as they were

⁴² Wiese, H., *Auf schwerem Posten*, p. 44.

⁴³ Bodenstein, W., *25 Jahre Arbeit der Hermannsbürger*, pp. 58-59.

⁴⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 59.

⁴⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 59.

communicating with blacks in Zulu on a daily basis.⁴⁶ The missionary should have categorically refused to hold two separate church services, for that would have encouraged unity among the Lutherans. In retrospect we have to hold the missionary as being partly responsible and therefore accountable for having cooperated in allowing apartheid to creep into the Lutheran church, thus ushering an era of division until recently.⁴⁷ Missionary Volker suffered many setbacks during his ministry because of the civil war in Zululand caused by the politics of divide and rule and hence he died a broken man. However, posterity should be grateful to him and his wife for the service rendered at eKuhlengeni. During their service, his wife kept a diary which was compiled and published later by Missionary Wiese which gives a glimpse of their experiences in Northern Zululand. I shall investigate the establishment and the development of missionary activities in eNyathi by missionaries Christian Wagner and Albert Liefeld and others.

2. THE FOUNDING OF ENYATHI MISSION STATION UNDER CHIEF NKUNGA kaSITHAYI ZULU EGAZINI AND DETAILS OF THE MISSIONARY LABOURS 1862-1906

⁴⁶ Wolff, David, *Unter den Zulu Mancherlei Mitteilungen aus dem Praktischen Missionsdienst*, (Hermannsburg, 1914), pp. 78-79, Hereafter, *Unter den Zulu*; Wiese, H., *Auf Schwerem Posten*, p. 45.

⁴⁷ Lange, B.H., *One Root, Two Stems*, pp. 31-33; Winkler, Harald, E., *The Divided Roots*, pp. 55-74; Wickert, W., *Und die Vögel des Himmels*, pp. 334; 375-76.

Enyathi mission station forms part of a group of mission stations in North Zululand in which the Zulu King Mpande gave permission to the missionaries to preach the gospel.⁴⁸ Mpande in allowing the missionaries to settle in Zululand, particularly the northern part had two reasons in mind. Firstly he wanted to curb the ever-increasing Boer encroachment.⁴⁹ Secondly, he did not like the missionaries to be too close to him.⁵⁰ Missionaries Christian Wagner and Albert Liefeld arrived at eNyathi on the 26th June 1862. On their arrival they were greeted and welcomed by Chief Nkunga kaSithayi and his *izinduna*. At the beginning Nkunga was very reserved towards the missionaries. However, this stalemate was resolved after a messenger came from Mpande personally to assure Nkunga and his people that the missionaries had talked to Mpande before coming to eNyathi.

The mission station was given the name of a mountain at whose foot it was situated, namely eNyathi. It lies 30km south east of Vryheid opposite iNtabankulu Mountain. The whole area of KwaNtabankulu lies between two famous and historical rivers namely the iMfolozi emhlophe and the iMfolozi emnyama.⁵¹ The missionaries were not alone, they

⁴⁸ Hardeland, A., in HMBL., 1863, p. 23; 1860, pp. 87, 92, 93, 94; 1861, pp. 3, 8, 9, 1861, pp. 90-91; 1862, pp. 9-13, 51-64, 88-96, 147-160, 162-165, 169-175, 179-180, 190-92; Speckmann, F., *Mission in Afrika*, p. 465.

⁴⁹ Cope, R.L., 'Shepstone and Cetshwayo' 1873-1879 (unpublished M.A. thesis, University of Natal, Pietermaritzburg, 1967), chapter 13 has a full discussion of the report of the boundary commission; Hohls, Karl, in HMBL., 1862, pp. 62-64, 73; 1865, pp. 147-151; BPPL II of 1878-9; C 2222; Webb, C. de B. and Wright, J.B., *A Zulu King Speaks*, pp. 46-71, Vide, pp. 51-59.

⁵⁰ Lislerud, Gunner, *Norske Mission Lexicon*, pp. 706-707; Myklebust Olav Guttorm, Schreuder, *Friend of Mpande the Zulu Chief in American Society of Mission Series*, 19, (Orbis Books, NY 1994), pp. 148-156.

⁵¹ Wagner, C., in HMBL., 1863, pp. 73-80; Speckmann, F., *Mission in Afrika* pp. 463-495; Haccius, G., HMG II², pp. 400-403.

were accompanied by the following settlers; Böhmer, Köhrs, Hambrock, Kremer and Hohls. These settlers were responsible for the actual laying out and construction of the mission station.

These were the artisans on whom the missionaries in terms of manual labour could rely. Chief Nkunga kaSithayi and his people were very open towards the missionaries. At the beginning the attendance at the church services was satisfactory, the missionaries estimated that about 100 people attended the Sunday services. This according to the missionaries was due to inquisitiveness rather than a true conviction by the Gospel.

Hardly had the missionaries arrived at eNyathi, than the smallpox epidemic broke out. A number of people including Chief Nkunga's four wives died. This phenomenon was not only unacceptable, but also inconceivable within the then worldview and belief. In this case of eNyathi it would be of great theological interest to know which interpretation the missionaries at eNyathi gave to this national catastrophe.

Filter expressed his views when he said:

"Soon God came with a severe punishment over this tribe (Volk), namely smallpox"⁵²

"God's finger was not recognized, instead white people were accused of having brought death from Swaziland into Zululand."⁵³ (death should be understood metaphorically as meaning disease which is equated with death).

⁵²Speckmann, F. *Mission in Afrika*, p. 473.

⁵³ Speckmann, F., *Mission in Afrika*, p. 474.

In fact the nineteenth century theological and anthropological understanding of sin and punishment as atonement remains a challenge to the twentieth century Christian belief.⁵⁴

The Old Testament understanding of human sickness is that it is a result of a sin committed. Therefore, the result of sin could be sickness or death. This understanding continued until the 19th century. This was still the case in the perception of the Hermannsburg missionaries as they were living among the Zulu people in Northern Zululand. For them the epidemic of smallpox, which befell Chief Nkunga's people at eNyathi in 1863, was God's punishment as a result of their unbelief.

The above perception is diametrically opposed to the understanding and biblical interpretation of the twentieth century. This is because there are many diseases which affect many people for which they cannot be held responsible e.g. in an accident where a person is badly injured so that he/she loses a great amount of blood, surely a blood infusion would be necessary. However, if that blood is infected, say, with the AIDS virus and the patient contracts AIDS he/she cannot be accused of being a sinner.

We can take the case of Job in the Bible who was innocent, but still suffered unjustly and yet he was and he understood himself to be a just and righteous person.⁵⁵

⁵⁴ As the case of David shows in 2 Samuel, 12:1-23; 32:1ff; 38: 1ff; Romans 6:23, in *NIV Bible*.

⁵⁵ As the case of Job shows in Job 3:1-26; 4:7; 9:15-23: 34-35; Psalm 22:1ff, in *NIV Bible*.

The question of theodicee comes in here i.e. the dialectics of good and evil, the power of and presence of evil, in spite of Gods evident love, grace and goodness.

For the missionary, the people of eNyathi were being punished by God for their sins, firstly that they were heathens and secondly, that they did not respond positively to the Gospel and repent in large numbers to become Christians. A herbal doctor (*inyanga*) was summoned to come and purify the tribe from this omen, which was equivalent to a national disaster. *Izanusi* were consulted and a purification ceremony was held. As the purification ceremony was conducted, each person was given a herb to chew and swallow. An ox was slaughtered and the meat was eaten by all of them together, beer (*utshwala*) was drunk, hence the purification of the sick and their reunification with the healthy was completed.⁵⁶ The Nguni/Zulu *modus operandi* in dealing with diseases which attack the tribe is comparable to the Old Testament Jewish purification ceremonies.⁵⁷ After the purification ceremony was over, then people could continue with their daily duties, for this phenomenon almost divided the tribe; those who were affected by smallpox were excluded. Even the missionary had to treat them separately, i.e. he had to conduct separate church services. This went on for three months, until the purification ceremony was held. After that they could mix with one another. It has to be said that, according to the missionaries, they themselves conducted an immunisation campaign among Nkunga's people. This helped to stop the epidemic.

For Chief Nkunga and his *izinduna*, someone, somewhere within his tribe should be held responsible for this disease and the death of so many people. A few days later Chief

⁵⁶ Speckmann, F., *Mission in Afrika*, p. 474; Haccius, G., HMG II², p. 402.

⁵⁷ Leviticus 13, 1ff; 14:1ff, in *NIV Bible*.

Nkunga ordered his wives to brew beer (*baphise utshwala*). Men were called to gather at his place and the beer was drunk. Whilst the men were seated and drinking, Nkunga gave a signal. The alleged culprit was caught and summarily executed, his property was confiscated, his daughters were sent to Prince Cetshwayo and his cattle were kept by Nkunga himself.⁵⁸

This incident is very interesting for the present generation to know that in Nguniland or Zululand from the times of Shaka to Cetshwayo, it was not tolerated that a commoner could become richer in cattle and otherwise than the chief. If it happened that a certain commoner became prosperous, so that his cattle become more than those of a chief, he would be smelt out (*ukunukwa*) as an *umthakathi* (wizard) and subsequently be killed. The Chief would confiscate his property. This threat of constantly living under the shadow of death is partly responsible for the origin of *ukusisa* custom as a *modus vivendi* for survival.⁵⁹

Generally speaking the eNyathi people, in the eyes and judgement of the missionary were much friendlier, and did attend church services satisfactorily for the first two years, but later the attendance decreased tremendously. In the years between 1862 and 1866 there were no converts in eNyathi. A breakthrough took place in the years 1867, 1868 and 1869, when some young people in spite of the resistance from their families, became baptismal candidates and were eventually baptised.⁶⁰

⁵⁸ Engelbrecht, J. Detlef, alias Ukusa, in HMBL., 1864, pp. 11-16.

⁵⁹ Hardeland, A., in HMBL., 1863, pp. 157-159; JSA, Vol.1, p.317.

⁶⁰ Filter, Jacob in HMBL., 1867, pp. 77-79; Speckmann, F., *Mission in Afrika*, p. 479; HMBL., 1868, p. 189; HMBL., 1869, p. 212ff.

2.1 Christ and Culture: An Encounter Between African Traditional Religion and Christianity

The missionaries Filter, Wagner, Hardeland and many others were convinced that the *Amazulu* would accept the Gospel if, and only if, an external pressure like war, drought and famine or sickness afflicted them. Only when the *Amazulu* were severely crushed and humiliated were they open for the Gospel. Then they would begin to gather in the church in numbers.⁶¹ If there was peace and abundance, the people had no interest in the Gospel.

Seeing that the people were not coming to the missionary at his station, the missionary was compelled by circumstances to visit the people in their different homesteads.⁶² Missionary Engelbrecht gave a report of his experiences among the people; he found them very busy, some were drinking beer (*utshwala*) others were smoking their tobacco (*imboza nesinemfu*) so wherever he went he was greeted and tobacco was asked for as a courtesy of welcome and encounter. Filter on visiting some people was challenged by them to explain his belief and theological views he was imparting to them.

The people asked him, who is the father of Satan? Who are the parents of Jesus if Jesus is the Son of God?⁶³ These and other questions, which were asked by black people to the

⁶¹ Filter, J., in HMBL., 1865, p. 155; Hardeland, A., in HMBL., 1862, pp. 100-101; Speckmann, F., *Mission in Afrika*, p. 389.

⁶² Engelbrecht, Detlef, J., in HMBL., 1865, pp. 30-32.

⁶³ Filter, J., in HMBL., 1865, p. 155.

missionaries, as in the case of John Colenso and William Ngidi, are proof beyond any reasonable doubt that the black people were critical thinkers.⁶⁴

When there was no success in getting converts by visiting the homesteads, the missionaries changed their mission strategy by concentrating on the youth, who were working and learning at the mission station. Indeed the missionaries, with despair and disappointment, conceded their failure in not achieving converts. According to them the reason was the fact that in the then Zululand it was a shame and apostasy to convert to Christianity. Only those who were contaminated by the white man's ideology would ever do that. Those Africans who followed the whites' way of life and their teachings were called *Amakhafula* (a word whose meaning came or is derived from the Arabic 'kafir' corrupted to kaffir and meant unbeliever. However, the Zulus went beyond the concept of 'unbeliever' and used it to denote that they were not only relegated but also contaminated and corrupted people).⁶⁵

2.2 A Pending War Between the *Amazulu* and the Boers 1860-1879

The missionaries in North Zululand were constantly living under the fear that a pending war between the *Amazulu* and the Boers could start any time. In the years 1860 to 1879 Cetshwayo, intermittently mobilized his Amabutho at various *Amakhanda* (homesteads) to get ready for an imminent confrontation.

⁶⁴ Guy, Jeff, *The Heretic : A study of the life of John William Colenso 1814-1883*, (Ravan Press, Johannesburg, 1983) pp. 90-91; 122-126.

⁶⁵ HMBL., 1869, p. 139; Hasselhorn, F., *Bauern Mission in Südafrika*, p. 40.

It was reported, or rather there were rumours spreading around in Natal to the effect that the Kings Mushweshwe and Cetshwayo had entered into an alliance against the whites. These rumours spread after King Mushweshwe's forces had defeated the Boers.⁶⁶ Due to internal and external pressure against Cetshwayo the war did not take place. The hereditary chiefs (*Izikhulu nezimpunga*) and Mpande himself were against the war, hence Cetshwayo had to withdraw his plans.⁶⁷

King Cetshwayo kaMpande gave altogether a different version of the events in North Zululand, when he was interviewed in Cape Town in 1880/81. The Boers had attacked Thinta's homestead, a brother to Dikana Mdlalose, and father of Sekethwayo. During this raid they caught a number of women and children. Thinta himself was bitten by a Boer and a Boer shot at a young man. On several occasions the Boers threatened the Abaqulusi under Sekethwayo and people living at eNhlazatshe.⁶⁸ King Cetshwayo, when interviewed by the British in Cape Town in 1881 on the events in Northern Zululand prior to the Anglo-Zulu War of 1879 stated

"The Zulus then got alarmed and armed, I also gave orders to the whole of Zululand to arm themselves and keep themselves in readiness until they were told whereabouts in the country the Boers are lying, but on my ascertaining that the Boers had gone back to their own country, I immediately apprised all my

⁶⁶ Mann, R.J., *The Zulus and the Boers*, pp. 56-58; HMBL., 1862, pp. 24-34, 35, 48, 51-64, 66-80, 82-88, 88-96, 98-112, 147, 160, 162-165; Hohls, Karl, in HMBL., 1865, pp. 147-151.

⁶⁷ Ibid., pp. 147-151; HMBL., 1862, pp. 11-13, 14-24, 32, 63-64; Haccius, G., HMG II², pp. 356-357; Bonner, pp. 47-64, 65-84; Cope, Richard, *ploughshare of war: The origins of the Anglo- Zulu war of 1879* University of Natal press. PMB 1999 PP.45-250, see pp.115-120.

⁶⁸ Webb, C. de B., and Wright, J.B., (ed)., *A Zulu King Speaks:*, pp. 47-60.

soldiers of it, and told them to go home, and keep quiet. This, is what was called in Natal Cetshwayo has armed himself, and is about to fight."⁶⁹

Cetshwayo was actually referring to various incidents, where in each case a war almost broke out between *Amazulu* and Amabhunu. These were during the times of Mpande 1864 to 1866 and later on during Cetshwayo's reign 1877 to 1878.⁷⁰ After the 1866 upheavals Mpande on the advice of the Chiefs, (*izikhulu*) allowed the uThulwana regiment and other regiments of the same age to put on head rings (*ukujutshwa nokuthunga izicoco*) in 1867.⁷¹ This decree was long overdue for uThulwana regiment to which Cetshwayo belonged, had already reached the age of forty years. This also explains the reason why Cetshwayo had very few children compared to the other Zulu kings. Mpande did not want to give permission to the uThulwana regiment for he feared that Cetshwayo might take power from him not *de facto* as has already been the case but also *de jure* for if Cetshwayo had put on a head ring at an early stage say thirty-three or so, this would have meant then that he was a full man with all authority to snatch political power from him.⁷² In order to prevent that from happening, Mpande delayed giving permission to (*uthunga*) for at least eight years since the battle of eNdondakusuka in 1856 in which Cetshwayo was victorious.⁷³ The conflict between the *Amazulu* and the

⁶⁹ Webb, C. de B. and Wright, J.B., (ed). *A Zulu King Speaks*, p. 51; JSA, Vol. 4, pp. 127-130, 131-137.

⁷⁰ Webb, C. de B., and Wright, J.B., (ed)., *A Zulu King Speaks*, pp. 52.

⁷¹ Filter, Jacob, in HMBL., 1867, pp. 72-73; 1863, pp. 157-159; Webb, C. de B., and Wright, J.B., (ed)., *A Zulu King Speaks*, pp. 83, 92; JSA, Vol. 4, pp. 265-269, 275.

⁷² JSA., Vol. 1, pp. 26, 27, 42, 44, 67; Vol. 2, pp. 65-66, 189-90, 215-16; 223-24, 227, 241; Vol. 3, pp. 105-06, 202, 203, 232, 291-92, 312.

⁷³ JSA., Vol. 1., pp. 124, 169, 312, 358; Vol. 2, pp. 241-245; Saunders, Christoph, *Black Leaders in Southern African History*, (London, 1979), pp. 53-60, 75-79; Laband, J., and Wright, J., *King Cetshwayo kaMpande*, (Pietermaritzburg, 1980), pp. 4-8.

Boers in what was called border dispute and land encroachment by the Boers, created a climate of real animosity and bitterness. The missionaries were sometimes caught in the crossfire of political tension as the case of Filter at eNyathi demonstrated.

2.3 Nkunga and Cetshwayo Deport Filter from eNyathi and Zululand

From 1862 to 1865 missionaries Wagner and Liefeld were serving at eNyathi. Liefeld worked at eNyathi until 1863. However, he left the Hermannsburg mission after the conflict between Hardeland and most of the missionaries. Liefeld left South Africa for North America where he joined the Ohio-synod.⁷⁴ Detlef Engelbrecht took over after Liefeld and stayed until 1866. During the course of 1866 Engelbrecht was sent to eNkombela (eNcaka), where he succeeded Missionary Johann Moe, who in turn had been transferred to eHlanzeni.⁷⁵ Engelbrecht was succeeded at eNyathi by Filter until 1869. With the arrival of Filter at eNyathi, the mission headquarters were removed from eHlonyane to eNyathi as well.⁷⁶ Between 1866-1868 Filter was beginning to show some success in getting some young people to learn for baptism. This was a shift from their early mission strategy namely to visit the people in their homes.⁷⁷ Since this strategy was an utter failure, the missionaries opted for educating the youth who were working and at times living with the missionary at the station.⁷⁸ Filter then approached Chief

⁷⁴ Pape, H., *Die Hermannsburger Missionare in Südafrika*, p. 112.

⁷⁵ HMBL., 1866, pp. 8, 67, 84, 156.

⁷⁶ HMBL., 1864, pp. 11-16; Speckmann, F., *Mission in Afrika*, pp. 444-45; Haccius, G., HMG II², p. 398.

⁷⁷ HMBL., 1865, pp. 30-32; Speckmann, F., *Mission in Afrika*, pp.337-341 ; Haccius, G., HMG II², pp. 402-403.

⁷⁸ HMBL., 1864, pp. 11-16, 168 1865, pp. 149, 151, 154; Speckmann, F., *Mission in Afrika*, 1865, pp. 151-153, pp. 477-478; Haccius, G., HMG II²,p. 402.

Nkunga kaSithayi and asked for permission to teach his sons.⁷⁹ Nkunga told Filter that under normal circumstances it was not allowed for boys and men to become Christians in Zululand. Men were allocated for the King; they would be recruited, to serve in the army as *Amabutho*.⁸⁰ Nkunga then agreed to Filter's request. However, Nkunga strictly warned Filter not to baptize the sons but to teach them.⁸¹ During the course of 1868 Filter had begun to baptize some of the youth. One day he advised two of Nkunga's sons to escape from Zululand to eNcaka in what was then known as the South African Republic with headquarters in Wakkerstrom (oThaka). One day that plan materialized. Two of Nkunga's sons escaped during the night and went to Johann Detlef Engelbrecht at eNkombela, where they were subsequently baptised.⁸² According to the missionaries those young Christians had to escape from Zululand if they wanted to be free Christians, for in Zululand they would be killed like Joseph who was killed at eNyezane in 1877. The Christian Joseph was killed by Cetshwayo's *ibutho*, after he was accused of having poisoned a cow. The people who ate the meat of that cow died and others became ill. Therefore Joseph was accused of being an *umthakathi*.⁸³ Maqhamusela Khanyile was also killed at eNkonjeni March 9, 1877 in the Norwegian Mission Station.⁸⁴ Nkunga was very upset about that incident. His heir apparent Mlandu then recently recruited

⁷⁹ HMBL., 1867, pp. 5, 77-79, 224; Speckmann, F., *Mission in Afrika*, p. 479; HMBL., 1868, pp. 61, 110, 187, 189; HMBL., 1869, p. 212.

⁸⁰ Ibid., p. 212f; 1869, pp. 65, 73, 139, 209, 216; Speckmann, F., *Mission in Afrika*, pp. 483-485, 488.

⁸¹ HMBL., 1869, p. 212ff.

⁸² Ibid., pp. 212-216; Speckmann, F., *Mission in Afrika*, pp. 481-491; Haccius, G., HMG III¹, pp. 185-86.

⁸³ Fröhling, F., in HMBL., 1877, pp. 61-64, 201-208, Sunday 4 March 1877 Murder of Joseph eNyezane; Junge Detlef: *Im Zululande aus Geschichte und Religion*; In: Wickert, W., (ed.), *Und die Vögel des Himmels*, pp. 110-24, Vide, p. 120.

⁸⁴ HMBL., 1877, pp. 201-208; 9 March 1877, *Murder of Maqhamusela Khanyile eNkonjeni*.

(*ukubuthwa*) into *Ukhandampevu* regiment accompanied by an *iviyo* (a contingent of armed warriors) attacked Filter's station early one morning, demanding the return of his brothers or else he would take Filter's children hostage until the escapees were brought back.⁸⁵

Given that life-threatening situation Filter took his wife and children into hiding across the UMzinyathi River. Filter appealed to Nkunga and Cetshwayo for reparation for the damage incurred, but, in vain.⁸⁶ Hohls and Filter appealed to the Natal colonial government for help. A messenger was sent to warn Cetshwayo not to harass missionaries. This was too much and amounted to an insult to Cetshwayo, to tell him what to do and not to do in his Kingdom.⁸⁷ Filter was ordered to close down eNyathi mission station and to leave Zululand within eight days. The reason Cetshwayo gave for deporting Filter was that he had committed a serious offence and thereby undermined Cetshwayo's rule by taking the affairs of Zululand and reporting them to the whites (*abelungu*) across uThukela River.⁸⁸ Therefore Cetshwayo wanted to prove once and for all that he was the king of Zululand and nobody else. Through the mediation of missionaries Muller and Friedrich Weber eNyathi station was saved from closure and, under oath and strict assurance that the affairs would only be reported to Cetshwayo.⁸⁹ Filter, however, had to leave. He went to Hermannsburg, Natal and later was called by

⁸⁵ HMBL., 1869, pp. 212-216; Hohls, K., to Keate, June 21, 1869, SNA 1/1/19 (about Filter's predicament).

⁸⁶ Etherington, N., *Preachers, Peasants and Politics*, pp. 36-38.

⁸⁷ Shepstone, to Keate, 23.6.1869, No. 24, SNA., 1/1/19; Haccius, G., HMG. Vol. 3,1, p. 186.

⁸⁸ Mann, R.J., *The Zulus and Boers*, pp. 54-55; Correspondence on Cetshwayo, SNA, 1-7-6; SNA 1/1/23 22-10-1870.

⁸⁹ Speckmann, F., *Mission in Afrika*, pp. 483-485, 488.

the German Congregation at Lüneburg (*eNcaka*) to serve as its pastor from 1869 to 1879. Filter died of typhus at Lüneburg in December 1879.⁹⁰ In the following section I shall deal briefly with Cetshwayo and the Zulu war of 1879 and the annexation of Northern Zululand.

3. THE DISPUTED MISSION STATIONS IN NORTHERN ZULULAND

3.1 King Cetshwayo and the Zulu War of 1879

In 1873 Cetshwayo succeeded his father as King of the Zulus. In his negotiations with Secretary of State Theophilus Shepstone from Natal, both parties confirmed the view that the right to set up a mission station was restricted to its founder and that a missionary society had no right to continue the station when the missionary left or died. In 1877 the difficult relationship between King Cetshwayo and the missionaries came to a head. After the annexation of the Transvaal Republic by Great Britain the king tried once more to solve the dispute over the North-Eastern border by negotiation. Theophilus Shepstone, however, now Administrator of the British Colony of Transvaal, rejected the Zulus' claims, which he had previously supported, at a meeting at Blood River on 18th October 1877. He advised the British government to wage war on the Zulu kingdom. Only when the king's power was broken would British rule be secure:

⁹⁰ HMBL., 1870, pp. 13, 46; 1871, p. 68; 1872, p. 72; 1873, p. 68; 1874, pp. 11, 13, 71; 1879, pp. 57, 180; 1880, p.31. Haccius, G., Vol. 3,1, pp. 206-207.

“Cetshwayo is the secret hope of every [...] independent chief, hundreds of miles from him. And it will not be until his power is destroyed that they will make up their minds to submit to the rule of civilization.”⁹¹

In the midst of the preparations for war in Natal missionaries of all denominations left Zululand, nine months before the British ultimatum of March 1878. Almost all of them supported the British invasion. After the victory in 1879 General Wolseley refused to grant the missionary societies the property rights to their stations in Zululand. He wrote to the Archbishop of Cape Town:

“You may possibly think that when an army has beaten a native people in battle the opportunity should be seized for altering the land of that subdued people so as to allow missionaries to become landed proprietors at the expense of the conquered. I don’t take this view of Christ’s teaching or the practice of his disciples.”⁹²

Zululand was divided into 13 chiefdoms, and the 13 chiefs were expressly forbidden to sell land. They were responsible for the admission of missionaries in their areas. The Hermannsburg Mission then claimed property rights from their mission stations, portraying the gifts made when the land was granted to them as payment;

⁹¹ Shepstone to Carnavon, 11. 12. 1877 cited Norman Etherinton, “Anglo-Zulu Relations 1856-1878” in *Anglo-Zulu War*, p. 41; Haccius, G., *HMG I*, pp. 180-182, 188; Guy, J. *The Heretic*, p. 254.

⁹²Unterhalter, Elaine, “Confronting Imperialism: The people of eNquthu and the invasion of Zululand” in *Anglo-Zulu War*, pp.98-114.

“Panda gave Hermannsburg Mission these sites as their property, laid down their limits, and received in return a cart, a covered waggon (both built by mission staff) and a significant number of woollen blankets and many other objects. Judging by the value of this land at that time and that of all European products, the sites were well paid for.”⁹³

When the British annexed the Transvaal two years later and Shepstone became the Governor General of the Transvaal, he backed the Boers against the Zulu kingdom. At this news, negotiations between Cetshwayo and Shepstone broke down, and rumours of war were rife. The Zululand-Transvaal boundary dispute served as a pretext for Shepstone's proposed annexation of Zululand. To investigate the border conflict, the Natal administration under Sir Henry Bulwer appointed a Boundary Commission. The publication of the Commission's report was delayed. Even though it supported the Zulu king's claims, its publication was coupled with an ultimatum to the Zulu king. Among other measures, fines were imposed on Zululand inhabitants for alleged border violations (which were not confirmed by the report of the Commission), and the Zulu military system was to be abolished.

In 1879, the British army invaded Zululand, was defeated at Isandhlwana, but emerged victorious at Ulundi a few months later. In the wake of this victory, Cetshwayo was captured and deported, and the Zulu kingdom was divided into 13 chiefdoms whose chiefs were appointed by the British administration. These appointed chiefs did not command the support of the followers of the Zulu royal chiefs, and civil war arose,

⁹³ Harms, Egmont, 30 September 1890 to German Imperial Foreign office in Berlin requesting protection for the mission stations.

whose main protagonists were Zibhebhu and Hamu on the side of the uMandlakazi, and Ngenetshni (they called themselves Abashokobezi) and Dinuzulu, Mnyamana, and Ndabuko on the side of the Usuthu. Dinuzulu sought the help of the Boers to oust Zibhebhu, and in return was lured into an agreement with the Boers to cede individual plots of land for farms in the North Western part of Zululand.

Southern Transvaal Boers alleged that the Usuthu leaders promised them 800 farms in Central Zululand in return for supporting them against the Mandlakazi. Consequently, a total of 2710000 acres were surveyed and portioned into farms for white settlers - far in excess of the agreed New Republic territory, - turning thousands of Zululand inhabitants into labour tenants on their community-held land. The area, proclaimed 1886 as New Republic, eventually (after several surveys and delimitations) came to span the central area from the upper ranges of the Mhlatuze River in the South to the Pongola River in the North, with Vryheid as the capital. The area bordering this territory on the southeast (down to the Thukela River), the so-called Reserve Territory, was created as a buffer between Natal and Zululand; Cetshwayo was given the central part of Zululand, and Zibhebhu received a territory to the northeast. In 1887, the central state authorities saw these territories annexed - the New Republic to the Transvaal, and the whole of Zululand, including the Reserve Territory, and Cetshwayo's and Zibhebhu's territories to Natal. The whole territory was now subject to white magistrates.

In the South African Republic, the first anti-squatting law (*plakkerwet*, 1887) came into effect, restricting inhabitants living on white-owned farms to five families per farm. After vociferous opposition to this law the mission stations, mission societies agreed to

transform their stations into locations. Location boundaries were then determined, and mission land transferred to the Locations Committee.

In the face of large-scale dispossession and disruption of social and economic activities, mission station ground, for many Zululand inhabitants, became an attractive alternative at a time when farmers abandoned agreements on rent-tenancy in favour of labour tenancy. Black inhabitants of Northern Natal, in particular, were hard pressed in search for viable arable and grazing lands, due to the small number and area of the 'reserves' allocated to Africans. The scarcity of reserve and Crown Land in Northern Natal, which was instituted long before the 1913 Land Act through concessions to Boer farmers and through several imperialist annexations and boundary demarcations, was one of the factors accounting for the large number of missions and churches (21 in the period 1910-1936) holding land in the area. In the years before the enforcement of the Land Act provisions (which curbed expansion of mission station land and the establishment of new mission stations outside of the released areas), there were such a multitude of mission stations that Africans were in a position to shop around for the best conditions.⁹⁴ Missionaries complained that the reason for the attraction of mission stations to local inhabitants consisted not in a desire for conversion, but in obtaining access to land. One missionary for instance recommended the following recipe for success to his mission society:

⁹⁴ Harris, Verne Sheldon, *Land, Labour, Ideology*. (MA dissertation, University of Natal, Pietermaritzburg, 1984), p. 131.

"If the mission wants to achieve quick successes, it should buy a great deal of land and establish fewer mission stations."⁹⁵

In Natal, it did not take officials long to realise the attraction of mission stations to Africans. Mission reserves were placed under a Mission Reserve Trust, consisting of missionaries and state officials. Mission reserves were prevented from issuing freehold title. From the 1890s, a 10sh land rent was levied from mission reserves, to be collected by the missionary. During 1896/97, surveying, measuring and fencing of mission stations took place on a large scale (documented for the mission stations Ekombela, Nazareth, Muden).

During the South African War (1899-1902, ZAR troops initially occupied the Northern parts of Natal, but by the end of the following year, British troops from Natal had occupied most areas of the Boer Republic. Northern Natal missionaries fled, the mission stations in this area served the British troops as camps. When the Boer commandoes continued their fight in the form of guerilla warfare, the British troops retaliated by destroying all supplies, means of transport, and transport routes, especially along the Natal/Transvaal border. With the capitulation of Boer commandoes in Vereeniging in 1902, Transvaal became a British colony. The British administration restored property relations in the countryside by, among other things, allowing Boers to keep the livestock they had looted from blacks during the war, and restoring to them the cattle looted from blacks.⁹⁶ Zululand was opened up for white settlement and Zulu-speaking inhabitants assigned to "locations" and "reserves". In the case of mission stations in Natal, the

⁹⁵ Kueck, Esihlengeni, (Zululand), in: HMBL., 1, 1882, p. 193.

⁹⁶ Krikler, Jeremy, *The Transvaal Agrarian Class Struggle in the South African War, 1899-1902*. In *Social Dynamics*, Vol. 12, No. 2 December, 1986, p. 12.

Mission Reserves Act was passed whereby trusteeship over mission reserves in Natal was transferred to the Natal Native Trust, which thereby was granted the right of admission, eviction, and removal of inhabitants of mission stations.

A flurry of measuring, surveying and fencing operations again befell the mission stations during 1905 (documented for the mission stations Esihlengeni, Enyati, Etembeni, Ehlanzeni in Natal; and Mahanaim and other mission stations in the Transvaal). eNtombe was declared an inalienable Mission Reserve; the mission society was granted property rights in the form of a Deed of Reserve which did not, however, include the jurisdiction over its black inhabitants (1905). Four years later, the resident missionary of eNtombe was granted the same rights as a farmer over his tenants (viz. the issue of passes). After much lobbying in close cooperation with surrounding white farmers, parliament granted the mission society title deeds over eNtombe, giving the missionary the right to evict "undesirable" inhabitants (1937).

One of the themes emerging from the entangled threads of this history is the arbitration, demarcation and fixing of claims to territorial rights which, in the process of this "mapping", are loaded with a politically and culturally motivated legitimacy which is at the heart of central state power. I would like to subject one of these mapping processes to closer scrutiny, in order to demonstrate how the demarcation of territories involves particular discourses of science and culture. A mapping process that is particularly well-documented is the protracted process of demarcating the area of Northern Natal/Zululand that was to become known as the "New Republic" in 1884, in the wake of which eNtombe mission station too, was surveyed and partitioned (1885).

The Pretoria Convention of 1881 had redrawn the North Western borderline of the Zulu kingdom in favour of the Transvaal. However, this demarcation did not carry the regularising force of an agreement between two centralised states; Boer farmers from the Southern Transvaal continued to cross over into Zululand and demanded 800 farms of 6000 acres each in return for their support of the Usuthu against Zibhebhu. The dispute over land was referred to 'scientific measurement' as the supreme arbiter, which, by virtue of the recorded and written results, carries greater legal power (that of private property) than orally contracted agreements. This presented the Zulu interests with a grave disadvantage. The missionaries had learnt this when, in repeated attempts to obtain title deeds over eNtombe, they introduced elements of property demarcation and exchange/sale into their account of how they came to occupy mission stations in Zululand. They maintained that Mpande had given those mission stations to the Hermannsburg Missions Society as property, after having defined the boundaries, in return for a wagon, a carhouse, a significant number of woolen blankets and many other objects (*Gesuch um Schutz fuer die Missionsstationen in Südafrika* 30.9.1890) In refusing the title deeds, the British officials maintained that...

“it seems that definite boundaries of mission stations were never determined by the Zulu king”⁹⁷

4. THE BORDER DISPUTE IN NORTHERN ZULULAND

⁹⁷ Hasselhorn, F., *Die Bauernmission in Südafrika*, p. 70; *Beiratssitzung* in Hermannsburg, 25.1.1887.

Sir Henry Bulwer, on 22 July 1884, reports on the accounts he received of Zululand:

"[Umnyamana] said that before he could agree to this cession he would like to know how far into the country 800 farms would extend. He hoped, he said, the Boers would not wish to take too much of the country, and that they would not make crooked lines in it, but would take a straight line from point to point, as a line with corners or angles was unsatisfactory. In answer, the Boers suggested that the best thing for them to do would be to inspect and mark out the 800 farms, and that in this way the full extent would be shown."⁹⁸

The significance of Umnyamana's condition lies in the stipulation of a point-to-point measurement which precludes a large consolidated territory. The stipulation that no crooked lines were to be made on the country indicates Umnyamana's familiarity with maps of the time, which adopt 'natural' demarcations (especially rivers) as boundary lines - which again attests to his preclusion of a consolidated territory between two rivers. One example of such mapping - which is precisely what Umnyamana did not wish to concede to - is a reconstruction of Boer claims contained in the proclamation of the New Republic, reconstructed by Henrique Shepstone [Map 1], submitted 15 December 1885.⁹⁹ In the absence of surveying technology, the claims are superimposed on existing topographical-cum-ethnographic maps, taking river courses as boundaries. The only "straight lines" are those drawn in respect for British imperial interests (St Lucia and the concern of the Natal administration to leave part of Zululand intact). And yet, the naming - without assigning demarcated territories - of certain Zulu rulers on this

⁹⁸ CZ, October 1884, p. 16.

⁹⁹ CZ, February 1886.

map indicates limited control over the area claimed for Boer settler occupation. The central state authority had not left its mark in terms of selecting and privileging particular networks and destroying competing alliances where these occupy the same territory.

One month later, the rough measurements that define the newly appropriated territory were transferred into the terms of a particular discourse of culture in the Proclamation issued by the government of what was now called the New Republic:

"it appears that no civilised government has felt itself called upon to interfere in the affairs of Zululand to put a stop to the bloodshed of defenceless women and children, and to restore peace and order there. A number of farmers from the various states and colonies of South Africa deem it a holy duty to accede to the appeals of the Zulu chiefs, in the interests of humanity and civilization, and with an eye to the safety of life and property of the adjoining people."¹⁰⁰

Reacting to the Proclamation of the New Republic, and the territorial appropriation, the Natal colonial administration saw its notion of peace (i.e. its influence over Zululand territory, since Dinuzulu was aligning himself with the Boers) threatened, and questioned the measured area of land to be ceded to the New Republic. In the interests of 'peace' which was seen to depend upon accurate measurement as the basis for the legitimacy for claims to territorial rights, the British colonial administration of Natal was eager to show that the method of measurement was 'unscientific':

¹⁰⁰ *Natal Mercury*, September 2, 1884, in CZ, October 1884, p. 84.

"it appears that the intention of the Boers is to take a strip of land, about four farms deep, along the whole length of the Reserve Border down to the sea: ...this belt of land will be about 10 miles wide, and... the Boers intend, when this belt has been laid off, to lay off, if necessary, another similar belt of farms alongside the first, and so on until the full number of 800 farms has been completed."¹⁰¹

The farms were then allocated through lots that were drawn by the claimants at a lottery.¹⁰²

The `peace' was seen to be threatened by the foreseeable resistance of the inhabitants of central Zululand to being rendered labour tenants on their own land. But what concerned Bulwer more, was the closing off of Zululand as a reservoir for Natal's reserve army of labour. In the interests of keeping the back door open, Bulwer invokes a naturalised discourse of culture and ethnography:

"the occupation by the Boers of the Zulu country from the Transvaal border to the sea is an act of the most serious importance to this Colony of Natal, because it is an act which will effectually close the outlet hitherto existing between Natal, with its large native population, and the native countries to the North. For 40 years Natal has been the refuge for natives from Zululand, until the native population has become a cause of inconvenience, and threatens to become a source of danger.... It was always held that these people belonged to the Zulu country, and the Zulu country to them by right of birth and heritage. And it has

¹⁰¹ Bulwer, H., to the Earl of Derby, 12.1.1885, in: CA, August, 1885, p. 15.

¹⁰² Eth, F., to Bulwer, H., 20.1.1885, in: CZ, August 1885, p. 19.

always been held by those who have recognised the responsibility of the situation that the return of the Zulu people to Zululand - to a well-governed Zululand - is the legitimate solution of the native question in this part of South Africa. But if the Boers are allowed to take the Zulu country in the way they propose, it will be lost for that purpose. It will be lost to the Zulu."

The response of the Boer settlers to the consternation expressed by the Natal colonial administration, in turn, is again phrased in the interests of 'peace' and 'security': "to separate the natives of central Zululand from the Reserve, so that the boundary of the latter would be properly secure."¹⁰³ To achieve this security, they proposed to simply tell "all the natives living now close to the border to move further up away from the boundary."¹⁰⁴

4.1 British and Boers Dividing the Spoil

At a subsequent meeting between Henry Bulwer and J.D. Esselen, a delegate from the New Republic, Bulwer presented Esselen with a map of Zululand, drawn by the 1879 Boundary Commission after the British invasion of Zululand, complete with boundaries of the 13 chieftainships, chief residences, roads, paths, topographical descriptions, information on soil, vegetation, pasture conditions, availability of water, and passibility

¹⁰³ Bulwer, H., to the Earl of Derby, 23.1.1885, in: CZ, August 1885, p. 19.

¹⁰⁴ Wilhelm, R., to Osborn, M., 2.1.1885, in: CZ, August 1885, p. 20.

of drifts. Into this map, Esselen was asked to draw the demarcation lines of the revised New Republic territorial claims [Map 2].¹⁰⁵

It is to this rationale of ethnography and post-conquest "pacification" that the Boer settlers responded when they decided to reduce the area of occupation in order to excise "Ulundi and its neighbourhood, a portion of [the Zulus'] country to which, containing as it does the site of the Royal residence and burial place, they attach special value and reverence."¹⁰⁶

"This alteration," Bulwer concludes, "will require a fresh survey of the farms,"¹⁰⁷ to which the British lent their imperial scientific expertise. A Demarcation Commission was appointed to survey and demarcate the boundary between Boer and Zulu territories. The Commission consisted of two high-ranking colonial administration officials on the British-Natal side, and three settlers from the Boer side, and an observer, Martin Luthuli, delegated by Dinuzulu. Major McKean, the surveyor, submitted a lengthy report on the day-to-day. Beacon-to-beacon proceedings of the Commission. In his survey, he gave particular attention to the ethnographic significance of the Makhosini district incorporating the royal graves, and a topography with special mention of rich agricultural and cattle-keeping areas (one of which is chosen for Boer settler occupation and divided up into 65 farms), and demographic and strategic information.¹⁰⁸

¹⁰⁵ Havelock, A.E., to Earl Granville, 3.5.1886, in: CZ, February 1887, p. 61. Cope, Richard, *Ploughshare of war: The origins of the Anglo-Zulu war of 1879*, University of Natal Press, PMB., 1999, pp. 159-249.

¹⁰⁶ Havelock, A.E., to Earl Granville, 3.5.1886, in: CZ, February, 1887, p. 61.

¹⁰⁷ Bulwer, H., to the Earl of Derby, 1.6.1885.

¹⁰⁸ CZ, 1887, pp. 18, 22, 23.

Frequent mention is made of the arrival of delegations of local inhabitants who came to protest against the surveying of the land.¹⁰⁹ Osborn's uniform reply makes the demarcation line the commandment of 'peace':

"Mr Osborn said he never sent anyone to call the [...] chiefs, nor did he ever express a desire to see them in reference to the land or any other question. He explained... that the question is finally decided by Her Majesty's government and it is not in his power to re-open it or to discuss it or the decision made thereon. All the Commission has to do is to make the line in accordance with that decision, which he advised all the chiefs and people to abide by peacefully."¹¹⁰

The report of the Commission, which legitimises the demarcation line by its scientificity and peace-guaranteeing accuracy, is received with satisfaction by Sir A.E. Havelock, who is convinced that "the Zulu people... will peacefully abide by it and accept it."¹¹¹

The mission of the Demarcation Commission, then, turns out to be not one of safeguarding the Zululand inhabitants, interests against encroaching settlers, but one of the "pacification" of Zululand, an exercise on which British and Boer interests converge. Consequently, the demarcation line at many points is designed to provide for exchange and interchange and passage between the New Republic and colonial Natal, by defining

¹⁰⁹ CZ, 1887, pp. 11, 14, 15, 20.

¹¹⁰ CZ, 1887, p. 14; see also 15, 20.

¹¹¹ Havelock, A.E., to Mr Stanhope, 9.2.1887, in: CZ, 1887, p. 25).

a principle of passage, by virtue of the fact that it is fixed, at one point, along the most viable wagon road.¹¹²

The making of a similar principle of passage is evident from one of the first official acts of the New Republic three years earlier: sending a deputation to Natal with the aim of "forming friendly relations with the Natal Government, and of conferring specially on matters relating to postal communication, extradition of criminals, and passage of arms and ammunition."¹¹³

By thus defining a principle of passage, the two diverse spaces are organised within a unified space of knowledge.¹¹⁴ This factor is what makes scientists and surveyors indispensable companions to any army of colonisation. They provide the skill of drawing boundaries which attain the force of law, while placing the law-enforcing agencies and mechanisms out of reach of protest and resistance. A more recent example of such a strategy is that of so-called homeland incorporation, which in most cases happens without physical removal of the inhabitants concerned. One person affected by this form of removal asked: "How do you fight the drawings of the pen?" The legal answer to that question is that any contestation of this plan is possible only from within its own rationale for its specific type of delimitation, i.e. by applying the apartheid state's own logic of ethnicity.¹¹⁵

¹¹² CZ, 1887, p. 16.

¹¹³ Bulwer, H., to Earl of Derby, 8.12.1884, in: CZ, August 1885, p. 3.

¹¹⁴ Noyes, John, *The capture of space : An episode in a colonial story by Hans Grimm*. In: *Pretexts. Studies in Literature and Culture*, Vol. 1, No. 1, (Winter, 1989), p. 57.

¹¹⁵ Claassens, Aninka, *Rural Struggles in the 80's*. Presented to the Conference on Law and Removals, (University of Cape Town, April, 1989), pp. 13-14.

On the map which the Demarcation Commission finally produced [Map 3], all territorial claims and demarcations other than the central state ones are erased. It was largely the work of the colonial administration to create a new type of social and political space, constituted by a centralised pattern of territorial control, allowing no overlap in spheres of influence or political control.

With the annexation of Zululand to Natal, the discourse of ethnography is subjected to the discourse of a centralised, linear history and philanthropy. In November 1887, Havelock told the gathered inhabitants of Zululand:

"Dinuzulu must know, and all the Zulus must know, that the rule of the House of Chaka is a thing of the past. It is dead. It is like water spilt on the ground. The Queen rules now in Zululand and no one else. The Queen who conquered Cetshwayo has now taken the government of the country into her own hands. The Governor is sent to represent the Queen, and to maintain her authority in Zululand. Let Dinuzulu and Undabuko and everyone know that the Governor is determined to do this. The Queen has taken the rule of the country out of the kindness for the Zulu nation. The Zulus can no longer stand by themselves. If they were left to themselves they would fight among themselves, and others would come and take the whole country down to the sea... It is to save the Zulus from the misery that must fall upon them if they were left to themselves that the Queen has assumed the Government of the country."¹¹⁶

¹¹⁶ Guy, Jeff, *The Destruction of the Zulu Kingdom*, (Johannesburg, Ravan, 1982), pp. 237-238; BPP, C.5331, enclosure 2, Memorandum by Havelock read to King Dinuzulu and his uncle, Prince Ndubuko kaMpande, 14 November 1887, p.64.

Two sovereign states (further centralised through the Act of Union, 1910) emerged in the process of the unification of disparate spaces through the definition of principles of passage which constitute demarcation lines. The unity of disparate spaces is held intact by the transgressing of the boundary/law which bisects the territory of these two states, (colony and republic). Paradoxically, therefore, it is in the transgression and thereby affirmation of the law that they find their common cause. Thus, it is not by accident that the demarcation of the boundary between Natal (including the territory of Zululand annexed in 1887) and Transvaal (including the New Republic incorporated into Transvaal in 1887) was one of the preconditions for the development of a common legal, juridical, and penal code. The late 1880's in the Transvaal and Natal ushered in an era of a whole barrage of legislation (increased rents, taxes, fees, pass laws, stock and field limitation for labour tenants) increasingly synchronised between the two states.

Even though the emerging approximation was upset during the South African war, the demarcation line remained permeable in terms of a congruence of ruling class interests in both states: It was in the British imperial interests to allow the post-war administration of the Transvaal to refound a world of capsized class relations by restoring livestock, land and labour power to Boer landowners, and to disarm the rural working people.¹¹⁷ This increasing concurrence of class interests across previously drawn state boundaries.

¹¹⁷ Krikler., Jeremy, *Problems of a Transition to a Socialist Agriculture in SA.*, (published in *Africa Perspective*, Vol. 1, Nos. 5 & 6, December, 1987), p. 12.

The concurrence of class interests cutting across the demarcation line of the two states after the South African war is evident particularly in the legislation on land ownership restrictions from 1903 onwards. Even though mission stations' land holdings were equally affected by this legislation (1905-1910: Prohibition of land sales to Africans: 1888 - ZAR: Mission land transferred to Locations Committee; 1903 -Natal: Mission Reserves Act: Trusteeship over Mission Reserves transferred from the missionary to the Natal Native Trust), they were exempted, under certain conditions, from the 1913 Land Act and its amendments. This exemption, along with (in the case of eNtombe) the exemption from pass restrictions until 1909, the missionaries' refusal to pay rent, and the relatively late (1890) imposition of church fees meant that black peasants could live relatively independently, a factor which contributed to the increasing rural stratification, giving rise to a small group of mission-educated peasants with an anomalous legal status and a distance from their traditional social relations. This is demonstrated by S. Meintjes (ALaw and Authority on a 19th century Mission Station in Natal@ presented to the History Workshop, February 1984) AConverts to Christianity found themselves between two worlds, neither of which was prepared to accept them as full members. In Nguni Society, Christians were expelled from their lineages, lost reciprocal rights and obligations within their kinship groups, and the protection of their chiefs.”¹¹⁸

However, this increased stratification led, in the course of the last few decades, not to the delineation and emergence of a new independent class or classes, but to a further stratification and delineation in terms of a regulation and regularisation of the productive forces. Thus, many of the exempted land holdings which are presently being

¹¹⁸ Meintjes, Sheila, Law and Authority on a 19th century Mission Station in Natal. Presented to the History Workshop. Johannesburg February 1984, p.1.

geared and tailored towards compatibility with monopoly capitalist interests, have under the new management by a company appointed by the office bearers of the black mission churches, turned into testing grounds for the limited development of a small peasantry under a limited degree of 'extra-economic' coercion, held in check by existing class relations. This development falls into the ambit of the concepts mooted by the lobby for the abolition of the Land Act (carried mainly by the Private Sector Council on Urbanisation, the Urban Foundation, and the Development Bank) over the last few years. The underlying assumption, among others, is that unfettered by 'extra-economic' coercion, all 'rational' small-scale producers will make utilitarian choices and calculations and this will make them viable.¹¹⁹

5. THE NEW REPUBLIC AND THE HERMANNSBURG MISSION

It was possible to re-occupy the stations in North Zululand temporarily in 1879. Soon, however, the missionaries had to leave again because of the outbreak of civil war between supporters and opponents of the banished king. It was not until 1884 that an end was put to the civil war when a Boer commando under Lucas Meyer intervened. While the latter were marching in, the Hermannsburg Mission was already trying to obtain property rights, and were given a promise for five farms. However, the Boers did not recognise the mission's claim to the newly founded Hlobane, because Chief Ham had not had the authority to sell the land.

¹¹⁹ Levin, Richard, and Neocosmos, Mike, on the "liberal approach", (1987), p. 62.

The mission=s negotiators demanded 6 000 acres of freehold land for 6 stations.¹²⁰ When the spoils were divided up, however, it became evident that every participant of the expedition would only receive 4 000 acres. The Boers did not want to let the mission have bigger farms than they had themselves. What is more, they claimed the sites of the missions stations as the property of their government, and only wanted to allow the missionaries to use them for their work. The mission approached the British and German governments, and by saying that the Boers were depriving them of their rights were able to put pressure on this new mini-state which was trying to gain international recognition. In a contract with the Governor of Natal in 1886 the New Republic promised to guarantee to missionaries of all nationalities the rights and privileges granted to them as regards land by Cetshwayo.¹²¹ In 1887 the mission was prepared to accept the offer of 4 000 acres per station and to withdraw their claim to tax exemption and other privileges for the missionaries, and an agreement was reached. In a contract with the President of the New Republic dated March 1887 the Hermannsburg Mission gave up Hlobane - the station became the private property of the President - and in return was given 4 000 acres of land for each of the other 5 mission stations. This

¹²⁰ Ballard, C., "Wolseley and Dunn", Duminy, A./Ballard, C., *Anglo-Zulu War*, S. 139f.; A:SA 1.40 c, 18.8.1886; SA acc. 76.585.2, Dunn=s letter dated 2.1.1882; A:SA 1.40 b, Gesuch um Schutz für die Missionsstationen in Südafrika, 30.9.1890; A: SA 1.40 c, 3.6.1887; SA acc. 76.270, Beiratssitzung in Hermannsburg, 25.1.1887.

¹²¹ A: SA 1.40 c, Generalkonsulat an Fröhling, 20.12.1886 (Zitat); Stallbom an dt. Konsul, 7.7.1886; SA acc. 76.270, Konferenz des (Nord-) Zulukreises, 15.7.1886; SA acc. 76.578.1, Koch an Fröhling, 29.1.1885 u. 14.4.1885, SA acc. 76.579.1, Fröhling and Stallbom, 21.5.1885, SA acc. 76.578.1, ders. 17.12.1885, SA acc. 76.578.2, Mercury, 4.11.1886, SA acc. 76.589.4, Lammerding Erinnerungen, c 15. 7. 1889, 26.12.1901, 4.10.1923; Haccius, G., *Missionsgeschichte* II, 1, S. 211; SA acc. 76.270, Beiratssitzung in Hermannsburg, 24.1.1887; A: SA 1.40 c, Abkommen vom 1.3.1887, Auswärtiges Amt an E. Harms, 24.3.1891; A: SA 1.40 c; SA acc. 76.578.2, Koch an Fröhling, 5.6.1886.

contract, which was ratified in April 1887 by the Volksraad, was also recognised by the South African Republic after the annexation of the New Republic.¹²²

5.1 Missionary Weber's Service at eNyathi Between 1869-1885

When Weber arrived at eNyathi the uKhandempevu regiment had shortly been recruited (*ukubuthwa*) under Mkhosana kaMvundlana Biyela, Vumandaba kaNtethi Biyela and Ngunqa kaMpundulwana Zungu as its *izinduna*.¹²³ Mlandu kaNkunga as heir apparent belonged to that regiment. Two years earlier in 1867, Cetshwayo, Mpande's heir apparent and his *uThulwana* alias *Amamboza* regiment had attained the status of manhood when Mpande decreed that the regiment could put on their head rings (*isicoco*).¹²⁴ The year 1867 was a year of plenitude within the Zulu Kingdom. The harvest was the best in years.¹²⁵

According to Weber the people of Enyathi had no interest in the Gospel. Furthermore, the situation in eNyathi was still tense following the case of Filter and his expulsion from Zululand. The *Amazulu* were more sceptical of missionaries than ever before. They reasoned that the missionaries were coming to convert them to Christianity and making them *Amakhafula* (Kaffirs) to live under the white men in colonial Natal or under the Boers, in the occupied territory.¹²⁶ The years between 1869 and 1874 were not easy for

¹²² SA acc.7.6.270, Beiratssitzung in Hermannsburg, 25.1. 1887; A:SA 1.40 c, Abkommen vom 1.3.1887, Auswärtiges Amt an E. Harms, 24.3.1891.

¹²³ JSA., Vol. 4, p. 70.

¹²⁴ HMBL., 1867, pp. 72-73.

¹²⁵ Ibid., pp. 72-73.

¹²⁶ Speckmann, F., *Mission in Afrika*, pp. 482-485, 488.

the missionary. He, however managed through his loyal and convincing conduct to get a few converts around him, though the church attendance was very poor.¹²⁷ This situation was aggravated by the death of King Mpande in October 1872. When Cetshwayo succeeded his father as king of Zululand, the missionaries looked at it as a change for the worse. Mpande was generally regarded as being friendly to the missionaries and their cause,¹²⁸ whereas Cetshwayo had been known to be hostile to the idea of mission. He had repeatedly told his people that he disliked the idea of young men becoming Christians. Their task and responsibility was to serve in the Zulu army and defend the country.¹²⁹ At eNyathi the people told Weber openly that he should leave otherwise they would drive him out like Filter before him.¹³⁰ The statistics of mission stations in North Zululand reflect clearly that between 1874 and 1880 there was no improvement in terms of converts joining the church on the stations.¹³¹ The slow progress in mission work led the missionaries to continue to argue for the invasion of Zululand whereby the heathen power, which prevented the progress of Christianity, could forever be broken and be dissolved.¹³²

¹²⁷ HMBL., 1874, pp. 70-73; 1875, pp. 55-56.

¹²⁸ HMBL., 1861, pp. 61, 59; 1865, p. 169; Speckmann, F., *Mission in Afrika*, pp. 379-82; Haccius, G., Vol. 2, p. 318.

¹²⁹ Speckmann, F., *Mission in Afrika*, pp. 438-439, 493; Haccius, G., HMG., Vol. 3,1 pp. 185-186.

¹³⁰ *Ibid.*, pp. 188-190.

¹³¹ HMBL., 1874, pp. 70-73; 1875, pp. 55-56; 1876, pp. 189-191; 1877, p. 54; 1878, pp. 52-53.

¹³² Haccius, G., HMG., Vol. 3,1, pp. 180-182, 188; Shepstone, T., *To Carnarvon, 11-12-1877* in CP, PRO 30/6/23, *Anglo-Zulu war New Perspective*, pp. 41, 52; Guy, Jeff, *The Heretic*, p. 254; Simensen, J., *Norwegian Missions*, Vol. 1, pp. 103-186; Vide, pp. 152-160.

Hasselhorn described the desperate position of the Hermannsburg missionaries and their longing for war against Zululand as follows:

"By supporting the English war policy the missionaries made it clear that their original mission concept was a dismal failure. Without a preceding military defeat (of the Zulus) the conversion (of the Zulus) appeared no longer thinkable. As Hardeland meant it, the missionaries were anxiously waiting in Natal for a "strong fist" that would repress the Zulus and then make them accessible for the missionaries' message."¹³³

In Cetshwayo's mind eNyathi was a corrupt place where the laws of Zululand were broken. In the 1870s, Cetshwayo even wanted to remove the people of eNyathi to another place. Nkunga or his son Mlandu, who apparently was already a chief after his father, went to oNdini to defend his case against the planned removal of his people. Fortunately, many other chiefs (*izikhulu*) were on his side, they did not want him to be moved either.¹³⁴ Cetshwayo had again to back down and withdrew his intention for removals. After this, Cetshwayo called for a general mobilisation, for the war against Amaswazi and the *Amabhunu* (Boers) was imminent. The chiefs and the colonial government were against the war. Hence the war did not take place.¹³⁵

¹³³ Hasselhorn, F., *Bauernmission in Südafrika*, p. 41. Cope, Richard, *Ploughshare of war*, pp. 139-158.

¹³⁴ Weber, in HMBL., 1875, p. 37, a letter dated 4-01-1874.

¹³⁵ HMBL., 1875, pp. 205-208; Webb, C. de B. and Wright, J.B., (ed). *A Zulu King speaks*, p. 61.

During these political upheavals many missionaries, including Weber, were constantly on alert. On many occasions, Weber and his family had to flee. At times his cattle would be taken away.¹³⁶ During the course of 1879 most missionaries had fled to colonial Natal. Weber came back at the end of 1879 to rebuild the station.¹³⁷ Again between 1880 and 1884 Weber had to flee several times to colonial Natal. He returned to eNyathi in 1885 rebuilding the station anew. However, due to the continued civil war, their lives were not safe. They fled this time, never to come back again. A German congregation in Bergen near Piet Retief called Weber. He served only three years and died in September 1888.¹³⁸

¹³⁶ HMBL., 1877, pp. 163-166; Haccius, G., HMG Vol. 3,1, p. 189.

¹³⁷ HMBL., 1879, p. 230.

¹³⁸ HMBL., 1886, p. 35; 1888, p. 163; 1889, pp. 235-36.

5.2 Missionary Heinrich Christoph Johannes= Service at eNyathi 1885-1892

In 1885, Johannes was transferred to eNyathi as successor to F. Weber who was then transferred to Bergen.¹³⁹ While at eNyathi, the news of the arrival of his bride from Germany came. He then travelled to Hermannsburg for his wedding. His bride was Maria Margarethe Engel Drewes. The wedding party took place on the 29th July 1885 in Hermannsburg.¹⁴⁰ Johannes spent another three years at eNyathi with his family. Their sons Christoph and Hermann were born there. In the year 1888, the HMS decided to sell eNyathi mission station to a settler.¹⁴¹ However, the transaction it seemed was not a perfect one. For the legal proceedings about that transaction continued until 1906.¹⁴² The years 1885 to 1888 were the years in which the HMS was fighting for its mission stations in Northern Zululand. The Boers had annexed Northern Zululand and the mission stations eNyathi, eKuhlengeni, eBethel, eSihlengeni, eDlomodlomo and eHlobane were incorporated into the New Republic.¹⁴³ It was during missionary Johannes= times in eNyathi that Mission director Egmont Harms and Mission inspector Georg Haccius were visiting the Hermannsburg mission stations in Zululand and Botswana in 1888 and 1889.¹⁴⁴ Missionary Johannes was the last white missionary officially to be placed in eNyathi. As from 1889/90 an evangelist Martin Dlongolo

¹³⁹ HMBL., 1885, p. 81.

¹⁴⁰ HMBL., 1885, p. 81; Pape, H., *Hermannsburger Missionare in Südafrika*, p. 88.

¹⁴¹ HMBL, 1888, p. 171; 1889, pp. 72, 132.

¹⁴² HMBL, 1892, p. 100, 1893, pp. 50, 110; 1894, p. 116; 1908, p. 228.

¹⁴³ HMBL, 1886, p. 185.

¹⁴⁴ HMBL, 1888, pp. 169, 171, 178, 201.

served the congregation there from eSihlengeni. F. Volker was supervising him from eKuhlengeni.¹⁴⁵

Johannes was called to be a pastor of the German congregation in Bergen where F. Weber had gone to three years earlier.¹⁴⁶ However, there was a church schism within Hermannsburg. It began with director Theodor Harms in 1878 and 1890 and the separation in South Africa took place on 13th September 1892.¹⁴⁷ Prigge, Stilau, Johannes and Gevers became henceforth members of the Free Lutheran Church in South Africa.¹⁴⁸ The wife of Johannes died on the 24th April 1919. Johannes was elected to the position of church dean (*präses*) from 1910 to 1924. He died on the 13th September 1943.¹⁴⁹

In the following chapter I will deal with two mission stations eNtombe and eNkombela that lie across the UPhongolo River.

¹⁴⁵ HMBL, 1890, pp. 66, 78, 190; 1891, pp. 50, 66.

¹⁴⁶ Pape, H., *Hermannsburger Missionare in Südafrika*, p. 88.

¹⁴⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 88; Junker, J., *Zeichen, Zeiten, Tage und Jahre, Hundert Jahre Lutherische Kirchenmission*, Verlag der Lutherischen Buchandlung, H.Harms Bleckmar, 1992, p. 21; Schnackenberg, J., (ed.), *Geschichte der Freien Ev-Lutherischen Synode in Südafrika 1892-1932* (Otto Romberger, Celle, 1993).

¹⁴⁸ Hopf, F.W., (ed.), *Lutherische Kirche treibt Lutherische Mission, Mission der Evangelisch Lutherischer Freikirchen*, Bleckmar, 1967, pp. 23-25, 48, 49, 50, 51, 52.

¹⁴⁹ Hopf, F.W., (ed.), *Lutherische Kirche treibt Lutherische Mission*, 1967, p. 54f; Pape, H., *Hermannsburger Missionare in Südafrika*, p. 88.

CHAPTER SIX

THE HERMANNSBURG MISSION IN THE UPHONGOLO REGION (NORTHERN ZULULAND) 1860-1913

ENTOMBE MISSION (1860-1913)

1.1 A Failed Mission to Swaziland and Settlement Among the Amagonondo

Hardeland had on several occasions visited King Mpande to get permission for establishing mission stations at different places, particularly in Northern Zululand. One of those visits was in early 1860.⁴⁵ Mpande pointed out the area lying south west of Swaziland, i.e. eNtombe, eNcaka (eNkombela) and eMhlongamvula.⁴⁶ Mpande stressed time and again that according to Zulu/Nguni custom the land could not be sold. Thus he did not want to see a colony of whites in these areas.⁴⁷ These areas lay in the uPhongolo valley, whose winter climate was very mild and offered the best grazing places during winter months. Therefore it was an attractive place for the Boers, who legally or illegally grazed their livestock. They would even dispossess the inhabitants of these areas by

⁴⁵ HMBL., 1860, pp. 87, 92-94, 172; 1861, pp. 3, 9, 59, 61-66, 67, 71; 139, 142; 1862, pp. 9-24, 25, 61.

⁴⁶ HMBL., 1862, pp. 51-60, 61-62, 88-96, 100-101; 105-110, 111-112, 147-160, 162-165, 168-169

⁴⁷ HMBL., 1860, pp. 85-88, 89-96, 131-144; 1861, pp. 3-10, 58-80; 1862, pp. 51-64, 88-96, 168-169; 20 April 1884, 9 October 1884, 3 September 1885, 5 November 1885 in A: SA 1.40b *Die Hermannsburger Mission in Zululand; Denkschrift für das Kaiserliche General Konsulat in Kapstadt ca 1885*, in, Hasselhorn, Friederich, *Die Bauernmission in Südafrika*, p. 38.

simply occupying their grazing land.⁴⁸ The town of Wakkerstroom which is called Othaka belonged to the abakwaShabalala clan under Chief Madlangampisi ka Mathe kaNdawonde. These people had been molested by the land hungry Boers since 1840 and eventually driven out or subjected to the servile labour under the Boers between 1910 and 1913 at the inception of the Land Act of 1913.⁴⁹ The towns of Utrecht, Volksrust, Newcastle and Vryheid are the result of dispossessions and encroachment by land-hungry settlers.⁵⁰ When permission was granted to Hardeland, Filter, Prydtz and Moe to establish the aforesaid mission station, they first went to Swaziland to negotiate with king Mswati kaSobhuza Dlamini (Nkosi) on the possibility of establishing a mission station in his country.⁵¹

Filter and Prydtz made their first attempt to open the way for mission into Swaziland after it had been closed sixteen years before.⁵² Wherever they went they saw burned and deserted homesteads which bore witness to Mswati's raids on the minor tribes. People were afraid to invite the missionaries to their houses for fear of a severe punishment meted out by Mswati's forces at his instruction.⁵³ The mission was a failure and as a

⁴⁸ Zulu, Cetshwayo, in, *A Zulu King Speaks*, pp. 20, 24-28, 47-48, 51-58; Guy Jeff, *The Heretic*, pp. 261f, 267, 276.

⁴⁹ HMBL., 1862, pp. 25, 60-62, 168-169; Van Rooyen, T.S. *Die Verhouding tussen die Boere, Engelse en Naturelle in die Geskiedenis van die Oos Transvaal tot 1882*, A.Y.B. for South African History I, 1951 (Cape Town, 1951), p. 1ff.

⁵⁰ Van Zyl, M.C., *Die Uitbreiding Van Britse Gesag oor die Natalse Noordgrens Gebiede 1879-1897*, *Argief jaarboek vir Suidafrikaanse Geskiedenis*, 1966, Deel I, (Kaapstad, 1966); Potgieter, F.J., *Die Verstiging van die Blanke in Transvaal (1837-1886)*. A.Y.B. for S.A. History, 1958, II, (Cape Town, 1958), p. 1ff.

⁵¹ HMBL., 1860, pp. 87, 92-93, 94, 172; 1861, pp. 3-10, 58-59, 60-64, 67-71, 72-80, 139-144, 147-149; 1862, pp. 88-96, 147-160, 162-164.

⁵² A: SA 41.11e, p. 9; Speckmann, F., *Mission in Afrika*, pp. 512-514; HMBL., 1863, pp. 163-64.

⁵³ HMBL., 1863, pp. 20-32.

result they returned to Zululand very disappointed. An African man, who had accompanied the missionaries to Swaziland and who apparently knew the area very well, suggested to them to try among the Amagonondo tribe situated 40km southwest of Swaziland.⁵⁴

They followed the advice of the African and went to eNtombe. Their arrival was reported to the chief and *izinduna*, there and then a meeting took place in which the missionaries were cross-examined as to the purpose of their mission. The missionaries stated in council that they came to preach the Gospel and would like to settle among the people for the purpose of preaching the Gospel.⁵⁵ Amagonondo asked the missionaries whether all the people in Natal were Christians so that they saw it necessary to come to eNtombe? The response of the missionaries was a no! Then Amagonondo said go and teach the people in Natal first.⁵⁶ Only after the missionaries had stated that they had been allowed by King Mpande to come and settle there for the purpose of preaching, were they allowed to settle. A delegation was sent to the king to ask whether the missionaries were sent by him or not and to get his confirmation. Mpande agreed to have allowed them to settle among the Amagonondo, Inyamayenja and Amadlangampisi tribes.⁵⁷ Hereafter the missionaries could start their work in earnest. At this stage it is important to note that Mpande's tactics and strategy was to settle the missionaries in these aforesaid areas to create a buffer zone so as to prevent the ever land-hungry settlers from illegally

⁵⁴ Speckmann, F., *Mission in Afrika*, pp. 512-514; Meyer, F., in A:SA 41.11e, p. 9-10.

⁵⁵ HMBL., 1861, p. 3, A: SA 41. 11e, p. 9-10.

⁵⁶ Speckmann, F., *Mission in Afrika*, pp. 512-514; HMBL.,1861, pp.66-67,71-74.

⁵⁷ HMBL., 1861, p. 3; 1862, pp. 25, 61-62,147-160,162-165,168-169.

occupying his land. The missionaries were therefore sent as his subjects and were under his protection.⁵⁸

When Hardeland undertook a second attempt he was fully aware of the fact that the Amaswazi did not allow any missionaries within Swaziland since the case of Allison in 1846.⁵⁹ Hardeland devised a strategy of arriving to the Amaswazi as Amakhosi (Lords or Herren). He stated: “If you tell them and behave as an iNkosi, then they would respect you.”⁶⁰

When they arrived in Swaziland indeed they imposed and disguised as *amakhosi* (Lords) Although the Amaswazi were exceptionally sceptical of those strange *amakhosi*, they eventually allowed them to state their case in council.⁶¹ Mswati categorically refused to allow the Hermannsburg missionaries to settle in his country pointing out the Allison incident of 1846. He also refused to allow the Berliner missionaries to settle there giving the same reasons.⁶² Mention has to be made here that the Hardeland delegation was not the first one. Filter and Prydtz had visited Mswati and his *izinduna* (officers) before, however, without success. Therefore there was hope that the person of Hardeland, his office and authoritarian appearance would lend some weight and dignity to the mission. Both attempts were a failure. Before leaving the King and his country Hardeland pleaded with Mswati not to invade the small tribes south of Swaziland namely the Amagonondo

⁵⁸ Hasselhorn, F., *BauernMission in Südafrika*, pp. 39-40; HMBL., 1860, pp. 87,172.

⁵⁹ HMBL., 1863, pp. 20-32, 163-164; A: SA 41.11e p. 9, eNtombe station Chronicle.

⁶⁰ Hardeland, A., in: HMBL., 1863, pp. 21ff.

⁶¹ Ibid, p. 21ff.

⁶² Merensky, A., *Erinnerungen*, p. 9f; JSA., Vol. 2, p. 30.

(eNtombe) under Chief Thathawe kaJijila Kubheka, INyamayenja (eNcaka) under Chief Mkhontowendlela kaNyamayenja Nkosi and the Amadlangampisi (eMhlongamvula) under Chief Simahla kaMadlangampisi Shabalala.⁶³ Mswati agreed to leave them in peace, he was then promised a saddle as the missionaries came on horseback. However, sometime later Mswati's iNyathi regiment killed chief Lobelo kaZondiwe MngomeZulu from Obonjeni, who together with his tribe wanted to emigrate from his area to eNtombe and become Christian under Prydtz, therefore the missionaries refused to give Mswati the promised saddle when his *izinduna* (officers) came to fetch it at eNtombe. The missionary pointed to the massacre which Mswati's regiment committed.⁶⁴

Having discussed the political situation in the Swazi-Phongolo region, we shall look at the missionary activities in the eNtombe area. See Appendix I for Missionary Thomas Prydtz' birth, studies and commission.

1.2 eNtombe: the Service of Prydtz (1860-1863)

Being a missionary in eNtombe or eNcaka in those days was not easy. Hardly had the missionaries arrived and begun to erect some buildings, than the Boers came on horseback to remind the missionaries that they were the owners of the property. If the missionaries wanted to settle and build there, they should get permission from Wakkerstroom or Lydenburg.⁶⁵ Amid the controversy as to who the rightful owner of

⁶³ HMBL., 1862, pp. 99-100.

⁶⁴ HMBL., 1863, p. 47.

⁶⁵ Hardeland's letter 31-12-1862 in HMBL., 1862, p. 25.

those areas was, Hardeland, then superintendent of the Hermannsburg Mission in South Africa travelled to eNtombe and Utrecht where he met the Boers and heard their claims.⁶⁶

On his arrival the Boers told him unequivocally that that was their area, given to them by King Mswati in July 1855.⁶⁷ Hardeland wrote a report to the director of Missions in Germany, Louis Harms, and stated:

"Then I wish whenever possible to travel to the Headquarters of the Boer Republic in order to negotiate with the government about our mission. That Republic lays claims over the land where our brothers Prydtz and Moe have established their stations".⁶⁸

Hardeland continued:

"...At the moment the Boers cannot give us any place there, even if they wanted to. The land is still occupied by the Kaffirs and currently the whites are in a state of war against them. Should the Boers later bring the area under their control, it would still be a slow and arduous process to be able to maintain the mission stations... and what will happen to the kaffirs as the Boers conquer the area? The Boers are practising a very wise policy, which the British are now also following, namely not to allow Kaffirs to settle at one place in large numbers. They spread

⁶⁶ Hardeland, A., in HMBL., 1862, pp.9-24,25-32,34-48, 51-64,88-96,98-112,147-160,162-165,168-169.

⁶⁷ S.A.A.R. Transvaal No. 3, 87-88; Kommissie Raad's Meeting, 4 July 1855, Art. 9.12 etc., Bonner, P., *Kings, Commoners and Concessionaries*, pp. 75-76, 252.

⁶⁸ HMBL., 1862, pp. 25, 62.

them in small homesteads throughout the country. By so doing, on the one side, they are pre-empting a potential danger so that whites will not be attacked by blacks, where the kaffirs could not live together in large numbers and particularly under their chiefs. On the other side because they are scattered in small units, they would be forced to start to work for the whites."⁶⁹

In those words, ruthless as they were, Hardeland stated and gave *prima facie* evidence beyond any doubt of dispossession, forced removal and servile labour practised by the Boers since the inception of their legendary Great Trek from the Cape in 1834,⁷⁰ and eventually by the British since their arrival in Natal in 1843; particularly the policy of Theophilus Shepstone. In a way one could say the policy of dispossession in Zululand began in 1843.⁷¹

In other formulations elsewhere, Hardeland, like many Hermannsburg missionaries like Filter, Hohls and Meyer, made it clear that according to him, it was necessary that Zululand be destroyed and be brought under white control. Hardeland:

"Well, I wish to state that in some way, the Zulus in general and other similar heathen tribes are in fact nothing but a raiding horde, may God allow that if they

⁶⁹ Hardeland, A.'s letter. 31.12.1862 in HMBL., 1862, pp. 60-64,163,168-169; Eldridge, E.A. and Morton, Fred, (eds.), *Slavery in South Africa Captive Labour on the Dutch Frontier*, (University of Natal Press, Pietermaritzburg, 1994), pp. 93-215, 216-271; Trapido, Stanley, *The S.A. Republic : Class Formation and the State 1850-1900*, pp. 53-65.

⁷⁰ Agar-Hamilton, J.A., *The native policy of the Voortrekkers: an essay in the history of the interior of South Africa 1836-1858*, (Cape Town, 1928), p.1ff.

⁷¹ Brookes, Edgar and Webb, Collin, *A History of Natal*, (University of Natal Press, Pietermaritzburg, 1979), pp. 42-53.

do not accept his Word, each of such horde gets its Charlemagne (*Carolus magnus*) who will break them with a strong fist, bring them under Christian discipline and thereby open the way for the Word of God. Precisely out of such Saxon, who were forced to live under Christian discipline by Charlemagne, came Luther."⁷²

Hardeland stated in one of his reports how King Mpande understood his sovereignty over eNtombe and eMhlongamvula areas, particularly eNcaka. Hardeland stated:

"As you know, in the past year uMpande the Zulu King allowed us to commence a mission work among *iNyamayenja*, an area occupied by one of the three small kaffir tribes, which is bordered by Zululand in the south and east, by Swaziland in the north and by the Boer republic in the west, i.e. the districts of Wakkerstroom and Lydenburg. Umpande told us that those people in that area were not his subjects; however, they are his vassals paying tribute to him. This was confirmed by *iNyamayenja* people. The real state of affairs was that the Amazulu and the Amaswazi were soon raiding the area. We have seen none of the Boers' influence; as a result I never asked them for permission, I simply sent our brothers Prydtz, Moe, Küsel and Kröger, who are now followed by Wiese. Our brothers have erected two stations. Prydtz under chief Thathawe and Moe under uMkhontowendlela. Wiese was supposed to found a third (station) under uMadlangampisi. Only those three chiefs live in that area..."⁷³

⁷² Hardeland, A., in HMBL., 1862, pp. 100-101.

⁷³ Ibid, pp. 100-101.

The territorial dispute between the *Amabhunu* (Boers) and the Amazulu continued till 1862. During 1862 there were rumours that an even stronger alliance among the African leaders was gaining ground. Cetshwayo, Mushweshwe of Lesotho, Mzilikazi and Sekwate of eBupedi were said to be forging an alliance against the whites.⁷⁴ As a result Hohls and Hardeland had to travel through the Hermannsburger Mission stations to warn the Hermannsburger missionaries not to hide in the Boers' refuge, for such an action would be interpreted as an alliance between Germans and Boers, and this could jeopardise their mission work in those areas.⁷⁵

On the evening of August 21, 1862 Amagonondo brought refugees from Zululand to Prydtz. These refugees came from the eThaka area under Chief Mnyamana kaNgqengelele Buthelezi. Hardeland was present when those people were brought before them. Those people told Prydtz and Hardeland that they wanted to be Christians and that is why they came to eNtombe.⁷⁶ This incident occurred at a time when the Hermannsburg missionaries were planning to erect a mission station within Mnyamana's area, but the incident of Aldin Lewis Grout who was expelled from Zululand in 1842 for having kept people who ran away from punishment was fresh in their memories.⁷⁷ Hardeland and Prydtz discussed the matter and concluded that the escapees be detained and be returned to uMnyamana's area on condition that they were not to be killed.⁷⁸

⁷⁴ HMBL., 1862, p. 63; 1865, pp. 247-151; Cope, Richard, *Ploughshare of war* pp. 104, 119 – 120.

⁷⁵ HMBL., 1865, p. 150.

⁷⁶ HMBL., 1862, pp. 99-104; Speckmann, F., *Mission in Afrika*, pp. 455-462.

⁷⁷ Grout, Aldin, to Anderson, Febr. 15, 1843, ABC 15.4 II, October 2, 1845, ABC 15.4, III in Etherington, Norman, *Preachers, Peasants, and Politics in South East Africa, 1835-1880*, pp. 28, 34, 48, 55-56, 57, 74-75, 91, 104, 116-17, 120, 142-43, 159.

⁷⁸ HMBL., 1862, p. 100f.

Soon after that incident the Amagonondo people were attacked by the Amaswazi as they were looking for the rebellious Somcuba. However, there were no casualties.⁷⁹ Thomas Prydtz' service at eNtombe, was very short. Prydtz had no converts when he died.⁸⁰ His wife later married Missionary Johann Fredrich Tönsing who at that time was a missionary at eDlomodlomo. Tönsing was later transferred to the Transvaal as a missionary.⁸¹ Now I shall investigate the pros and cons of the dispute for the possession of eNtombe.

1.3 eNtombe : A Disputed Area 1860-1879

Another shocking incident at eNtombe was the murder of Chief Thathawe by the Boers at Wakkerstroom. After killing Chief Thathawe Kubheka, the Boers rode on horseback to eNtombe and annexed the area.⁸² Speckmann described the incident as follows:

"The people surrendered to the Boers. Many of them went back to their homes or area (eNtombe), even those who had hidden themselves in the caves came out. Soon after came the Field Cornet and Landdrost Boers who confiscated everything and declared the eNtombe residents to be under the Transvaal Republiek and Nolte was made their leader. The Kaffirs were compelled to go to church on Sundays and during the week to send their children to school. This was

⁷⁹ HMBL., 1862, pp. 61-64, 88-96, 99-112; Bonner, P. *Kings, Commoners and Concessionaires*, pp. 47-64.

⁸⁰ HMBL., 1863, pp. 84-87.

⁸¹ HMBL., 1863, pp. 126-127; Pape, H., *Hermannsburger Missionare*, p. 147.

⁸² Speckmann, F., *Mission in Afrika*, pp. 518-519; Haccius, G., HMG., Vol. 3,1, pp. 195-196; A:SA 41.11e, p. 12-13.

exciting news for Nolte. Hereafter a house which was used as a school for children was extended, school tables and desks were made. Unfortunately this excitement did not last long, for when the spring came and people started to plough and cultivate their fields, the Zulus came and confiscated their hoes. Only the ones who submitted to the Zulus could keep their hoes and continue to cultivate the field. The Boers did nothing against this and poor Nolte could also do nothing about it. From then on the people were estranged from the missionary, the situation reached a point where there was animosity between the missionary and the people. Nolte was in despair. He said he was wasting his energy for nothing”.⁸³

The foregoing description shows beyond any doubt that a calculated assassination had been planned and swiftly executed in order to annex the chief's area and take his people and subject them to an illegitimate and criminal rule. As soon as the news of the murder of Chief Thathawe Kubheka reached Mpande, an army was sent to eNtombe and eNcaka (Lüneburg) to restore law and order.⁸⁴ The Boers had to withdraw, given their weak military power at the time. The Amazulu army wanted to make sure in the minds of the people that this area was and is under the jurisdiction of Zululand.⁸⁵

In this case Hardeland shed some light on the dubious and covert ways of the Boers in dispossessing people in Northern Zululand. Hardeland stated :

⁸³ Speckmann, F., *Mission in Afrika*, pp. 518-519.

⁸⁴ *Ibid.*, pp. 518-519.

⁸⁵ HMBL., 1862, p. 61, 90-91, 100, 104, 107; Zulu, Cetshwayo in *A Zulu King Speaks*, p. 14.

"They (Boers) have not yet put that area (eNtombe and eNkombela) under control, because they are still in the minority; however, through a constant immigration from the Cape and Natal, they will multiply immensely or considerably and as soon as they are in a position, they will annex and occupy it. Some prospective candidates of the Boers (for title deeds) have already got places in iNyamayenja (eNkombela-eNcaka). The government (Transvaal Republiek) would like to accept our missionaries and give them some places provided those places have not yet been allocated to a particular applicant. In the latter case (i.e. if the places, where we have our mission station are found to be already allocated to a certain Boer applicant) then we should discuss the matter with him. Which places have already been allocated? No one could tell me exactly. It could be possible that the place (eNtombe) where Prydtz has built a station, has already been allocated."⁸⁶

Again it has to be pointed out and strongly emphasized that the Hermannsburg Mission in the person of Hardeland was conspiring with the Boers behind the king's back to dispossess the king's people in Northern Zululand.

However, King Mpande was observing the situation more closely. In order to assert and show his authority, Mpande sent his army to the north from time to time. As part of showing his power and authority over the people, he would "beat them up" (fine them in the form of cattle). This Mpande saw as necessary so as to send a clear message to both the people under his jurisdiction and to the Boers. This is confirmed by Hardeland in his reports:

⁸⁶ Hardeland, A., in HMBL., 1862, pp. 62.

"The Zulu King uMpande has the grace to call these tribes his vassals, who were conquered by his predecessors, the bloodthirsty Kaffir heroes Shaka and Dingana and were almost exterminated by them. As such they have the duty to pay him tribute in a form of cattle and tobacco. In their internal rule i.e. (succession disputes) government (King Mpande) does not interfere. At times, in spite of the tribute having been already paid, one of Mpande's sons would attack (these tribes) with an army, plunder and kill a little bit, just for pleasure. Fortunately for the poor people, they have huge and inaccessible caves. As soon as there is a danger, people run for their lives in hiding with wives, children, cattle and a pair of pots and mats which are the only property of those people."⁸⁷

King Mpande saw it necessary to assert his sovereignty and authority in a more visible form. He ordered his *izinduna* in the northern part of Zululand late in 1866 to erect *amakhanda* (homesteads) at the border and make clear to everyone, particularly the *Amabhunu* (Boers) who were formerly allowed to settle on the Natal side of the uMzinyathi (Buffalo) river that their encroachment policy was unacceptable.⁸⁸ Those *amakhanda* were built in 1866 during Mpande's time by *izinduna* Ntshingwayo kaMahole Khoza and Lukhwazi kaMazwana Ntombela. Again in 1876/77 during Cetshwayo's time, the same *Izinduna* (army officers) Ntshingwayo kaMahole Khoza and Lukhwazi kaMazwana Ntombela went to eNcaka (Lüneburg) area to erect an *ikhanda* and was named iNdlabeyithubula. The *Amabhunu* (Boers) destroyed it as soon as

⁸⁷ Hardeland, A., in HMBL., 1862, pp. 90-91.

⁸⁸ Zulu, Cetshwayo, in: *A Zulu King Speaks*, pp. 20, 24, 27.

Ntshingwayo returned to his place at eNquthu in KwaZulu.⁸⁹ Again they were renewed during Cetshwayo's reign by *izinduna*, Sikhobobo kaMabakazana Sibiya and Faku kaZiningo Ntombela in the same year.

The *induna* of the eBaqulusini at eHlobane uSikhobobo kaMabakazana Sibiya was ordered by Cetshwayo to erect an *ikhanda* at iNgwempisi on the border of Swaziland near Piet Retief. Those *amakhanda* were not only built to mark the frontier limits of the Zulu kingdom, but were also used as places where the king's cattle were kept and were being grazed in the uPhongolo valley; especially during winter time. Hence the conflict of interest between Amazulu and the Boers over grazing was inevitable. The area of Ngwempisi for instance was then recognised and understood by Amaswazi as the area of the Zulu kings, where their cattle were grazing.⁹⁰ In the subsequent subsections I shall critically look at the role of Missionary Friedrich Meyer amid the dispute. See Appendix I for his life, studies and commission.

1.4 eNtombe : Meyer and the Boers Against the Amagonondo

The events which took place during Adolf Nolte's time at eNtombe left the people confused and apprehensive. When Meyer arrived, there were no people to welcome him, and on the first few Sundays no one came to the church services. Suddenly, a few days later, there was a crowd of men who came to greet the new pastor. Meyer described the encounter in the following words:

⁸⁹ Ibid., p. 24; Zungu, Maphelu=s Account, pp.111-115; JSA.,Vol.4, pp.136-137; Cope Richard, Ploughshare of war pp. 167 – 168.

⁹⁰ JSA., Vol. 4, pp. 136-137.

"On the first of January 1867 I commenced my office here at the station. The settler Küsel came and stayed with me till all the settlers were dismissed from the mission society. It was a sad experience for me, for no Kaffir came to the church service on Sunday. As soon as it was known that the new pastor (*uMfundisi*) had arrived, then a group of men came to welcome him. They, however, were so drunk and made such a terrible noise that my wife was overwhelmed with fear and asked me in tears to tell the people to go away. Obviously there could have been no possible reasonable discussion. When I returned their visit and went to their homesteads I found the people very distrustful. I would have rather erected a new station among people who have never seen a missionary before than to be among these ones. Oh how many sighs, prayers and lamentations went up to the Lord. Daily I went to the homesteads to meet the people."⁹¹

Further on Meyer reported that as he went to those homesteads he would bring with him blankets which he gave to the poor and would even share his meat with the hungry. He would talk to them about their lives, livestock, sheep and goats. The question remains open here, where did Meyer get the meat from, which he from time to time shared with the people?

Nevertheless that strategy seemed to have worked and effected a breakthrough. The people started to open up as they realised that the missionary was interested in their daily lives. Therefore, his attempts were not in vain. Soon thereafter came five youngsters mostly teenagers, who wanted to learn for baptism.⁹² All went well during the course of

⁹¹ Meyer, Friedrich, in: A:SA 41.11e, p. 13; HMBL, 1868, pp. 11, 55-62.

⁹² HMBL., 1867, p. 222.

1867, and by December 1st, he could baptize one girl and a boy. There was no resistance from the people.⁹³ Among those five boys there was Paul kaBhalabhala Shongwe. He tried diligently to learn; however, it was too difficult for him and he ran away. At once he fled to eNkombela (eNcaka) to Johann Detlef Engelbrecht, who succeeded Missionary Johannes Moe in 1866. Paul could not stay there, so he came back to Meyer and in tears requested to be readmitted. Meyer agreed. Again Paul ran away after a while. He did this three times. The third time when he wanted to be readmitted, Meyer refused. Only after Paul's father Bhalabhala had pleaded with Meyer, did Meyer readmit the boy.⁹⁴ This time Paul stayed on and persevered till he was baptised in 1870 and was given the Biblical name of Paul. His African name was and is unknown till today.⁹⁵ This is not surprising for most of the missionaries strongly believed that everything of the Africans was heathen. Their policy and procedure was to baptise the Africans, and give them a Biblical or European name; in that way, according to them, a new identity.⁹⁶ Louis Harms, however, was an exception in that he recommended that African names be retained as long as there was nothing unchristian about them. There was a clear anthropological and racial prejudice and superiority complex. As Meyer puts it:

"One could immediately realise that these people grew up with and among the animals. Even with an adult and experienced person one finds that this person is still in infancy."⁹⁷

⁹³ Meyer, F., A:SA 41.11e, p. 14.

⁹⁴ Meyer, F., A:SA 41.11e, p. 16.

⁹⁵ SA acc. 76.641.

⁹⁶ Ibid., pp. 16-17; Harms, L., in HMBL, 1855, pp. 191, 195; 1863, p. 98; Haccius, G., HMGII2 p. 234.

⁹⁷ Meyer, F., in A:SA 41.11e, p. 21.

This is a very harsh formulation. In chapter four of this thesis, when dealing with the controversy between the missionaries and Mr Giessing, an Afrikaner (or *iBhunu*) in which Meyer was also involved, I mentioned the fact that racial superiority is not a South African creation. Whites brought it with them from Europe.⁹⁸ Regarding Meyer and his observations, it would be interesting to know and find out whether Meyer and many other missionaries were not ignorant of the African in union and harmony with nature in the sense of *uKama*.⁹⁹ Looking at the development of human understanding and tolerance towards nature, Buber's ideas expressed in his book “*Du und Ich*” (Thou (you) and I) would be of great interest and challenge to the racists and evolutionists who believe in superiority and inferiority of races in mankind. Buber believes that there can be a profound intimate relationship and communication not only between human beings but also animals and trees. This affectionate oneness with the cow or tree, gives the feeling of oneness with the universe. Even the environmental protagonists that is, ecologists and veterinarians, surely would find nothing wrong in living and growing up among animals. However, such people, who live and grow among animals are not animals *per se* but people with dignity and are made in the image of God.¹⁰⁰

⁹⁸ Mosse, G., *Rassismus*, pp. 9-23; Winthrop, D. *White over Black : American Attitudes Towards the Negro 1550-1812*, (Chapel Hill, N.C., 1968), p. 1ff; Walvin, James, *Black and White : The Negro and English Society 1555-1945*, (London, 1973), p. 1ff.

⁹⁹ *Ukama* is a Shona word for *Ubuntu*; Living in Communion and harmony with creation; A:SA 41.11e, pp. 19-20.

¹⁰⁰ Buber, Martin, *Ich und Du*, translated by Walter Kaufmann as *I and Thou*, T & T. Clark Edinburgh, 1970, p.1f. Buber, Martin, (*Zwiesprache*, 1929) published as *Between man and man*, Collins the Fontana library, 1947, 1961, 1974, London and Glasgow, p.1ff. Hodez, Aubrey, *Encounter with Martin Buber*, Penguin Books 1972, 1975, p.1ff. Genesis 1:26; 2 *Corinthians*, 4:4(b); *Ephesians* 4:24; *Colossians* 3:10 in NIV Bible.

Not all Hermannsburg missionaries shared the same anthropological views. Johann Brunkhost from eThembeni wrote about the black people:

"Though some appear to have sunk in destitution, as natural people they have something good in them. For instance they are good natured (*gutmütig*) and charitable (*mildtätig*) and share together the last bite of what they have. They are also very hospitable and support one another in every respect. Indeed I would even say in this regard they surpass and put the Christians in Germany to shame. For what cannot be achieved, i.e. corrected through the Gospel (in Germany) has to be done by the civil law. However among these (blacks) people everything is possible without law only through natural love [...] also it is not an indolent people, but a very strong, tall and capable people, which gives me the best hope..."¹⁰¹

Here is an attempt at a different understanding of missionaries coming from the same country and training.

In 1868 Meyer baptised four boys. There was still no protest and resistance against his work. When, however, in 1869 seven young people were baptised, the parents began to resist. They came and fetched their children away from the missionary.¹⁰² Shortly after that there were rumours that the missionary was an *umthakathi* (wizard). It was alleged that he was converting people to Christianity through his herbal medicine, which he kept in his mouth and would spit softly on them (*ukukhifa ngamakhubalo*). No children and

¹⁰¹ Brunkhorst, Johann from eThembeni in: HMBL., 1859, pp. 9-11; *Romans* 2:10-16; A:SA 41.11e, p. 21.

¹⁰² HMBL., 1868, p. 61; Meyer, F., A:SA 41.11e, p. 14, eNtombe Chronicle.

women were allowed to come closer to him. Only men and women who felt strong and courageous came to the services.¹⁰³ The scramble for eNtombe continued till 1869.

1.5 eNtombe : A Second Annexation, Partitioning and Demarcation in 1869

The Boers were not content with their defeat in 1866, where they had to withdraw their plans to partition eNtombe in the face of the pressure from King Mpande and Prince Cetshwayo.¹⁰⁴ The Boers made a second attempt in 1869. ENtombe mission station with an area of 12 000 acres (‘ 4800 hectares) was reduced to the half of its former size. eNtombe was regarded as falling under the Boer government, hence it was not registered under the name of the Hermannsburg Mission.¹⁰⁵

Meyer described the events in the following manner:

"In 1869 we were promised by the Boer government to measure and survey two complete portions. The inspectors were sent. They inspected only one portion. They then promised to clear the matter with the government in which case the portion of Zaaihoek (Izindolowane) would fall under eNtombe mission station. Now I do realise that the gentlemen wanted to keep me quiet till they had concluded their covert plans. When I asked them, I discovered that Zaihoek had

¹⁰³ Meyer, F., in A:SA 41.11e, p. 14; 1868, pp. 11, 61; 1869, pp. 199, 205.

¹⁰⁴ Zulu, Cetshwayo, in *A Zulu King Speaks*, pp. 20, 24; Meyer, F., A:SA 41.11e, p. 15; Haccius, G., HMG., Vol. 3,1, p. 199; Speckmann, F., *Mission in Afrika*, pp. 539-540.

¹⁰⁵ Meyer, F., in HMBL., 1870, pp. 176-177; Meyer, F. to K. Hohls, 06.02.1868.

been given to Grobler. An hour's walk toward the east there is still government land [...] one could give us a place there."¹⁰⁶

The missionaries Meyer and Filter saw these developments as an opportune moment to assert their authority over the station residents, who until then kept on reminding that the Zulus, Meyer, and other missionaries were King Mpande's subjects. For the missionaries, only the Boer government in Pretoria via Wakkerstroom was a legitimate authority with which to communicate.¹⁰⁷ For the first time the missionaries applied for a title deed on the one side and on the other called for protection by the Boers against the threat posed by the recalcitrant station residents.¹⁰⁸

The 1870s were a turning point for the rivalry between King Mpande and the Boers and the missionaries. Missionary J. Filter was a power behind that move, i.e. to establish the Hermannsburg Mission Society as the sole authority over mission stations in eNtombe and eNkombela (eNcaka). His calculation was, if that move proved to be a failure, he would opt for collaboration and cooperation with the encroaching Boer Republics.¹⁰⁹ Filter had been expelled from Zululand and, according to him, had nothing to do with Zululand. Ever since he resolved to fight against Zululand. Lüneburg, he reasoned, was

¹⁰⁶ Meyer, F., A letter to the state secretary SS. 146R 1029/1872 dated 10-06-1872.

¹⁰⁷ T.A. SS 49 R549/1863; HMBL., 1869, p. 204f; 1870, p. 176; Hasselhorn, F., *Bauernmission in Südafrika*, pp. 39-40.

¹⁰⁸ T.A. SS 232 R1194/1877; Hasselhorn, F., *BauernMission in Südafrika*, p. 40.

¹⁰⁹ Meyer, F. A Letter to Superintendent K. Hohls 6-02-1868 Amazulu in Arms, a war like situation.

the property of the Hermannsburg Mission Society. If not, then it was better if it fell under the Transvaal Republiek than to be under the Zulu Kingdom.¹¹⁰

Another move which Meyer undertook to assert his authority was to introduce regulations for his congregants and he, of course, hoped that the non-Christian residents would follow suit and obey his regulations. All residents were compelled to observe the following regulations: Attendance of church services and devotions, school attendance by the children, protection for the confirmants, no beer (*utshwala*) drinking, no polygamy, submission to the community council, which would solve all disputes. Crimes like murder were exceptions which could not be handled by the elected council, only the state could do so. All the residents were, Christians or not, to sign an oath of allegiance and promise to abide by these rules.¹¹¹

Three missionaries wrote to the Boer Republic asking for protection against Amazulu.

"We are expecting that soon we will have no Kaffirs any more and we might ourselves have to evacuate this place,"¹¹² (in the face of Amazulu threat).

Ironically whilst the missionaries were undermining the King's authority, officially they stood under his protection. The missionaries went further in their disloyalty and recalcitrance and forced the station residents to pay tax to the Boer Government. Mpande forbade the missionaries and told them to desist from doing so. The station residents

¹¹⁰ Meyer, F., to Supt. K. Hohls, 19-07-1869. Pretorius should be asked to protect eNtombe.

¹¹¹ Meyer, F., in HMBL., 1869, pp. 199-205; A:SA 41.11e, p. 15, 23, A:SA 4420g2; HMBL., 1868, 61; Haccius, G., Vol. 3,1, p. 197.

¹¹² T.A. SS 152R, Suppl. 91/1872, Missionaries Jordt, Filter and Meyer to the *Volksraad*, 14-5-1872.

were told that anyone who paid tax to the Boers would be punished and might be expelled from Zululand. The Boers could not stop Mpande from sending his army and occupying the area of uPhongolo valley. Mpande had again successfully asserted his authority over that disputed area.¹¹³

In his reports of the years 1868 and 1869 Meyer gave different impressions. Sometimes he was happy and optimistic, at other times he was full of despair. He wrote:

"The number of the souls who reside within the home yard are 63. If I were to exclude my family of 7 persons, then there are 56 souls of the Kaffirs who hear the gospel daily. On the station land (ground) there are many Kaffirs who do not recognize any authority. They do not want to have anything to do with the Boers and are serving the Zulu King by paying lip service in order to be spared the yoke of the Europeans. These swearing lawless people are making the missionary's position very difficult."¹¹⁴

In these words Meyer was indeed inviting a foreign authority to intervene and subject the people, namely the Boers. In his further reports Meyer stated that between the years 1870 to 1873 there were 65 people in his church yard.¹¹⁵

¹¹³ Meyer, F., to Supt. Hohls, 06-02-1868; Zulu, Cetshwayo, in *A Zulu King Speaks*, pp. 20, 24.

¹¹⁴ Meyer, F., in HMBL., 1870, p. 177; Etherington, N., *Preachers Peasants and Politics in Southeast Africa*, pp. 36-38, 104-105.

¹¹⁵ Meyer, F., in HMBL., 1873, p. 68, JSA, Vol. I, pp. 239, 250 -251.

The worst for the missionaries came in the year 1872 when King Mpande died. His death meant a political and diplomatic change. Political change brought uncertainty, for Prince Cetshwayo, in the eyes of the missionaries, was not as friendly towards the missionaries as his father Mpande had been. The open question was: are mission stations under Cetshwayo's reign continuing to exist? Mpande, the patron of the missionaries, died on October 18, 1872. His death was concealed for three months, i.e. it was not reported to the British nor to the Boer colonial rule in Natal and Transvaal respectively. Late in January Cetshwayo's envoys were sent across the uThukela to request Theophilus Shepstone (*Somtsewu kaSonzica*) the so-called Secretary for Native Affairs to come to the coronation of Cetshwayo as soon as *ihlambo* (purification ceremony) had been conducted.¹¹⁶

Before Shepstone could arrive in Zululand, Cetshwayo was installed (*wabekwa*) by Mpande's prime minister Masiphula kaMamba Ntshangase eMgazini.¹¹⁷ Masiphula and other leaders in KwaZulu called for Cetshwayo's coronation to remain within and through the customs, rituals and rules known in KwaZulu. When Shepstone came and heard that Cetshwayo, according to Zulu law, had already been installed, he was visibly angry; he wanted an explanation for that action.¹¹⁸

¹¹⁶ G.P.P. C1137, pp. 29-30; Guy, J., in *Black Leaders in Southern Africa*, p. 77; SNA 1/7/6 (16.2.1873), Net Vol. VII (1873), p. 67; Etherington, N., in: *Anglo-Zulu War*, pp. 26-33.

¹¹⁷ Zulu, Cetshwayo, in: *A Zulu King Speaks*, p. 18; Net Vol. IX, (1874), pp. 34-35; KCAL, Cato Papers; Cato to W. Shepstone, 20 Aug. 1873; Etherington, N., *Preachers*, pp. 32, 51.

¹¹⁸ G.P.P. C1137, pp. 10-12.

Soon after Cetshwayo's coronation Masiphula died on 16 August 1873 and later Maphitha kaSojijisa Zulu KwaMandlakazi died.¹¹⁹ The death of Masiphula is well described by Paulina kaSikhunyana Dlamini and by Mshayankomo kaMagolwana kaMkhathini Jiyane.¹²⁰ With the departure of King Mpande and his influential *izikhulu* the way stood open for Cetshwayo.¹²¹ The missionaries were watching Cetshwayo's reign very closely and carefully. Between 1872 and 1875, others were courting him for his favour.¹²² However between 1876 and 1878 almost all of them were convinced that Cetshwayo must be destroyed. During 1877 and 1878 the missionaries were calling for the invasion, annexation and removal of Cetshwayo, dead or alive.¹²³ Cetshwayo parted with Schreuder and made John Dunn his envoy to the British in colonial Natal.¹²⁴

He even named the missionaries he preferred to remain in Zululand by name: H. Schreuder, Oftebro, Bishop Wilkinson and Missionary Robertson. He did not want to see the rest of them any more.¹²⁵

¹¹⁹ G.P.P. C1137p. 11; JSA., Vol. 4, p. 301, 'Dlamini' Paulina, in *Servant of two kings*, pp. 60-61.

¹²⁰ JSA., Vol. 4, pp. 126-127, 300-301.

¹²¹ G.P.P. C1137, pp. 20-34; 'Dlamini' Paulina, in *The Servant of two kings*, pp. 60-62, 123-124.

¹²² Robertson to Colenso, January 26, 1863, SPG, D.25, Etherington, N., *Preachers, Peasants and Politics*, pp. 44-45; HMBL, 1861, pp. 139-144; 1862, pp. 171; 1863, pp. 7, 14, 146, 157.

¹²³ HMBL., 1876, pp. 191-192; 1877, pp. 162-166; 1879, pp. 2-3, 226-230 Bulwer to Robertson, November 11, 1877; Robertson to Bulwer, November 16, 1877, GH. 1397, Robertson to Macrorie, Feb. 6, 1878; Simensen, Jarle, *Norwegian Mission in African History*, Vol. 1, pp. 202-203, 222-225.

¹²⁴ Duminy, A.E., Ballard, C., *The Anglo Zulu War* p. 29; Shield, Charles, S., *The Life of John Dunn with special reference to Zululand, 1879-1897*, M.A. Thesis (UNISA, 1939), pp. 56-57.

¹²⁵ G.P.P. C1137, pp. 23-24; GH, Folio 1397: Fynney, Minute Paper, 5 August 1877; Duminy, A. & Ballard, C., *The Anglo Zulu War*, pp. 29, 50; Haccius, G. in

Their teachings, as Cetshwayo put it, were misleading the people. At times he would tell the missionaries in their face that the Amazulu had, since time immemorial, their own religious system, customs and culture.¹²⁶ He would ask the missionaries now and again whether all the whites were believers and faithful Christians.¹²⁷ According to his experience and observation they were not. Indeed he was right. When the war came and Cetshwayo and his kingdom were destroyed, the missionaries were more than happy.¹²⁸ From the statistics in the mission stations one could clearly see that only after the war of 1879 and particularly after the civil war of 1880 to 1884, many Amazulu became Christians.¹²⁹ The question arises why? From the political developments after the conquest one could see that the Amazulu had no choice but to look for other ways of survival. New *modus vivendi et operandi* had to be sought for. The first option was to become a Christian and live at the station in order to survive and avoid being enslaved by the surrounding farmers who were looking for cheap labour. Secondly, to adjust to changing times, education and better clothing was a way forward.¹³⁰ King Cetshwayo kaMpande is quoted as having once said with regard to the deception and treachery of the

HMBL, 1888, p. 171; SNA 1/1/23 Schreuder to Cato, 11 March 1873; Duminy, A. & Ballard, C., *The Anglo Zulu War* pp. 30, 50.

¹²⁶ Speckmann, F., *Mission in Afrika*, p. 438; Hardeland, A., in: HMBL., 1862, p. 64; Simensen, Jarle, *Norwegian Missions in African History*, Vol. 1, p. 214; Mann, R.J., *The Zulus and Boers*, pp. 54-55.

¹²⁷ Speckmann, F., *Mission in Afrika*, p. 438; Wickert, W. *Und die Vögel des Himmels*, pp. 120-122, Schreuder to Cato, 11 March, 1873, SNA 1/9/23.

¹²⁸ Wagner, Chr., in A:SA 41.11e, p. 66; Simensen, Jarle, *Norwegian Missions in African History*, Vol. 1, pp. 235-253.

¹²⁹ Simensen, J., *Norwegian Missions in African History*, Vol. 1, pp. 210-211; Hardeland, A., in HMBL, 1862, p. 75.

¹³⁰ Etherington, N., *Preachers, Peasants and Politics*, pp. 47-70, 71-86, 87-114; Gründer, Horst, Christianisierung und Kolonialismus... in *Zeitschrift für Kulturaustausch*, 34, 1984, p. 262, in Proske, W. *Botswana und die Anfänge der Hermannsburger Mission*, p. 23.

whites: “At first comes a missionary then a Consul and thereafter an army.” I shall briefly look at the resistance carried out by the following chiefs.

1.6 Prince Mbilini kaMswati and Chief Manyonyoba kaThulasizwe Kubheka in Defence of Northern Zululand 1874-1879

Chief Manyonyoba, according to African succession laws, should have been installed as a chief over his people. One year had lapsed between the death of his predecessor and his installation. The mourning time and purification ceremony had to be observed strictly.¹³¹

Manyonyoba, however, could not enter his eNtombe area for the Boers and missionaries had been preventing him from assuming his office. The Boers claimed to have jurisdiction over eNtombe and eNkombela whereas the missionaries imposed themselves as rulers over eNtombe residents.¹³² It seems with Mbilini's help, Manyonyoba managed to assert his authority in eNtombe as a chief under Cetshwayo's rule eBaqulusini in Northern Zululand.¹³³

Chief Manyonyoba was not happy when his people became Christians. The missionary was making *amakhafula* out of his people; therefore he should leave Manyonyoba's area. The question of power and the loyalty of one's subjects played an important role during those days. A state of competition began when more and more people became Christians

¹³¹ Paulina, Dlamini, in *The Servant of Two Kings*, pp. 26-29, 30, 31; JSA., Vol. 1, pp. 42-44.

¹³² Hardeland, A., in HMBL., 1862, pp. 61-62, 162-165, 168-169; Hasselhorn, F., *Mission, Land Ownership and Settlers Ideology*, p. 9.

¹³³ Zungu, Maphelu's account, pp. 111-115; Schütte, Hedwig, *Die Klingenberges in Südafrika, Vryheid*, 1967, pp. 45-48. Laband, J., and Thompson, P., *Kingdom and Colony at War*, (University of Natal Press, Pietermaritzburg, 1990), pp. 183-216; Jones, H.M., *A Biographical Register of Swaziland to 1902*, pp. 140-144, 328-31.

and in that way the authority and influence of a chief was at stake.¹³⁴ Even worse would be when a chief himself became a Christian. In that way he had given up his power and influence most particularly he had given up a long tradition of his family dynasty and identity. At times he might even be poisoned to prevent him from becoming a Christian. The missionary would appear as a new authority.¹³⁵ This, to most adamant and staunch traditionalists mostly *izikhulu* was unacceptable and they did everything to prevent it. They would even go so far as to eliminate the chief in question by means of poisoning or otherwise. The other reason for Chief Manyonyoba to resist the missionaries was in his eyes, the alliance between the encroaching Boers, the German settlers and the missionary himself. All of them had one objective in mind, to destroy his house and get hold of his people and the land of his forefathers.¹³⁶ Many people had been subjected to forced labour under the Boers in Wakkerstroom and Volkrust. Manyonyoba knew this. In response to Manyonyoba's apprehension, the missionary and the settlers called Manyonyoba an intruder whereas historically and politically both settlers and missionaries were intruders and betrayers.¹³⁷

¹³⁴ Trapido, S., "Landlord and Tenant in a Colonial Economy : The Transvaal, 1880-1910", *Journal of Southern African Studies*, 5, 1 October, 1978, pp. 26-58; Speckmann, F., *Mission in Afrika*, pp. 438-39; HMBL., 1869, p. 139; Haccius, G., HMG., Vol. 3,1, pp. 180-182, 188.

¹³⁵ HMBL., 1879, p.80; Isaacman, A., & Isaacman, B., "Resistance and Collaboration in Southern and Central Africa ca 1850-1920 International", *Journal of African Historical Studies*, 10, 1, 1977, pp. 31-62; Etherington, N. *Preachers, Peasants and Politics*, pp. 44-45; Robertson to Colenso, January 26, 1863, SPG D25; Hasselhorn, F. *BauernMission in Südafrika*, pp. 38-39.

¹³⁶ Zulu, Cetshwayo, in *A Zulu King Speaks*, pp. 14, 24; Speckmann, F., *Mission in Afrika*, pp. 518-519; Haccius, G., HMG Vol. 3,1, pp. 195-196; Delius, Peter, *The Land Belongs to us*, p. 1ff.

¹³⁷ Beinart, W., Delius, W., and Trapido, S., (eds). *Putting a plough to the ground : Accumulation and dispossession in rural South Africa, 1850-1930*, (Johannesburg, Raven Press, 1986), pp.1-55; Chesson, W.F., *The Dutch Boers and slavery in the Transvaal Republic*, (London 1869); Zulu, Cetshwayo, in *A Zulu King Speaks*, pp. 57-58.

Another political figure in Northern Zululand with which both the missionaries and settlers had to contend, was Prince Mbilini kaMswati kaSobhuza Dlamini. Mbilini was a refugee from the neighbouring country, Swaziland. After the death of his father there was a contest for the throne and succession. Historians tell us that Mbilini was the eldest son (Isokangqangi) of King Mswati but was not the heir apparent for the Swazi throne.¹³⁸ His younger brother others would say his half-brother for they had a common father but different mothers was their heir. Ludonga was ten years younger than Mbilini, whereas Mbilini was 20 years old. Mbilini wanted to be a king by all means. Then a civil war started. Mbilini and his forces were defeated so they had to flee from Swaziland. Mbilini with his followers thus went to the Boers north west of Swaziland. Ludonga died very young in 1874. The Boers were unfriendly and did not give Mbilini the expected refuge.¹³⁹ Perhaps they were fully aware of the consequences of harbouring Mbilini. Mbilini left his temporary abode and went straight to Zululand via eMkhondo, eBhadeni and with Cetshwayo's permission settled at eHlobane.¹⁴⁰ He was moving between eDumbe and eNtombe with his army which, because of hunger and dire need for a resting place, had become roaming free booters. They attacked at night and drove the cattle away with them.

¹³⁸ Matsebula, J.S.M., *A History of Swaziland*, pp. 24-27; Bonner, P., *Kings, Commoners and Concessionaires*, pp. 103-125.

¹³⁹ Jones, H.M., *A Biographical Register of Swaziland to 1902*, p. 140.

¹⁴⁰ Bonner, P., *Kings, Commoners and Concessionaires*, p. 109.

Many German settlers and Boers have tormenting memories of Mbilini's raids.¹⁴¹ The plans to attack and kill Mbilini always failed. He had caves all over, which served as fortresses, namely; eHlobane, eNtombe KwaThalagu and eMbongeni. He hid himself there. The Boers even went to Cetshwayo to report Mbilini's raids. According to Cetshwayo's own words Mbilini had no commission or authority from him to raid the Boers. By 1876 both Boers and missionaries left their places and went to Lüneburg into the laager to escape the attacks of Mbilini and Manyonyoba. Given the magnitude and seriousness of the case, Cetshwayo ordered the arrest and murder of Mbilini.¹⁴² Between 1877 to 1879 Mbilini was in hiding, going from place to place to avoid arrest.

By 1879 most of the missionaries and the settlers were in the laager at Lüneburg. When the Anglo-Zulu war broke out in January 1879, Mbilini and Manyonyoba were more than ready. On the morning of March 12th 1879 at 3.30am Mbilini and Manyonyoba's combined forces attacked a British force, which, because of the eNtombe river being in flood, had camped on both sides of the river. This force was from Derby, north of today's Piet Retief. The British army was routed and the survivors ran for their lives to Lüneburg and Newcastle. Those who died during the military encounter at Entombe river on the British side were: Captain moriarity, sixty soldiers, one civil surgeon, two European wagon conductors and fifteen African drivers. Manyonyoba is said to have lost three of

¹⁴¹ Jones, H.M., *A Biographical Register of Swaziland to 1902*, pp. 140-141; Laband, J., and Thompson, P., *Kingdom and Colony at War*, pp. 189-208; Schütte, Hedwig, *Die Klingenberg in Südafrika*, pp. 45-48; Keegan, T., *Rural transformations in industrialising South Africa: The Southern Highveld to 1914*, (Johannesburg, Ravan Press, 1986); Bundy, C., *The Rise and Fall of the South African Peasantry*, (London, Heinemann, 1979).

¹⁴² Zulu, Cetshwayo, in: *A Zulu King Speaks*, pp. 25-26, 40; Zungu, Maphelu=s Account, pp.111-115; Westerman, D., *Die Afrikaner erzählen ihr Leben*, p.155; Schütte, Hedwig, *Die Klingengbergs in Südafrika*, pp.45-48; Meyer, F., in A:SA 41.11e, pp. 36-37; Filter, J., in HMBL., 1879, pp. 179-183, 199-200.

his sons during the bloody encounter of eNtombe.¹⁴³ However, for Mbilini and Manyonyoba the situation meant that they should henceforth practice guerilla tactics to avoid defeat and capture by the British forces superior in weaponry. From January to September 1879 Mbilini and Manyonyoba resisted the British forces. Mbilini died on the 15th April 1879 near eHlobane. He was shot by Filter's son who was later caught and murdered by Mbilini's army.¹⁴⁴

Manyonyoba resisted till September. He was told that the King had been captured and *izinduna* had surrendered after the battle of uLundi on 4th July 1879. He surrendered on 22 September 1879.¹⁴⁵ Both Mbilini and Manyonyoba are regarded as heroes in the history and military annals of Zululand. The whites called Mbilini a 'hyena' (*impisi*). The military historians are of the opinion that had the other Zulu army generals adopted Manyonyoba-Mbilini guerilla tactics, perhaps the Amazulu could have won the war or at least the war would have been prolonged until eventually no victor emerged.¹⁴⁶

After the surrender, Manyonyoba, his immediate family and 94 of his followers were deported by Wolseley to eNquthu near the area of Hlubi kaMbunda Molefe at Masotsheni KwaMbunda.¹⁴⁷ They left eNtombe via Utrecht through Fort Melville on the

¹⁴³ Jones, H.M., *A Biographical Register of Swaziland to 1902*, p. 142; Laband, J., & Thompson, P., *Kingdom and Colony at War*, pp. 183-216. Laband, JPC and Thompson, PS – *A field guide to the war in Zululand 1879*, PMB (University of Natal Press 1979) p. 61.

¹⁴⁴ Filter, J., in HMBL., 1879, pp.2-3,34-37, 53-57, 75-79, 179-183; 199-200, 203, 226-230.

¹⁴⁵ Laband, J., & Thompson, P., *Kingdom and Colony at War*, p. XIV.

¹⁴⁶ Filter, J., in HMBL., 1879, pp. 179-183, 227-230, 234-240.

¹⁴⁷ CO 179/132, p. 356, *Wolseley's Journal* : 6 September 1879, Telegram, Wolseley to Secretary of State for War, 22 Sept. 1879, Montague, *Campaigning in South Africa*, p. 342; ZA, Vol. 21; Shepstone to Wheelwright 13 October 1879; Shepstone to

Buffalo River and arrived on 8 October 1879.¹⁴⁸ They were permitted to build a new homestead in the Bashe Valley, between Rorke's Drift and Isandlwana, close by the site of what had been Sihayo's Sokhele homestead.¹⁴⁹ ENtombe was annexed for the third time and ceded to the Transvaal during the Wolseley settlement of September 1, 1879.¹⁵⁰ The terms of that settlement virtually eliminated the territorial claims of the defunct Zulu Kingdom, for when drawing the boundaries of the 13 chiefdoms, Wolseley made the northern limit of chief Prince Hamu kaMpandes territory the uBivane River and that of Sekethwayo the Mpevana.¹⁵¹ The whole disputed area between the confluence of the uPhongolo and uBivane, including the eNtombe Valley and Lüneburg consequently went to the Transvaal, and the political authority of the settlers and colonial rule was confirmed at last.¹⁵²

Many Germans, missionaries and settlers, supported the British army and prayed for its victory. Filter had to write to his mission society in Germany and give an account of the events, which ultimately led to the death of his son. Filter explained his position:

Wheelwright, 15 October 1879, Memo of D.R. Middleton, *'Instruction as to the disposal of Manyonyoba and his people'*, 30 September 1879; Madden to Middleton, 15 October 1879, in: *The Anglo-Zulu War*, pp. 108, 117.

¹⁴⁸ Laband, J., & Thompson, P., *Kingdom and Colony at War*, p. 207; B.P.P. C2482 encl. in No. 130; Wolseley to Secretary of State for War, 3 October 1879.

¹⁴⁹ SNA 1/1/35, No. 87; Fynn to Secretary for Native Affairs, Natal, 10 October 1879; ZA21 encl. in G 728/79; Report on the Relocation of Manyonyoba, 15 October 1879.

¹⁵⁰ Laband, J., & Thompson, P., *Kingdom and Colony at War*, p. 207.

¹⁵¹ Ibid, p. 207.

¹⁵² ZA 19, enc. in Herbert to Osborn, 25 February, 1880: Report of the Zululand Boundary Commission, Lt. Col. G. Villiers, Capt. J. Alleyne and Capt. H. Moore, 5 December, 1879 in Laband, J., and Thompson, P., *Kingdom and Colony at War*, p. 207.

"What particularly made me give a go ahead, that is to say yes, was that I saw that as a war in which the British would be victorious thereby Christianity, education, law and order will be established, or the Zulus would be victorious, thereby heathenism, tyranny, and barbarism would prevail. "If I had had no office (as a pastor) and family, I would have personally taken up arms (against the Zulus)."¹⁵³

Jacob Filter had collaborated and cooperated with the British against the Amazulu in the war of 1879. He even let his son work as a spy to the British and informer for the British colonial army in Lüneburg, Northern Zululand. The task of Filter's son was to monitor and reconnoitre the movement of Mbilini and Manyonyoba's army between eNcaka and eNtombe. Through his assistance the British were able to trace and fatally wound Mbilini kaMswati Dlamini, however they could not capture him for he managed to evade them. A few days later, Mbilini succumbed his wounds and died. A few months later Filter's son was on duty as reconnoitre and spy on horseback for the British, but this time Mbilini and Manyonyoba's army lay in wait for him. He was encircled, kidnapped and killed a distance away. His body was discovered by Missionary Wagner at KwaNgodla (Odakanina) not far from eNtombe.¹⁵⁴ A tripartite scramble for eNtombe and eNkombela mission stations took place. This shall be looked at closely.

¹⁵³ Filter, J., in HMBL., 1879, pp. 179-183.

¹⁵⁴ Ibid., pp. 180-183; 1902, pp.47, 13, 189.

2. ENTOMBE AND ENKOMBELA : THE DISPUTED MISSION STATIONS 1880-1910

2.1 eNtombe : Reconstruction and the Contending Parties

After his appointment Wagner went to eNtombe, accompanied by Filter who by then was posted at Lüneburg. On his arrival at eNtombe, Wagner had a fight with the residents. The residents were happy through the war to have cast off the missionary's mantle. They wanted to return to the places of their forefathers, but without a missionary. The people agitated openly that eNtombe was a place of the Zulu kings, if not, then it belonged to the government (Transvaal Republiek) however, never to the mission.¹⁵⁵ Wagner had two parties against him, the residents and the Boers. Wagner stated:

"It was imperative that I should go to the station, first to secure the right of possession that our mission has of the land on which the mission station is built. For there were rumours that the station is no longer desired, whatever it may cost. There is a plot to expropriate the place from the mission, which she possessed for 19 years."¹⁵⁶

Here Wagner was apparently referring to the Boers of the Transvaal Republic.

It is significant to follow Wagner's way of arguing when confronting the blacks on the one side and when he is confronted by whites on the other.

¹⁵⁵ A:SA 41.11e, pp. 39, 68-72.

¹⁵⁶ Ibid., pp. 39-40.

Wagner stated:

"Christians (*Getaiften*) are boasting as lords here on the station. I have made clear to the Christians, the mission's right of possession and my right as missionary on the station, Filter did the same as well. When I left the laager and temporarily stayed with Missionary Filter, I heard rumours that the Christian residents were occupying the station. However, they did not want to be under my authority. The place belonged to the government, where the station is built, therefore they wanted to live there as before."¹⁵⁷

Wagner continued:

"I told them: I regard myself as being sent by God the Lord to the eNtombe mission station, though this happened through the means and deeds of a human being namely Superintendent Hohls. If they did move to the mission station they should know that they are my people and I am their missionary. I am not only their missionary, but also the lord and master of the place."¹⁵⁸

Before Wagner could officially commence his work at eNtombe, he and Missionary Filter summoned the Christian residents and held a threatening speech before them.

Wagner furthermore stated:

¹⁵⁷ Ibid., p. 39.

¹⁵⁸ Ibid., pp. 39-40.

"As a master of the place, they should abide by my rules and obey me. If they could not and did not want to do so, they could go and look for another missionary and stay with him. If anyone tried to argue further he/she should know that I would call the police to remove him from this place. They expressed the wish to be my people."¹⁵⁹

That he was not only disloyal to the Zulu king, who allowed him to practise mission work among the people, but also, Wagner was collaborating with the then system of dispossession, it should be clear to anyone who reads Wagner's documents. Wagner, like any other white in the then South African situation knew very well that the people were either completely dispossessed, had no land and no leaders any more, or were in the process of being dispossessed. According to Wagner, the black people should know then that they had to choose between the devil and the deep blue sea or jump from a frying pan into the fire. The people had to choose between him and the settlers. They could never be independent.¹⁶⁰ There were new masters running the country. Here is a *prima facie* evidence of land dispossession by the missionaries.¹⁶¹

¹⁵⁹ Ibid., p. 40.

¹⁶⁰ Wagner, Chr., in A:SA 41.11e, p. 46; Filter, J., in HMBL., 1879, pp. 179-183; Eldredge, E.A., & Morton, Fred, (eds). *Slavery in Southern Africa*, pp. 127-166, 167-186.

¹⁶¹ Cope, R.L., "Christian missions and independent African chiefdoms in South Africa in the 19th century", *Theoria*, 52 (May 1979); Davenport, T.R.H., "Christian mission and the South African melting pot in the nineteenth century" *Studia Historiae Ecclesiasticae* (1992); Majeke, Nozipho, *The role of the missionaries in conquest*, Society of young South Africa (Johannesburg 1952); Williams, D, *The missionaries on the Eastern Frontier of the Cape Colony*, PhD dissertation, University of the Witwatersrand, Johannesburg, 1959; Brookes, E.A., *A century of missions in Natal and Zululand*, (Durban. 1936), p. 1f; Brookes, E.H., *The History of Native Policy in South Africa 1830 to the present day*, (Cape Town, 1924), p. 1f; Campbell, W., with Cetshwayo in the eNkandla and the present state of the Zulu question, (Durban, 1883), pp. 1-51; Davenport, T.R.H., "Christian Mission and the South African melting pot in the Nineteenth Century", *Studia Historiae Ecclesiasticae* 18(2) 1992, pp. 42-59;

2.2 eNtombe Mission Station: a Gift or Permission? The Divergent Interests: Boers versus Missionary Wagner

The Boers came back to eNtombe to revive their claims over eNtombe for the third time in 1885/86. Wagner had written a series of letters and sent delegates to the Boer Republic Headquarters in Pretoria to defend the mission's right of possession of eNtombe. In the previous section we observed and analysed Wagner's methods of approach in dealing with the black Africans. His method then was first to assert his authority as *de facto* and *de jure* missionary and therefore authority over eNtombe residents and second if that *modus operandi* did not function then he would use the state police to evict the disobedient residents. This stance and position is suggestive of an already existing alliance between the mission society or missionaries and the colonists be they English or Boers. Reference to King Mpande's permission when dealing with the Africans, was never mentioned, for doing so, would be an admission that the territory belonged to the Zulu kings. Wagner carefully avoided this. However, in dealing with the second party, namely the Boers, Wagner and Fröhling mentioned and used Mpande's authority in defence of the mission's right over eNtombe and other stations against the encroaching Boers.

Wagner complained:

Marks, Shula, and Trapido, Stanley, (ed)., *The politics of race, class and nationalism in twentieth century South Africa*, (London, 1987); Marks, Shula, *The ambiguities of dependence in South Africa Class, Nationalism and the state, in twentieth century Natal*, (Johannesburg, 1986).

" What had caused many sleepless nights for me in the past half year which is not yet over, is that the existence of this station (eNtombe) is uncertain, as to whether it should continue to exist or it should stop."¹⁶²

Wagner furthermore:

"Our mission received permission from the Zulu king uMpande to erect two stations, the one at iNtombe (iNtombe area) and the other one at Pongola (uPhongolo area, i.e.eNcaka-Nkombela). In the year 1860 on the 19th October, our brothers, missionaries Prydtz, Moe and the settlers H. Rabe, F. Küsel and B. Kröge came here and erected a station at eNtombe. This station which has been in existence for almost 25 years now, at which a sincere labour under many prayers and much tears has been done, is now insecure."¹⁶³

The conflict and struggle for the property rights (title deeds) reached its peak between 1885 and 1888. As known in the history of colonial occupation and dispossession, that was the time when after the end of civil war in Zululand (1880 to 1884) the Boers annexed Northern Zululand. As a result all the Hermannsburg mission stations fell under the so-called '*Nuwe Republiek*'. The Hermannsburg Mission Society had to correspond

¹⁶² Wagner, Chr., in A:SA 41.11e, p. 68; Wagner to Propst Fröhling 22 May 1886; Fröhling to German imperial Consul in Cape Town, 17 Sept. 1884, 20 April 1884, 3 Sept. 1885; Fröhling, 5.11.1885, to the President and members of the Volksraad of the South African Republic. Application for an exemption of the 25 Annual rent for both sides of eNtombe area and to change the stipulated time of 25 years *ad infinitum* (to an indefinite or unlimited time).

¹⁶³ Wagner, Chr., *ibid.*, p. 68, Wagner to Director, 8 July 1885; Fröhling 9.12.1886 to German General Consul Bieber in Cape Town on the disputed mission stations in Zululand.

with the British- Boer officials wherever possible. However in the case of difficulties they used the German authorities via their consulate in Cape Town. Fröhling stated:

"The territory for the erection of our stations we received from uMpande the then king of the Zulus and his son Cetshwayo, who was then still a crown prince (heir apparent to the Zulu throne). However, he was already a co-ruler. We received it on condition that it was not our permanent property, but for the purpose of mission work an usufruct (*Niessbrauche*) and that under no circumstances are we to regard this as our property and that we shall not establish a colony of Europeans and that the king reserves the right to expel us."¹⁶⁴

The period or events of annexation occurred simultaneously with the death of the Hermannsburg mission society director, Theodor Harms, on 16th February 1885, Egmont Harms succeeded his father as mission director. Soon after his election and induction in office he made plans to move his office and responsibilities to South Africa.¹⁶⁵

Propst Fröhling wrote to the Boer South African Republic's Volksraad requesting the elimination of or exemption from a ,25 annual rent on lease for eNtombe and that the 25 years lease be changed to an unlimited time.¹⁶⁶

¹⁶⁴ Propst, Fröhling, 3 September 1885, 9.12.1886 to German Imperial Consul in Cape Town requesting intervention of the German imperial government on behalf of the Hermannsburg missionaries in South Africa; A:SA 1.40b.

¹⁶⁵ Harms, Egmont, 12.12.1885 to Fröhling.

¹⁶⁶ Fröhling, 5 November 1885 to the Volksraad. Bignaut, J.P. *Die Onstaan en Outwikkeling van die Nuwe Republiek 1884-1888*, (ongepubliseerde M.A. Verhandeling, Unisa, 1941. Heystek, J.L.R. *Die Nuwe Republiek* (ongepubliseerde M.A. Verhandeling, Universiteit van Pretoria, 1944).

Again it can be said with profound resentment for such dubious action on the side of the Boers and missionaries towards Zululand that those attempts to cheat were made previously. Francis Fynn opened the way in the 1820s when he claimed in his diary that Shaka and his *izinduna* like Mbikwana kaKhayi kaMadango kaXaba Mthethwa had, per written and countersigned accord, given a piece of land to him on the coast later called Port Natal.¹⁶⁷

The Boers followed the British in 1838/39 when they claimed that King Dingana had given them land in reward for their bravery for having "successfully captured Dingana's cattle from the Batlokwa King Sekonyela."¹⁶⁸

In both instances the whites fraudulently claimed that Shaka and Dingana had signed such an agreement in the presence of their *izinduna*. After defeating Dingana at eMaqonqo the Boers expropriated the region west of Umzinyathi and south of the uThukela Rivers from the Amazulu as compensation for allegedly assisting Mpande against Dingana. Again the Boers claimed to have reached an agreement with Mpande in which he ceded North Zululand including the areas across the uPhongolo River namely eNtombe and eNkombela (eNcaka).¹⁶⁹

¹⁶⁷ The *Diary of Henry Francis Fynn* (ed. by James Stuart, and Malcolm, D., Pietermaritzburg, 1951, 1986), pp. 87-88; Bird, J., *Annals of Natal*, Vol. I 1888, p. 193; Vide pp. 73-76, 77-95; Guy, Jeff, "Shaka kaSenzangakhona - A Reassessment" in: *Journal of Natal and Zulu History*, Vol. XVI 1996, pp. 8-19.

¹⁶⁸ Bird, J., *Annals of Natal*, Vol. 1, pp. 329-365; 366, 438-452; 453-458.

¹⁶⁹ Bird, J., *Annals of Natal*, Vol. 1, pp. 536-544, 577-603; T.A.E. V.R. 562, *Oorspronklike tractate met Panda*, 8.9.1854, T.A. Soutter Versammling packet 7, Republiek Lydenburg, Volksraadsbesluit, 16.4.1856 in Hasselhorn, F., *BauernMission in Südafrika*, p. 39; P.P. 1878-1879, C. 2220, 293, Encl. 2 in No. 109 Appendix "A". Treaty of Cession of 21 July 1855; SA AR. TRL No. 3, 87-88, Kommisie Raad's meeting, 4 July 1855, Art. pp. 9-12 in Bonner, Philip, *Kings, Commoners and Concessionaires*, p. 252.

In the times of Cetshwayo a repeated attempt in 1861, was made to claim North Zululand, however without success. In fact the Amazulu had convincingly argued and won their case in the presence of Shepstone at an iNdaba held at eNcome 1877.¹⁷⁰ Another indictment to the Boers' dubiousness and intrigues is when they lured and capitalised on the predicament of the young and persecuted king Dinuzulu kaCetshwayo. Again they purported to assist him against Zibhebhu in 1884. What they could not achieve during Cetshwayo's reign, they were bent on seizing by hook or by crook, namely North Zululand.¹⁷¹

In January 1885, Wagner was in a serious predicament when he received the news from his colleague Missionary Prigge, that the Boer Government's commission was already in the vicinity measuring the places and were demarcating them into plots of 1000 morgans. The Commission had also mentioned the name of eNtombe area. Prigge suggested to Wagner that the best way would be to ride on horseback to the oncoming Commission and lay a formal protest. Prigge had left iMvutshini in 1872 after a quarrel with Chief

¹⁷⁰ Cope R. L., "Shepstone and Cetshwayo", in chapter 13 A full discussion of the Report of the Boundary commission is rendered; WMP 2/3/1: Interview between Schreuder and Rev. Blencowe, G. Blencowe to Pearse. 27 July 1861; SPG, Folio D25; Colenco to Bullock, 4 May 1861 in Etherington, N., *Preachers, Peasants and Politics*, pp. 15-21, 26-33; Zulu, Cetshwayo, in *A Zulu King Speaks*, pp. 13-15, 17-28, 46-71; Campbell, W.Y., *With Cetshwayo in the eNkandla*, pp. 1-51; Bpp LII pf 1878-79, C.2222: Frere Various Memoranda accompanying commission report on the Zulu-Transvaal border dispute forwarded to Hicks Beach, 16-11-1878; L III of 1875, C 1137.

¹⁷¹ Binns, C.T., *Dinuzulu, the Death of the House of Shaka*, (London, 1968), pp. 29-32; Zungu, Maphelu's account in Zulu Society papers (Ms. 16665), pp. 48, 51; Guy, Jeff, *The destruction of the Zulu Kingdom*, pp. 222-230, vide pp. 224-227; Van Zyl, M.C., *Die koms van die Boere na Zoeloeland in 1884: Genooies of Indringers?* (Pretoria, 1962).

Gijimani or Nkinsimane kaMagwaza or kaMakhaza.¹⁷² He is said to have bought a piece of ground at the KwaNgema tribe near Piet Retief. He called the place Good Hope. He wanted to work privately and at times work with the Hermannsburg mission in the mission field.¹⁷³

On arrival to the aforesaid Commission, Wagner and Prigge laid their protest and claims against the envisaged demarcation. Wagner wrote to the HMS officials:

"We made it unequivocally clear to them that the Zulu king uMpande gave the place to our mission society in order to erect one station. The Transvaal government did confirm that in the year 1869 when the place was being surveyed, the government inspector had given instructions to measure two places for our mission at eNtombe. This, however, was never done. The mission received only one place and not two (as was supposed to be the case). We pleaded with the government not to demarcate the place where so many kaffirs are living, baptised and unbaptised."¹⁷⁴

In spite of the vehement protest on the side of the missionaries the place was finally measured and divided into four places. However, the maps were not issued.¹⁷⁵ After two

¹⁷² Speckmann, F., *Mission in Afrika*. pp. 403-417; Vide pp. 413-417; Pape, H., *Hermannsbürger Missionare in Südafrika*, p. 146; Gevers, Irmela Prigge 1857-1989; *Eine Familie in Südafrika*, (Vryheid, 1989), pp. 21-27.

¹⁷³ Oschadleus, Hans-Jürgen, *Heidenmissionar*, pp. 64-69; HMBL, 1872, p. 184; HMBL., 1888, p. 183; Bodenstein, Wilhelm, *25 Jahre arbeit*, p. 56.

¹⁷⁴ Wagner, Chr., in A:SA 41.11e, p. 69; HMBL., 1869, pp. 199-205, 1870, pp. 176-177; A:SA 4430 g2; Meyer, F., in A:SA 41.11e, p. 9; Meyer, F., 19 July 1869 to Supt. Hohls, Pretorius should be requested to protect eNtombe.

¹⁷⁵ Wagner, Chr., in A:SA 41.11e, p. 70.

months a response to Wagner's letter to the Boer officials in Pretoria came. Wagner stated further:

"As indicated before, after two months I received a response to my letter. The president informed me that with regard to my letter in which I requested a title deed, both places were inspected and registered in the name of the government by Field Cornet Outshoorn. For the Zulu king uMpande had no right to allocate or to give land as a gift within the Republic."¹⁷⁶

In the letter of the 23rd March 1885, Wagner responded to the president's letter. Wagner stated:

"Whether or not Mpande had the right to allocate or to give land as a gift, I do not know. However, I know that uMpande ruled here, conducted wars and appointed chiefs or *izinduna* without being impeded by the Transvaal government. I have heard that there will be compensation rights issued. I request for one for this place, for the missionaries have done much service to the government."¹⁷⁷

Wagner tried other ways to acquire the right of possession of eNtombe. He gave a letter to the farmer Christian Kohrs to be handed over to advocate Holland with the request to assist in that matter. General P. Joubert promised to present the case to the council.

¹⁷⁶ Wagner, Chr., in A:SA 41.11e, p. 70.

¹⁷⁷ Wagner, Chr., in A:SA 41.11e, p. 71; 23 March 1885 to the Tvl Rep. President.

The case continued the following year 1886. Finally Holland managed to reach a compromise that at least 4000 acres be set aside for mission purposes.¹⁷⁸ With the other place of about 3000 acres, it was not clear whether or not it was left for use by the mission.¹⁷⁹ The Boers at the time were not only chasing people and invading villages and homesteads, they were also demanding taxed from the residents of eNtombe.¹⁸⁰

The question of annexation and expropriation did not only affect eNtombe and eNkombela, but also affected all the other mission stations in North Zululand. Missionaries like Weber, Stallbom, Dedekind and Völker had to flee during the course of the war. While they were away their stations were annexed by the Boers and henceforth were regarded as property of the Boer "New Republic" of 1884.¹⁸¹ Missionary Stallbom was appointed to negotiate with the ten members of the Boer Commission responsible for the creation of a "New Republic". Those negotiations were arduous and at times appeared to be hopeless in the face of Boer obstinacy and relentlessness.¹⁸² In order to move the Boers into agreeing to reinstate the annexed stations, different diplomatic authorities had to be consulted. Propst Fröhling and H.C. Koch, an advocate in Pietermaritzburg, were engaged in intensive correspondence with both the German and English officials for mediation and intervention on behalf of the mission society and its missionaries.¹⁸³

¹⁷⁸ Wagner, Chr., in A:SA 41.11e, p. 73.

¹⁷⁹ Ibid., p. 73.

¹⁸⁰ Wagner, Chr., in A:SA 41.11e, p. 74; HMBL., 1897, p. 277; 1898, pp. 21-24.

¹⁸¹ Koch, H.C., 29 January 1885 to Fröhling.

¹⁸² Otte, C., 20 May 1884 and October 9, 1884 to Missionary F. Stallbom,

¹⁸³ Letter of 20th April 1884 requesting the German General Consul for Assistance; 20 May 1884 negotiations with the Boer Commission of 10; 17 September 1884 Natal Governor being authorised to return the mission stations in Southern

The Bethel, eNyathi, eKuhlengeni, eSihlengeni, eDlomodlomo and eHlobane mission stations were constantly under threat of being expropriated, particularly the eSihlengeni and eDlomodlomo stations could not be reoccupied during March and April 1885.¹⁸⁴ However, by May 1885 Missionary Völker at eKuhlengeni had already returned to his station and he reported that there was no danger of attacks from the Amazulu. The merchants were travelling through these areas: Esihlengeni and eDlomodlomo were no longer in danger as before.¹⁸⁵

Propst Fröhling could, by August 1886, write to the German Consul General in Cape Town and inform him that the negotiations between the German imperial government and the British government regarding the annexation of the mission stations in Zululand were successful.¹⁸⁶ Locally, i.e. in South Africa, negotiations with the Boers were continuing. Stallbom was representing the Hermannsburg missionaries for North Zululand. His situation was not easy.¹⁸⁷

Zululand; 9 October 1884 C. Otto to Stallbom, Penzhorn should request Paul Kruger and Joubert to mediate in the case of Northern Zululand stations.

¹⁸⁴ Fröhling, F., 2 March 1885 to Stallbom, eSihlengeni and eDlomodlomo still insecure; 28 March 1885 Bethel, F. Stallbom to F. Fröhling. The situation is still uncertain Dinuzulu and the Boers' behaviour uncertain and unpredictable.

¹⁸⁵ Ekuhlengeni 11 May 1885, F. Völker to F. Fröhling. The situation has returned to normal in Northern Zululand.

¹⁸⁶ Hermannsburg, 27 August 1886, Supt. F. Fröhling to the German General Consul in Cape Town on the success of the negotiations.

¹⁸⁷ Propst, F. Fröhling, 30 August 1886, to Miss. F. Stallbom; (Pietermaritzburg), H.C. Koch, 3 August 1887 to Miss. Röttcher, Stallbom complaining about the unrelenting Boers; Lammerding, F. *Die Chronik* in SA ACC. 76, 589, 4 dated 4-10-1923.

By November 1886 Fröhling expressed his joy that the stations in Southern Zululand had been returned.¹⁸⁸ In North Zululand progress was being made, but was very slow and the situation still remained unpredictable. The *Natal Mercury* published a statement made by the Boers' Republic with respect to returning the mission stations.

"The settlers of the New Republic guarantee to all denominations all rights to lands and other privileges duly approved which may have been granted to them by the late King Cetshwayo and his predecessors."¹⁸⁹

The intensive correspondence shows that in spite of the declaration of goodwill on the side of the Boers, the practical realities on the ground were different and harsh. Till December 1886 the Hermannsburg officials, that is to say Harms and Fröhling, were still negotiating with the Boers through Stallbom in the North.¹⁹⁰ Another figure with whom the missionaries had to reckon and deal, was John Dunn. Dunn regarded the missionaries as being subversive to his business as a merchant.¹⁹¹ As a white chief living like any chief in Zululand, Dunn had to make laws and regulations for his region where King Cetshwayo had put him before the war of 1879. However he rebelled against his King

¹⁸⁸ Hermannsburg, E. Harms, 1 November 1886 to Propst Fröhling expressed joy for the restitution in Southern Zululand, (Pietermaritzburg); H.C. Koch, 18 October 1886 to Supt. Fröhling on the discussion with the government regarding the stations in the reserve.

¹⁸⁹ Vide *Mercury*, 4 November 1886, New Republic's statement of goodwill; Enyathi mission station to be sold; HMBL., 1886, p. 185; 1889, pp. 72, 132; 1890, pp. 66, 78, 190; 1891, pp. 50, 66; Lammerding, F. *Die Chronik* 4-10-1923 in SA Acc. 76.589.4.

¹⁹⁰ Hermannsburg, 9 December 1886, Propst Fröhling to the German General Consul in Cape Town. On the nature of Mission stations in Zululand.

¹⁹¹ Wagner, Chr., in A:SA 41.11e, pp. 57, 58; Ballard, C., John Dunn, pp. 126, 145, 153, 158, 167; Ballard, C. Sir Garnet Wolseley and John Dunn; the architects and agents of Ulundi settlement, pp. 120-147, in: *The Anglo-Zulu War* edited by Andrew Duminy and Charles Ballard, (Pietermaritzburg, 1981).

and was instrumental during the Ulundi settlement of July 1879. Instrumental in that he gave advices to the British authorities to how Zululand could be divided into thirteen districts. As compensation for his valuable assistance to the colonial rule, Dunn was given the largest district out of 13. As the war was over and the merchants were returning, so were the missionaries. Dunn, however, made the situation very difficult for them. He made stipulations under which all or part of the missionaries would be allowed to return to their stations in his district.¹⁹² Many missionaries hated him; they called him a degraded white who lived in heathenism. They resented not only his attitude towards them, but also the fact that he was a polygamist with 49 Zulu wives and over 100 children and grandchildren.¹⁹³

At the beginning of 1887 Fröhling was becoming more optimistic that the Boers would be more relenting and acquiescent. He wrote to Stallbom who hitherto had been the envoy and negotiator for Hermannsburg with the Boers, informing him that at the end of February, Fröhling personally would travel to Vryheid to meet the Boers, and hope to wind up the matter concerning the stations.¹⁹⁴ Again in May Fröhling wrote an optimistic letter to the German Consul in Cape Town in which he expressed his satisfaction with what had been achieved in the discussion with the Boers of the New Republic. His only concern was that, in the process of restitution the mission stations would be smaller in

¹⁹² Chief John Dunn, 2 January 1882, "Conditions on which a limited number of missionaries, preachers will be allowed to have stations on my territory," Pietermaritzburg, H.C. Koch, 13-12-1886 to F. Fröhling on J. Dunn.

¹⁹³ Ballard, Charles, John Dunn, *The White Chief of Zululand*, pp. 50-90, Vide, p. 66.

¹⁹⁴ Hermannsburg, 26 January 1887, F. Fröhling to Miss. F. Stallbom, "The Officials of the Republic are prepared (willing) to talk to us."

size than what they had been before.¹⁹⁵ Fröhling's letter to the German Consulate in Cape Town and the optimistic news it carried was soon followed by a letter from a Mr H.C. Koch in Pietermaritzburg, who also expressed his optimism in favour of the mission society.¹⁹⁶ During the course of August 1887, Propst Fröhling passed away. In a letter to the Council of the Zulu Mission, Director Egmont Harms announced the death of Fröhling. His administrative duties were to be carried out by the chairperson of the committee. Harms and Haccius were planning in earnest to come to South Africa.¹⁹⁷

At the beginning of January 1888, Director Egmont Harms and Haccius were preparing to travel to South Africa; an itinerary known as a "visitation". Harms expressed his concern for the stations in the face of the new law known as '*Plakkerwet*'.¹⁹⁸ The irony and cynicism of that law was that it made the blacks, who were *de jure* the owners of the land, squatters. The intruders were now scattering black people into a group of five families per so called white farm.¹⁹⁹ This was done in order to make manpower available to the settlers.

As we are dealing with the divergent political interest over the area of Northern Zululand and how the mission stations were affected, it would be historically appropriate to look at

¹⁹⁵ Hermannsburg (SA) 17 May 1887, F. Fröhling to the German General Consul. "We can be satisfied with what has been achieved with the Government of the New Republic."

¹⁹⁶ Koch, H.C., 30 June 1887 to Supt. Fröhling. "The case with the stations in Zululand is approaching an end."

¹⁹⁷ Hermannsburg (Germany) 14 August 1887, E. Harms to the Zulu Mission Committee.

¹⁹⁸ Harms & Haccius visitations, HMBL., 1888, pp. 44, 153-159, 162-168, 169-178, 182-185, 201; 1889, pp. 132-33.

¹⁹⁹ Kistner, Ulrike, *Die politische Rolle der Unpolitischen*, p. 181; HMBL., 1896, p. 74.

another factor which precipitated and worsened the situation for the rest of KwaZulu. Germany had shown her ambitions in the context of the struggle and scramble for Africa, by asserting her rule and authority over Tanzania, Togo, Cameroon and Namibia (Deutsch Südwest Afrika).²⁰⁰ Germany did this in competition with France and Britain. The Germans had always shown their sympathy for the Boers whenever a fight began between the Boers and the English. England was for a long time Germany's rival in European and international affairs.²⁰¹ When the dispute over Northern Zululand began which resulted in the annexation by the Boers, the Natal government was all along hoping for the disintegration of Zululand. The Germans had all along secret contacts with the Boers between 1884 and 1887 in which a plan was worked out, namely, that the corridor between Swaziland and Zululand leading to the sea be given to Germany.²⁰² This would have created an independent Boer republic with access to the Indian Ocean. Britain knew about that rapprochement between her rival Germany and the Boer republic. Britain, through her colony Natal, ordered the annexation of Zululand in 1887.²⁰³ Generally the German press was on the side of the Boers.²⁰⁴

²⁰⁰ Louis, W.R., *Great Britain and German expansion in Africa, 1884-1919* in: Gifford, P., and Louis, W.R., (eds.), *Britain and Germany in Africa*, (New Haven, Connecticut, 1967), p. 1f.

²⁰¹ Rosenbach, Harald, *Das Deutsche Reich, Grosbritannien und der Transvaal 1896-1902*, Vol. 52, (Göttingen, 1993), p. 1f.

²⁰² Binns, C.T., Dinuzulu, *The Death of the House of Shaka*, (London, 1968), pp. 29-32, 34-38; Bixler, R.W., *Anglo-German Imperialism in South Africa 1880-1900*, (Baltimore, 1932), p. 1f; Garson, N.G., *The Swaziland Question and the Road to the Sea, 1887-1895*, (Parow, 1957) Archives Year Book for S.A. History 1957, Vol. 2; Kruger, D.W., Die Weg na die see of die Ooskus in Boerebeleid Voor 1877, *AYB for South African History*, 1,1 (1938) Cape Town.

²⁰³ Backeberg, W., Deutscher Siedler in Suedafrika, in Wickert, W., (ed) *Und die Voegel des Himmels* pp. 316-333; Backeberg, H.E.W., *Die Betrekking tussen die Suid-Afrikaanse, Republiek en Duitsland tot na die Jameson - inval 1852 - 1896*, Kaapstad, 1969 (Argiefjaarboek vir Suid-Afrikaanse Geskiedenis, 1949, Deel I); *Journal of Natal and Zulu History*, Vol. IV, (Durban, 1981), pp. 62-73.

The Boers, the English and Germans were now caught up in unforeseen political rivalry for political supremacy over Northern Zululand. By 1890 there was still no clear hope for ultimate settlement of the issue. The black people were no longer decisive actors, for after the battle of KwaNdunu in 1888, the English arrested and deported King DinuZulu to St Helena for daring to take up arms against them.

The Hermannsburg Mission Society by 1890, it seemed, had already forgotten the conditions under which King Mpande and Cetshwayo had allowed them to establish mission stations in Zululand. We have analysed their correspondence between 1860 and 1888 and have seen that the word “permission” (*Erlaubnis*) appeared more frequently in their writings.²⁰⁵ Perhaps the story of the Queen of Sheba visiting King Solomon in Jerusalem in the Old Testament will illustrate this point clearly. She brought a huge amount of gifts including some of the best gold ever procured.²⁰⁶ The same procedure was followed and practised when visiting African kings. The missionaries, whenever they visited the king, had gifts or tribute (*isethulo*). It used to be different kinds of objects including clothes and blankets. At times they would even build a wooden wagon for the king. All this they did as a normal service to the king whose subjects they were. The

²⁰⁴ Kroell, Ulrich, *Die Internationalen Buren-Agitation 1899-1902. Haltung der Offenlichkeit und Agitation zugunsten der Buren in Deutschland, Frankreich und den Niederlanden während des Burenkrieges*, (Münster, 1973), p. 1f; Scheibert, J., *Der Freiheitskampf der Buren*, (Berlin, 1903), p. 1f; Hagemann, Albrecht, *Südafrika und das Dritte Reich, Rassenpolitische Affinität und Macht politische Rivalität*, Campus Forschung, Vol. 628, (Frankfurt, 1989), p. 1f.

²⁰⁵ This word therefore shows beyond any reasonable doubt that the HMS and its missionaries knew what they were saying and writing. Only in the 1890s that they started to either speak of "Gift" (*Schenkung*) or property right. This is not surprising, for that was the time when the process of dispossession was at its height.

²⁰⁶ I Kings 10:1-13, in *NIV Bible*. Hasselhorn, F., *Mission, Land Ownership and Settlers' Ideology*, pp. 8-17; Wickert, W. , *Und die Vgel*, p.165.

missionaries wrote down the conditions under which they were allowed to establish mission station within Zululand. By 1890, however, the Mission Society had twisted the matter and brought a new version known only to the society. Before Director Egmont Harms came to South Africa, he had coined that new interpretation, which the Amazulu are still challenging. Harms brought his own version in so far as he interpreted the tribute presents, which are brought by a guest or a subject to his King or her Queen as gifts, as payment in material objects. The Amazulu regard Harms' letter as fraud and dubious.

In doing so Egmont Harms wrote:

"Panda gave the Hermannsburg mission places as property. He stated the boundaries and he received as a compensation a wagon, a wagon house (both assets were built by the mission workers) as well as a considerable number of woollen blankets and numerous other objects. Comparing the then value of the unpopulated territory, and all the European products the places were well paid for."²⁰⁷

Based on the written evidence from the correspondence of the HMS itself, as well as oral evidence by eNtombe, eNkombela people, this change in attitude and claim of possession by the HMS, should therefore be categorically rejected and henceforth be regarded and understood as blatant fraud and collaboration in the process of dispossession. The actors were settlers and missionaries against the African people.

²⁰⁷ Harms, Egmont, in A:SA 1.40b, 30 September 1890, *An das kaiserliche Auswärtige Amt des deutschen Reiches zu Berlin - Gesuch um Schutz für die Mission Stationen in Südafrika*; Meyer, F., A:SA 41.11e, p. 9; Speckman, F., *Mission in Afrika*, p. 513; Wagner, Chr., in: A:SA 41.11e, pp. 68-74; Meyer, F., in A:SA. 41.11e, pp. 23-24, 30, 34, 36-37; HMBL., 1869, pp. 199-205; 1870, pp. 175-177.

In the next section I will look at the situation of the two missionaries and their mission stations in the face of socio-political developments to 1910.

2.3 The Situation of eNtombe and eNkombela until the Deaths of Missionaries Wagner and Engelbrecht 1890-1910

The case about the future of eNtombe and eNkombela was officially pursued by the HMS. The Transvaal Boer Republic was unyielding in this matter.

The missionaries were not alone on their mission stations. They had evangelists who either came with the missionaries from Zululand in the case of Wagner, or they were convert-Christians from the missionary's mission stations. When missionary Wagner left eKuhlangeni for Zoar (eSoyini) mission station in 1871, he left with two youngsters namely Johannes kaNsungulo Khalishwayo.²⁰⁸ His father Nsungulo was of iNdlondlo regiment (*ibutho*). Johannes was born at and brought up at eKuhlangeni. Johannes belonged to *iNgobamakhosi ibutho* (regiment) although apparently was never recruited into that regiment for he left at an early stage with Missionary Wagner. The second youngster was Petros. He came from across uThukela (Natal), his parents and his surname are not known. Wagner never wrote Petros' Zulu name nor his surname, let alone his family background. Petros had to go to Johannesburg and work to earn money for a living.²⁰⁹ This happened during the course of the head taxes imposed on farm

²⁰⁸ Speckmann, F., *Mission in Afrika*, p. 451; Pape, H., *Hermannsburger Missionare in Südafrika*, p. 200; A:SA 41.11e, pp. 99-101.

²⁰⁹ Wagner, Chr. in A:SA 41.11e, pp. 79-80, 85; HMBL., 1892, pp. 103-104.

residents by the Boers in the 1890s.²¹⁰ Petros unfortunately had an accident within his firm and was fatally wounded.²¹¹ Johannes Khalishwayo was more fortunate. In 1890 Wagner made him an evangelist, firstly this meant he would teach the children both Christian and non-Christian the catechism and prepare them for baptism or confirmation. This situation brought Johannes Khalishwayo to the attention of the mission society.²¹² Whenever a report on eNtombe was formulated his name would be mentioned. Another point which made Johannes' life history known for posterity are his descendants who are still living at eNtombe. He married Elizabeth Dlamini on the 23rd March, 1892. They had five known children, Johannes, Maria, Joshua, Sabina and Naemi. Johannes had brothers and sisters too.²¹³ They were Cathrine, Jacobine, Samson, August, Maria, Melina and Johanna. Another student who was earmarked by Wagner to become an evangelist had to go to eHlanzeni Theological Seminary under missionary Johannes Reibeling was Ananias Mkhalihi. Samuel Mthethwa and Nicodemus Makhoba²¹⁴ were also helping Wagner. The missionaries called their evangelists `teachers' (*Lehrer*). Among the first evangelists were two Obeds. Obed the senior came from KwaNtabenkulu at KwaMnyathi. He was a son of Nkunga kaSithayi kaMbuzi kaNdaba Zulu eGazini (KwaZulu Collateral Royal House). He was a brother to Lugwembe kaNkunga Zulu. Obed's homestead was called eZintandaneni. His descendants are still at KwaNtabankulu in Bethel, not far from eMathongeni homestead of KwaZulu eGazini Royal House. This Obed was a godparent (sponsor) of Nsingizi kaLugwembe Zulu.

²¹⁰ Wagner, Chr., in A:SA 41.11e, pp.79-80, 85,99-101; HMBL., 1887, pp. 34, 45-6.

²¹¹ Wagner, Chr., in A:SA 41.11e, pp. 85, 99-101; HMBL., 1892, pp. 103-104.

²¹² HMBL., 1892, pp. 187-189; Haccius, G., Vol. 3,2 pp. 94-98; SA. acc. 76.641.

²¹³ SA. acc 76.641 (1861-1910) eNtombe Congregation Register.

²¹⁴ HMBL., 1895, pp. 68-69, 70-71.

Nsingizi was named after his uncle (uBaba omncane) Obed, when he was baptised. EZintandaneni homestead was an offshoot from eMantshunguntshwini homestead.. His life history is unknown except that he once served at eNtombe (1890) and kwaCeza also in the early 1890s under Missionary David Wolff.²¹⁵ Obed junior born in 1859, was a Methodist. He was the son of Daniel kaMark Msimango from Pietermaritzburg. He came with his father Daniel who was already an evangelist in the early 1880s for the Methodist Church.²¹⁶ They were on their way to KwaMahamba, James Allison's early mission station on the border to Swaziland in 1844. Obed was impeded from travelling further to KwaMahamba so he had to stay with Wagner for sometime at eNtombe and helping him with teaching.²¹⁷

The preceding Obeds were followed by Martin Dlongolo who, under missionaries F. Weber and Christoph Johannes at eNyathi, began his duties as an evangelist and assisting the missionaries in the 1880s.²¹⁸ When the missionaries left and sold eNyathi to the settlers, Martin continued to work among the Christian residents.

Dlongolo was responsible for the Christians in eSihlengeni and eNyathi respectively.²¹⁹ He was later sent to help Wagner at eNtombe in the early 1890s. However, because of the separation within the Hermannsburg Mission Society in Germany whose

²¹⁵ HMBL., 1890, p. 76; Wolff, David, *Unter den Zulu*, pp. 11-12.

²¹⁶ Jones, H.M., *The Biographical Register of Swaziland to 1910*, pp. 434-435; Etherington, N., *Preachers, Peasants and Politics*, p. 191.

²¹⁷ Ibid., *The Biographical Register*, pp. 434-435.

²¹⁸ HMBL., 1882, p.51; 1883, p. 76; 1885, p.83; Koneke, H., in SA acc. 76.4, 26-03-1906.

²¹⁹ Gurland, R., Vol. 3, pp. 36, 43; HMBL., 1890, pp. 66, 78, 190; 1891, pp.50, 66; 1893, p.110; 1899, p.67.

repercussions were felt in South Africa in 1892, Martin had to stop his evangelistic work at eNtombe and Lüneburg, and return to eSihlengeni soon thereafter.²²⁰

Wagner and his evangelists had to extend the church building in the face of the ever increasing church membership in the years 1893/4. In addition to that, the house of the evangelist or the catechist as they were sometimes called, was also extended.²²¹ Those evangelists visited the black people in the surrounding farms working for the German settlers like H. Müller, a son of Missionary Müller, U. Hinze, Jacob Filter (KwaJakobho) Kusel (Kwakhisela), Thomsen and at Missionary Filter's widow.²²²

There was a constant interaction between the missionaries at Ekuhlengeni, Bethel, eSihlengeni and the missionaries across the uPhongolo River. That contact was *inter alia* characterised by the exchange of Christian converts, who were transferred from station to station. That was done either to establish a congregation on a newly founded mission station or because of persecution by family members of non-Christian residents.²²³

In the case where a stronger Christian community emerged, the transfer was done for better education opportunities. The following instance perhaps could illustrate that phenomenon clearly. One of Chief Nkankane kaMkhanyile's wives from eKuhlengeni took her daughter and sent her to Missionary Wagner at eNtombe who put her under his

²²⁰ Wagner, Chr, in A: SA 41.11e, pp.78,98; HMBL., 1890, pp. 66, 78, 190; 1891, pp.50, 66; 1899, p.67.

²²¹ HMBL., 1895, pp. 68-69.

²²² Ibid., p.69.

²²³ HMBL., 1882, p.52; 1883, p. 220; 1885, p. 82; Wiese, Heinrich, (ed), *Auf schwerem Posten*, pp. 29-54; Speckmann, F., *Mission in Afrika*, pp. 379-417; Gevers, Irmela, Prigge 1857-1889 *Eine Familie in Sudafrika*, (Vryheid, 1989), pp. 25-29.

protection. She placed her under Wagner's special protection so that he could teach her to read and write. Her name was Naemi kaNkankane Zulu eGazini. She came to eNtombe on the 6th April 1890. Naemi lived in eNtombe from teenage to adulthood.²²⁴ She married another Christian from KwaNtabankulu Titus Mtshali on the 1st August 1898. Titus lived and died at eNtombe on the 26th April 1920. He died during the great Spanish influenza (*isibhadalala*) which attacked South Africa at the end of the first World War between 1918 and 1920.²²⁵

Two further incidents of people coming to the mission station voluntarily and involuntarily need to be mentioned which could shed light to the doings of the Boers as part of dehumanization of black people in Northern Zululand. Missionary Meyer reported a case where a young Zulu girl, who lived in eNkombela was kidnapped by the Boers and made a slave labourer on their farm.

A Boer's wife had maltreated her on several occasions. She had a big head wound, lost one eye and her whole body was deformed as a result of these beatings from the farmer's wife. She ran away from the farmer and went to the Jordt at eNkombela mission station. The Boer followed her and wanted to forcefully take her away from the missionary.

Missionary Jordt sent her to Zululand in an attempt to hide her away from the Boer. From Zululand she went to eNtombe under Missionary F. Meyer. She was received by and accommodated with the black family. She began to learn for baptism and was given

²²⁴ HMBL., 1890, p. 78; 1895, p.69.

²²⁵ HMBL., SA aa., 76.641, eNtombe Congregation Register (1867-1910), pp.33, 128.

the name of Anna. One day, however, she collapsed and died instantly. She was buried at eNtombe on the 11th June 1876.²²⁶

Again during the times of Chr. Wagner, a girl had come and was learning for baptism. A Boer came to Wagner and demanded that the girl should immediately stop learning and return to the farm as a labourer. Christianity and learning to read and write would make her disobedient to him. In other words the Boer was saying that blacks should not learn for that would make them challenge the legitimacy of white rule over the blacks in those days.²²⁷ The two aforementioned incidents are evidence, in our view of a kind of dispossession. A deprivation of liberty to think and choose.

Missionary Wagner wrote repeatedly about Chief Ndida kaSidubela Nkosi in the Mkhunyanana area. That chief wanted an evangelist (*Lehrer*) to come and teach his people in 1895/96. Wagner attempted to send Evangelist Naphtali; however Naphtali left Wagner to join Missionary Stielau who had become a member of the Free Lutheran Church in South Africa in 1892. Another attempt was made to send August Khalishwayo but that was also unsuccessful.²²⁸

Again during the course of the Anglo-Boer War of 1899 to 1902, Chief Ndida came as a refugee to eNtombe. During his stay he was impressed by the houses built by the Christian residents under a missionary. He requested a teacher who would come to his area and teach his people how to build brick houses. A teacher Jotham Zondo was sent to

²²⁶ Meyer, F., in A: SA. 41.11e, pp. 24, 31-33; HMBL., 1870, p. 177.

²²⁷ Wagner, Chr., in HMBL., 1895, p. 69; Dlamini, Paulina, in *A Servant of Two Kings*, pp. 67-70, 124.

²²⁸ HMBL., 1896, pp. 72-74.

teach Ndida's people not only the catechism but also how to construct brick houses. Jotham, however, was given an unbaptised girl as a wife by the chief. Furthermore the chief requested Jotham to invoke the chief's ancestor at his *ikhanda* called *KwaHlushwa*. Wagner and other evangelists regarded Jotham's action as an affront and blasphemy to the Christian God, hence he was suspended or dismissed. His name was never seen again among the names of the evangelists.²²⁹

In 1896 the Boers had promulgated a law known as *plakkerwet* (squatters law) in which blacks were to be deprived of their land by scattering them in groups of five families under a farmer. Many chiefs lost their land in that way. In the Piet Retief area at the border of Zululand and Swaziland, five chiefs led a deputation to Pretoria to protest against dispossession.²³⁰

Not only the chiefs but also the missionaries laid their protests against *Plakkerwet* to the Pretoria regime. The Berlin Mission Society which was based in Natal and Transvaal at that time, voiced its strongest protest and attempted to persuade the Pretoria regime not to include mission stations in the areas affected by that law. That appeal was handed over by Alexander Merensky to Dr Leyds in Berlin in 1896. Dr Leyds promised the Berlin Mission society that their mission stations would not be affected.²³¹

South Africa was attacked by locusts and a disease called rinderpest decimated many cattle in Zululand. At the same time the Natal colonial government incorporated Zululand

²²⁹ Filter, Heinrich in SA. acc., 76. 1131, Annual Report for the year 1957, pp. 102-104.

²³⁰ HMBL., 1896, p. 73.

²³¹ HMBL., 1896, p. 74.

and Tongaland into the Natal administration. In that way many large important grazing lands for the blacks were literally annexed and partitioned among the white farmers.²³² Those laws which were made to put blacks under white control as cheap labour caused a great deal of migration to larger cities like Durban, Johannesburg and Kimberly. They had to leave their ancestral lands in search of labour so that they could pay head tax (*ukhandampondo*).²³³

When the Anglo-Boer War of 1899 to 1902 broke out, many mission stations were affected. Wagner's station was visited by the Boers, but they left it intact.²³⁴ The English army followed, demanding cattle for slaughter and also to be used as wagon oxen. They asked for wood to construct a provisional bridge to cross the iNtombe river. Trees were cut down by the soldiers. The Wagners could not resist the soldiers' demands. As a result the Wagners were compelled to leave their station and travelled via Utrecht-Newcastle to New Hannover (eMtshezi) in Natal. While Missionary Wagner was away the Evangelist Johannes KaNsungulo Khalishwayo of the regiment called *iNgoba makhosi* took care of the congregation and Missionary Wagner's books, till he returned from exile in Natal.²³⁵

eNtombe mission station was devastated by the British army during the war of 1899 till 1902. Ekombela survived the destruction because Missionary D.J. Engelbrecht did not

²³² Van der Merwe, Willem, *Die Vestiging Van Blankes in Zoeloeland Vanaf 1897-1936*, Ph. D. Thesis at Unisa, (Pretoria, 1977), pp. 1-120.

²³³ HMBL., 1897, p. 277; 1898, pp. 21-24.

²³⁴ HMBL., 1901, pp. 260-265.

²³⁵ Ibid., pp. 260-265; Wagner, Chr., In A:SA 41.11e, p. 100.

desert the station.²³⁶ When the war was over in May 1902,²³⁷ the Wagner family returned from self- exile in New Hannover and arrived at eNtombe on the 22 July 1902. Prior to his departure from New Hannover, Wagner wrote a letter to the Evangelist Johannes Khalishwayo requesting the congregants to build a provisional house for his family. His request was complied with promptly. By the time the Wagners arrived at eNtombe a small house was already standing.²³⁸ The Wagners were welcomed by the congregants with songs of jubilation and food for the following days was provided by the congregation.

Wagner described the state in which he found the mission station buildings in the following words:

“What a devastation and ruins! We experienced a devastation after the Zulu war which the heathens inflicted. The destruction caused by the whites surpasses that caused by the heathens.... As far as I could count the English have chopped down 176 trees for constructing a bridge. The other trees which were also chopped down I did not count.”²³⁹

Missionary Wagner continued:

²³⁶ HMBL., 1901, pp. 260-265; 1903, pp. 66-70; A; SA 41.11e, pp. 99-101.

²³⁷ Kastell, J.D., & Van Velden, D.E., *The peace negotiations between the governments of the Republics of South Africa and Orange Free State and representatives of the British Government which terminated in peace concluded at Vereeniging on the 31 May 1902*, (London, 1912) p. 1f; Brookes, E., *A History of Natal*, (1979, Pietermaritzburg), p. 209.

²³⁸ HMBL., 1903, pp. 66-67.

²³⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 67.

“There were three enemies who took our property during the war: the English, the Boers and the kaffirs. The English stole the most during their camping from the 18 February to the 14 March 1901.”²⁴⁰

Soon after he had settled and could resume his duties at the mission station, Wagner wrote to Pretoria and demanded reparation for the damages caused by the army. The Pretoria Regime responded through the commission of inquiry into the war damages and claims, that the government rejected those claims.²⁴¹ The list of the stations which were supposed to receive reparation included eNtombe as well. The mission society had spent , 114.10.0 in erecting eNtombe station. The English government was expected to pay , 993.10.0 as indemnity.²⁴²

The political climate in KwaZulu-Natal from 1880 to 1910 was a volatile one. These changes took place at the cost of black people's freedom. Northern Zululand saw a series of land expropriations. Whenever there was war between the two contending white groups, i.e. the English and the Boers, the blacks bore the brunt and scourge of war. They were used as cannon fodder on either side and in the process lost their lives and land.²⁴³

²⁴⁰ Ibid., pp. 68-69; Lebensereignisse des Zulumannes Mazwimabi Solomona Nyandeni, (related to the abakwa Khumalo clan), in Westermann, Dietrich, *Afrikaner erzählen ihr Leben*, Essener Verlagsanstalt, Essen, 1938, 1943, pp. 140-193.

²⁴¹ HMBL., 1904, p.115.

²⁴² SA. acc. 76.1. Letter dated 01.02.1903.

²⁴³ Maphalala, Simon Jabulani. “*The policies of the Transvaal and Natal governments towards Dinuzulu 1897-1913*”, (Ph. D. Thesis at the University of South Africa, Pretoria, 1989), p. 1ff;

- Maphalala, Simon Jabulani. “*The participation of the Zulus in the Anglo-Boer War 1899-1902*”, (M.A. Dissertation, University of Zululand, KwaDlangezwa, 1979), p. 1f;

- Maphalala, S. J., “The murder at Holkrantz (Mthashana) 6th May, 1902”, *Historia*, Vol. 22, No. 1, 1997.

The Hermannsburg missionaries were busy contesting for their part of the spoil during the struggle for land possession before and after the Anglo-Boer war of 1899 to 1902. Egmont Harms expressed himself in the following words when explaining the state of affairs in 1904/5, “The Zulu mission eNtombe in particular is our child of concern (*unser Sorgekind*). The place we received from the Zulu King Panda (uMpande). After we had occupied the aforesaid station unimpeded as our property for twenty years, suddenly the former Transvaal Government claimed that the place belonged to it and we should pay 500 mark annually as lease”.²⁴⁴

Young and able-bodied men left the rural areas including mission stations and went to the gold mines in search of labour as there was no means of living. Their land had been systematically annexed and divided among the settlers as a spoil. The situation was made worse by the economic depression. As a result of that economic depression the mining industries were importing Chinese people as cheap labour; this led to a drop in salaries. The material need and despair about the future, was clearly visible after the Anglo-Boer War. Missionary Wagner made the following remarks about the state of the nation in distress.

- Maphalala, S.J., “The Story of Compensation, silver and bronze medals for the Zulus after the Anglo-Boer War”, *Historia*, Vol. 24, No. 2, 1979.

²⁴⁴ Harms, E., Letter dated 15.03.1905; HMBL., 1905, pp. 133-134; Stallbom, F., Letter dated 9.10.1903; HMBL., 1907, pp. 171-172; Köneke, H., Letter dated 16.03.1906.

“There is no word to describe the rate of unemployment and poverty among whites and blacks. In the face of this situation one should not wonder if the church dues are not paid regularly.”²⁴⁵

In the subsequent section I shall look at the demise of Chief Kubheka.

2.4 Chief Manyonyoba kaThulasizwe Kubheka: His Return, Second Banishment and Death

In October 1903, Chief Manyonyoba kaThulasizwe returned to eNtombe from banishment in eNquthu since 1879. He ordered Missionary Wagner and his Christian residents to vacate the eNtombe area for his flock needed a larger area for grazing. Manyonyoba told Missionary Wagner that he had been released by the English and permitted to return to his ancestral land. He met with strong resentment and resistance from the Christian residents and their missionary. Wagner described the situation in the following words:

“I appealed to the Government commissioner in Piet Retief and informed him that I had heard that the Chief Manyonyoba wanted to settle at the mission place. However, there is no place here available for him...The government officer wrote to me: ‘I have the honour to inform you that Chief Manyonyoba has been ordered to leave the place (eNtombe) within five days.’”²⁴⁶

²⁴⁵ Wagner, Chr., In HMBL., 1906, pp. 101-106; HMBL., 1903, No. 21 Nov. pp. 308-309, 335-36.

²⁴⁶ Wagner, Chr., in HMBL., 1906, December, pp. 371-372; Wagner, Chr., in letter dated 12.10.1903; 25.01.1905; HMBL., 1905, p. 206; 1904, pp. 6, 21-22, 274-277, 277-281.

Chief Kubheka had no choice but to vacate his ancestral land and go back to exile. His people who had hoped to see him settling in his area were scattered once more. Shortly before the famous Bhambatha resistance began in October 1906, Manyonyoba came back to his area eNtombe for a short visit to see his *izinduna* and his tribe. Suddenly the chief died, according to Missionary Wagner he died of haemorrhage (*Blutsturz*). Wagner wrote in his 1906 report:

“He (Manyonyoba) is said to have spoken to his people before he died and said that they should go to the missionary and learn (to become Christians). He did not become a Christian although he lived close to a missionary. Seven young people from Manyonyoba’s family are learning at Samuel Ntimbane’s place. He is a congregational chairperson. A boy is here attending the baptismal lessons. Five of Manyonyoba’s wives and daughters have already been baptised by an English missionary near Rorke’s Drift (eShiyane). Three of the said wives have joined the congregation here (in eNtombe).”²⁴⁷

Manyonyoba must have died a sad and broken chief like many other chiefs throughout Zululand who lost their ancestral land amid the dispossession and scramble for land in the face of colonial conquest.

²⁴⁷ Wagner, Chr., Letter of 12.10.1903 and in HMBL., 1906, pp. 371-372; Haccius, G., HMG., Vol. 3,2, p. 97; Madonsela, Chakijane, Interview eNtombe 13.9.1994.

The year 1907 brought no new good news for the HMS, for eNtombe and eNkombela mission stations were still being claimed by the Transvaal regime under the Boers. Mission Director Egmont Harms wrote;

“The property ownership rights are unfortunately still unresolved, though several attempts have been made. The place was allocated (*angewiesen*) to us by the Zulu King Panda. Some years later Boer settlers occupied this area. When we approached (the Transvaal government), we were told that Panda had no right to allocate land, since the area belonged to the Transvaal Republic. However, no one can expel us since we have occupied the land longer than 33 1/3 years without anyone claiming it.”²⁴⁸

It seems the HMS was too early with its claims of title deeds. They may have been successful had they waited till the Union of South Africa in 1910. Egmont Harms continued to write:

“The place is being registered in the name of our mission. However, it can only be used for mission purposes. Should we no longer do mission work then everything, including the buildings, will become the government 's property.”²⁴⁹

²⁴⁸ Harms, E., in a letter dated 31.12.1907; HMBL., 1907, pp. 171-172; Wagner, Chr., 08-07-1885; in A: SA 41.11e, pp. 68-74.

²⁴⁹ Harms, E., in HMBL., June 1907, pp. 171-172; Stallbom, F., in a letter 9.10.1903; Köneke, H., in a letter 26.03.1906; Settler Raabe to Harms on eNyathi 29.04.1903 Raabe vs Steenkamp over eNyathi; SA acc. 76.2, 15.2.1904, 18.08.1904, 10.09.1904; SA acc. 76.3, 20.5.1905, 21.9.1905; 16.11.1905; SA acc. 76.4 on eNyathi 06.01.1906, 11.01.1906, 06.03.1906.

eNtombe mission station has a long and moving history. It has been controversial since its establishment in 1860. Boers laid claims to possession of the area. In 1866 the Boers killed Chief Thathawe kaJijila Kubheka and then annexed the area. They were, however, driven out by King Mpande's forces. Again in 1869 they measured, demarcated and partitioned the area into two places. In 1879 Chief Manyonyoba's area (eNtombe) was infiltrated by the English army. The chief killed many English soldiers in defence of his area and KwaZulu in general. He was deposed and deported to eNquthu in Natal by the English. In 1899 to 1902 eNtombe was occupied and devastated by the English army without compensation hereafter.²⁵⁰

eNtombe experienced many historical vicissitudes which robbed the inhabitants of a free and peaceful life. Apart from the question of the stations' further existence they were also affected by an influenza known as Rhodesian pest. Many cattle and chickens were killed by the influenza. Missionary Wagner was also affected by that epidemic.²⁵¹ Hunger and destitution was widespread. In the light of that situation Wagner could say:

“We, my wife and I have been here in Africa for over 40 years, at our age to be without milk and butter is not easy. The Lord our God has afflicted us in the past years, nevertheless, he will be with us and help us in the short time that we are still going to live.”²⁵²

²⁵⁰ Hardeland, A., in HMBL., 1862, pp. 25, 60-64; Meyer, F., in A:SA 41.11e, pp. 9-12; Wagner, Chr., in A: SA 41.11e, pp. 68, 71; Fröhling, F., 03.09.1885 to German General Consulate in Cape Town, 5.11.1885 to the Volksraad of the South African Republic; Speckmann, F., *Mission in Afrika*, pp. 538-39; Zulu, Cetshwayo, in *A Zulu King Speaks*, pp. 14, 24, 47-59; JSA, Vol. 4, pp. 129, 136-7.

²⁵¹ Dedekind, Karl, in HMBL., June 1907, p. 169, Wagner, Chr., in HMBL., 1907, p. 172.

²⁵² *Ibid.*, p. 172.

At the end of the Anglo-Boer war of 1899 to 1902, around 1903/1904, Wagner and the Transvaal government saw it necessary to create a dual leadership in eNtombe. In order to do so eNtombe had to be made a reserve under the missionary. A congregational council chairperson (*uSihlalo womkhandlu webandla*) Paulus kaBhalabhala Shongwe was nominated by the missionaries and government officials as a chief (*induna*) of the Christians and the non Christians were under chief (*induna*) Msuthu kaSobango Khumalo on the opposite farm across eNtombe river.²⁵³ Paul Shongwe was to assist the missionary in his daily work by being a watching eye over the conduct of the Christians in their daily lives and to arbitrate or mediate in the case of a quarrel among the Christians (*uMlamuli noMkhuzi wamakholwa*). Therefore the KwaShongwe chieftaincy if one could call it so, stands and falls with the HMS and the Boer Republic.

After the Anglo-Boer War of 1899-1902 negotiations for a possible future unification of the four republics were fermenting. However only in 1909, that is after the Bhambatha insurrection against the Natal colonial rule was brutally suppressed, did serious negotiations take place.²⁵⁴ The formation of the Union of South Africa heralded or rather was a climax of the history of dispossession for the majority of South Africans. A dispossession which was only stopped in 1994, though with much blood, sweat and tears.

²⁵³ Junge, Detlef, in SA acc. 76.819.1 Letter to Director W. Wickert, 15.11.1947 recapitulating the events between 1903-1913; Pape, H., *Hermannsburg Missionare in Südafrika*, Vol.1, p.201.

²⁵⁴ Thompson, L.M., *The Unification of South Africa 1902-1910*, (Oxford, Clarendon Press, 1960), p. 1f; Odendaal, Andre, *Vukani Bantu!*, *The Beginnings of Black Protest Politics in South Africa to 1912*, (Cape Town, 1984), p. 1f; Lambert, John, *From Independence to Rebellion, African Societies in Crisis 1880-1910*, pp. 373.401, in *Natal and Zululand*, by Andrew Duminy & Bill Guest, (University of Natal Press, Pietermaritzburg, 1989).

King Dinuzulu and particularly Northern Zululand had lost vast territories of ploughing and grazing lands.²⁵⁵

The missionary was the overlord of the station and of the Christian residents. No one was allowed to settle on the mission station without the missionary's permission. If someone wanted to move out of the station he/she had to get a pass from the missionary. The missionary would furthermore allocate ploughing fields and grazing rights to the residents. The Christian residents were obliged or duty bound to work for the mission and the missionary. They were also duty bound to assist the missionary by digging furrows so as to dry up the swamps and were also expected to plough for the missionary. All had unanimously agreed to obey and follow those orders. Saul kaPaulus Shongwe was also present. The following section will briefly look at the life of Missionary Detlef Junge.

2.5 The Service of Missionary Johann Wilhelm Detlef Junge in eNtombe 1908-1913

The task for Junge was not an easy one. He had some disadvantages for an African context: he was too young, thirty-one years old and he was still learning the Zulu language.²¹² He needed strong support from the Congregational Council and particularly from the evangelist. He came to eNtombe at a time when the Bhambatha resistance had

²⁵⁵ Lekhela, S. Mc D.M. *A Historical Survey of Native land settlement in South Africa from 1902 to the passing of the Native Trust and Land Act of 1936* (Unpublished M.A. Thesis, UNISA, 1955), p. 1f; Van der Merwe, Willem, *Die Vestiging van Blankes in Zoeloeland vanaf 1897-1936*, pp. 1-120, 194-209; Maphalala, S.J., *The policies of the Transvaal and Natal Governments Towards Dinuzulu 1897-1913*, p.1f.

²¹² Junge, D., in A:SA 41.11e, p. 103.

just been crushed by the Natal colonial authority.²¹³ King Dinuzulu kaCethwayo was deposed and sent to Amanzimtoti area in 1908 and chief Mabhekeshiya kaNkankane was deposed and sent to Harding – Alfred division in 1908 as well. The debate on the unification of the four provinces was at its height.²¹⁴

When Junge took over in August 1908, he had the support of the following evangelists; Samuel Ntimbane, Tobias Zungu (eSiqintini) and Jesse Shezi (eNtombe).²¹⁵ Jesse Shezi was not only a catechist but also a teacher. Junge wrote about Shezi, “The teacher Jesse has a lot of work to do here. During the day he has to teach many children and early in the morning and in the evenings he has to teach classes for baptism. In addition to that he has to conduct Sunday services. I have to recommend that he, as far as I can see, has done much of his work with pleasure and enthusiasm, though sometimes he really got discouraged. The Congregational Council has also done its duty.²¹⁶ Jesse has seventy pupils who need his lessons and skills. The teacher in Niederland (*eSiqintini*) Tobias Zungu, works diligently and peacefully. He has fourteen pupils in the class and he has

²¹³ Marks, Shula, *Reluctant Rebellion*, *The 1906-1908 Disturbances in Natal*, (Oxford, 1970), pp. 171-248, 265- 266, 274, 291, 354; CO179/ 246/ 31636, Enclosure 5 in despatch secrete. 08-o8 –1908; A.W. Lewis Sub inspector N.P. to magistrate Armstrong (Extract published in c.d. 4328); times of Natal 10.7 1908; CO 179/ 246/31636; Governor. to Secretary of States 08-08-1908; Secretary to; CO 179/246/39939 Enclosure in despatch to secretary 25-07 –1908 Copy of proceedings against Mabhekeshiya under Marshal law ; Times of Natal 13-07-1908; SNA/ 1/1/460 1159/ 01- 04-1910 minutes DNCC Shula Marks reported about the arrest, trial and banishment of an iNkosi (King) Mabhekeshiya kaNkankane Zulu (eGazini) to eMampondweni. Upon his release and return to Northern Zululand, Mabhekeshiya alias Skithom, named one of his Amakhanda eMampondweni in remembrance of his banishment to that area in 1889; Dlomo, R.R.R., uDinuzulu, (Pietermaritzburg, 1968), pp. 112-136; Marwick, R.A., "Why the Native Rebelled", *Rand Daily Mail*, (Johannesburg, 19.09.1906, 21-09-1906).

²¹⁴ Thompson, L.M., *The Unification of South Africa 1902-1910*, (Oxford Clarendon Press, 1960, p. 1ff; Marwick, R.A., "Why the Native Rebelled", *Rand Daily Mail*, (Johannesburg, 19.09.1906, 21-09-1906).

²¹⁵ A:SA, 41.11e, pp. 105-106.

²¹⁶ *Ibid.*, pp. 105-106.

taught them in the church, which stands on the farm of a settler, Mr Hinze. The area is being visited by gold prospectors and if any gold is found, the place is under threat.”²¹⁷

Junge made some changes within the congregation in eNtombe. A new Congregational Council was formed with the following members: Bernard Vundla, Titus Mtshali, Petrus Sibiya, Joshua and Josefata Mabuya.²¹⁸ The farmer, A. Hinze in eSiqintini (Niederland) gave the HMS a piece of ground (10 acres) as a gift which is the site where the church still stands today.²¹⁹ In the next section I shall look briefly at the history of eNkombela and its connection to the history of eNtombe.

3. ENCAKA UNDER INKOSI UMKHONTOWENDLELA AND THE ARRIVAL OF THE MISSIONARIES 1860-1913

Among the Nkosi Amakhosi at eNkombela, who left a name for his tribe was Nyamayenja kaNciliba. Nyamayenja had on several occasions like other neighbouring tribes been attacked by King Mswati. Each time he fled to Natal with his tribe.²²⁰ When

²¹⁷ Junge, Detlef, in A:SA 41.11e, p. 106. (The congregation had 50 members).

²¹⁸ Junge, D., in A:SA 41.11e, pp. 118-119.

²¹⁹ Junge, D., in A:SA 41.11e, p. 123.

²²⁰ Bonner, P., *Kings, Commoners and Concessionaires*, pp. 56-58; 93-94; 112; JSA. Vol. 1, pp. 150, 153-54, 218.

the missionaries of the HMS came to his tribe in 1860/61 he had already died and his son Mkhontowendlela was reigning. According to Queen Ntoloji kaSitimela Zondo wife of Makhehlana Nkosi, Mpande when placing Nyamayenja at eNcaka, proclaimed him as an iNkosi over the neighbouring *amakhosi*. Namely Madlangampisi kaMathe Shabalala, Thulasizwe kaJijila Kubheka, Mlambo kaMavundla Nhlapho or his son Bashele kaMlambo at eNtabande and the AbakwaYende now KwaNgema. Mpande, according to her, did this for Nyamayenja was a Prince (*Mntane Nkosi*) of or from a stronger kingdom than the rest between uPhongolo and Igwa (Vaal) Rivers. Queen Ntoloji continued to say that practically and politically that meant the area formally inhabited by abaseMahlutshini, Shabalala, Kubheka, Hlatshwayo, Yende-Ngema and Nhlapho was then under Nyamayenja's authority. This included; Abakwa Ntombela, Sibisi, Khumalo, at Utrecht, Mabaso under Agrippa at Kwa Lembe at the source of Obivane, Abakwa Gule at Mkhuhlane, later Nzima at Ntengo at the source of uPhongolo. Nyamayenja would collect tributes from those aforementioned tribes on behalf of King Mpande and Cetshwayo.²²¹ King Mkhontowendlela's *indunankulu* was from the Mbuli family. Mkhontowendlela had two known wives kaMngomezulu and a daughter of Nongongo Ndlangamandla. Mabukangengazi kaMkhontowendlela had one known wife, a daughter of Biziwe Simelane. Lumphondo kaMabukangengazi had two known wives kaMndebele and kaMbuli. Makhehlana kaLumphondo (1918-1985) had two wives namely the incumbent Queens Ntoloji Tryphina daughter of Sitimela Zondo and MaSibeko.

Hardeland referred repeatedly to a dispute between the Boers and the three tribes Inyamayenja, Amadlangampisi and Amagonondo. Precisely to assert his authority,

²²¹ Nkosi, Ntoloji, interview, 16-01-1997, eNcaka, Wagner, Chr., in A:SA 41.11e, p. 68.

Mpande pointed those tribes as the area where the missionaries could erect mission stations in 1860. They would serve as a buffer zone between the Amazulu and the Boers.

This tactical diplomacy put the missionaries in the crossfire of land dispute for the following 40 years.²²² The incumbent iNkosi Mhlabunzima is still single, has not married yet.

Around 1866 King Mpande sent his induna Ntshingwayo kaMahole Khoza and Lukhwazi kaMazwana Ntombela to go to eNcaka at KwaGebhuza, a river next to a farmer Hoyase (Kohrs) and build an *ikhanda* (homestead). This *ikhanda* was named *iNdlabeyithubula* (eating while shooting at) referring to the Boers who at the time were encroaching, confiscating and chasing people off their land.²²³

First and foremost Ntolozi Nkosi rejects categorically the idea of "title deeds" for the mission stations. Her contention is that the area (*eNcaka*) and the country as a whole (South Africa) belongs to the black people from time immemorial. How can a white man who is an alien immigrant or settler, issue title deeds to the owners of the land? The whites robbed black people of their land. Therefore the whole issue of title deeds is cheating and fraud. Hence, she totally resented and rejected the idea of title deeds from

²²² Kistner, W., interview, 01-05-1997 Pietermaritzburg; 30.12.1997, Johannesburg; Hardeland, A., in HMBL., 1860, pp. 85-94, 170-172; 1861, pp. 3-10, 58-67, 68-74, 75-80, 131-144, 147-160; 1862, pp. 9-24, 25, 51-59, 60-64, 88-96, 98-112, 147-160, 162-165, 168-169; Meyer, F., in A:SA 41.11e, pp. 9-12; Wagner, Chr., in A:SA 41.11e, pp. 68, 71; Harms, E., in A:SA 1.40b Letter 30.9.1890; Fröhling, F., 3.09.1885 to German General Consulate in Cape Town 5.11.1885 to the Volksraad of the South African Republic.

²²³ Speckmann, F., *Mission in Afrika*, pp. 538-39; Zulu, Cetshwayo in *A Zulu King Speaks*, pp. 14, 24, 47-59; JSA., Vol. 4, pp. 129, 136-37; Zungu, Maphelus` Account, pp. 22-24, 42-43, 45-46.

ELC-PMC. She said they should return the land to the people unconditionally.²²⁴ The next section presents the beginnings of the missionary activities in eNkombela mission station.

3.1 The Arrival of the Hermannsburg Missionaries and the Founding of the eNkombela Mission Station 1860

Missionaries Moe, Prydtz and Filter had been *en route* through Zululand before they were finally commissioned to settle at eNtombe and eNkombela respectively.²²⁵ Moe and Prydtz who were Norwegians by birth, were trained at Norwegian and German universities (Göttingen). Both were placed at adjacent mission stations lying 15km from each other. Therefore they were, in some way, different from the rest of the Hermannsburg missionaries of the first and second commission (*Aussendung*), for the majority of the Hermannsbürger missionaries were known to be uneducated, i.e. lacking an academic training.

Before coming to eNtombe and eNkombela, Prydtz and Moe had had several visits to King Mpande at KwaNodwengu in the Mahlabathini region. Mpande on several occasions asked them to build and to repair his wagons and renovate the houses.²²⁶ In 1860 they left KwaNodwengu and headed for eNtombe. They were accompanied by the settlers, Niebuhr (junior), F. Küsel, H. Rabe and B. Kröger and arrived at eNtombe on the 19th October 1860. At first Moe helped Prydtz to erect eNtombe station and later he

²²⁴ Nkosi, Ntolozi, interview, 16.01.1997, eNcaka.

²²⁵ HMBL, 1860, pp. 87, 92-94; 1861, pp. 3, 8-9, 59; 1862, pp.9-24,51-61,88-96,105-110,147-160,162-165; Speckmann, F., *Mission in Afrika*, pp. 378-79, 394-396.

²²⁶ HMBL., 1859, pp. 4, 19, 79, 174; 1860, pp. 68, 87, 93; 1861, pp. 58-60, 66, 148; 1862, pp. 9, 19.

visited iNkosi uMkhontowendlela kaNyamayenja Nkosi. Filter and Moe visited the Amadlangampisi tribe, they found that the chief was still very young and had no control over his people. Given that situation they decided that Moe should establish his mission station among the iNyamayenja tribe.²²⁷ Hardeland repeatedly mentioned in his reports that there were three tribes earmarked for mission work, namely Moe among the iNyamayenja, Prydtz among the Amagonondo and Wiese among the Amadlangampisi. Originally, according to Hardeland, Moe was supposed to go to the Amadlangampisi,²²⁸ but under unforeseen circumstances Moe had to be allocated to the iNyamayenja tribe.

The area in which these abovementioned stations were to be erected was being disputed by three parties, namely King Mpande, the Amaswazi and the Boers. The years between 1860-1866 were years of restlessness in Northern Zululand because of land dispute.

Moe had previously visited the Inyamayenja tribe to inquire whether or not they wished to have a missionary. He was categorically rejected. There was an elderly and scarily looking man, who was an adviser to the king (probably Prime Minister Mbuli) he was strictly opposed to the proposal. He said to Moe:

"What do you want here among us? We did not ask for your stories, we have our own customs. With your own (customs) please leave us alone." Can God who lives in (heaven) also protect us, give us much beer and sorghum to brew beer so that we could be full (satisfied)? About your salvation from sins? When did we

²²⁷ Speckmann, F., *Mission in Afrika*, p. 526; HMBL., 1862, pp. 11-13.

²²⁸ HMBL., 1862, pp. 25, 61, 100-101.

commit some sins? We have no sins. Stupid stories (*imibhedo*). We do not want any missionaries."²²⁹

Moe later on reported that the above mentioned headman was later accused (*wanukwa*) of having bewitched the young prince and was consequently killed by the king's army.²³⁰ It seems the people's resistance against having a missionary settling among them forced Moe, Filter and Hardeland to rethink their strategy. They had to get a clear and unequivocal yes from King Mpande that they could settle among the iNyamayenja tribe.

The missionaries in their reports confirmed that their first visit to the aforesaid tribe was a disaster in that the people stated clearly that they did not want a missionary in their territory. However when the missionaries Filter and Moe visited the tribe for the second time there was no resistance. The reason was that the missionaries told the people that they got permission from King Mpande to erect a mission station among the tribe.²³¹ This statement is corroborated by Queen Ntolozi Nkosi when she said that the missionaries came at first on their own. The king and his *izinduna* refused them permission to stay, thereafter a delegation or rather an envoy was sent to Mpande by Mkhontowendlela to inquire into the substance, truth and validity of the missionaries' story. Mpande confirmed that he had allowed them to do mission work.²³²

²²⁹ Speckmann, F., *Mission in Afrika*, p. 526.

²³⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 527.

²³¹ Speckmann, F., *Mission in Afrika*, p. 526; HMBL., 1861, pp. 3-10, 58-60, 66-71, 72-74, 139-144, 147-160, 162-169

²³² Nkosi, Ntolozi, Interview 16.01.1997 eNcaka.

Soon after the missionaries had visited the eNkombela (*iNyamayenja*) and the eMhlongamvula (*uMadlangampisi*) tribes, Mswati's army invaded the aMadlangampisi tribe and caused havoc and turmoil. Many people left their tribal land for Zululand and the Free State.²³³ Some weeks later Moe came back for the second time to the iNyamayenja tribe, this time to build some houses. He was accompanied by a few blacks who helped him to carry his belongings to eNkombela. Later the settlers, Rabe, Küsel and Krüger were sent by Hardeland from eNtombe to assist Moe in erecting a station. For two years Moe was not able to visit people in their homesteads, because of the work he had to do at his station. He only preached on Sundays.

Moe was able to find volunteer youngsters, who were working for him. He could preach to them and eventually they were baptised. They were uMasukusula and uMiliso. uMasukusula was baptised on November 15, 1863 and renamed Johannes. uMiliso was baptised on 16th July 1865 and given a Christian name Petrus.²³⁴ Moe was then transferred to eHlanzeni in 1866. At his station eNkombela Moe was followed by Johann Detlef Engelbrecht alias Ukusa.

When Moe left, there were about 50 black people attending his church service. The king and his *izinduna* were also attending. The Boer farmers came from time to time to the station to give orders to Engelbrecht and to the residents. Between 1864 and 1866 there was a cold war and even mobilization among Amazulu to prevent the Amabhunu (Boers) from further encroachment. Mpande sent his *induna* Ntshingwayo kaMahole Khoza to

²³³ HMBL., 1862, pp. 61, 100-101; Speckmann, F., *Mission in Afrika*, pp. 526-27; Bonner, P., *Kings, Commoners and Concessionaires*, pp. 56-57, 93.

²³⁴ HMBL., 1864, pp. 37-45; 1866, pp. 8-15; A:SA 41.5a, Engelbrecht 2.2.1872; HMBL., 1869, p. 75; Speckman, F., *Mission in Afrika*, pp. 535-36; Rüter, K., *Social Strategies*, pp. 12-65, 122-123.

build a homestead *indlabeyidubula* thereby asserting his authority and set a demarcation.²³⁵

3.2 eNtombe and eNkombela

It has been emphasised in the thesis that the Hermannsburg missionaries in Northern Zululand later became disloyal to the Zulu kings, Mpande, Cetshwayo and DinuZulu, who protected and gave them permission to establish mission station in the said Region. Furthermore it refutes the claim (*Behauptung*) that the Hermannsburg missionaries misunderstood or confused Royal permission (*königliche Erlaubnis*) for Royal “gift” (*königliche Schenkung*) to settle in Zululand. According to the African-Nguni Law on Land Rights and property, particularly regarding the custom of *ukukhonza* and *isethulo* (allegiance and tribute), the land belong to the king (*iNkosi yaMakhosi*) and is inalienable. He holds it in trusteeship for the nation in the name of his forefathers and administers it together with the hereditary chiefs (*Amakhosi endabuko or Izikhulu zezwe*). Hence there was no gift or lease of the land by an iNkosi. If one is allocated a piece of land, according to Nguni-Zulu Law on land rights one can occupy that piece of land in perpetuity i.e. for generation. The right of occupation, however, terminates in the case of voluntary emigration or in the case of deportation by an iNkosi.

When the borders of Zululand were redetermined in 1879, eNtombe and Ekombela stations came under the South African Republic. In 1886 the Volksraad in Pretoria

²³⁵ HMBL., 1862, pp. 63-64, 155, 163, 168-169 1865, pp. 105, 150; Speckmann, F., *Mission in Afrika*, pp. 538-39, Zulu, Cetshwayo, in *A Zulu King Speaks*, pp. 14, 24, 47-59; JSA, Vol. 4, pp. 129, 136-37.

rejected the mission's application for title deeds to be issued for eNtombe.²³⁶ Instead they offered to let the land for 25 years in return for an annual interest payment. Intervention by the German Foreign office was to no avail. The mission refused to pay rent and retained possession of the site, left unmolested by the government. In the case of the neighbouring station in Ekombela, the mission decided to wait until the end of the limitation period, which was 33 years under Dutch law, and not to lay a claim until then. In 1898 it applied for a title deed to be issued. This was not granted until after the South African War had finished.²³⁷ Of course, the statute of limitations, which the mission invoked, only applied to whites! ENtombe, where the mission went on refusing to pay rent, was converted in 1905 into a mission reservation, which could not be sold, and registered in the name of the Hermannsburg Mission. This, however, did not mean that the missionaries had the control over the inhabitants that they wanted.²³⁸

²³⁶ A: SA 1.40 c; SA acc. 76578.2, Koch an Fröhling, 5.6.1886; Wagner, Chr., in A: SA 41.11e, p. 68; Wagner to Propst Fröhling 22 May 1886; Fröhling to German imperial Consul in Cape Town, 17 September 1884, 20 April 1884, 3 September 1885; Fröhling, 5 November 1885, to the President and members of the Volksraad of the South African Republic. Application for an exemption of the 25 Annual rent for both sides of eNtombe area and to change the stipulated time of 25 years *ad infinitum* (to an indefinite or unlimited time).

²³⁷ SA acc.76.270, Konferenz of the HMS on the situation in Northern Zululand, 15 July 1886, 9 December 1886; Engelbrecht, J.D., 27 January 1896 to Harms; SA Acc.76.288 Secretary for Zululand 29.5.1888; A: SA 140c, Gesuch vom 30.9.1890 Antwort vom 24.3.1891; SA acc.76.592.3, Haccius an Röttcher, 28.3.1891; SA acc. 76.269, Beiratsitzung 20.1.1893; SA acc. 76.590.2, Booth & Vessels an E. Harms, 21.4.1899; Lammerding, Erinnerungen (Memoirs) c 15 July 1889 reporting on the Anglo Zulu War (1879), Civil War 1880-1884, and on the annexation of Northern Zululand by the Boers in April 1884; SA acc. 76.589.4, 26.12.1901, 4.10.1923 to Superintendent Wiese reporting on the Mission stations eNtombe and eNkombela.

²³⁸ SA acc. 76.5, Rottcher to E. Harms, 7. 3. 1907, Ahrens, E. Harms, 13. 8. And 14. 10. 1907, Surveyor General, 2. 12. 1907; SA acc.76.7, Stegmann & Roos, 19.8.1909; Deed of Grant No. 7338/1908 and No. 7412/1909; T.A., CS 599 R 4011/1905; HMBL., 1905, p. 133f, and 1907, p. 171; A:SA 41.11e, p. 115; SA acc.76.288, 19.1.1910.

9. THE POLITICS OF DISPOSSESSION

The missionaries of the Hermannsburg Mission Society who set up the mission station at the eNtombe river, defied the Transvaal government's property claims by refusing to enter into a lease agreement, and to pay rent or taxes. Because of its unclear status, the mission settlement at eNtombe was only marginally affected by central state laws. Like other mission stations, it was exempted from the 1913 Land Act (under certain conditions, including supervision by a white missionary, and strict mission regulations). Under those conditions, a rent-paying tenantry (of a special type) could survive there, with relatively minor labour requirements on the part of the resident missionary.

In the case of eNtombe Mission, the layers of criss-crossing border and boundary lines historically acquired an economic, political and cultural significance in so far as they have engendered different sign regimes - which differentiate this area from many South African rural areas, but also increasingly differentiate the conditions internally with a minimum degree of 'extra-economic' coercion. It is this process that this concluding part will investigate in more detail.

To see the conflictual development of demarcations of land within this area, it needs to be situated within the historical lines drawn around and through it.

Being situated on a tributary of the Pongola River (Natal's Northern Boundary), the eNtombe area provides access to sweet, mixed and sour grazing, and was therefore visited by Transvaal Boer herders crossing into Zululand in search for winter grazing. When the missionaries arrived in 1860, the area was formally under King Mpande's rule.

Even the Landdrost and Veldcornet of the nearby Transvaal town of Wakkerstroom recognised the Zulu kings' sovereignty; they remitted heads of cattle paid by Christian converts of the neighbouring mission station eNkombela (on orders of the resident missionary) to the Transvaal Republic in taxes, to the delegates of Cetshwayo.²³⁹

The agreement by which missionaries came to occupy the areas along the eNtombe river, likewise acknowledges King Mpande's sovereignty. The orally contracted agreement is recorded as stating that Mpande gave the plot to the missionaries for missionary purposes, without any property rights. A short while later, the Volksraad voiced its claims over the area. In the face of these conflicting sovereignty and jurisdiction claims, the mission society approached the Volksraad for property rights, which were however refused. Instead, the resident missionary attempted to seize this jurisdiction for the mission in setting himself up as local authority by proclaiming regulations binding on all mission station inhabitants (compulsory attendance at morning and evening devotion; school-attendance for children, prohibition of polygyny, and beer-drinking, curfew from 21h, jurisdiction by a council appointed by the missionary).²⁴⁰ The missionary was in a strong position to introduce these regulations at this particular time, as drought and crop failure through hail, and the resulting famine, drove many inhabitants of surrounding areas to the mission station.²⁴¹

The Volksraad, to whose attention the competing claims had come, had the mission station ground surveyed and the area of 1200 acres entered in the Deeds Office as

²³⁹ Hasselhorn, Fritz, *Bauernmission in Südafrika*. p. 38.

²⁴⁰ Hasselhorn, Fritz, *Bauernmission*, in Suedafrika. p. 38.

²⁴¹ HMBL., 8, 1869, p. 204).

property of the Transvaal government. Mpande, reacting to this arrogation, demanded absolute and exclusive loyalty from his subjects in the area by imposing fines on anyone bowing to labour tenancy agreements with Boer farmers and paying taxes to the Boer Republic.²⁴² At this stage, the resident missionary note that the inhabitants of the mission station do not recognise any leaders, attempting to evade the authority of the Boers and serving the Zulu king in order to be spared the yoke of the Europeans.²⁴³

Under Mpande's successor, Cetshwayo, the population of the Northern Zulu kingdom came under increasing pressure from the Transvaal Boers. Against Boer encroachment on the kingdom, Cetshwayo sought support from the British colonial government of Natal in the person of Sir Theophilus Shepstone. Shepstone, after initially agreeing to set up an alliance to confront the encroaching Boers, viewed the hitherto independent Zulu kingdom as an obstacle to British expansion, and therefore backed the Boers, who had annexed the territory of Northern Zululand (1875).

By the terms of the Pretoria Convention, the north western border of the Zulu kingdom was redrawn (along the Pongola, Bivane, and Blood rivers) in favour of the Transvaal. With this demarcation, eNtombe Mission was definitely assigned to the Transvaal Republic (even though it had previously been placed under the protection of the Governor of Natal, and was administered by the Hermannsburg Mission Society as part of its Zululand mission circuit). Transvaal government-appointed surveyors re-surveyed the ground of eNtombe mission. Subsequently, the plot was divided into four parts, two of which were given to German settler congregations. The Hermannsburg Mission

²⁴² A:SA 41.11e, (Chronik der Station eNtombe), p. 11.

²⁴³ HMBL., 9, 1870, p. 177.

Society responded by refusing to sign the 25-year lease contract which the Transvaal government proposed, and refused to pay rent; the missionaries did not acknowledge the Transvaal government as the rightful owner and feared for their claims to property rights if they were to pay rents.²⁴⁴ The new borderline was not observed, however, Boer farmers continued crossing into Zulu territory in search for farming land.

By the London Convention of 1884, formal independence was granted to what was now called the South African Republic and the Transvaal/Zululand border was fixed. Zululand missionaries complained of Boer threats to confiscate what the missionaries viewed as mission property.²⁴⁵

In Natal, immediately after the annexation of Zululand, the hut tax was doubled from 7sh to 14sh. A heavy tax burden, civil strife, pass laws (introduced in Transvaal in 1896, in Zululand in 1899), the consequent eviction of African tenants, and conditions of drought and Rinderpest, contributed to the decline of peasant production in Zululand from the 1890s onwards, and to the homesteads' reliance on migrant labour remittances. At this stage, also, the missionaries complained of irregular payment of church fees on mission stations.²⁴⁶ The Zululand civil war of 1884/85 had disrupted subsistence activities of the inhabitants of Northern Zululand, and many of them fled northwards, only to find themselves forced to become labour tenants on ground now occupied by Transvaal Boers. The eNtombe missionary's accounts testify to this in terms of the first converts;

²⁴⁴ Koch, H.C., to Froehling, 14.4.1885, in IAM).

²⁴⁵ Koch, H., to Froehling, 19.1.1885, in IAM).

²⁴⁶ HMBL., 5, 1891, p. 95.

individuals whom the missionary had employed as servants, tenants on Boer settler farms, and youths who escaped the grip of their elders.²⁴⁷

I would like to investigate this (im) possibility by analysing through the history of eNtombe Mission, the process implied in the translation of ‘coercion’ into ‘rationality’.

The 1913 Land Act curbed the expansion of mission station land. Existing mission stations were allowed to lease land to African tenants only if they obtained special permission, they had to seek state approval for existing tenancy relationships. In the case of eNtombe, the exemption from the Land Act and its amendments instituted other regularising and regulating mechanisms internally. In order to obtain exemption from the Land Act, mission stations had to submit application forms to the Native Affairs Department, giving detailed information on mission rules, tenancy arrangements, numbers of tenants, and educational activities. The aim was to enlist information on whether or not mission work was vigorously pursued, administration was efficient, tenants were closely supervised, and whether or not there was ‘overcrowding’. This information passed through the hierarchy of state officials.

“These aspects were always pursued in the correspondence between the Chief Native Commission and the resident magistrate, which accompanied the submission of an application by a mission station. The magistrate was required to corroborate the station’s statement, and was invariably requested to confirm that

²⁴⁷ SA acc. 76.641; A:SA 41.11e, pp. 1-37, (Chronik der Station, eNtombe, especially the first part written by missionary Meyer).

a white missionary was resident on the station.” [or that otherwise the station was closely supervised by a white missionary].²⁴⁸

Local magistrates were often overburdened, so that the monitoring of the exempted mission stations was restricted to an investigation of complaints relating to ‘transgressions’ such as beer brewing, prostitution, trespass of farm boundaries, absenteeism or late arrival for work on the part of mission station residents working on neighbouring farms. The nature of such complaints reinforced the mission station regulations imposed on the inhabitants by the missionary. Thus, it was not by accident that the impression arose among mission station residents that the missionaries were used by the government to implement the Land Act.²⁴⁹

This was acknowledged by a one-time missionary at eNtombe himself. “[African Christians] would like to make use of the missionary to free themselves from [the yoke of the state], and because he cannot, is not allowed to, and does not want to do this, they very easily come to regard him as an ally of their oppressor.”²⁵⁰

In the wake of the commercialisation of agriculture and the consequent general squeeze on rent and labour tenants, the Hermannsburg Mission Society levied higher rents and church fees from mission station tenants, and attempted to introduce written contracts. This led to conflicts between missionaries and tenants. In a 1922 mission conference resolution, the missionaries decided to give greater consideration to the influence of German settler farmers, and increased weight to economic and financial considerations in

²⁴⁸ Harris, Verne Sheldon, *Land, Labour, Ideology*.p.f.

²⁴⁹ Interview with eNtombe people by B. Mfenyana, 22 January 1982 in SACC.

²⁵⁰ HMBL., 62, 1915, p. 110.

dealing with mission property.²⁵¹ It was the alliance which the missionary of eNtombe forged with local farmers (persuaded by the missionary that his lack of authority over the mission station inhabitants was detrimental to the farmers' interests) which led to the issue of title deeds to the Hermannsburg Mission.²⁵² The common cause made by the local farmers and missionaries was a source of bitter resentment at the inhabitants of eNtombe Mission who feared being turned into labour tenants. This emerges out of a history of the area told by a man whose family home is the mission station:

“The resident missionaries as from 1909 to the 1950s were fully committed, dedicated to the propaganda by the German farmers to this region. People were shocked in the congregation to hear such words from the pulpit pronounced by ministers under the guise of religion. Indeed they were serpents. The question of eviction of that area remained hanging and unanswered... [After 1958] a white farmer came... On his arrival this farmer reversed all the rules and procedures such as the residents will work in the fields of the minister as their father, whom they gave assistance to of their own free will, but most particularly as brethren to him. [the missionary] and the farmer forced residents to labour... as from the departure of [the missionary], all the white farmers who succeeded him in occupying that region were not ministers of religion. They were just ordinary farmers who came to exploit that region for their own benefit.”²⁵³

²⁵¹ Hasselhorn, Fritz, *Bauernmission in Südafrika*, p. 157.

²⁵² Hasselhorn, Fritz, *Bauernmission in Südafrika*, p. 191.

²⁵³ Interview with eNtombe people by B. Mfenyana, 22 January 1982 in SACC.

Chapter five and chapter six with which we have dealt extensively, form the thrust of this thesis. Therefore it is imperative that at this stage once more in a condensed form, a brief recapitulation and summary of the events described in the aforesaid two chapters is presented.

5. ENTOMBE AND ENKOMBELA : THE DISPUTED MISSION STATIONS IN NORTHERN ZULULAND

The Mission Society laid its claim over the mission stations in Northern Zululand as its property thirty years later after the death of King Mpande who allowed them to settle within Zululand in 1860. In his letter of appeal for official support by the German Imperial Government via its Consulate General in Cape Town, Fröhling wrote:

“The territories for the erection of our stations we received from uMpande the then King of the Zulus and his son Cetshwayo, who was then still a Crown Prince (heir apparent to the Zulu throne), however, he was already a co-ruler. We received it on condition that it was not our permanent possession, but on a usufructuary (*Niessbrauche*) basis and under the express condition that we did not claim ownership and did not found a European colony and with the proviso that the king could order us to leave again.”²⁵⁴

²⁵⁴ Propst, F., Fröhling to German Imperial Consul in Cape Town requesting intervention of the German Imperial Government on behalf of the HMS., in South Africa, 20 April 1884, 20 May 1884, 17 September 1884, 29 January 1885, 26 February 1885, 2 March 1885, 28 March 1885, 3 September 1885, 5 November 1885, 22 May 1886, 9 December 1886, in A:SA 1.40b; Hasselhorn, F., *Mission, Land Ownership and Settlers' Ideology*, pp. 8-9.

This permission by the king to settle in Zululand was later on dubiously stated as a right of possession by the HMS, in spite of the strict royal reservation in which they interpreted the gifts brought by the earlier missionaries, when visiting the king, as payment.

Before Director Egmont Harms came to South Africa, he had masterminded that new interpretation, which then and today Amazulu were and are disputing. Harms brought his own version, in so far as he interpreted the tribute presents which are brought by a guest or a subject to his King or her queen as gifts, as payment in material objects. The missionaries, whenever they visited the king, had gifts, or tributes (*izethulo*). It used to be different kinds of objects including clothes and blankets. At times they would even carve a wooden wagon and build a house for the king.²⁵⁵ All that, they did as a normal service to the king whose subjects they were. Director Egmont Harms wrote a letter to the German Imperial Foreign Office in Berlin in 1890, requesting their protection of the mission stations which were annexed by the colonial government in Natal and former Transvaal in which he stated:

"Panda gave the Hermannsburg Mission places as property, he stated the boundaries and he received as a compensation a wagon house (both assets were carved by the mission workers) as well as a considerable number of woollen blankets and numerous other objects. According to the then value of an

²⁵⁵ HMBL., 1859, pp. 76, 78, 176, 179,; 1861, pp.59, 61, 139, 142; Engelbrecht, J.D., 27 January 1896 to Harms.

uninhabited territory and on the other side (considering) all the European products so the places were well paid for."²⁵⁶

Based on the written evidence from the correspondence of the HMS itself, as well as from oral evidence, the interpretation given by Director Harms and claim of possession by the HMS does not hold ground, and should therefore be categorically rejected and henceforth be regarded as blatant fraud and collaboration with the settlers in the process of dispossession.

For political reasons Mpande had tactically and strategically placed the missionaries in the uPhongolo area in Northern Zululand.²⁵⁷ There were two established mission stations, eNtombe and eNkombela. Mpande exercised his sovereignty over this area as the missionaries confirmed it.

"It is certain that, if this tribe was not under the sovereignty of the Zulu King uMpande, the brothers would have had the same experience as among Amaswazi where they were sent away. However, because of his friendliness to the Europeans, uMpande allowed the establishment of a station at eNtombe in the land of uThathawe. Of course the chief had no objections to the undertaking. The station was given by the king."²⁵⁸

²⁵⁶ Harms, Egmont, 30 September 1890 to German Imperial Foreign office in Berlin requesting protection for the mission stations.

²⁵⁷ SA Acc. 76, K26, 4.10.1923; Meyer, F., in A:SA 41.11e, pp. 1-9; Kistner, W., 01-05-1997, interview at LUTHOS in Pietermaritzburg.

²⁵⁸ Meyer, F., in A:SA 4.1.11e, p. 9.

Chief Thathawe kaJijila Kubheka initially refused and asked the missionaries whether the people in Natal were all Christians. If not then the missionaries should go and convert the Natalians first.²⁵⁹ The missionaries had to pay tribute to the chief for the erection of a mission station.

In the same year (1860), the Boers sent their Fieldcornet and Landdrost from Wakkerstroom to lay claim to the eNtombe area. Hardeland in his letter to Director Louis Harms stated:

"That area is a Republic's property. They wish to allow missionaries, but they should apply to the government for land and they would be told where to build. They should promise to obey the laws of the region."²⁶⁰

The Boers were basing their claim on the accord in which King Mswati had given that area to them with whom they were on good terms. The Boers made a condition for the stay of the missionaries. They should promise not to incite blacks against the whites. They should not sell weapons nor gunpowder to them. Finally the missionaries should apply to the *Volksraad* for the approval of the erection of a station.²⁶¹ Between 1864 and 1866 there was a cold war between Amazulu and the Boers. The Boers came time and again to the mission stations to assert their authority. Chief Thathawe Kubheka was killed by the Boers at Wakkerstroom, after that the Boers annexed eNtombe and

²⁵⁹ Ibid, p. 9-10;HMBL,1860,pp.85-88,89-94,172; 1861, pp.170-172.

²⁶⁰ Hardeland, in HMBL., 1862, p. 61.

²⁶¹ Hardeland, in HMBL., 1862, p. 62f.

eNkombela.²⁶² In response to that assassination, Mpande sent his army to occupy eNtombe and eNkombela. He forbade the eNtombe residents to pay loyalty to the Boers. Any person following instructions from the Boers would be severely punished.²⁶³

In the year 1869 the eNtombe area was demarcated and the boundaries were fixed. The large area of 12 000 acres ‘ 4800 hectares was divided into two parts. Missionary Meyer was arbitrarily imposed as the authority over eNtombe subject to the laws of the Boer Republic.²⁶⁴ When the demarcation took place in 1869, Meyer was living together with 63 Christians including his family. He complained now and again that the people were living in a state of lawlessness.²⁶⁵ Meyer died during the war of 1879. He was suffering from kidney stones. He was then replaced by Missionary Christian Wagner in 1880 to 1908.

Wagner had to assert his authority over eNtombe with the assistance of the Boers and English officials. The eNtombe residents did not want to serve under him. Wagner warned them sternly that failure to submit and recognise his authority over eNtombe would mean expulsion from the area with the help of the police.²⁶⁶ In the year 1885 the Transvaal government measured eNtombe mission station, the place was divided again into four parts. The HMS through Wagner, laid a formal protest against the demarcation.

²⁶² Meyer, F., in A:SA 41.11e, pp. 12-13; Speckmann, F., *Mission in Afrika*, pp. 518-19, 536-40; Meyer, F., 6 February 1868 to Supt. K. Hohls; Haccius, G., HMG, Vol. 3,1, pp. 195-96.

²⁶³ HMBL., 1862, p. 62; 1866, p. 59; 1869, pp. 199-205; 1870, p. 176; Zulu Cetshwayo, in *A Zulu King Speaks*, pp. 14, 20, 24, 27.

²⁶⁴ HMBL., 1869, pp. 199-205; Meyer, F., 6 February 1868, 27 February 1868; 19 July 1869 and 12 October 1869, 29. November 1869, to Supt. K. Hohls.

²⁶⁵ HMBL., 1870, p. 177.

²⁶⁶ Wagner, Chr., in A:SA 41.11e, p. 39f.

Propst F. Fröhling and Wagner wrote to Pretoria and Cape Town and stated their formal protest²⁶⁷ and at the same time applied for a title deed. The *Volksraad* in Pretoria rejected that formal protest and reciprocated by offering the mission a lease of 25 years for £25 per annum. The mission refused to pay the £25 and requested exemption for an unlimited period. If not, the mission demanded a compensation of £4000.²⁶⁸ The end result was that the government stopped demanding rent and the mission received no compensation. In response to Harms' letter of 30 September 1890, the Transvaal government stated that through the resolution of the *Volksraad*, eNtombe had become the government's property.²⁶⁹ In the face of that uncertain situation the missionary also stopped demanding rent from the residents. He only collected offerings from the Christian residents.²⁷⁰ Shortly before the Anglo-Boer war of 1899 to 1902 broke out, the Boers demanded rent for the station from the missionary. The English government did the same. However, the HMS did not budge.²⁷¹

Finally the English colonial government allowed the HMS to use the station plot for missionary purposes. "The place will be registered in the name of our mission, however, it may only be used for mission purposes, is inalienable and should we no longer conduct mission work, it will be retained by the government as its property."²⁷² During the course of 1909 the HMS made several attempts at obtaining the right to exercise authority over

²⁶⁷ Fröhling, F.'s letters 20 April 1884, 3 September 1885, 5 November 1885, 9 December 1886; A:SA 1.40c; HMBL, 1885, pp. 80, 91.

²⁶⁸ SA acc. 76, K26, 5, 6, 1886.

²⁶⁹ A:SA 1.40e, 24.3. 1891.

²⁷⁰ A:SA IV 402.

²⁷¹ HMBL., 1905, p. 133-134.

²⁷² HMBL., 1907, p. 171.

the station residents. These attempts were unsuccessful, for the minister Lord Selburn, who was at the time Governor General, could not accede to Mr Wilhelm H. Ahrens' request.²⁷³

eNkombela had a slightly different status. It was established together with eNtombe in the 1860s. The mission had been conducting mission work for over thirty three years uninterrupted. For that reason the HMS received a title deed for eNkombela in 1909 for which it applied in 1897.²⁷⁴

Contrary to the case of eNkombela, eNtombe was also under mission work for over thirty three years, however, not uninterrupted. For that reason the HMS could not get the expected title deed. In a series of correspondence between Ahrens and the Secretary for Lands, eNtombe and eNkombela were the subject of discussion. H.W. Ahrens wrote to the Secretary for Lands in the Land Department and requested the issuing of a title deed for eNtombe in accordance with the executive council resolution of 19 August 1905.²⁷⁵ The Under Secretary responded, writing that Deed of Reserve for "Zendelingspost" (eNtombe) will be issued soon."²⁷⁶ The number for the station was supposed to be issued.²⁷⁷ In the face of that uncertainty about the future of the stations at the uPhongolo area, Director Harms, W.H. Ahrens, Schulenburg, K. Dedekind, D. Junge and Wiese met at eNkombela in July 1909 to discuss the new rules on the conditions of lease for

²⁷³ SA acc. 76, K1, 19.8.1909; SA acc. 76, 819.1 15.11.1947.

²⁷⁴ Pretoria, Booth & Wessels to E. Harms 23.11.1897; J.D. Engelbrecht to Harms on the land markers and size of the mission ground 26.11.1897; A:SA 41.11e, p. 115; Hasselhorn, F., *Mission, Land ownership and settlers' ideology*", p. 11.

²⁷⁵ SA acc. 76.7, H.W. Ahrens to Under Secretary for Lands, 01.04.1909.

²⁷⁶ SA acc. 76.7. Acting Secretary for Lands to H.W. Ahrens 19.04.1909.

²⁷⁷ SA acc. 76.7. H.W. Ahrens to Acting Secretary for Lands, 23-04-1909.

eNtombe and eNkombela. This meeting was prompted by the political development with regard to the law pertaining to the Native Land Act of 1913.²⁷⁸

The outcome of the lengthy correspondence between the HMS and the Department of Lands was a letter written by the Department to the HMS to the effect that

"the minister regrets that he is unable to accede to your request that a clause should be inserted in the Deed of Reserve to be issued authorising the Missionary Society to exercise full control over the natives resident on the farm."²⁷⁹

Missionary Detlef Junge tried once more to acquire permission to have control over the station residents. He visited Governor Lord Selburn at Piet Retief in 1909, where he pleaded for such document to be issued to him. "For our work cannot only depend on preaching and teaching, but also we have to educate the black people to work". Some months later a letter authorising a missionary to issue passes to his residents like any farmer, was granted but the right authorising him to have control over the residents was withheld, and it was "therefore not understood how any native could be required to settle for farming operations."

Detlef (uFohloza) Junge explained the situation in the following words:

"From September 1908 to July 1913 I was a missionary and manager of the station eNtombe. From my predecessor Missionary Chr. Wagner I received *inter*

²⁷⁸ PMC-AS R 12.200. Meeting at eNkombela 09-07-1909.

²⁷⁹ SA acc. 76,7. Stegmann & Roos, Pretoria to H.W. Ahrens, 19-08-1909.

alia the following regulations: All Christian residents received grazing and ploughing land at the instruction of the missionary. Male adults when leaving the mission station must ask for a transfer pass from the missionary."²⁸⁰

All were obliged to work for the mission and the missionary. For instance in the case of necessary constructions, they had to dig up furrows for drying up swamp and to plough for him. All agreed to these regulations. Among them there was Saul Shongwe, the son of Paul Shongwe. I do not recall encountering any difficult in that matter. No one was allowed to settle in eNtombe without the missionary's permission. Detlef Junge continues:

“The General Manager, Mr H.W. Ahrens drew my attention to the fact that the point of controlling blacks on the eNtombe station was not clear. Hence there could be some problems in future.”²⁸¹

The Transvaal government had promulgated a law that blacks should pay tax of £3.00. The law stipulated that if a person has worked for three months consistently on a farm he can pay only £1.00. Missionary Junge was advised by Magistrate Peachy to implement that law for eNtombe mission station. ENtombe people, HMS and the Transvaal government accepted that regulation.²⁸²

²⁸⁰ Missionary D. Junge, in SA acc. 76.819.1 15.11.1947 to Director W. Wickert.

²⁸¹ SA acc. 76, K. 11/21, 19.01.1910.

²⁸² Missionary D. Junge in SA acc. 76.819.1 15.11.1947, explaining the events between 1905 and 1913.

6. RECAPITULATION

In conclusion a recapitulation of the whole thesis and presentation of the research results are of cardinal importance, both to academics and people at the grassroots, especially the black people whose forefathers lived and died in the mission stations discussed in this thesis. This thesis contains seven chapters, which are systematically constructed. The first chapter, which forms a prelude to the rest of the thesis, presented the motivation for undertaking this project. I investigated briefly the beginning of settlers' encroachment policy in the early 1840s. The upheavals began with the invasion of the Zulu country by the Boers in 1838 and 1840, followed by the conflict for territorial rule between the settlers i.e. the Boers and the British in 1842/43. On crossing uThukela River the Boers embarked on the policy of encroachment which culminated in the so called Border dispute 1876-1878. So called because it was an artificial border created by the Boers through their policy of encroachment. I presented verbatim (as a quotation) Cetshwayo's version of the events that took place between 1840 and 1879.

An allusion has been made to the new development in the way of writing history in S.A. which I termed history and Christianity.

In the method part firstly I explained the approach employed in which the written documents, i.e. archives, primary and secondary sources have been used. Secondly I employed written and oral evidence in conducting interviews which shed light into the events in the selected mission stations in Northern Zululand by critiquing and reviewing the historiography on the Hermannsburg mission.

In chapter two I investigated the socio-political history of Germany prior to the beginning of the Hermannsburg mission in Germany and South Africa. This period covering the time between 1789 till 1848 was full of social upheavals in that it was during the period that the industrialization and mechanisation of agrarian economy took place. This in turn forced many people to move into the cities in search of a better living or to immigrate to overseas countries. Most of the Hermannsburg missionaries who came to South Africa came from rural areas, which were mostly affected by those social changes. Amid social confusion and despair there began a spiritual movement known as the awakening whose aftermath had a great impact on Ludwig Harms, Hermann, Tholuck, Spitter and Zinzendorf.

Consequently Louis Harms founded the Hermannsburg Mission Society in which he recruited young males to be trained as missionaries to be sent overseas, mainly in Africa. As most of the missionaries came from rural areas and had no inheritance from their parents, leaving Germany was a golden opportunity to become somebody socially.

Their survival could only be through farming. That is why the emphasis was on erecting mission stations in rural areas. This meant for the missionaries acquiring land. It was the appropriation of land which we also investigated.

Before sending his missionaries on the long journey to Africa, Harms read and wrote extensively about the life of the people on the Heath (*Heide*) and how Christianity came to Germany in the seventh century. As many mission societies sent their missionaries to Africa reports came to Germany. Some of those reports came from Ethiopia about the Oromo people. In the Oromo people, Harms saw his forefathers, who were Christianised

(evangelized) by the Anglo-Saxon monks from Ireland. In his writings Harms also reflected his thoughts about the Africans and how they could be converted to Christianity and at the same time protected themselves against the encroaching colonial powers. Harms also wrote down guidelines for the outgoing missionaries. This became the Constitution (*Gemeinde Ordnung*) and code of conduct for the missionaries in the mission field. A critique of that constitution has been rendered.

A brief survey of East Africa and the first and second failed attempts to enter Oromo land has been presented. Krapf and Rebmann greatly assisted the inexperienced Hermannsburg missionaries in meeting the authorities in Zanzibar and Mombasa. The second chapter concludes with Rebmann advising the Hermannsburg missionaries to sail back to Natal, where they were cordially received by Posselt and introduced to the colonial authorities. See Appendix I on the missionaries Krapf and Rebmann.

In chapter three the Zulu background and the pre-Shakan kingdoms are also given attention. Of particular interest to me is the demographic and ethnographic structure of the region between iMfolozi emnyama uPhongolo and Igwa (Vaal) Rivers to 1820. This section concludes with the emergence of Shaka in the political scene, his consolidation of political power and the creation of the Zulu kingdom. Subsequently, the life and times of Kings Dingana, Mpande and Cetshwayo were presented. I began by looking at King Mpande's life time and his relation to the colonial authorities. Schreuder and Colenso have preceded the Hermannsburg missionaries in crossing uThukela river and visiting King Mpande and his *izinduna* at KwaNodwengu in Zululand. Amakhosi in KwaNtabankulu areas, the founding of the mission stations, the eruption of the civil war

and eventually annexation of Northern Zululand by the Boers and the creation of the New Republic.

It must be said that the American missionaries from the American Board of Mission in Boston, came to Natal as early as 1835 during king Dingana's reign and so were Gardener and Owen from the British Missionary Society.

Chapter four deals with the visits and encounters made by Schreuder and Colenso which were significant for the founding of the Hermannsburg mission in Zululand. The appointment and arrival of Hardeland and his lifetimes are analysed. His interaction with the Boers, with the missionaries, controversy, and ultimately his return to Germany. The arrival and founding of New Hermannsburg by the missionaries in the place of Chief Phakade kaMacingwane Mchunu. It is here that the Hermannsburgers had their first direct experience of mission in Africa. It was at New Hermannsburg that their history in South Africa began to unfold. It was also at New Hermannsburg that four unequal parties met. The colonial authorities, the settlers with their Oorlams and the missionaries and Zulus. From Hermannsburg the missionaries began to visit the surrounding eMabomvini and eMachunwini tribes in order to preach the Gospel to the people. EHlanzeni mission station was established. Later on eThembeni and eMhlangane Ophathe and eMakhabeleni in 1863 under King Gayede followed.

Chapter five deals with the founding of the following mission stations: eKuhlangeni (1860-1900), eNyathi mission (1862-1900), ZAR and New Republic(1884-1888), and the history of dispossession in Northern Zululand which culminated in the border disputes, Anglo- Zulu war and civil war.

Chapter six deals specifically with the region between uPhongolo and Vaal Rivers. This region formally was part of Northern Zululand, however, was annexed into the Transvaal Republic. These areas are called eNtombe, and (eNcaka) eNkombela. I went into more historical detail about the history of dispossession in the disputed area of Northern Zululand. As in chapter four, in this chapter life history of the missionaries is given attention. In this chapter the emphasis is on the dispute between the missionaries and the Boers for the property rights over eNtombe and eNkombela mission stations. It concludes with a detailed analysis of the events, which led to the dispossession in the Entombe and eNcaka areas. The structure of the Zulu kingdom prior to the arrival of the settlers and the missionaries and their encroachment into the territory of Zululand along with the missionaries' admission into Zululand and their being granted land by the Zulu king is presented. The traditional Zulu understanding of land ownership is explained. The politics of the South African Republic in relation to the New Republic and its impact in the region of Northern Zululand is accounted for in detail, particularly the encroachment, demarcation and the division of the spoil.

The Anglo-Zulu war was followed by the creation of the New Republic supported by the South African Republic. In its wake a scramble for the land took place. The missionaries intentionally incorrectly represented the original nature of their mission station land claims to the colonial authorities in order to be able to keep the land, thereby participating in this scramble. This disloyalty to the very people who received them for evangelisation can be interpreted as contradicting their sacred call.

In the subsequent chapter seven findings, and observations will be presented and suggestion be made.

CHAPTER SEVEN

CONCLUSION

1. FINDINGS AND OBSERVATIONS

During the course of my research for this thesis, I came to the following findings, some of which are contained in the body of the thesis, and some of which I now present in this conclusion. As a starting point for this thesis, an investigation and study into the nature and social events in Germany between the French Revolution of 1789 and the German Revolution of 1848 has been made. A detailed social analysis of the society in the *Lüneburger Heide* was necessary so as to understand the social background of the Hermannsburg missionaries.

1.1 Hermannsburg Missionaries: Background and Social Status

In the 19th century, German farming underwent a series of revolutionary changes. New methods of production and machines were increasingly used, and production came to be organised along business lines. The small peasant became a farmer. Only a third of Hermannsburg

missionaries were real peasants' sons. Another third were recruited from the rural poor.²⁵⁶

Their parents were peasants, day-labourers, shoemakers, turners or bar-keepers. The future of their sons, in the face of commercialisation and mechanisation, looked very gloomy indeed. These members of the peasantry were those who lost the most when agriculture was commercialised and mechanised. Among the peasants' sons signing up as missionaries, those who were heirs to a farm were the exception. Those who entered into the service of the mission were mainly peasants' sons threatened by social decline because they could not inherit any land. When the Hermannsburg missionaries left Germany for South Africa, it was clear to them and director Louis Harms that they would work in the rural areas and, therefore, would depend on farming for existence. It is against this background that in 1885 nearly 70% of the Hermannsburg missionaries working in South Africa had a farming background.²⁵⁷ Just like those who were recruited from the class of cottagers and farm labourers, they viewed land ownership as the basis for a decent social position and as a means to climb up the social ladder. Like the settlers (alias colonists) who accompanied them, the missionaries were people who had little to lose at home, but had a lot to gain abroad. It is understandable that with such a background, the missionaries took the initiative to acquire land and, at times, to

²⁵⁶ Schneider, K.H. & Seedorf, F. H.H., *Bauernbefreiung und Agrarreformen in Niedersachsen, Hannover Nieder –Saechsischen Landes Zentrale Fuer politische Bildung*, 1989. p. 1ff; Saga, E., *A Social History of Germany, 1648 –1914* (London, Methuen, 1977), p. 344. Oschadleus, Hans – Juergen, *Heiden missionar* pp. 11-12.

²⁵⁷ Hasselhorn, Fritze, *Bauernmission in Suedafrika – Die Hermannsburger Mission im Spannungsfeld der Kolonialpolitik 1880 – 1939*, Vol. 6 (Erlangen, 1988). pp. 37ff; Ruether, Kerstin, *Social Strategies in African Conversion to Christianity: The experience of the Hermannsburger Mission in South Africa, 1854 – 1879*, (M.A. Thesis, University of Hannover, 1995,) pp. 16 – 31.

expropriate the black people's land and ensure permanent possession of it. Right from the early 1870s they made great efforts and sacrifices to this end. Prior to the Anglo-Zulu War of 1879, and after the Zulu Civil War of 1880-1884, the Hermannsburg missionaries acquired land in Zululand with or without the help of both the Boers and the British settlers.

Leuschke, Kistner, Proske, Mignon, and Oschadleus, who wrote extensively about the Hermannsburg Mission in Natal and the Transvaal generally, and whose theses dealt mainly with the entanglement of the Hermannsburg Mission in politics, had a tendency to be apolitical and acquiescent to the political status quo. Exceptions to the above-mentioned authors are Hasselhorn and Rütther, who attempted to write more on the interaction of the Hermannsburg missionaries with the black people and their struggle for the land. In this thesis, however, an attempt has been made to provide a detailed historical and political account of the history of the mission stations as they were before the missionaries came.

The encounter between the missionaries, the *Amakhosi* and their people, was at times not a pleasant one. There was friction, and sometimes instability, in their interaction. This thesis is important, as on the one hand, the Zulu people's history has been reconstructed, and it will provide valuable information for the present inhabitants of those areas, including those who were ejected by the missionaries and settlers, for instance, the deportation of many chiefs from their land in the aftermath of the Anglo-Zulu War of 1879.

On the other hand, such a document containing extensively invaluable source material on the times and activities of the Hermannsburg missionaries and settlers, is indispensable in terms of land claims and restitution in today's South Africa. Such detailed and minute accounts about *Amakhosi* (kings), their life and times and places, for others, appears to be a page-filling exercise and therefore irrelevant for academic purposes. This perception, from the perspective of the black people, is wrong. For the people who are the descendants of the people who lived and experienced both the missionaries and settlers in those mission stations mentioned, such information is highly welcomed.

We (black people) therefore dismiss and refuse to comply with attempts to persuade us not to pursue such an endeavour. Research of this magnitude has never been done before on the northern Zululand area with respect to the history of mission and dispossession.

1.2 The Zulu–Nguni Traditional Understanding of Land Ownership

According to the Zulu traditional understanding of land ownership, rights and protection of property, the land belongs to the king (*iNkosi yaMakhosi*) and is inalienable. He holds it in trusteeship for the nation in the name of his forefathers, and administers it together with the hereditary chiefs (*Amakhosi endabuko or izikhulu zezwe*); hence, there was no lease or gift of the land by an *inkosi*. If someone is allocated a piece of land, according to the Nguni- Zulu law on land rights, one can occupy that piece of land in perpetuity, that is, for generations to come. The right of occupation, however, terminates in the case of voluntary emigration or in the case of deportation by an *iNkosi*. Kings Mpande and Cetshwayo, as well as Ndukwana kaMbengwana Masondo- Mthwethwa, gave the same explanations on the question of land ownership. The land is allocated to an individual on

the basis that he/she has come to pay allegiance to the chief (*ukukhonza*) and is in need of a place of abode.²⁵⁸

1.3 The Custom of Allegiance and Paying Tribute to the Zulu Kings (*Isiko lokukhonza noku letha isethulo KwaZulu*)

From time immemorial there has been a custom of bringing a gift to the royal palace whenever a person visits the chief or king. This gift is known as *isethulo* (tribute). In the case of the Hermannsburg missionaries, it happened that whenever they visited King Mpande or Prince Cetshwayo, they brought a gift (*isethulo*) with them as a sign of allegiance (*ukukhonza*) to the very king in whose land they came to seek a place of abode, in their case, to seek a place for establishing mission stations. In doing this, they must have been told that this was the habit in Zululand. It does not mean that one is bringing the goods in exchange for something. The first generation of missionaries who met King Mpande understood this custom clearly, or it must have been explained to them thoroughly. Missionary Froehling confirms this in his letters to the German authorities in the 1880s, when he wrote:

“The territory for the erection of four stations we received from uMpande the then king of the Zulus and his son Cetshwayo who was then still a crown prince i.e heir apparent to the Zulu throne. However, he was a co-ruler. We received it on conditions that it was not our permanent property, but for the purpose of mission work a usufruct and under no circumstances are we to regard this as our property,

²⁵⁸ JSA. VOL. 4.

and that we shall not establish a colony of Europeans and that the king reserves the right to expel us.²⁵⁹

1.4 Dispossession: Missionaries and Mission Stations

The Mission Director, Egmont Harms, and the successive generations of missionaries, however, changed the above formulation and stated:

“Panda gave the Hermannsburg mission places as property. He stated the boundaries and he received as compensation a wagon house (both assets were built by the mission workers) as well as a considerable number of woollen blankets and numerous other objects. Comparing the then value of the land unpopulated territory and all the European products the places were well paid for”.²⁶⁰ (Letter to the Foreign Ministry of the German Empire in Berlin requesting for the protection of the mission station in South Africa).

The missionaries were unequivocally calling for a war against the Zulus. Hardeland stated:

“Well I wish to state that in some way, the Zulus in general and other similar heathen tribes are in fact nothing but a rading horde gets its Charlemagne

²⁵⁹ Propst, Froehling, 3 September 1885; 9. 12. 1886 to the German Imperial Consul in Cape Town requesting intervention of the German imperial government on behalf of the Hermannsburg missionaries in South Africa; A:SA 1.40b.

²⁶⁰ Harms Egmont, Letter Dated 30. 09. 1890.

(Carolus Magnus) who will break them with a strong fist, bring them under Christian discipline and thereby open the way for the word of God.²⁶¹

By supporting the English war policy, the missionaries made it clear that their original mission concept was a dismal failure. Without a preceding military defeat of the Zulus, their conversion into Christianity appeared no longer thinkable. As Hardeland meant it, the missionaries were anxiously waiting in Natal for a “strong fist” that would repress the Zulus and then make them accessible for the missionaries’ message.

Missionary Jacob Filter crowned it all when he stated:

“What particularly made me give a go ahead [for his son to work for the British army as a spy and reconnoitre against the Zulus] that is to say yes was that I saw that as a war in which the British will be victorious thereby Christianity, education, law and order will be established, or the Zulus will be the victorious thereby heathenism, tyranny and barbarism would prevail. If I had had no office (as pastor) and family I would have personally taken up arms against the Zulus”.²⁶²

Dispossession by the Boers was rife. Hardeland stated in a letter to the Hermannsburg mission society that the Boers were practising a very wise policy which the British were then also following, namely, not to allow kaffirs to settle at one place in large numbers. They spread them throughout the country in small homesteads; by so doing, on the one hand they were pre-empting a potential danger so that blacks would not attack whites, as

²⁶¹ Hardeland, A., in HMBL, 1862, pp. 100-101.

²⁶² Filter, J., in HMBL., 1879, pp. 179-183.

the *kaffirs* could not live together in large numbers and, in particular, under their chiefs. On the other hand, because they are scattered in small units, they would be forced to start to work for the whites.²⁶³

Another shocking incident at eNtombe was the murder of Chief Thathawe ka Jijila ka Magonondo Kubheka by the Boers at Wakkerstroom. After killing the chief, the Boers rode on horseback to eNtombe and annexed the area. Speckmann F described the incident as follows:

“The people surrendered to the Boers. Many of them went back to their homes or area (eNtombe) even those who had hidden themselves in the caves came out. Soon after came the Field Cornet and Landrost Boers who confiscated everything and declare the eNtombe residents to be under the Transvaal Republic. This was exciting news for missionary Nolte. Unfortunately this excitement did not last long, for when the spring came and people started to plough and cultivate their fields the Zulus came and confiscated their hoes only the ones who submitted to the Zulus could keep their hoes and continue to cultivate the fields”.²⁶⁴

In other words King Mpande was demonstrating his authority and sovereignty over the area.

Hardeland further expressed his support for the politics of dispossession when he stated that the Boers had not yet put the area of eNtombe and eNkombela under control, because they were still in the minority; however, he predicted that through a constant

²⁶³ Wagner, Chr. In A:SA 41.11e, p. 69,71.

²⁶⁴ Cope, Richard, Ploughshare of war: The origins of the Anglo – Zulu War of 1879, pp. 91 – 112; 113 - 158

immigration from the Cape and Natal, the Boers would multiply immediately and as soon as they were in a stronger position they would annex and occupy it.²⁶⁵

In 1869, a dispossession took place in eNtombe where the Boer Government promised to measure and survey to complete portions. The inspectors were sent. They inspected only one portion. They then promised to clear the matter with the Government, in which case the portion of Zaaihoek (Izindololwane) would fall under the eNtombe mission station. Later on, it became clear that the inspectors wanted to keep the missionary and the people of eNtombe quiet until they had concluded their covert plan. When the missionary asked them later on, he discovered that Zaaihoek had been given to the settler Grobler.

In the 1880s, a second dispossession took place in eNtombe where the mission station was measured and surveyed for the second time by the Boer Government. In spite of the vehement protest by missionary Wagner, the place was divided into four units and the maps were not issued. The missionary was told that Field Cornet Outshoorn registered both places in the name of the Government, for the Zulu King uMpande had no right to allocate or to give land as a gift within the Republic.

Missionary Wagner 's response was short and precise when he said that whether or not Mpande had the right to allocate or to give land as a gift he did not know. However, he knew that uMpande ruled there, conducted wars and appointed chiefs or *izinduna* without being impeded by the Transvaal government"²⁶⁶. He continued to say that he had heard that there would be compensation rights issued. He requested compensation for the land, as the missionaries had done much service to the government.

²⁶⁵ Hardeland, A., in HMBL, 1862, pp. 100-101.

²⁶⁶ Wagner, pp. 69, 71.

The colonial government, together with the missionaries, crowned the policy of dispossession by deposing and deporting Chief Manyonyoba kaThulasizwe Kubheka from the eNtombe area to eNquthu in 1879 and 1906 respectively.

1.5 Dispossession: Settlers vs Zululand

The settlers also had their ulterior plans to invade Zululand and open it up for labour in colonial Natal. This was clear from the policies of Lord Carnarvon, Shepstone, Bulwer, Bartle Frere and Garnet Wolseley. The British policy of confederation had a destructive effect on Zululand. The disagreements of the South African Republic with its native neighbours, chiefly the Zulus, were numerous and bitter. It was then primarily with a view to lay the foundation of a sound system of self-protection against native danger and so shift the burden onto the right shoulders, that Lord Carnarvon moved in the direction of confederation. Some of the colonists in Natal thought that the immediately urgent call for a general union showed the formidable character of the native question and the importance of a uniform, wise and strong policy in dealing with it.

There was a school of thought in colonial Natal that in the white public interest there should be control over native affairs. It purported that reforms were essential to the colony's development; without them, they would have a black colony, which would mean the decay of resources, the absence of prosperity, and a general decline in the level of subsistence. There was the understanding that a confederation would certainly create strength, diminish the risk which was inseparable from the existence of those great native

tribes, and preserve the European communities from sudden panics.²⁶⁷

As regards the border dispute, it was the intention of the Boers to take a strip of land in northern Zululand about four farms deep, along the whole length of the reserve border down to the sea. This belt of land was ten miles wide and the Boers intended when this belt had been laid off, to lay off, if necessary, another similar belt of farms alongside the first, and so on, until the full number of 800 farms had been completed.²⁶⁸ The English administration in colonial Natal tended to portray the attitude of favoring the Zulus against the Boers, when it felt that its interests were threatened. For the colonists in Natal, the occupation by the Boers of the Zulu country from the Transvaal border to the sea was an act of most serious importance to the colony of Natal, because it was an act that would effectively close the outlet hitherto existing between Natal, Zululand and Portuguese East Africa. The English settlers argued that for forty years Natal had been a refuge for the natives from Zululand, until the native population had become a cause of inconvenience and threatened to become a source of danger. It was always held that those people who fled and lived in colonial Natal belonged to the Zulu country by right of birth and heritage.²⁶⁹

The annexation was advocated from April to July 1877 by both the press in Natal and the missionaries. The *Natal Witness* stated: “It is high time that the British Government should step in and put an end to this wanton and reckless sacrifice of human life, remove the constant menace and danger to ourselves in Natal; but on higher grounds, our bounden duty to break the yoke of the tyrant and let the oppressed free”. The *Natal*

²⁶⁷ Cope, Richard, *Ploughshare of war: The origins of the Anglo – Zulu War of 1879*, pp. 91 – 112; 113 – 158.

²⁶⁸ Bulwer, H., to the Earl of Derby, 12. 01. 1885, in CA, August, 1885, p.15

²⁶⁹ Bulwer, H., to the Earl of Derby , 23. 01 – 1885 in: CZ, August 1885, p. 19.

Witness further stated that “the pacification of Zululand would seem to be an even more important business than the annexation of the Transvaal”. The annexation of Zululand was justified on the grounds of humanity. It was said that Britain had not only the obligation to intervene on humanitarian grounds, but a contractual right to do so. Reports began to be received from March onwards of attacks on mission stations and the murder of converts, and these were accompanied by further reports of more general slaughter in Zululand. There is abundant evidence, stated the *Natal Mercury* to prove that kafir residents at mission stations were being constantly killed in cold blood. It was said that King Cetshwayo was killing his subjects too, at the rate of fifty people a day and he had announced his intention of shedding more blood than Kings Shaka and Dingane combined. Such statements and other propagandistic utterances spearheaded by the press and the missionaries were directed against King Cetshwayo and Zululand. Indeed, they were calling for the destruction of King Cetshwayo kaMpande (*rex Cetshwayo delendum est*).²⁷⁰

The Border Commission found in favour of Zululand’s claims, but the interest of confederation superseded the border question. The colonial office in England instructed Shepstone to annex the Transvaal on the 11th of April 1877, contradicting itself entirely. With this act, Britain and colonial Natal conspired to annex Zululand, an action which was effected soon thereafter. The annexation did not solve the question of border disputes. Shepstone and Bulwer could not reverse the developments towards war, which they had provoked. From December 1877 until January 1878, Shepstone and Frere called

270 Cope , Richard, Ploughshare of war, pp. 145 – 158; GH 1397, Petition of Zululand missionaries to Bulwer, 18. 05. 1877; GH 1325, no 396, Bulwer’s reply to the above, 24. 07. 1877.

for the destruction of Zululand.²⁷¹

After the Anglo- Zulu war of January 1879 and the civil war from 1880 – 1888, a Demarcation Commission was appointed to survey and demarcate the boundary between the Boer and Zulu territories. The Commission consisted of two high colonial administration officials on the British Natal side and three on the Boer side, and an observer, Martin Luthuli, delegated by king Dinuzulu kaCetshwayo. Major Mc Kean, the, surveyor, submitted a lengthy report on the day-to-day beacon-to-beacon proceedings of the Commission. In his survey, he gave particular attention to the ethnographic significant of the eMakhosini district, incorporating the royal graves, and a topography with special mention of rich agricultural and cattle keeping areas, one of which was chosen for Boer settler occupation and divided up into 65 farms. The dispossession and expropriation was perfect. The mission of the Demarcation Commission, then turned out to be not one of safe-guarding the Zululand inhabitants' interests, but a mission of encroaching settlers, and one of the pacification of Zululand, an exercise on which British and Boer interests converged. Consequently, the demarcation line at many points was designed to provide for exchange and interchange and passage between the New Republic and colonial Natal, by defining a principle of passage by virtue of fact that it is fixed, at one point, along the most viable wagon road.²⁷² Havelock told the gathered inhabitants of Zululand:²⁷³

"Dinuzulu must know, and all the Zulus must know, that the rule of the House of Chaka is a thing of the past. It is dead. It is like water spilt on the ground. The

271 Cope, Richard, *Ploughshare of war*, pp. 60, 221 – 249.

272 CZ, 1887, p. 16.

273 Guy, Jeff, *The Destruction of the Zulu Kingdom*, (Johannesburg, Ravan, 1982) pp. 237-238; BPP, C.5331:37, enclosure 2, Memorandum by Havelock read to Dinuzulu.

Queen rules now in Zululand and no one else. The Queen who conquered Cetshwayo has now taken the government of the country into her own hands. The Governor is sent to represent the Queen, and to maintain her authority in Zululand. Let Dinuzulu and Undabuko and everyone know that the Governor is determined to do this. The Queen has taken the rule of the country out of the kindness for the Zulu nation. The Zulus can no longer stand by themselves. If they were left to themselves they would fight among themselves, and others would come and take the whole country down to the sea... It is to save the Zulus from the misery that must fall upon them if they were left to themselves that the Queen has assumed the Government of the country."

Therefore it is appropriate in retrospect to say that the encounter and dispossession in Northern Zululand was a scenario in a long chapter in the history of conquest. The perpetrators were missionaries and settlers on the one side and the victims were *Amakhosi* and their people on the other. Hence, it was a bitter-sweet encounter. The demarcation process benefitted the farmers to whom the land was allocated, and in a way also benefitted the missionaries in that some of the mission stations which had originally been annexed were returned to them. The total losers were the chiefs and their people.

2. WAY FORWARD AND SUGGESTIONS

2.1. Black Evangelists and Church Historians

As a way forward into the future, perhaps the following suggestions should be taken into consideration. The HMS has a large asset of archives with information on people, areas, mission stations, chiefs and evangelists. Those evangelists were very important for the missionary. Without them, he would not have been successful. The Hermannsburg

Mission history would be incomplete without the records about those Evangelists and their activities. It is high time that black people stand up and gather important material pertaining to the history of their own forefathers. They should not be apologetic about engaging in such an exercise. They should not only gather together the oral history and written material relating to their history, but they should also impart it to the present generation, in so doing, keeping records for posterity. There is a great shortage of black historians in academic circles in South Africa. Therefore, there is a loud and incessant call for black historians to occupy chairs in universities in this country, historians who will not only read and understand the approach and cultural background of their students, but will ensure, if need be, that theses are written and submitted in the isiZulu, seSotho or ShiVenda languages. Students should not only be allowed to write and submit their thesis in their mother tongue, but should also be encouraged to do so. No language is inferior or superior to another. Only when a black pupil and student can research and write in his/her own language will there be a true *inkululeko* or *uhuru* (liberation).

Unfortunately, most of the family backgrounds and history of the early evangelists and congregants are not known. Only their Christian names are mentioned. The Hermannsburg missionaries, with few exceptions, did not bother to know and write about the families or clans of their evangelists, let alone their congregants. The missionaries always referred to their congregants as heathen Christians (*Heiden Christen*). The information on those Christians is irretrievably lost. However, that phenomenon is not surprising at all, since the missionaries regarded the culture and history of the black people as the bulwark of the devil and regarded Zululand as a stronghold of heathenism. A history of the evangelists (*Lehrer*) of the Hermannsburg Mission needs to be written. Those Evangelists whose descendants are still alive should be consulted and interviewed,

for instance, the descendants of: Martin Dlongolo, Joseph Gwamanda, Nehemia Mhlonhlo Sibiya, Lazarus Nkambule, Samuel kaShibela Zulu, Nehemiah Buthelezi, Jesse Shezi, Johannes Khalishwayo, Tobias Zungu, Annanias Mkhaphi Nicodemus Makhoba, Mnguni Khumalo, Gule, Lazarus at eMandlalathi, Sithole eMakhabeleni (under Gayede kaMakhedama) Caleb Nhlengethwa, Zuma, Ngubane, Qwabe, Mbatha and Paulina Dlamini.

2.2. Sources and Research

In future, extensive and intensive research should be undertaken, with the help of the correspondence of L. Harms, A. Hardeland, Theodor Harms, G. Haccius, E. Harms, Chomerus, F. Speckmann and W. Wickert in the archives of the Hermannsburg Mission in Germany.

There are missionaries who left remarkable histories, for example, Missionaries J. Reibeling, F. Volker, R. Stallborn, D. Wolf, Chr. Wagner, K. Dedekind, D. Junge, J. Engelbrecht, and W. Von Fintel, H. Filter and Asmus, to name just a few. Extensive research could be conducted on them.

Contrary to other mission societies, the Hermannsburg missionaries were living and working among the Zulu and the Tswana people in the rural areas both in Zululand and the former Transvaal. Hence, they were more exposed to the tradition and customs of the people in their daily lives.

In spite of that reality of living among the people, the Hermannsburg Missionaries have written very little about the chief and his tribe in which they lived. They only wrote about the chief if there was tension, whereas other societies wrote extensively about

black people, for example Josiah Tyler's book covering 40 years among the Zulus, and the writings of Colenso, Mackenzie, Shooter, Holden, Callaway, Gardener, Francis Owen and the American Board Mission's missionaries.

Two Hermannsburg missionaries were an exception: W.Von Fintel and David Wolff. They wrote about the tribes around them. Filter is also a good example, with the interviews he conducted with Paulina Dlamini. Filter was born and brought up in eNtombe, but he wrote almost nothing of importance about the people and the area. This is not surprising because he was in conflict with the eNtombe residents on the question of land and labour tenancy.

The archives and the library of the Hermannsburg mission in Germany contain reports and letters about the places and people in the former mission fields of South Africa. Those documents should be retrieved and brought back to South Africa. A form of microfilms could do this.

Missionaries who are on retirement could be invited to work in the archives and sort out the important letters of the missionaries pertaining to the land and people. This information could be of great value on the question of land dispute, so that the ejected people could be repatriated and resettled on their ancestral land. Furthermore, the present Government, especially the Ministry of Land Affairs, should be advised to develop a policy of land restitution to the *Amakhosi* (chiefs) and their people. It is for the people themselves to decide after restitution which portion of their land could be used for community development, including agriculture.

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The reports from Natal, Zululand and the Transvaal are filed by station. Basically, the missionaries handed in their handwritten German letters twice a year. The earlier station reports up to 1865 were burnt on Ludwig Harms' death. However, the Hermannsburg mission journal, the *Hermannsburger Missionsblatt*, recorded many of the letters prior to 1865. The mission journal was published once a month. Each issue extended over 16 to 24 pages. During the Second World War, the Hermannsburg pastor, Gurland, worked out a comprehensive register for the *Hermannsburger Missionsblatt* issued between 1854 and 1940. This register enables the users of the archive to find references to names, places and topics mentioned in the mission journal.

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| 11.Enyathi | 1871 May | HMBL Nr. 5 p. 65-72. |
| 12.Enyathi | 1872 Apr | HMBL Nr. 4/5, p. 54-61; 69-74. |
| 13.Enyathi | 1873 May | HMBL Nr. 15, p. 66-71. |
| 14.Enyathi | 1874 Jan | HMBL Nr. 1/5 p. 9-14. 54-57, 67-73. |
| 15.Enyathi | 1875 Mar | HMBL Nr. 3/4 p. 36-40; 53-56. |
| 16.Enyathi | 1876 Sept | HMBL Nr. 9, p. 189-192. |
| 17.Enyathi | 1877 Apr | HMBL Nr 4/8, p. 50-57, 161-166. |
| 18.Enyathi | 1878 | |
| 19.Enyathi | 1879 Apr | HMBL Nr. 4/5, p. 53-58; 75-79. |
| 20.Enyathi | 1880 | |
| 21.Enyathi | 1881 | |
| 22.Enyathi | 1882 May | HMBL Nr. 5, p. 66-67. |
| 23.Enyathi | 1883 Aug | HMBL Nr. 8, p. 64. |
| 24.Enyathi | 1884 | |
| 25.Enyathi | 1885 May | HMBL Nr. 5, p. 77-84. |
| 26.Enyathi | 1886 Oct | HMBL Nr. 10, p. 186-189. |
| 27.Enyathi | 1887 | |
| 22.Enyathi | 1888 Sept | HMBL Nr. 9, p. 162-176. 178-179, 201-203 |
| 29.Enyathi | 1889 Apr | HMBL Nr. 4/7. p. 72-73; p. 132-133. |
| 30.Enyathi | 1890 May | HMBL Nr 5/p, p. 66-80, 190-196. |
| 31.Enyathi | 1891 Apr | HMBL Nr. 4/5. p. 50-51, p. 52-60, 66-67. |
| 32.Enyathi | 1892 Jun | HMBL Nr. 6 p. 98-104. |
| 33.Enyathi | 1893 July | HMBL Nr. 7/4 p. 109-112, p. 50-54. |
| 34.Enyathi | 1894 July | HMBL Nr. 7, p. 116. |

eBETHEL FROM 1873 TO 1913

1. Bethel 1873 May HMBL Nr. 5, p. 66-79.
2. Bethel 1874 May HMBL Nr. 5, p. 69-73.
3. Bethel 1875 Aug HMBL Nr. 8, p. 190
4. Bethel 1876 Sep HMBL Nr. 9, p. 190
5. Bethel 1877 Apr HMBL Nr. 4, p. 53-57
6. Bethel 1878 Apr HMBL Nr. 4, p. 52-54.
7. Bethel 1879 Nov HMBL Nr. 9, p. 230.
8. Bethel 1880 May HMBL Nr. 5, p. 76.
9. Bethel 1881
10. Bethel 1882
11. Bethel 1883 May HMBL Nr. 5, p. 72-77.
12. Bethel 1884 Mar HMBL Nr.3/9/10 p. 46-47, 50-54, 181-183.
13. Bethel 1885 Apr HMBL Nr. 4/5 p.5 50-54, 82-84.
14. Bethel 1886 Oct HMBL Nr. 10, p. 189-191.
15. Bethel 1887 Apr HMBL Nr. 4 p. 53-54.
16. Bethel 1888 Sep HMBL Nr. 9 p. 168-176
17. Bethel 1889 Apr HMBL Nr. 4/7 p. 72-73, 130-135.
18. Bethel 1890 May HMBL Nr 5, p. 66-80.
19. Bethel 1891 Apr HMBL Nr. 4/5. p. 50-60; 66-67, 92-96
20. Bethel 1892 May HMBL Nr. 5, p. 81-85.
21. Bethel 1893
22. Bethel 1894 Oct HMBL Nr.10 p. 174-182.

23. Bethel 1895
24. Bethel 1896 Feb HMBL Nr. 2, p. 18-21.
25. Bethel 1897 Apr HMBL Nr. 4/5/7 p. 66-74, 90-104.
26. Bethel 1898 Jan HMBL Nr. 1/6 p. 2-13; 86-94.
27. Bethel 1899 Mar HMBL Nr. 3 p. 46-51.
28. Bethel 1900 Apr HMBL Nr. 4, p. 76-79, 154-160.
29. Bethel 1901 Sept HMBL Nr. 9 p. 274-283.
30. Bethel 1902 Aug HMBL Nr. 8, p. 232-235, 236-241.
31. Bethel 1903 Apr HMBL Nr. 4/10 p. 98-101. 308-314.
32. Bethel 1904 Feb HMBL Nr. 2/9, p. 35-39, 274-277, 354/6.
33. Bethel 1905 Jun HMBL Nr. 11, p. 162-166.
34. Bethel 1905 Jul HMBL Nr. 13/14 p. 204-208.
35. Bethel 1907 Sep HMBL Nr. 9/10 p. 280, 290-301.
36. Bethel 1908
37. Bethel 1909 May HMBL Nr. 15/8, p. 134-139, 271-273.
38. Bethel 1910 May HMBL Nr. 5, p. 131-137.
39. Bethel 1911 May HMBL Nr. 5, p. 135-139.
40. Bethel 1912 Jun HMBL Nr. 6, p. 162-168.
41. Bethel 1913 Apr HMBL Nr. 4/6 p. 98-113, 189-190.

4. ORAL TRADITION AND INTERVIEWS BETWEEN 1980 AND 1994

Henry kaNicholaus Dlongolo 10.02.84

Hlatshwayo, Thoniya (kaThawu) Kathibela Khumalo 12.09.94

Khalishwayo, Hendrietta 27.01.84, 11.03.87 and 22.03.90

Madonsela (Kunene) Chakijana Ephraim ka Nyabela kaNomampukuyana 13.09.94

Majabhi Elizabeth Nkosi 27.01.84, 23.03.90 and 15.09.94

Masondo, Dudu ka Sigili Zwane 13.09.84

Mdubuzeni, Mnisi 27.01.84 and 6.02.84

Mhlanga Winnie ka Ephraim Ntshalintshali 16.09.94

Mlilo, Eliot, kaNkotheni 03.01.82 and 14.03.87

Mlilo, Rosta, kaKutu Mthabela 03.01.82, 27.01.84, 14.03.87, 27.03.90 and 12.09.94

Mndebele Muntu Ephraim 15.09.94

Mtshali, Dina, ka Josefata Mabuya 03.01.82

Mtshali, Penina 03.01.82 and 11.03.87

Ndlela, Nokuphiwa Dorica kaJoshua kaAsa Ndebele and her husband Qedizwe

kaQominkunzi 13.09.94

Nkosi, Flora Phensheni kaEsau kaNogenca Kubheka 13.09.94

Nkosi, Thamali Madili 1971-1990 23.03.90

Ntshalintshali Betty kaMkhukhu Kubheka 17.03.87, 25.03.90 and 16.09.94

Ntshalintshali, Khithi kaSikhulu 15.03.87

Shelly ka Ephraim kaMathafeni Ntschalintshali 10.03.90

Shongwe, Duma kaSaul 27.01.84, 06.02.84, 15.03.87 and 28.03.90

Simon kaSam-Sikhulu Ntschalintshali 17.03.87, 25.03.90 and 16.09.94

Thikazi, Margareth ka Sikhulu Ntshalintshali 25-26.03.90 and 29.09.94

Xaba, Nokuthela, ka Mathafeni Ntshalintshali 27.02.84, 23.03.90 and 15.09.94

Bowers, Sophie (Sebidi) 29.09.94

Vundla, Hendrietta kaJokania kaXamu 23.09.94

ABASE GAZINI COLLATERAL ROYAL HOUSE

Egazini Oral Tradition and History; King Ndaba's descendents: Mnomo, Mbuzi, Ganganana Zivalele, Ntshingwayo, Mkhanyile, Nkankane, Mabhekeshiya Botha Salabebusa, Sigweje, Masusa, Gijima Thandabantu Mehlw'enyamazane, Sichofo, Mandlenyathi, Godolozu, Sithayi, Mbopha, Nkunga, Nkabana, Mpaphe .

Zulu, Anna ka Macijela Madonsela 23.03.90

Zulu, Caslina kaJakob Mkhwanazi 02.10.94

Zulu, Eliot 25.04.90

Zulu, Fanyana, kaShweza 21.09.94

Zulu, Jeremiah 10.03.87

Zulu, Johanna kaMpikandala Nkosi 1936-1994

Zulu, Mazibuko Nomusa Johanna kaSolomon 27.09.94

Zulu, Mkipeni Paulus ka Malahleni 21.09.94; his wife is Nomakula Simelane

Zulu, Mlayizeni ka Alfred 13.09.94

Zulu, Mkhono Titus ka Titus 25.04.90

Zulu, Obed, kaLugwembe, November 1947

Zulu, Phiwangubani kaKhangeza 22.09.94

Zulu, Shelemba 10.03.87 and 25.04.90

Zulu, Jabu Frida 27.04.90

Zulu, Themba kaMakhokhoba (Mandlakazi) 21.09.94

Zulu, Zwelibanzi 28.09.94

1996-1997

- 1) Shongwe Siphso 16.12.96; 26.12.96 and Maqhawe, 26.12.96
- 2) Zulu Mkhono 25.11.1996, 02.08.97
- 3) Dubazana Mandlakayise 21.12.1996, 02.08.97
- 4) Mtshali Libios 2.8.97
- 5) Mdiniso Bhaki 2.8.97
- 6) Msimango Muntukayiboni 2.8.97
- 7) Nkosi, Ntolozi (Queen) 16.01.1997
- 8) Nkosi Mhlabunzima (chief) 16-01.1997
- 9) Zulu, Nwele Solomon Kwaceza 01-02.3.97
- 10) Zulu, Walter (eNjeni) eMhlahlane 31.01.97, 03.05.97
- 11) Zulu, Zwelibanzi eMhlahlane 01.03.97, 03.05.97
- 12) Zulu Gijima (eMathongeni) Bethel 01.03.97, 03.05.97
- 13) Zulu Alford eMahlabathini eyihlalo 31.1.97-01.02.97
- 14) Zulu Themba kaMhoshana 1.3.97 KwaCeza
- 15) Mhlongo Sofikasho 7.1.97
- 16) Hlatshwayo, Mafuzela 08-01.97, 4-2-97
- 17) Mtshali, Zweli Joel 10.12.96
- 18) Zulu Jutayita Pitoloji (Pretorius) (30.12.1996)
- 19) Mhlopheki Mavuso eDumbe 08.01.1997
- 20) Zulu, Maria (Mthethwa) 25.11.1996

- 21) Zulu Mazibuko 25.11.96 Julia
- 22) Ntshalintshali, Lesaya JHB 22.11.1996
- 23) Sani kaJohannes Dladla oPathe 27.04.97
- 24) Rev. J.J. Mbatha Vryheid 27.01.97
- 25) Zulu Nhlangingene kaKhethiyane 03.05.97
- 26) Zulu Bhekizitha 01.03.97
- 27) Zulu Mputhaza kaMagcekeni 04.12.97
- 28) Xulu Aaron 05.12.97
- 29) Ntshalintshali Veronica 05.12.97
- 30) Ndebele Alinah eKuhlengeni 27.01.97
- 31) Zulu Deliwe Alinah kaNgwengwe 27.01.97
- 32) Zulu, Jeremiah 10.12.96, 02.08.97
- 33) Bishop L. Sibiya Kempton Park, 10.96
- 34) Mbatha Joseph kaSinkwana 21-01-97 eDumbe
- 35) Zulu, Pheneus from eBhadeni at Piet Retief 20/1/97
- 36) Kistner, Wolfram, Pietermaritzburg, 01-05-97; Johannesburg
29/12/97
- 37) Zulu, Leonard kaMisael Winterton, 27-4-1997
- 38) Rev. Mathe, Muden, 27.01.1997
- 39) Mbatha Khonzeleni, Vryheid, 27-01-1997.

5. PUBLISHED PRIMARY SOURCES: BOOKS, THESES, JOURNALS, ARTICLES AND PAPERS

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APPENDICES

APPENDIX 1

THE BIOGRAPHIES OF THE MISSIONARIES

The Lives and Times of the Missionaries Johann Ludwig Krapf and Johann Rebmann

Emphasis has to be placed on the fact that many Protestant mission societies owe their birth to the impetus from pietistic awakening of the 18th century. Pietism was a reaction against a lifeless orthodoxy and an unbending formalism of the State Churches in Protestant Europe. In polemics against orthodox and scholastic theology, it was stated that Christianity is not predominantly intellectual knowledge but a spiritual and loving life. Instead of orthodoxy, the constant defence of the right doctrine, emphasis was placed orthopraxis, i.e. right living on the right life. True religion for the pietist was a matter of the heart, not the head; hence, the emphasis came to be on the cultivation of the spiritual life.

This spirit of awakening had by the beginning of 1800 not only caught the Protestants, but also the Catholics. Therefore, the Catholics and Protestants were ready to go. The sea routes were opened to commercial trade as far afield as Asia. Only then was the church in the position to move into remote countries. Confirming this development within the

church, the church historian K.S. Latourette designated the period 1800-1914 "the great century of mission".

The Protestants realised from the very outset that to cope with the situation of sending missionaries to other countries, they had to operate on a non-denominational basis. The new missionary societies reflected the evangelical, inter-denominational mood. That mood could be illustrated in that the missionary societies' employees did not search for the confessional background of the recruits, but for their hearts. If their hearts were burning for the big task to win others for Christ, then they could be approved. Hence, we find recruits from the Netherlands serving as LMS missionaries in Oceania. We find the son of a German Lutheran farmer trained at the inter-denominational Basel Mission School and sent by the Anglican CMS to Ethiopia. Why? Because his heart was burning with a vision to reach the "Galla" people with the gospel. His name was Johann Ludwig Krapf, a missionary pioneer in East Africa.

1.1. Johann Ludwig Krapf (1810-1881)

Krapf was born at Derendingen in Württemberg, Germany, on January 11, 1810. He was brought up in a pious farmer's home and in the pietistic tradition of Württemberg, which united Lutherans and Calvinists against the Catholics. After studies at the Basel Mission School in Switzerland, he was ordained in the church of Württemberg and worked as a curate (assistant to a parish priest) for a short time. After a sermon about the near end of the world, his supervisors rebuked him for his "improper enthusiasm" and he resigned. At this crisis in his life, Krapf met the Swedish missionary, Peter Fjellstedt, who had been working in South India in the service of the CMS. Because of health problems, Fjellstedt

now worked in Syria in Asia Minor on Bible translation work, and asked Krapf to join him. The contact with Fjellstedt renewed Krapf's dormant interest in foreign mission and he was approved by the CMS and sent, not to Syria, but to Ethiopia, where he arrived in 1838. He had, however, to leave the Kingdom of Shoa and he spent some years thereafter in Rabai Mpya, from 1844 to 1853.

Impaired in health, Krapf had to leave Rabai Mpya in October 1853 and settled at Kornthal, the centre of Lutheran pietism in Württemberg, and did all that he could in Europe to promote interest in foreign missions, especially to Ethiopia. With his speeches and writings, Krapf had already inspired Ludwig Harms to establish the Hermannsburg Mission in 1849, which sent its first missionaries to Ethiopia in 1854. In April 1855, Krapf was back again in Ethiopia. However, at the time of his stay in Shoa, Ethiopia, Krapf could not work effectively as there was war. He had to remain in the Northern parts of the country. On reaching Khartoum, Krapf fell seriously ill and barely reached Cairo, from where he travelled to Europe. In 1858, he published his diaries entitled *Reisen in Ostafrika*, which were translated into English in 1869 under the title: *Travels, Researches and Missionary Labour in East Africa, 1860*. In 1861, he returned to Mombasa in order to help Charles New of the United Methodist Free Church in England to establish a small mission at Pibe.

From 1865 to 1866, he inspired the newly established Swedish Evangelical Mission to open mission work in Kunama in Eritrea. Between the years 1870-1877, the British and Foreign Bible Society published the whole New Testament, Exodus and the Psalms in Oromo (*Galla*). It was said to be translated by Krapf with the help of others, like the secretary and chronicler of Emperor Theodoros. Krapf was a man of vision. He was

idealistic and not always down to earth. His visions were to reach the "Galla people" with the Gospel, to build a chain of missions from West to East Africa, to advise the Hermannsburg Mission to start an Oromo Mission from Freretown in Mombasa.

Apparently he was persuasive. The CMS agreed to his plans about the Galla mission and the chain of stations. He persuaded the Hermannsburg Mission and the Swedish Evangelical Mission to open missions in Ethiopia.²⁷⁴

1.2 Johann Rebmann (1820 – 1876)

Like his predecessor and colleague, Rev Rebmann was a dynamic and resourceful person, not only as a missionary, but also as an anthropologist and linguist. Johann Rebmann was born on the 16th of January 1820 and he died on the 4th of October 1876. He grew up and worked for the mission in Gerlingen in the northern part of the state of Württemberg in Germany. He studied theology and trained as a missionary at Basel Mission School. Thereafter, he was sent by the CMS to work with Johann Ludwig Krapf in 1846 in East Africa. Rebmann was a very adventurous person. During his stay and work in Africa, he travelled through the land. He was the first European to have reached Mount Kilimanjaro, and Mount Kenya respectively. Whenever he had time, he would study Kiswahili and other African languages. As soon as he was in command of a

²⁷⁴ Sahlberg, C.E., *From Krapf to Rugambwa*, 1986, p. 30, (Aru Gustav *Evangelical Pioneers in Ethiopia*, Stockholm, 1978), p. 1ff; *The Encyclopedia of Lutheran Church, Vol. 1* edited by Julius Bodensieck for the Lutheran World Federation, (Augsburg Publishing House, Minneapolis Minnesota, 1965), p. 12; *Lutheran Encyclopedia, St. Paul College Concordia*, Erwin, L. Leuker 1954, pp. 451, 661.

language, he started to translate some of the Biblical books into it. In addition to that, he helped to prepare dictionaries for three African languages.²⁷⁵

2. Schreuder : Birthplace and Commission

The Norwegian missionary, Hans Schreuder, was born in 1817. After finishing high school, he went to the University of Oslo, then known as Christiana, to study for a B.D. degree. After graduating in 1836, he went on to study medicine to prepare himself for the mission field.²⁷⁶ In 1842, Schreuder, with a group of protagonists, established "The committee in support of the mission of the Norwegian Church in Christiana". After long deliberations, he was ordained on 10th May 1843 and commissioned for South Africa.²⁷⁷

Shortly before his departure for South Africa, Schreuder attended a Conference of the Norwegian Mission Society in Christiansand on 15th-16th June 1843. One of the resolutions of the Conference was the undivided support for Schreuder's undertaking,

²⁷⁵ Groves, C.P., *The Planting of Christianity in Africa, Vol. 2 (1840-1878)*, (Lutterworth Press, London 1954), pp. 92-117; *RGG, Vol. 1*; p. 156, Vol. 5, 1961, p. 815; Hastings, Adrian, *The Church in Africa 1450-1950*, (Clarendon Press, Oxford 1994), pp. 225-226, 232, 242, 280; Krapf, Johann L., *Travels, Researches and Missionary Labours*, (London, 1860), p. 1ff; Coupland R., *East Africa and its invaders*, (London, 1938), p. 1ff; Stock, E., *History of the Church Missionary Society, Vol. I & II*, (London, 1899), Proceedings of the LMS, London 1850-1860.

²⁷⁶ Lewis, C. Ian, *Umpumulo Monument to a brilliant Scandinavian missionary*, (Killie Campbell Africana Library, 1965), pp. 66-69; Hereafter Umpumulo Monument, Neill Stephen *et al.* (ed), *Lexikon Zur Weltmission*, (Wuppertal/Erlangen, 1975), p. 400, 483; Du Plessis, J.A., *A History of Christian Missions in South Africa*, (London, 1911, Cape Town, 1965), p. 381f.

²⁷⁷ Simensen, Jarle, (ed). *Norwegian Missions in African History, Vol. 1, South Africa 1845-1906*, (Oslo, Norwegian University Press, 1986), pp. 23-26; Winquist, A., *Scandinavians and South Africa. Their impact on cultural, social and economic development before 1900*, (Cape Town, 1978), pp. 94-97; hereafter *Scandinavians and South Africa*.

whereupon, with the blessings of that conference, he left first for London, on 5th July 1843, where he studied the English language until September 1843. Upon finishing the language studies, he, together with his companion Rev. Thommesen, left on the ship *Persia* for South Africa and arrived in Durban on 1st January 1844.²⁷⁸ On arrival, he was welcomed by the American missionaries from whom he learned isiZulu. After many unsuccessful attempts at entering Zululand, he finally settled there, where he served as a missionary and an envoy of the Zulu king to the colonial rulers. After establishing several mission stations (Uitkomst, uMpumulo, Empangeni and eNtumeni), he became a bishop in 1866. In 1873 he broke with the Home Board of N.M.S. and later died in 1882.²⁷⁹

3. August Hardeland 1814-1891: His Birthplace and Commission

Hardeland was born in Hannover on the 30th September 1814. Very little is known about his schooling days and studies. However, he joined the Rheinisch Mission Society in 1837. He was ordained on 18 July 1839 and was commissioned to Borneo.²⁸⁰ He served as a missionary among the Dajak people in the area of Bintang, where he established a mission station. There was another missionary in Pulopetak, a certain Becker. Hardeland worked together with him on the translation of the New Testament into the Dajak language.²⁸¹ His health was deteriorating. At one stage in 1840, he had to leave Borneo

²⁷⁸ Lislrud, Gunnar, "Schreuder" in *Norsk Missions Lexikon*, Vol. 3, (Stavanger, 1967), pp. 705-716.

²⁷⁹ Scriba, G., *The Growth of the Lutheran Churches* 1997, pp. 9-10.

²⁸⁰ Rohden, L.V., *Geschichte der Rheinischen Missionsgesellschaft im Auftrage des Vorstandes der Gesellschaft aus den Quellen mitgeteilt*, (Barmen, 1856), p. 70 and 1888, p. 61.

²⁸¹ Haccius, G., *HMG II*² 1910, p. 331f and 372; Proske, W., *Botswana und die Anfänge der Hermannsburger Mission*, pp. 187-188; Neils, S. *Lexikon zur Weltmission*, (Erlangen 1975), p. 464.

and sail to Cape Town in order to recover from the spell of illness. While in Cape Town, he finally completed his translation of the New Testament. Hardeland was a strict person and at times very harsh with his converts at the mission station. Most of the people there hated him.²⁸² Hardeland is said to have once made the following remarks about the Dajak people and their religion:

"Concerning religion, what the Dajak people are actually believing, they are not even sure themselves."²⁸³

In 1847, Hardeland was appointed as a missionary to Saron, a mission station in the Cape Colony. Even here, he is said to have been very strict in dealing with black people.²⁸⁴ Because of his behaviour and attitude towards the indigenous people, he had to leave his mission station in 1849 and return to Germany.²⁸⁵ He arrived in Germany during the Revolution of 1848/49. Hardeland spoke against the Revolution, and the people were so angry that they wanted to drag him out of the church.²⁸⁶

The Netherlands Bible Society commissioned Hardeland for the second time to travel to Borneo with the intention of translating the Old Testament into Dajak and eventually to

²⁸² *Hannoversches Missionsblatt* 8/1891, p. 58, Proske, W., *Botswana und die Anfänge der Hermannsbürger Mission*, p. 187.

²⁸³ *Hannoversches Missionsblatt* 8/1891, p. 59.

²⁸⁴ *Ibid.*, 9/1891, p. 67, Proske, W., *Botswana und die Anfänge der Hermannsbürger Mission*, p. 188.

²⁸⁵ Rohden, L.V., *Geschichte der Rheinischen Missionsgesellschaft*, p. 91.

²⁸⁶ *Allgemeine Evangelische Vereine*, *Lutherische Kirchen Zeitung* 1892, No. 28 in Plitt, Gustav-Leopold and Hardeland Otto, *Geschichte der Lutherischen Mission*, (Leipzig, 1895); 2. Hefte, p. 133; Proske, W., *Botswana und die Anfänge der Hermannsbürger Mission*, p. 188.

do some revision and correction of his New Testament translation. According to Rohden, Hardeland was more gifted in doing translations and other academic work than being a missionary in the field.²⁸⁷ He completed his translations on 24th September 1856, returned to Germany and on June 16th arrived in Barmen. From there, he went to Amsterdam and stayed there to see his translated works through the press between August 1857 and May 1858. Whilst in Holland, he had an honorary Doctorate of Theology conferred by the University of Utrecht for his translation of the Bible.²⁸⁸

However, Hardeland did not stay long in the Rheinisch Mission. There were apparent confessional differences between him and the mission authorities. He subsequently resigned, but kept his connection with the Holland Bible Society. He was given the task of writing a grammar and dictionary of the Dajak language. For the second time, he was awarded a Doctorate of Philosophy *honoris causa*, this time by the University of Halle for his achievements.²⁸⁹ Harms had met Hardeland in Hermannsburg, where Hardeland had been staying whilst working on the grammar and dictionary, in June 1858.²⁹⁰ Harms, after long deliberation and consideration, appointed Hardeland a superintendent for HMS in South Africa.

²⁸⁷ Rohden, L.V., *Geschichte der Rheinischen Missionsgesellschaft*, p. 91; Proske, W., *Botswana und die Anfänge der Hermannsburger Mission*, p. 188.

²⁸⁸ *Hannoversches Missionsblatt* 10/1891, pp. 73-74.

²⁸⁹ Schnabel, Franz, *Deutsche Geschichte* Vol. IV, p. 367; *Blätter für mission* edited by the E.V. Luth Haupt Missionsverein in Königreich Sachsen No. 6 June 1892 p. 23; Proske, W., *Botswana und die Anfänge der Hermannsburger Mission*, p. 189.

²⁹⁰ HMBL., 1862, p. 78; Haccius, G., *HMG II*² pp.331; 372.

On July 12th, Hardeland left Germany and arrived in Cape Town, South Africa, on October 29th, 1859 on the ship *Candace*.²⁹¹ After he had settled in Cape Town with his in-laws, the family of Rev. Parisius, who was in charge of the German congregation in Cape Town,²⁹² Hardeland wrote a letter to the Hermannsburg missionaries in Botswana. In this letter, he arbitrarily informed the missionaries in Botswana that he had been appointed as superintendent of the HMS in South Africa. All the decisions pertaining to ecclesiastical and secular matters lay in his hands.²⁹³ He announced that until his arrival in Botswana, Jürgen Schroeder should take supervision of the Botswana Mission. He called Jürgen Schroeder the "eldest and most experienced missionary in Botswana."²⁹⁴ In reality, Schroeder was the youngest of all the missionaries there. This was a blunder and showed weakness on the part of Hardeland. In addition to his mistake, he did not enclose a copy of the altered or amended constitution; therefore, he left the missionaries in the dark about his person and powers. Hence, the Botswana missionaries had no option but to resist Hardeland's arbitrary attitude.²⁹⁵

Hardeland left Cape Town after three weeks for Natal. He arrived in December 1859 and on his arrival in Pietermaritzburg he visited various dignitaries, including Lieutenant Governor Scott, who promised to help him and the society in any way he could.

²⁹¹ *Hannoversches Missionsblatt* 10/1891 p. 74; Haccius, G., *HMG II*² p. 335.

²⁹² Schmidt, Pretoria, Werner, *Deutsche Wanderung nach Südafrika in 19. Jahrhundert*, (Berlin, 1955), p. 147, Hereafter, *Deutsche Wanderung* ; Haccius, G., *HMG II*², p. 337.

²⁹³ Proscke, W., *Botswana und die Anfänge der Hermannsburg Mission*, p. 193; Haccius, G., *HMG II*², p. 342.

²⁹⁴ Proske, W., *Botswana und die Anfänge der Hermannsburg Mission* , p. 193.

²⁹⁵ Haccius, G., *HMG II*², p. 341ff.

Hardeland eventually took up his duties in Hermannsburg, Natal, on the 4th of January 1860.²⁹⁶ By February 1869, the above-mentioned controversy had reached its pitch.

Hardeland responded to the Botswana missionaries by writing to Harms and saying that indeed he was aware of the fact that the new instructions would alter the old drastically in South Africa. Nevertheless, he stated that if anybody could not and would not accept the new instructions, then he should leave the HMS. Furthermore, Hardeland argued that the Bible referred only to the monarchical system of government, not to a democratic or republican form, and thus the institution of the superintendent was not contrary to the teaching of the Bible. The same view, Hardeland added, was held by the Lutheran Church as a whole. He considered it to be the right of the Directorate of the mission to change the constitution if and when it were deemed necessary. At any rate, the constitution of the Hannoverian Church, of which the HMS was a member, made provision for a change to the constitution as well as providing for the creation of a superintendent. Thus, the post could be created within the HMS as well. Hardeland condemned the missionaries, who refused to subject themselves to his authority, as undermining the very constitution they were trying to protect.²⁹⁷

3.1 The Failure of Hardeland's Superintendency and his Return to Germany

During his visits within Zululand, Hardeland was of the opinion that the mission should spread its network as far as Swaziland and eButhonga, and not only to that area, but also

²⁹⁶ Haccius, G., *HMG II*², p. 337; Leuschke, A.M.H., *Hermannsburg Mission Society*, p. 49.

²⁹⁷ Haccius, G., *HMG II*², pp. 343-345; Leuschke, A.M.H., *Hermannsburg Mission Society*, pp. 51-52.

as far as East Griqualand. Lieutenant-Governor Scott and Theophilus Shepstone had invited and encouraged the HMS to establish or extend its mission to East Griqualand under Adam Kok. The colonial government obviously saw (and appreciated) the idea of conducting mission work among the Natives. Thus, they found it suitable as the means to secure the southern border of the colony. However, unrest in East Griqualand in 1863 led to the postponement of the trip and it was never spoken of again.²⁹⁸

Like Harms, Hardeland had laid down conditions for the establishment of new mission stations in Natal and Zululand. The area had to be healthy, in other words cool, airy, and, if possible, at a high altitude. Water facilities like rivers and wells had to be as close as possible to the selected place for the erection of a mission station, so that irrigation could be practised. Timber for building had to be situated in the vicinity. The site for the mission station had to be accessible by ox-wagon. Furthermore, the surrounding area had to be relatively well populated.²⁹⁹

Apart from the above-mentioned instructions to the missionaries, Hardeland had also instructed the missionaries to teach the blacks texts from the Old Testament and the New Testament on the Creation, the Fall, the Flood and finally about Abraham and his story. The missionaries should see it as their duty to visit the people in their homesteads twice a week. They should keep a record of their visits and experiences. These should later be sent to Hardeland. The missionaries should not baptize the blacks before consulting

²⁹⁸ Hardeland, in HMBL., 1863, p. 38; Haccius, G., HMG II², pp. 355-358; Leuschke, A.M.H., *Hermannsburg Mission Society*, pp. 55-56.

²⁹⁹ Hardeland, HMBL., 1862, p. 182; See Hardeland's Report of his tour of inspection in Northern Zululand from January to December 1862 and the first half of 1863; Haccius, G., HMG II², pp. 357-358; Leuschke, A.M.H., *Hermannsburg Mission Society*, p. 57.

Hardeland and getting his consent. The Baptismal candidates should convince one beyond any doubt through their conduct that they were serious about their faith in words and deeds. The Baptismal candidates would be examined publicly; only thereafter could a decision be made whether or not to baptize them.³⁰⁰ In so doing, Hardeland laid the foundation for segregation between the blacks and Germans. As Etherington puts it:

"Another blow to Harms' medieval ideal was struck when Hardeland effectively segregated Germans from Africans' religious services. There was no point, Hardeland thought, in giving African station residents the sermons which were preached to Germans. The introduction of the lessons drew a *de facto* colour line which became a permanent feature of HM operations in South Africa."³⁰¹

Hardeland was not only a problematic person, but was also constantly ill. At the end of 1863, he asked Harms to relieve him of his job and to appoint his successor. His successor was missionary Karl Hohls, who was superintendent from 1864-1883. At the end of May 1864, Hardeland was back in Germany. He then retired in Hannover.³⁰²

Hardeland was a controversial figure indeed; he had quarrelled with Harms, the missionaries and the blacks. He was quick in lashing a black man with his whip or crop. For this reason, the black people gave him the name uMashayanjalo, 'the one who

³⁰⁰ HMBL., 1863, p. 128; Haccius, G., HMG II², pp. 354-355.

³⁰¹ Etherington, N., *Preachers, Peasants and Politics*, pp. 36-38, quotation pp. 37-38.

³⁰² Hardeland, in HMBL., 1864, p. 54; Haccius, G., HMG II², p. 363, Leuschke, A.M.H., *Hermannsburg Mission Society*, p. 59.

always beats people'.³⁰³ Hardeland died in Hannover on the 27th of June 1863. Two years later, on the 14th of November 1865, Louis Harms died and was succeeded by his brother, Theodor Harms. One could say that the HMS was beginning to be a family affair, as it showed signs of nepotism.

3.2 Summary of Hardeland

Given the above turbulent history of August Hardeland, therefore, it is of cardinal importance to understand why and how the Hermannsburg mission took the course it took with South Africa as from the 1860s.

The focus in this thesis shifted from colonial Natal to across the uThukela and Southern Zululand, where we dealt extensively with the events between 1854 and 1860. In describing those events, we had to consider the lives and roles of the personalities like Schreuder, Colenso and Hardeland. We have observed that in order for the Hermannsburg Mission Society to establish itself, it required much help. Indeed, it received that help from different quarters, especially from the colonial government in Natal after Louis Harms had been engaged in correspondence with the British Secretary for the colonies to secure permission to enter into what are called foreign territorial

³⁰³ Hardeland in HMBL., 1862, p. 54; Proske, W., *Botswana und die Anfänge der Hermannsburg Mission*, pp. 222-228.

waters.³⁰⁴ In that correspondence, Harms requested the British authorities' protection of his ship *Candace* and the young missionaries, first to enter into the waters of Cape Town and Durban, and later Zanzibar and Mombasa.³⁰⁵ After the failed mission into Oromoland, alias Galaland, they eventually had to try their fortune in Natal/Zululand. Having arrived there, we closely observed how missionaries W. Posselt, Hans Schreuder and to a greater extent the German settlers, selflessly and tirelessly offered help in the form of transport by ox-wagon and in so doing extended a hand of friendship to the young and inexperienced missionaries.³⁰⁶

Again, we saw how the British colonial government in Natal was at first reluctant to assist the missionaries in their plight of finding land to buy and erecting a mission station. However, later on, the British realised how useful, in actual fact, these somehow strange German missionaries were in serving as deterrents and a buffer zone against the 'hostile African horde' across the uThukela, in the same manner as missionaries Van der Kemp and his colleagues had been at the Cape frontier.³⁰⁷ With this realisation, the colonial authorities changed their attitude with the accession of Lieutenant-Governor Scott in 1856. Scott and Shepstone, as well as the magistrate in Greytown, did everything they could to assure the Hermannsburgers of their readiness to cooperate wherever necessary and wherever possible. Our perusal led us into studying, analysing and presenting the settlement of Hermannsburg and the suggestion by Schreuder and his readiness to accompany them to the King Mpande kaSenzangakhona in Zululand. The

³⁰⁴ Harms, L., in HMBL., 1854, pp. 38-39.

³⁰⁵ Harms, L.. in HMBL., 1854, pp. 54-55; 68-77, 78-81.

³⁰⁶ HMBL., 1854, pp. 77-81; Haccius, G., HMG II², p. 294.

³⁰⁷ Du Plessis, J., *A History of Christian Mission in S.A.* (London, 1911, Cape Town, 1965), pp. 99-107; 120-136.

missionaries were lucky to be at a place like Hermannsburg, where the German language could easily be understood. They knew that their stay at Hermannsburg was temporary, for their eyes were fixed on Zululand. Having tested their competence by establishing mission stations among the African tribes who were living in the so-called “reserves”, (eg. eHlanzeni among the Amabomvu (Ngubane) under King Somahashi Nzombane Gayede kaMakhedama, at eMakhabeleni, Phakade kaMacingwane Mchunu at oPhathe (Müden) eThembeni), this promising success under a seemingly successful communalistic group of missionaries was interrupted and brought to a standstill by the arrival of the unilaterally capricious and arbitrarily appointed superintendent August Hardeland. Harms, as we have shown, delivered the missionaries mercilessly to the inhumane treatment under Hardeland. In the light of Hardeland's uncompromising behaviour and attitude, the conflict between him and the missionaries and settlers initially, and finally with Harms, led to him being recalled, and he was replaced by Karl Hohls. A detailed presentation of Hardeland's dealings with the Boers against the African people with regard to the Boer policy of attack, forced removal and forced labour, especially of the children who were captured during the intermittent raids against black communities, was imperative and therefore unavoidable.³⁰⁸

4. Missionary Hans Heinrich Schröder, 1829-1891 : His Birthplace, Training and Commission

Schröder was born on January 3rd 1829 in Wardbohlen near Bergen, Germany. Between 1857 and 1861, he was trained as a missionary in Hermannsburg. He wrote his examinations during the period of 21st-26th October 1861 in Hannover. He was ordained

³⁰⁸ Hardeland, in HMBL., 1862, pp. 60-64; Haccius, G., *HMG II*², p. 357.

on October 29th 1861 and sent to Zululand on January 13th 1861.³⁰⁹ He was sent with twenty-one missionaries, eight settlers and five fiancées for the missionaries in the field. After having learned the Zulu language, he was posted at eThaka as successor to C. Ahrens. He served there from 1864-1870. Schröder was married to Margarethe Buthmann from Fisherhude in Bremen. They had nine children, two of whom died as infants. He was moved from eThaka to eNyathi in 1870. From eNyathi he went to eKuhlangeni and worked there from 1871 until 1879. During the Anglo-Zulu War, many missionaries had to leave their mission stations and flee for their lives to Natal. Schröder also left eKuhlangeni and went to Glencoe (Rosenen) which is not far from Dundee. He continued his work there as a missionary and established a station called Ebenezer. During the Hardeland conflict with missionaries, in which he was also involved, he left the Hermannsburger Mission and joined the Hannoverian Free Church.³¹⁰ Schröder was always ill. He eventually died on the 30th of August 1891. He was buried by Missionary Christoph Wilhelm Dedekind from Nazareth (eMsinga). His wife continued to work as a missionary. She died on the 16th of April 1917. His descendants held a centenary memorial service for their ancestors in June 1962.³¹¹

³⁰⁹ Schroeder, Friedel, *Eine Chronik Unsere Vorfahren Uelzen bei* (Glencoe, 1985), pp.224-320, 321-326, ; Pape, Hinrich, *Hermannsburger Missionare*, pp. 169-170.

³¹⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 170.

³¹¹ *Ibid.*, p. 170.

5. Missionary Heinrich Friedrich Konrad Volker 1826-1893 : His Birthplace, Training and Commission

Friedrich Volker was born in Harkenbleck, Calenberg, in Germany on the 28th of April 1826. He grew up in that village and after completing his training as a carpenter, he went to Hermannsburg and was trained there as a missionary.³¹² Upon completing his studies at Hermannsburg, he was ordained on the 19th of October 1857 in Hannover, and on the 2nd of November was commissioned by L. Harms to go to Zululand. He arrived in Durban on the 21st of February 1858.³¹³ On arrival, he was placed in the southern part of Zululand at eMlalazi mission station, which was founded by Friedrich Meyer in 1858.³¹⁴

While at eMlalazi, Volker was able to establish the eNyezane mission station and he facilitated the founding of eMvutshini mission station.³¹⁵ His life at eMlalazi, where he lived between 1858 and 1881, was not easy. The mission papers of the 1860s are full of his reports.³¹⁶ Volker married Sophie Wilhelmine Auguste Lutz in 1861. She came from Gieboldehausen, Germany. They had six children. Sophie died on the 27th of May 1869. Under the circumstances, especially with six children, Volker was compelled to marry again. He married Dorothea Elisabeth Lutz, his late wife's sister. They had eight children. During the course of 1882, Volker and his family were transferred to eKuhlengeni. This

³¹² Pape, Hinrich, *Hermannsburg Missionare*, p. 198.

³¹³ *Ibid.*, p. 198.

³¹⁴ HMBL., 1858, pp. 106, 162, 170, 171, 172, 174.

³¹⁵ HMBL., on eMvutshini, 1864, p. 123; 1865, pp. 135, 142; 1866, p. 59, Enyezane, 1859, pp. 179, 182.

³¹⁶ HMBL., 1859, pp. 12, 19, 76, 78, 169, 176, 179; 1861, pp. 4, 58, 146, 170, 1862, p. 21; 1863, p. 157; 1864, p. 123; 1865, pp. 6, 9, 138, 141; 1866, p. 59; 1868; p. 61; 1869, p. 5, 77.

was during the civil war (impi yaBantwana noZibhebhu) of 1880-1884. Volker died at eKuhlangeni on the 3rd of May 1893. His wife survived him for 38 years and she died on the 6th of June 1913. She was buried in the "German cemetery" at Glückstadt.

6. Missionary David Wolff 1859-1900: His Birthplace, Training and Commission

David Wolff was born on the 16th of August 1859 in Barr at Elsass (Alsace-Lorraine), a disputed border region between France and Germany which now and again brought the two countries into conflict. After completing his schooling and military service, Wolff took a job as a postman in Mühlhausen.³¹⁷ He later went to Hermannsburg to train as a missionary from 1882 to 1887. After examination and ordination, Wolff was commissioned to Zululand. On arrival at Hermannsburg, Natal, he began learning Zulu. On completing his language course, he taught at a black school close by and at the same time served the German congregation at Hermannsburg. From Hermannsburg, Wolff was transferred to Müden (Ophathe) in 1891, serving under Dean Röttcher. He married his fiancée from Alsace, Miss Anna Maria Röhrich on the 21st of April 1892. In the same year, they moved from Opathe to eMvutshini. Apart from his duties at the mission station in eMvutshini, Wolff also served in the German church close by. Again, it must emphatically be said that this duty of serving an extra German church was unnecessary and superfluous, for it furthered the division between white and black Lutherans.³¹⁸ Wolff was transferred to eKuhlengeni after the death of missionary Volker in 1893. Three years later, in 1896/97, Zululand was invaded by locusts, after which there was a scourge of famine (*uzwe kufa*). In spite of those tribulations, Wolff and the congregants at eKuhlengeni managed to build a new and larger church, which was dedicated at the

³¹⁷ Pape, H., *Die Hermannsburger Missionare*, p. 215.

³¹⁸ Hardeland in HMBL., 1862, p. 78f; Haccius, G., *HMG II*² pp. 370-376; *HMBL* 1864, p. 151f; Hasselhorn, F., *Mission und Politik bei Louis Harms und August Hardeland* (incomplete Essay, Sulingen no date).

end of November.³¹⁹ In 1895, a big church bell was donated by the Christians from Alsace. Missionary Wolff worked hard, together with Evangelist Martin Dlongolo from eSihlengeni. Wolff, unlike many Hermannsburg missionaries, managed to write a book about his experiences and observations called *Unter den Zulu*. He was attacked by malaria fever and died on the 15th of October 1900. His wife, Anna Maria, followed him in 1909.

7. Missionary Friedrich Wilhelm Weber : His Birthplace, Training and Commission 1829-1861

Johann Friedrich Wilhelm Weber was born on the 2nd of July 1829 in Lippe-Detmold, Germany. Between 1857 and 1861, he was trained as a missionary in Hermannsburg.³²⁰ He completed his studies in 1861 and was ordained and commissioned as a missionary in Zululand. On his arrival, Weber had to learn the Zulu language at Hermannsburg.

Upon completing his language course, he was sent to eMkhuze, North Zululand, under Chief Masiphula kaMamba Ntshangase, (*eMgazini*). This, his first mission station, was established in 1862 and was named eDlomodlomo.³²¹ Weber spent the first two years alone at the mission station. In 1864, Tönsing and Reinstorf and two settlers, Böhmer and Köhrs, came to his assistance.³²² They helped him to built a European house, for Weber had been living in a house (hut) built according to the African model. There was no

³¹⁹ Wolff, David, *Unter den Zulu*, 1914, p. 76.

³²⁰ HMBL., 1857, pp. 186-187; 1861, pp. 183, 190; Pape, H., *Hermannsburg Missionare in S.A.*, p. 202.

³²¹ HMBL., 1863, p. 23; 1864, pp. 162, 170.

³²² HMBL., 1864, pp. 162, 170; 1865, p. 149; 1866, pp. 59, 162.

success in getting converts, in spite of the fact that attempts were made to transfer converts from one station to another.³²³ In 1869, Weber was transferred to eNyathi as successor to Jacob Filter. He was in turn succeeded by Wilhelm Christoph Dedekind as a missionary at eDlomodlomo. Weber worked at eNyathi from 1869 to 1885, and was then called by a German congregation to serve at Bergen.³²⁴ Weber could only work for three years. He suddenly became critically ill. He is said to have suffered from cancer and he died on the 6th of September 1888.³²⁵

8. Missionary Heinrich Christoph Johannes 1852-1943: His Birthplace, Training and Commission 1882-1892

Missionary Johannes was born on the 6th of August 1852 in Hohenzehten in Germany. His congregation was called Kinonbergen.³²⁶ Johannes initially wanted to be a teacher. This plan did not work out. He eventually came to the mission seminary in Hermannsburg, where he was trained between 1877 and 1882.³²⁷ After completing his studies in Hermannsburg, Johannes was commissioned for mission work in Zululand. First he went to Hermannsburg on the 9th of December 1882, to learn the Zulu language. Due to civil war, he could not be placed in the heart of Zululand. He was subsequently

³²³ HMBL., 1865, p. 149; 1866, pp. 59, 162; Speckmann, F., *Mission in Afrika*, pp. 495-503.

³²⁴ HMBL., 1889, p. 235-36; Pape, Hinrich, *Hermannsburger Missionare in Südafrika*, p. 202.

³²⁵ HMBL., 1886, p. 35; 1888, p. 163.

³²⁶ Gurland, R., HMBL, Vol. 2, p. 53; Pape, H., *Die Hermannsburg Missionare in Südafrika*, p. 87.

³²⁷ HMBL, 1882, p. 234.

sent to Lüneburg in northern Zululand. His task there in the German congregation was to work as a teacher and youth director.³²⁸ In 1885, Johannes was transferred to eNyathi as successor to F. Weber, who was then transferred to Bergen.³²⁹ While at eNyathi, the news of the arrival of his bride from Germany came. He then travelled to Hermannsburg for his wedding. His bride was Maria Margarethe Engel Drewes. The wedding party took place on the 29th of July 1885 in Hermannsburg.³³⁰ Johannes spent another three years at eNyathi with his family. Their sons Christoph and Hermann were born there. In 1888, the HMS decided to sell eNyathi mission station to a settler.³³¹ However, the transaction, it seemed, was not a perfect one, as the legal proceedings related to it continued until 1906.³³² The years 1885 to 1888 were the years in which the HMS was fighting for its mission stations in northern Zululand. The Boers had annexed northern Zululand, and the mission stations eNyathi, eKuhlengeni, eBethel, eSihlengeni, eDlomodlomo and eHlobane were incorporated into the New Republic.³³³ It was during missionary Johannes' times in eNyathi that Mission director Egmont Harms and Mission inspector Georg Haccius visited the Hermannsburg mission stations in Zululand and Botswana in 1888 and 1889.³³⁴ Missionary Johannes was the last white missionary officially to be placed in eNyathi. As from 1889/90, the congregation there was served by an evangelist,

³²⁸ Pape, H., *Hermannsburger Missionare in SA*, p. 87.

³²⁹ HMBL., 1885, p. 81.

³³⁰ HMBL., 1885, p. 81; Pape, H., *Hermannsburger Missionare in Südafrika*, p. 88.

³³¹ HMBL., 1888, p. 171; 1889, pp. 72, 132.

³³² HMBL., 1892, p. 100, 1893, pp. 50, 110; 1894, p. 116; 1908, p. 228.

³³³ HMBL., 1886, p. 185.

³³⁴ HMBL., 1888, pp. 169, 171, 178, 201.

Martin Dlongolo, from eSihlengeni. He was supervised by F. Volker from eKuhlengeni.³³⁵

Johannes was called to be a pastor of the German congregation in Bergen, where F. Weber had gone to three years before.³³⁶ However, there was a church schism within Hermannsburg. It began with director Theodor Harms in 1878 and 1890, and the separation in South Africa took place on the 13th of September 1892.³³⁷ Prigge, Stilau, Johannes, and Gevers became, henceforth, members of the Free Lutheran Church in South Africa.³³⁸ Johannes's wife died on the 24th of April 1919. Johannes was elected to the position of church dean (*präses*) from 1910 to 1924. He died on the 13th of September 1943.³³⁹

9. Missionary Thomas Prydtz 1860-1863 His Birth Place, Training and Commission

Thomas Prydtz was born in Christiania (Oslo) on the 24th of July 1829. He came to Germany to study theology at the University of Göttingen, and from there he went to

³³⁵ HMBL., 1890, pp. 66, 78, 190; 1891, pp. 50, 66.

³³⁶ Pape, H., *Hermannsburger Missionare in Südafrika*, p. 88.

³³⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 88; Junker, J., *Zeichen, Zeiten, Tage und Jahre, Hundert Jahre Lutherische Kirchenmission*, Verlag der Lutherischen Buchhandlung, H.Harms Bleckmar, 1992, p. 21; Schnackenberg, J., (ed.), *Geschichte der Freien Ev-Lutherischen Synode in Südafrika 1892-1932* (Otto Romberger, Celle, 1933).

³³⁸ Hopf, F.W., (ed.), *Lutherische Kirche treibt Lutherische Mission, Mission der Evangelisch Lutherischer Freikirchen*, Bleckmar, 1967 pp. 23-25, 48, 49, 50, 51, 52.

³³⁹ Hopf, F.W., (ed.), *Lutherische Kirche treibt Lutherische Mission*, 1967, p. 54f; Pape, H., *Hermannsburger Missionare in Südafrika*, p. 88.

Hermannsburg for further training as a missionary.³⁴⁰ Upon completion of his training, he was ordained in Hannover and was commissioned for South Africa in November 1857. After learning the necessary colloquial Zulu, he was sent to eMlalazi in Southern Zululand in 1858. That was his first mission station.³⁴¹ He was also active, together with Friedrich Meyer, in founding the iNyezane mission station in 1859. Prydtz belonged to the very first group that left Hermannsburg for Zululand to negotiate with the King for permission to establish mission stations in Zululand.³⁴² He had some advantage in that he was a Norwegian who could communicate with Schreuder, who was a Norwegian as well.³⁴³

He also accompanied Filter to Swaziland in early 1860. That journey determined his destiny.³⁴⁴ He was there and then commissioned to be a missionary in eNtombe where they arrived on the 19th of October 1860.³⁴⁵ On his arrival, he was accompanied by Johann Moe, who was commissioned for eNcaka (eNkombela), and by the German settlers Niebuhr H. Rabe, F. Küssel and B. Kröger.³⁴⁶

³⁴⁰ HMBL., 1860, pp. 87, 93; Speckmann, F., *Mission in Afrika*, pp. 512-513; Pape, H., *Hermannsburg Missionare*, p. 147; A: SA41. 11e, p. 12 Entombe station Chronicle.

³⁴¹ HMBL., 1858, pp. 16 162-176; 1859, pp. 76,78, 176, 179; Speckmann, F., *Mission in Afrika*, pp. 378-379.

³⁴² HMBL, 1859, pp. 179- 180 ,182; Speckmann, F., *Mission in Afrika*, pp. 394-396.

³⁴³ HMBL., 1858, pp. 166-176; 1865, p. 169; Speckmann, F., *Mission in Afrika*, pp. 378-393; Haccius, G., HMG II² pp. 317-318.

³⁴⁴ HMBL., 1860, pp. 87, 92-93, 94; 1861, pp. 3, 8-9; 1861, p. 59.

³⁴⁵ Hardeland, A., in HMBL., 1862, pp. 100-101; Meyer, F., in A:SA 41.11e, p. 10; Wagner, Chr. in A: SA 41. 11e, p. 68.

³⁴⁶ Ibid, p. 68. HMBL., 1860,pp.170-172; 1861, pp.3-10,58-61,67,71-74,147,148-160.

Before he could commence his missionary task, Prydtz had to erect some buildings for his family and the settlers. Initially a house was built in which ten people could live. Prydtz had a brief time at eNtombe; he contracted malaria and died in February 1863.³⁴⁷

10. Missionary Adolf Nolte 1834 - ? : His Birthplace, Training and Commission

Adolf Nolte was born in Sülze, not far from Lüneburg in Germany, on the 15th of February 1834. As a young man, he received missionary training in Hermannsburg between 1857 and 1861. After his final examination and ordination in Hannover, he was commissioned for South Africa.³⁴⁸ He also had to learn the Zulu language, after which he was sent to eNtombe as successor to the late Prydtz.³⁴⁹

Nolte had difficulties in dealing with the situation in eNtombe. The question remains even today as to whether Nolte was incapable of dealing with the situation or whether the people were too complicated for him.³⁵⁰ He had a preconceived opinion about the people. His *dictum* (standpoint) was "the time has not yet come for these people, therefore any attempt to preach and convert them is a futile exercise."³⁵¹

Speckmann wrote the following about Nolte ten years later:

³⁴⁷ HMBL., 1863, pp.20-32, 84-87,163-164.

³⁴⁸ HMBL., 1857, pp. 186-87; 1861, pp. 183, 190.

³⁴⁹ Haccius, G., HMG, Vol. 3,1, pp. 195-96; Pape, H., *Hermannsburger Missionare*, p. 134.

³⁵⁰ Speckmann, F., *Mission in Afrika*, p. 519.

³⁵¹ *Ibid*, p. 519.

"Since he (Nolte) had such a preconceived opinion, obviously he became inwardly isolated from the Kaffirs. In addition to that situation another incident affected him enormously, namely his fiancée or bride to be in Germany had become unfaithful to him. He then wanted to sail to Germany to look for another woman. This proposal was refused by the mission authorities. Nolte's reaction was to resign and leave the Hermannsburg mission. He emigrated to North America in 1866."³⁵²

In retrospect, and judging from today's perspective, one could say that the mission director, Theodor Harms, had little pastoral sense and had no sympathy for a man in such a desolate situation. Hence, Nolte's time and service at eNtombe was as brief as that of Prydtz. He too had no converts when he left in 1866.³⁵³

11. Entombe : Missionary Friedrich Meyer 1822 to 1879 : His Birthplace, Training and Commission 1856-1879

Friedrich Meyer was born on the 21st of December 1822 in Langwedel near Bremen in Germany. Meyer was one of the first students for missionary training in Hermannsburg from 1849 to 1854.³⁵⁴ After completing his training and examination, he was ordained in Hannover. Meyer left with his colleagues on the ship *Candace* destined for Oromoland,

³⁵² Ibid, p. 519.

³⁵³ HMBL., 1866, p. 59; A:SA 41.11e, p. 12; Mtshali, Dina, Interview 03-01-1982.

³⁵⁴ HMBL., 1854, pp. 33-34; Speckmann, F., *Mission in Afrika*, p. 12; Haccius, G., HMG II², p. 37.

Ethiopia, in 1854.³⁵⁵ This undertaking was abortive. They continued and came to Durban, and eventually with the help of missionary Posselt, businessman Behrens and other German settlers, Meyer and his colleagues settled at Hermannsburg in Natal.³⁵⁶ Again, with the permission of the Natal colonial authority, but without its support, Meyer and his colleagues at Hermannsburg, who were living a communalistic way of life, made contact with the African chiefs along the uThukela basin.³⁵⁷ Out of those contacts, a number of mission stations were established. Ethembeni was Meyer's first station from 1856 to 1858.³⁵⁸ There was no central place where missionaries could learn the Zulu language, hence Meyer and his colleagues had to learn directly from the people's mouths.

It took them a long time before they could reach Zululand, which was earmarked as their mission field. Meyer, with a few missionaries and settlers, encouraged and guided by Schreuder, crossed the uThukela River in 1858 and visited King Mpande at KwaNodwengu in the Mahlabathini region.³⁵⁹ The result of those long and arduous negotiations for permission to establish mission stations in Zululand was that a breakthrough occurred during the course of 1858. Emlalazi mission station was established by Prydtz and Meyer, and subsequently eNyezane was also established in 1859.³⁶⁰ In 1859,

³⁵⁵ HMBL., 1854, pp. 8, 28-36, 66, 73, 136-150; Speckmann, F., *Mission in Afrika*, pp. 12-13, 17.

³⁵⁶ HMBL., 1854, pp. 77-81; 1855, pp. 21, 28, 35, 69-71, 125, 156, 165, 173, 191, 195; Speckmann, F., *Mission in Afrika*, pp. 186-200; Haccius, G., HMG II², pp. 294-312.

³⁵⁷ HMBL., 1856, pp. 28, 115, 122, 153; 1857, pp. 41, 44, 143; Speckmann, F. *Mission in Afrika*, pp. 226-227; Haccius, G. HMG II², pp. 309-310, 313.

³⁵⁸ HMBL., 1856, pp. 28, 115, 122, 153; Speckmann, F., *Mission in Afrika*, pp. 240-255; Haccius, G., HMG II², p. 310.

³⁵⁹ HMBL., 1858, pp. 35, 50, 162, 164-176, 206; Vide, pp. 163-164.

³⁶⁰ HMBL., 1858, pp. 169-171; 1859, pp. 72, 75, 169, 179; 1860, pp. 87; 1861, pp. 149, 168, 180.

Meyer was able to speak the Zulu language so well that he could research the customs and religion of the Amazulu.³⁶¹ Meyer married Amalie Dollenberg, who came to South Africa in 1856. The wedding party took place on board the *Candace* in Durban, 1861.³⁶² They had six children. The eldest son was called Theodor (uThidoba). Theodor, on coming of age, became a farmer across the iNtombe River below the Izindololwane mount (Table Mountain).³⁶³

Meyer, like many other missionaries in the mission society, quarrelled with Hardeland. He resigned as a missionary, together with missionaries Wiese, Otte and Liefeld. However, through on-going negotiations and diplomacy at that time, those missionaries were accepted and reinstated in their duties in 1865.³⁶⁴ Meyer and his family were transferred to eNtombe in January 1867 to replace Adolf Nolte, who left the Hermannsburg Mission in 1866 for North America. Meyer served in eNtombe until the outbreak of the Anglo-Zulu War of 1879.³⁶⁵ Meyer had to flee from eNtombe . He found shelter in Lüneburg, where he died on June 16th 1879, after suffering from a kidney stone disease.³⁶⁶

³⁶¹ HMBL., 1860, pp. 95-96, 182 - 184

³⁶² HMBL., 1861, pp. 54-55.

³⁶³ Meyer, F., in A:SA41.11e, p. 27, Entombe Chronicles; HMBL, 1892, p. 104; Haccius, G., *Erlebnisse und Eindrücke Meiner Reise*, p. 94; HMBL., 1913, pp. 106-107.

³⁶⁴ HMBL., 1862, pp. 83-87; 1866, p. 56; Pape, H., *Hermannsburg Missionare*, p. 121.

³⁶⁵ HMBL., 1874, p. 13; 1878, p. 53; 1879, pp. 34-37; 53-56, 57, 75-79, 179, 226-230.

³⁶⁶ HMBL., 1879, p. 179, 1880, p. 35.

12. Missionary Christian Wagner 1829-1908 : His Birthplace, Training and Commission 1861-1908

Christian Wagner was born on the 20th of July 1829 in Oberwiesau-Pfalz in the state of Bavaria, Germany.³⁶⁷ He grew up in that area and worked as a peasant on the farm. His family were members of the Union (United Lutheran and Reformed Churches). As a peasant, he moved from place to place in search of employment on farms. He eventually came to Nancy in France, where he was employed on the railways in 1847. Hardly had he begun his work, when the Revolution of 1848 broke out, which caused a war between France and Germany. Wagner and many other young German men were expelled from France. On arrival in Germany, they had to take up arms and defend their country against France. After the war, Wagner remained in the German army as a soldier from 1851 to 1853. In 1857, he was posted to Altdorf. At Altdorf, Wagner met different people, both Catholics and Protestants. He eventually met Pastor Mensching, who gave him a Bible and helped him to find a family where he could go for Bible study from time to time. Indeed, the family accepted Wagner and they were like his parents. The Hermannsburg Mission paper reported that his stay in Altdorf brought him closer to the Gospel. Pastor Kühl's sermons were touching for Wagner. He began to read newsletters from Christian organisations like the Hermannsburg and Neuendettelsau Mission Societies. He then decided to join the mission seminary at Neuendettelsau. However, due to incompetence in the admission procedures and the dates for interviews being unsuitable for him, he opted for Hermannsburg. Harms accepted him and he was admitted on a probational basis in May 1857. At first, he worked at the printing department and later on, on

³⁶⁷ HMBL, 1908, pp. 114-117; Pape, H., *Hermannsburger Missionare in Südafrika*, p. 201.

November 16, 1857, he began his studies at the mission seminary.³⁶⁸ He completed them in 1861, and after the examination and ordination, he was commissioned to Zululand. On arrival in KwaZulu, he was sent to eHlonyane mission station in North Zululand under J. Filter, where he learnt the Zulu language.³⁶⁹

When he was ready, he was then posted to eNyathi under Chief Nkunga kaSithayi Zulu eGazini.³⁷⁰ He served at eNyathi between 1862 and 1865, together with Missionary Liefeld and later with Missionary Johan Detlef Engelbrecht.³⁷¹ Again, in 1866 he was transferred to eHlonyane but only for a year, for in 1868 eHlonyane station was moved to eKuhlangeni, still under Chief Mkhanyile kaZivalele kaMnomo Zulu eGazini.³⁷² This move was necessary, for the lives of the missionaries were in danger. The area was full of malaria.³⁷³ Wagner remained at eKuhlangeni until 1871. He had to be transferred again, for his wife was constantly ill. They were transferred across the uPhongolo region under Chief Manyonyoba kaThulasizwe Kubheka. He founded a mission station and named it Zoar (*eSoyini*) in 1872.³⁷⁴ He served there until 1879. When the Anglo-Zulu war broke out, Wagner and his family, like many other missionaries and settlers, had to

³⁶⁸ HMBL., 1857, pp. 186-187; 1861, pp. 183, 190; 1908, pp. 88-90, 114-117.

³⁶⁹ HMBL., 1860, pp. 91, 171; 1861, pp. 66-67; 1862, pp. 9-13, 14-16, 19-24, 89, 94, 105, 170-175.

³⁷⁰ HMBL., 1863, pp. 7-16, 23, 29, 42, 73-80, 160; 1864, pp. 11-16, 168.

³⁷¹ HMBL., 1865, pp. 30, 149, 151, 154; Speckmann, F., *Mission in Afrika*, pp. 463-495; Haccius, G., HMG II², pp. 400-403; HMBL., 1865, pp. 30-32.

³⁷² HMBL., 1862, pp. 170-175, 176-180, 181-190, 191-192.

³⁷³ HMBL., 1864, pp. 11, 123; 1866, pp. 59, 84; 1868, p. 61; 1870, p. 46; Speckmann, F., *Mission in Afrika*, p. 446; Haccius, G., HMG II², p. 400.

³⁷⁴ HMBL., 1871, p. 68; Speckmann, F., pp. 446-47, 451; Filter, J., to Supt. K. Hohls: 03-01-1879 on Miss. F. Meyer as a refugee at Lüneburg.

flee and go to the laager in Lüneburg.³⁷⁵ Life was not easy at the laager, the ailing Meyer died in June 1879. Henceforth, the eNtombe mission was vacant. A new missionary had to be sent there after the war. Superintendent Karl Hohls appointed Missionary Wagner to succeed the late Meyer as missionary to eNtombe.³⁷⁶ The station had been destroyed and burnt to the ground during the war. Some of the eNtombe inhabitants had fled with Meyer to Lüneburg; others had gone into hiding in the caves of Mount Khoza, Thalagu and eMbongeni respectively. To gather together such a congregation was not easy. The civil war which followed the Anglo Zulu (1879) and the Anglo-Boer (1881) wars had a great impact on the uPhongolo region. Many refugees left KwaZulu, crossed uPhongolo and settled at eNtombe and eNkombela (*eNcaka*). Mission stations were preferred to the farms of the settlers.³⁷⁷ ENtombe's congregation register reflected clearly the rising tide of refugees, who sought mission stations as sanctuary and were welcomed by the missionary into his church as baptismal candidates.³⁷⁸ Soon after, in 1881, the first Anglo-Boer war broke and was fought in the eMajuba hills. That war was succeeded by the battle of the Nzuza-Kekana clans from 1882 to 1883, who were defending their lives and land against encroaching Boers.³⁷⁹

³⁷⁵ HMBL., 1879, pp. 199-200; A:SA 41.11e, pp. 38-43.

³⁷⁶ Wagner, Christian, in: A:SA 41.11e, p. 39; Filter, F., to Supt. K. Hohls on eNtombe, 30 October 1879.

³⁷⁷ HMBL., 1879, pp. 54, 75, 1880; 1881, pp. 241; 1882, 52; Zungu Maphelu=s Account pp. 10-11, 22-24; p. 38, Colenso, F.E., *The ruin of Zululand*, Vol. 1, pp. 141, 152, 154, 178, Vol. 2, pp. 159-160; Guy Jeff, *The Destruction of the Zulu Kingdom*, pp. 115-116; 1868, pp. 11, 61; 1869, pp. 199, 205; 1870, pp. 46, 112, 175; 1871, p. 68; Etherington, N., *Preachers, Peasants and Politics*, pp. 6-23, 24-47, 87-114.

³⁷⁸ SA acc. 76. 641 eNtombe congregation register for 1861-1911; 1867-1904.

³⁷⁹ *New Nation/New People's History, Vol. I, History Workshop*, (University of the Witwatersrand, Johannesburg, 1989), pp. 3-8, 9ff; Wagner, Chr. in A:SA 41.11e, p. 54.

A second Anglo-Boer war of 1899 to 1902 broke out. In each war, Wagner, his family and his congregation were severely affected.³⁸⁰ At the end of the Bhambatha resistance in 1908, the strains of an unsettled life took their toll. On January 27th, 1908, Wagner's wife died and Wagner followed her on the 3rd of February 1908. Both were buried in the German settlers' graveyard at Braunschweig, one kilometre away from eNtombe. At that time, the divisions between black and white Lutherans were becoming visible. Missionary Wagner and his wife had served among the black congregants for 28 years, but when they died they were not buried in the graveyard of the congregants.³⁸¹

³⁸⁰ HMBL, 1901, pp. 260-265; 1903, pp. 66-70; A:SA 41.11e, pp. 99-101; Bonner, Philip, *Kings, Commoners and Concessionaires*, pp. 166, 277; Delius, Peter, *The Land belongs to us*, pp. 126-158.

³⁸¹ Schulenburg, G., in: HMBL, 1908, pp. 90, 117.

13. The Death of Missionary Wagner and His Wife

Mrs Hedwig Wagner was a proselyte from Judaism. Her father was a Jewish teacher. She was born on the 19th of May 1827, in Fraustadt in Posen. As a Jew, she was called Sarah Wertheim. She was converted to Christianity and was baptised on the 21st of September 1846 in Berlin. Henceforth, she was an outlaw from her Jewish family and Jewish religion. After baptism, she took the name of Marie Hedwig. She entered a training course as a deaconess in Kaiserswert *ca.* 1848. She was trained by Mr Fliedner. Later on, she moved to Neuendettelsau and underwent further training in the Deaconate in the Mother House. As from the 1st of November 1858, she was admitted as a probationer in the Home for Small Children in Hildesheim. Upon completing her probation in Hildesheim on 26 April 1859, she came back to Neuendettelsau where she was ordained for the Deaconate on the 3rd of June 1860, the Sunday of the Holy Trinity. The ordination took place in the prayer hall (*Betsaale*) of the Deaconesses in Neuendettelsau. She was the first sister to have been ordained for that office in the Mother House. The ordination was conducted by Pastor Wilhelm Löhe, Co-Rector Lothe and Amalie Rehm. Mrs Marie Hedwig Wagner died in eNtombe on January 27 1908. She was followed by her husband, Christian Wagner, who died on the 3rd of February 1908. Both were buried in the Braunschweig cemetery.³⁸²

Now we will briefly focus on the life and times of missionary Junge.

³⁸² Schulenberg, Heinrich, in a letter of 31.01.1908; HMBL, 1908, pp. 88-90; HMBL, 1908, pp. 114-117.

14. Missionary Johann Wilhelm Detlef Junge 1877-1954: His Birthplace, Training and Commission to eNtombe 1908-1913

Detlef Junge (uFohloza) was born in Aussendorf Ohrel in Germany on the 27th of September 1877. Upon finishing school, Junge was trained in carpentry and later in nursing in Flensburg. In the years 1900-1906 he underwent training as a missionary in Hermannsburg.¹¹⁰ Upon completing his training, he was commissioned to Zululand.¹¹¹ He married Martha Maria Magdalena Dreyer from Wichmannsburg. They had no children.¹¹² The couple was sent to Lilienthal and eNkombela under Karl Dedekind, where they learned the Zulu.¹¹³

After learning the Zulu language, they were transferred from eNkombela to eNtombe where Junge succeeded the late Christian Wagner.¹¹⁴ In eNtombe, they served from 1908 to 1913. From there, they were transferred to Bethel (*KwaNtabankulu*). Superintendent Wilhelm Von Fintel died on the 14th of August 1940. Karl Dedekind provisionally took over the position of superintendent. Karl Dedekind died in February 1941. He was then succeeded by Detlef Junge, who had to leave Bethel and move to eMpangweni among

¹¹⁰ HMBL., 1900, p. 234; 1901, p. 205; Pape, H., *Hermannsburger Missionare in Südafrika*, p. 90.

¹¹¹ HMBL., 1906, pp. 154, 284; 1907, p. 19; Gurland, R., HMBL., Vol. 2, p. 55.

¹¹² HMBL., 1908, p. 336.

¹¹³ HMBL., 1908, p. 209; Junge, Detlef, in A:SA 41.11e, p. 103; Pape, H., *Hermannsburger Missionare in Südafrika*, p. 90.

¹¹⁴ HMBL., 1908, pp. 34, 88, 114; 1909, p. 103; 1910: p. 100; 1911, p. 99; 1912, p. 131.

the eMahlutshini tribe. He stayed there until his death on the 8th of June 1954.¹¹⁵ Junge took over from Wagner, who had served there for twenty eight years.

The task for Junge was not an easy one. He had some disadvantages in the African context: at thirty one years old, he was too young, and he was still learning the Zulu language.¹¹⁶ He needed strong support from the Congregational Council and particularly from the evangelists. He came to eNtombe at a time when the Bhambatha resistance had just been crushed by the Natal colonial authority.¹¹⁷ The debate on the unification of the four provinces was at its height.¹¹⁸

When Junge took over in August 1908, he had the support of the following evangelists: Samuel Ntimbane, Tobias Zungu (eSiqintini) and Jesse Shezi (eNtombe).¹¹⁹ Jesse Shezi was not only a catechist, but also a teacher. Junge wrote about Shezi:

“The teacher Jesse has a lot of work to do here. During the day he has to teach many children and early in the morning and in the evenings he has to teach classes for baptism. In addition to that he has to conduct Sunday services. I have

¹¹⁵ Pape, H., *Hermannsburg Missionare in Südafrika*, pp. 90-91.

¹¹⁶ Junge, D., in A:SA 41.11e, p. 103.

¹¹⁷ Marks, Shula, *Reluctant Rebellion*, *The 1906-1908 Disturbances in Natal*, (Oxford, 1970), pp. 171-248 Shula Marks reported about the arrest, trial and banishment of an iNkosi (King) Mabhekeshiya kaNkankane Zulu (eGazini) to eMampondweni. Upon his release and return to Northern Zululand, Mabhekeshiya alias Skithom, named one of his Amakhanda eMampondweni in remembrance of his banishment to that area in 1889; Dlomo, R.R.R., *uDinuzulu*, (Pietermaritzburg, 1968), pp. 112-136; Marwick, R.A., "Why the Native Rebelled", *Rand Daily Mail*, (Johannesburg, 19.09.1906, 21-09-1906).

¹¹⁸ Thompson, L.M., *The Unification of South Africa 1902-1910*, (Oxford Clarendon Press, 1960, p. 1ff; Marwick, R.A. "Why the Native Rebelled", *Rand Daily Mail*, (Johannesburg, 19.09.1906, 21-09-1906).

¹¹⁹ A:SA, 41.11e, pp. 105-106.

to recommend that he, as far as I can see, has done much of his work with pleasure and enthusiasm, though sometimes he really got discouraged. The Congregational Council has also done its duty.¹²⁰ Jesse has seventy pupils who need his lessons and skills. The teacher in Niederland (*eSiqintini*) Tobias Zungu, works diligently and peacefully. He has fourteen pupils in the class and he has taught them in the church, which stands on the farm of a settler, Mr Hinze. The area is being visited by gold prospectors and if any gold is found, the place is under threat.”¹²¹

Junge made some changes within the congregation in eNtombe. A new Congregational Council was formed with the following members: Bernard Vundla, Titus Mtshali, Petrus Sibiya, Joshua and Josefata Mabuya.¹²² The farmer, A. Hinze, in eSiqintini (Niederland) gave the HMS a piece of ground (10 acres) as a gift, which is the site where the church still stands today.¹²³

¹²⁰ Ibid., pp. 105-106.

¹²¹ Junge, Detlef, in A:SA 41.11e, p. 106. (The congregation had √ 50 members).

¹²² Junge, D., in A:SA 41.11e, pp. 118-119.

¹²³ Junge, D., in A:SA 41.11e, p. 123.

15. Missionary Johannes Moe 1827-? His Birthplace, Training and Commission 1860-1877

Missionary Johannes Moe was born on the 6th of December 1827 in Gulbrandson, Norway. Moe had finished his academic education in theology in Norway before going to Hermannsburg, Germany.¹²⁴ He came to Hermannsburg Mission in 1857. After the examination in Hannover in 1858, he was ordained in 1860 and commissioned to Zululand.¹²⁵ He sailed for South Africa together with Hardeland in 1860. After spending some time in Hermannsburg learning the Zulu language, Moe was commissioned to eNcaka, overlooking the uPhongolo River north west of Zululand.¹²⁶ He was accompanied by his wife, Adelheid Schreiber, who was born on the 5th of April 1827. They had seven children.¹²⁷

Filter and Prydtz had preceded Moe in moving to northern Zululand. Their intention was initially to establish a mission station in Swaziland.¹²⁸ However, that mission was unsuccessful; hence they opted for Amagonondo, where Prydtz served from 1860 to 1863, and for iNyamayenja, where Moe was commissioned from 1861 to 1866.¹²⁹ On arrival, Moe assisted Prydtz in building at eNtombe. Then later, he visited the

¹²⁴ Gurland, Rudolf, *Hermannsburg Mission Jahrgänge 1854-1894*, Vol. 2, (Missionarsverzeichnis) p. 79; HMBL., 1858, pp. 105, 155; 1859, pp. 56, 59.

¹²⁵ Ibid, 1858, pp. 105, 155; 1859, pp. 56, 99.

¹²⁶ HMBL, 1860, pp. 6, 9, 87, 93; 1861, pp. 59, 67; 1862, pp. 11, 14, 61, 110, 134.

¹²⁷ HMBL, 1861, pp. 54-55; Pape, H., *Die Hermannsburg Missionare in Südafrika*, Vol. 1, pp. 125-26; Speckmann, F., *Mission in Afrika*, p. 526.

¹²⁸ HMBL., 1860, pp. 87, 93; Speckmann, F., *Mission in Afrika*, pp. 512-513; A:SA 41.11e, p.9.

¹²⁹ HMBL., 1861, p. 2.

iNyamayenja tribe under iNkosi Mkhontowendlela kaNyamayenja Nkosi.¹³⁰ Missionary Moe served at eNkombela between 1861 and 1866. During the course of 1866, Moe was transferred to eHlanzeni, where he succeeded Penzhorn, who was transferred to the Transvaal.¹³¹ At eNkombela, Moe was succeeded by Johann Detlef Engelbrecht, who until then had been serving at eNyathi mission station.¹³² On arrival at eHlanzeni, Moe dedicated his time to mission work among the Amabomvu tribe. His target group were children and adults. He taught them in the form of specially prepared lessons for each of the groups. His second approach was to translate Luther's small catechism into isiZulu, and ,thirdly, he proposed the erection of the seminary for black evangelists.¹³³ Indeed, that proposal was heeded by the Hermannsburg authorities and a seminary was established at eHlanzeni in 1876, directed by Missionary Moe.¹³⁴ In 1876/77, complications began between Moe and the HMS authorities. Apparently Moe, as a Norwegian by birth and education, was too liberal. His liberal views were felt in his teachings, namely that Christ was not the reconciler of the world (*Weltversöhner*).

Some claim that Moe came to that conclusion because he publicly preached pioussness. It is not known whether Moe had taught and written his theological views. However, the fact was that what he taught was seen as a heresy and for that reason, he was dismissed from the HMS.¹³⁵ All attempts for readmission were in vain. Moe made a short visit to

¹³⁰ HMBL., 1860, p. 87. A:SA 41.11e, pp. 9-10.

¹³¹ HMBL., 1866, pp. 58, 82, 84, 174.

¹³² HMBL., 1866, pp. 67, 156.

¹³³ HMBL., 1880, pp. 26, 34; 1881, p. 89; 1882, pp. 35, 50; 1883, p. 34; 1868, p. 60; 1870, pp. 47, 112; 1871, pp. 68, 229; 1872, pp. 55, 70, 226; 1873, p. 48.

¹³⁴ HMBL, 1880, pp. 26, 34; 1881, p. 89; 1882, pp. 35, 50; 1883, p. 34; Pape, H., *Hermannsburg Missionare in SA*, Vol. 1, p. 126.

¹³⁵ *Ibid*, p. 126; HMBL., 1877, pp. 51, 63; 1909, p. 12.

Germany in 1877, perhaps to negotiate with the HMS officials. Negotiations on his re-admission were in vain.¹³⁶ (*Er bemühte sich vergeblich um die Wiederaufnahme*). On his return from Germany, he bought a farm at Blinkwater and continued his private mission work. It is not known when Moe died. His wife died at Blinkwater on February 24th, 1891. His descendants did not belong to any church and had no contact with the Germans. Black residents at the mission station at eHlanzeni held Moe in high esteem for his tireless work among the Amabomvu.¹³⁷

16. Missionary Johann Detlef Engelbrecht 1832-1902: His Birthplace, Training and Commission 1861-1902

Missionary Johann Detlef Engelbrecht was born in Elmshorn at Holstein on the 23rd of March 1832.¹³⁸ As a young man, Engelbrecht was a sailor. It was during that time that he came in to contact with the Hermannsburg ship, *Candace*.¹³⁹

Between the years 1857 to 1861, he underwent training as a missionary in Hermannsburg. On completion, he was ordained and commissioned for Zululand in 1861. On arrival in South Africa, he was sent to Northern Zululand to eHlonyane under J. Filter, where he learnt a colloquial form of Zulu.¹⁴⁰

¹³⁶ HMBL., 1875, p. 116; 1877, p. 64; Pape, H., *Hermannsburger Missionare*, Vol. 1, p. 126.

¹³⁷ HMBL., 1909, p. 12.

¹³⁸ Gurland, R., HMBL., Vol. 2, pp. 28-29; Pape, H., *Hermannsburger Missionare in Südafrika*, p. 47.

¹³⁹ Gurland, R., HMBL., Vol. 2, p. 28; HMBL., 1857, pp. 106, 186-87.

¹⁴⁰ HMBL., 1861, pp.183, 190; 1862, 94, 175; 1863, pp. 23, 77. 1861, pp.3-10,58-60,61-64,66-71,139-144,147,148-160

From eHlonyane Engelbrecht was transferred to eNyathi mission station under Chief Nkunga kaSithayi Zulu, where he served with Wagner, and later with Filter, until 1866.¹⁴¹ From eNyathi, he was sent to eNcaka across the uPhongolo as successor to Missionary J. Moe, who in turn was transferred to eHlanzeni in 1866. Engelbrecht (*uKusa*) stayed at eNkombela for thirty-five years, until the end of his days.¹⁴²

While at eNyathi, Engelbrecht married Anne Catharine Röse on the 28th of August 1866. They had five children; four of his sons, upon reaching adulthood, were recruited by the Boers to fight in the Anglo-Boer war of 1899 to 1902.¹⁴³ During his service at eNyathi (1863 to 1866) and eNkombela (1866 to 1902), Engelbrecht was at the crossroads of the disputed territory.¹⁴⁴ His wife died on the 10th of July 1892. Shortly before the outbreak of the Anglo-Boer war, he was appointed the superintendent of the mission stations in North Zululand.¹⁴⁵ If the Hermannsburg missionaries had had an interest in the lives, customs and religious systems of the black people, they could have written a lot about them, for they lived so close to them.¹⁴⁶ Engelbrecht was exposed to the life and situation

¹⁴¹ HMBL., 1864, pp. 11-12,23; 1864, p. 16; 1865, pp. 30, 149, 152; 1866, pp. 59, 84.

¹⁴² HMBL., 1866, pp. 18, 67, 84, 156; 1868, pp. 62, 69, 74, 213; 1870, pp. 46, 54, 112; 1871, p. 68; 1873, pp. 68; 1874, pp. 13, 72; 1875, p. 56; 1876, p. 189; 1877, pp. 53, 54, 78; 1879, p. 57; 1882, p. 51; 1885, p. 79; 1887, pp. 34, 45; 1888, pp. 125, 178, 182; 1891, p. 94.

¹⁴³ HMBL, 1892, p. 64; 1873, p. 68; 1874, p. 13; Pape, H., *Hermannsburger Missionare in Südafrika*, pp. 47-48; HMBL., 1900, p. 60.

¹⁴⁴ Speckmann, F., *Mission in Afrika*, pp. 536-37, 538-39; HMBL., 1874, p. 13.

¹⁴⁵ HMBL., 1892, p. 183; 1898, p. 140; 1899, p. 152; 1901, p. 198; 1902, pp. 36, 68, 260, 322.

¹⁴⁶ Wilhelm Von Fintel was an exception. He wrote several articles and booklets on the Zulu history.

of the people in eNyathi and eNkombela for thirty-five years. This is a long and precious time to gather information for posterity.¹⁴⁷ In a letter to the HMS, Engelbrecht wrote that at eNkombela, there was an old woman who was over one hundred years old, who not only knew the life histories and reigns of the Zulu kings, but also experienced them from Senzangakhona to Cetshwayo, that is, from 1810 to 1879.¹⁴⁸ She would have been an invaluable source of information. Between 1866 and 1874, Engelbrecht baptised twenty-eight people: nineteen adults and nine children.¹⁴⁹ He died on the 9th of August 1902.¹⁵⁰ In the next section we shall briefly look at the lives of Christoph and Karl Dedekind.

¹⁴⁷ The idea of keeping a chronicle of mission station people and events and annual reports was a good one. Only Speckmann's book made a start; unfortunately there was no continuation hereafter. One could still find bits and pieces in Haccius' *Hermannsbürger Missionsgeschichte*.

¹⁴⁸ Speckmann, F., *Mission in Afrika*, pp. 525-544.

¹⁴⁹ Speckmann, F., *Mission in Afrika*, p. 540; HMBL., 1874, pp. 72, 74; 1875, p. 56; 1876, p. 189.

¹⁵⁰ HMBL, 1902, pp. 260, 322; 1903, p. 208; 1904, pp. 115, 204.

17. Karl Gottlieb Heinrich Dedekind 1873-1941 : Birth, Training and Commission 1902-1941

Karl Dedekind belonged to the second generation of missionaries in South Africa. He was born in eDlomodlomo in the territory under Chief (and Mpande's premier) Masiphula kaMamba Ntshangase eMkhuze of eMgazini Zulu collateral Royal House.¹⁵¹ Before we expand on the life of Karl Dedekind, we will briefly look at the life and service of his father, Christoph Wilhelm Dedekind.

Christoph Dedekind was born on the 20th of April 1834, in Gilmerdingen in the town of Neuenkirchen in Soltau, Germany. Christoph lost his parents at an early age. He wanted to be a teacher, but there were no means of achieving that. He managed to train as a tailor.¹⁵² At one stage, on a visit to Hermannsburg, he was touched by an *invocavit* sermon held by Louis Harms. He there and then decided to become a missionary. He applied to the Hermannsburg Mission Seminary and was admitted in 1861.¹⁵³ He completed his course in 1866. After the usual examination, he was ordained and commissioned to Zululand on the 20th of April 1866.¹⁵⁴ On his arrival at Hermannsburg, Natal, he was sent to Missionary Hansen who was then stationed at eMpangweni among the Amahlubi tribe of King Langalibalele kaMthimkhulu Hadebe. Hansen taught Dedekind the Zulu language. When he was ready, he was then transferred to eNyathi

¹⁵¹ Bryant, A.T., *Olden Times*, pp. 39-40; JSA, Vol. 1, pp. 33, 202; Vol. 2, pp. 48, 208, 273, 274; Vol. 3, p. 258; Vol. 4, pp. 44, 62, 70, 72, 126-127, 300-301; Dlamini, Paulina, in *Servant of Two Kings*, pp. 60-61; GPP C 1137, p. 11.

¹⁵² Pape, H., *Hermannsburger Missionare in Südafrika*, p. 28; Gurland, R., HMBL, Vol. II (1866), pp. 21-22.

¹⁵³ HMBL., 1862, p. 4.

¹⁵⁴ HMBL., 1866, pp. 62, 74.

(also known as KwaMnyathi) mission station, under his brother-in-law, Jacob Filter, in 1868, in the area of Prince Nkunga kaSithayi kaMbuso kaNdaba Zulu eGazini.¹⁵⁵

Christoph Dedekind married Cathrine Dorothea Dittmer. Their children were Karl, Otto, Hermann, Siegfried, Martin, Louise, Adolf, Heinrich, Ernst, Anna, Theodor and Wilhelm.¹⁵⁶ From eNyathi, Dedekind had to move to eDlomodlomo as successor to Missionary Friedrich Weber (1862 to 1868), who had succeeded Filter, who in turn, had had to leave eNyathi after a quarrel with Chief Nkunga and Cetshwayo in 1869.¹⁵⁷ Dedekind served in eDlomodlomo from 1869 to 1879. He had to vacate eDlomodlomo mission station during the war of 1879. He fled to eMsinga to what is called Helpmekaar, where he founded the Nazareth mission station. He is said to have bought the place.¹⁵⁸ His wife died at Nazareth. Dedekind had served in the mission field for 45 years.¹⁵⁹ He died in December 1912 and was buried in the German cemetery of the Verden congregation.¹⁶⁰

¹⁵⁵ HMBL., 1862, pp. 169-175; 1863, pp. 23, 73-80; 1864, pp. 11, 12, 16; 1865, pp. 30, 149; 1868, pp. 61, 186; 1865, p. 73; 1869, p. 209; Speckmann, F., *Mission in Afrika*, pp. 480, 502.

¹⁵⁶ Berghammer, Annemarie, *Die Saat des Glaubens* : Brief und Berichte des Missionars Christoph Wilhelm Dedekind, 1870 bis 1910; Kohler Carton & Print, (Natal, 1994), pp. 96, 107-108. Hereafter, *Die Saat des Glaubens*.

¹⁵⁷ HMBL, 1869, pp. 212-216.

¹⁵⁸ HMBL, 1879, p. 56; 1880, p. 35; 1882, 52; 1883, p. 73, 1885, p. 71; 1888, p. 163; Pape, H., *Hermannsbürger Missionare in Südafrika*, p. 29.

¹⁵⁹ Pape, H., *Hermannsbürger Missionare in Südafrika*, p. 29; Berghammer, A., *Die Saat des Glaubens*, p. 1071 HMBL., 1912, p. 5.

¹⁶⁰ HMBL., 1912, p. Kaapstad, 1966 p. 5, 188; Pape, H., *Hermannsbürger Missionare in Südafrika*, p. 29.

18. Karl kaChristoph Dedekind

The *Umzulu* Karl Dedekind, alias Delekina Nondelamzimba, was born in eDlomodlomo on the 16th of November 1873.¹⁶¹ When the war of 1879 broke out, Karl was only six years old. As a young boy, he grew up at Nazareth. From 1894 to 1900, Karl studied at the Mission Seminary in Hermannsburg.¹⁶² He studied together with South African colleagues of the second generation, namely Louis Reibeling, and Karl Kaiser and Hermann Wenhold, who came from the Transvaal.¹⁶³ Karl had the advantage in that he was born in Zululand and did not need to undergo a course in the isiZulu language. He returned to Zululand in 1901, and in 1902 Karl was placed at eNkombela as successor to the late Johann Detlef Engelbrecht, alias “uKusa”.¹⁶⁴

When Karl Dedekind commenced his service at eNkombela, he was faced with the question: Will eNkombela be taken over by the Transvaal government or will it still remain the property of the mission?¹⁶⁵ The struggle to retain the eNkombela and eNtombe mission stations was waged between 1903 and 1910. A series of letters between Pretoria and the HMS reflects the tension of the time.¹⁶⁶ Dedekind concentrated his efforts on preparing for the construction of the church building. By 1909, the church was

¹⁶¹ Gurland, R., HMBL., Vol. II, p. 22.

¹⁶² HMBL., 1896, p. 7; 1900, p. 280; 1902, p. 205.

¹⁶³ Pape, H., *Hermannsburger Missionare in Südafrika*, p. 30.

¹⁶⁴ HMBL., 1904, pp. 115. 204.

¹⁶⁵ HMBL., 1905, pp. 133-134; Letters 03-12-1903, 03-02-1903, 05-03-1903; 08-05-1903; 18-05-1903; 22-07-1903, 14-09-1903.

¹⁶⁶ HMBL., 1905, pp. 133-134; Letters of 15-03-1905; PMC - As R 12.200 of 09.07.1909.

completed and dedicated.¹⁶⁷ From there, Dedekind resumed his struggle for a title deed until it was issued for eNkombela in 1913, but not for eNtombe.¹⁶⁸ The title deed for eNtombe was finally given to the HMS in 1938. It was fortuitous for Karl Dedekind to have been a missionary of eNkombela when the title deed was given to the HMS, and again when finally the government acceded to issuing the title deed for eNtombe in 1938, where Dedekind had been as a missionary since 1914 until his death in 1941.¹⁶⁹

¹⁶⁷ HMBL., 1906, pp. 372-73; 1907, pp. 169-171; 1909, p. 102; 1910, p. 98; 1911, p. 71; 1912, p. 99.

¹⁶⁸ HMBL, 1913, p. 79; HMBL, 1907, p. 171 (31-12-07); SA acc. 76,7. Letter of 19-08-1905, 01-04-1909; SA acc. 76,7 dated 23-04-1909 and 19-08-1909.

¹⁶⁹ HMBL., 1914, 208; Dedekind, in A:SA 41.11e, p. 202-203, 205, SA acc. 76.419 Letter of 15th July 1936.

APPENDIX 2

THE CONSTITUTION (*die Gemeinde-Ordnung*)²⁶⁶

I General Regulations (Allgemeine Bestimmungen)

The Lutheran community which we send to East Africa, is a member of the Lutheran church of Hannover. The supervision of the ecclesiastical and civil circumstances of the same rest with the mission headquarters in Hermannsburg. The community is instructed to earn its living through its own work. Nevertheless, does the mission headquarters bind itself to provide for the needs of the community, in as far (or in case of) as it is unable to do this for itself.

II Ecclesiastical Matters (Kirchliche Verhältnisse).

- (1) The basis for the same is the Lüneburgische kirchenordnung (The Lüneburg Church Order) which the clergy and laity are bound to follow conscientiously.
- (2) Servants of the church to the congregation are a pastor, to which the missionary Struve is appointed, and all ordained missionaries as deacons. The mission headquarters nominates the servant of the church, the congregation calls the nominees, if there are no objections to the same. As soon as conditions allow it a sexton and a precentor will be appointed.

²⁶⁶ This constitution has been translated from the original in German language, see HMBL 1854, pp. 13-16; Haccius, Georg, HMG II2, PP. 224-25; LANGE, B.H., *One Root Two Stems*, pp.3-6.

- (3) The pastor is the proper shepherd of the congregation who together with the deacons as his aides are the servants of the Word. The deacons share in the pastoral care of the community as long as they remain within the community. The ecclesiastical government of the congregation is in the hands of the pastor. In all ecclesiastical matters which concern the spreading and structure of the church amongst the heathen, the mission council has to decide. The same consists of all missionaries amongst whom the pastor of the first congregation, as centre of the Lutheran church amongst the heathen, has the chair. He has to lead the meetings of the mission council, which have to be held regularly each month, but which can also be convened by him extraordinarily. In these meetings the pastor, the deacons and the catechists shall discuss the missions issues, edify their most holy faith through the Word of God, strengthen themselves for their important office through prayer, encourage themselves to diligent study and admonish and reprimand each other faithfully.
- (4) In as far as the ecclesiastical matters affect the community life, the community has to be represented. This representation will be exercised by two church elders whom the congregation has to elect. With them the pastor has monthly meetings which the deacons and catechists also have to attend. Together all these persons form the congregational/parish council under the chairmanship of the pastor. Within the domain of the parish council falls the church and buildings, care for the poor, care for the sick and exercising of church discipline.

III Civil Matters (Bürgerliche Verhältnisse)

- (5) The administration and control of the police is the duty of the mayor who is to be elected by all community members and to be confirmed by the mission headquarters. The mayor must be a lay-man [Colonist/settler Schuette was appointed].
- (6) The court consists of the judge and two assessors. The mission headquarters appoints the judge [catechist Hennrich Hohls]; the community elects the assessors [missionary Schuetze and settler Stolte]. The hearings are public.
- (7) In all circumstances/matters of the whole community the congregational meeting has to decide. The congregational meeting or assembly consists of all clerical/clergy and circular/lay members of the community. With a 2/3 of the votes a valid resolution/decision is taken. The chairman of the congregational assembly [missionary Schroeder, who is elected by the congregation and has to convene the congregational assembly (*imbizo*)]. In its domain, for instance, the duties would be to choose and erect/lay out a settlement, distribution of the work, appointing persons as legations as long as these do not touch/concern ecclesiastical matters.
- (8) A detailed annual report has to be sent to the mission headquarters on all the resolutions/decisions taken by the congregational assembly/meeting, the courts, the congregational council and the mission council. It is also expected that all clergy and lay people will report faithfully and conscientiously on the conditions and relations within and outside of the community. The instructions admonitions and orders of the mission headquarters are to be obeyed strictly.

APPENDIX 3

ENTOMBE ORAL TRADITION AND HISTORY: THE NAMES

APPEARING IN THE CHURCH REGISTER 1867-1958 SA acc. 76.641,

819.1, 1115, 1126, 1131,1133, 1134, 1135, 1136, 1137, 1150, 1153

The Kubheka Amakhosi (kings) in eNtombe from 1750 to 1998, also known as Amagonondo people; Khathide, Mlambo, Magonondo, Jijila, Thulasizwe, Velaphi, Thathawe, Manyonyoba, Sandanezwe (Mgegi), Maqala, Madansane, Ntondolwana (Klebe), Msoliyane.

Later the Shongwe chiefs under the missionaries as from 1905 to 1998: Paul, Saul, James, Mphostoli, the regent Duma and the heir apparent Maqhawe.

LIST 1

1. Bhalabhala Shongwe
2. Johannes Shongwe
3. Paulus Shongwe and Anna Mbongwe (Emahlutshini)
4. Mpsi Hlatshwayo
5. Lea Hlatshwayo and Elija Elishe Nxumalo
6. David Thomas Mhlongo (Elangeni)
7. Maria Mhlongo
8. Abraham Khumalo & Elizabeth Mbongwe
9. Andreas Msibi
10. Mose Nodwengu Mtshali und Auguste kaMkhuwayo Zulu
11. Anna Katharina Mntambo

12. Elizabeth Mhlongo (Elangeni)
13. Paulus Andreas Khumalo
14. Elizabeth Nxumalo
15. Jacob kaNqwaba Zondo
16. Nqwaba Zondo
17. Thomas Zikhangeze Mntambo
18. Rebecca Khalangasese kaMhloni Mbongwe
19. Anna Mathebula
20. Maria Hlamukile Mathebula
21. Lazarus Masoyi Msibi
22. Benjamin Masuku
23. Henry Malanga (Langa)
24. Catharina Nomakhotho Magudulela
25. Abraham Nxumalo
26. Charlotte Sophie Rahel Shongwe
27. Samuel Petrus Msibi
28. Simon Mazibuko-Zwane/Emangweni
29. Elizabeth Mngomezulu
30. Caroline kaMhloni Mabuya
31. Wilhelm Zwane
32. Nikodemus Makhoba & Maria Makhoba
33. Benjamin Makhoba
34. Isaiah Mdlalose
35. Lugwembe Lazarus kaNkunga kaSithayi Zulu (Egazini)
36. Nsingizi Obed kaLugwembe Zulu

37. Titus kaLugwembe Zulu & Darius Zulu
38. Titus Mtshali and Naemi kaNkankane Zulu
39. Jokania kaLugwembe Zulu
40. Johanna kaMaqina Masondo
41. Frida kaLugwembe Zulu
42. Timot Mtshali
43. Mathilda kaLugwembe Zulu
44. Anna kaLugwembe Zulu
45. Nikodemus Mnisi
46. Henry Mjemu kaLugwembe Zulu
47. Karl Mashazi & Hemina kaKhamatha Xaba
48. Christian Mfanyana Jack Zulu
49. Alfred Ngwenya
50. Simon Sinwanwa kaLugwembe Zulu
51. Johannes Mbatha
52. Solomon Sibuzza kaObed Zulu
53. Mashobana and Shimela Mtshali.
54. Katharina Bowers(Lubhawozi) Zulu
55. Evangelist Martin Dlongolo
56. Sikebhe Khumalo kaAnna Zulu
57. Andreas Dlongolo & Henriette Bophela
58. Dlani Alfred kaAnna Khumalo
59. Josef Dlongolo
60. Makhobolo Dlongolo and Amanda Mashazi
61. Jakobine Dlongolo

62. Jafet Dlongolo
63. Katharina
64. Philipus Msimango & Elizabeth kaMasiphula Ntshangase
65. Jona Msimango
66. Assa Ndebele and Henriette Dlongolo
67. Annamarias Ndebele
68. Juliana Ndebele
69. Jwabeth Ndebele
70. Joshua Ndebele & Thulina Msimango
71. Gesine Ndebele
72. Obadiya Ndebele
73. Alvina Ndebele
74. Assa Ndebele
75. Obathiya Ndebele
76. Wilhelm Nobengu Mlilo (alias Khoza)
77. Hermina Mlilo born Mkhwanazi
78. Henry Sikhovana
79. Josef Mlilo and Luise Vilakazi
80. Jakob Mkhwanazi & Taleta kaMazaleni Bophela
81. Hani, Helana Lilian, Gustav, Nduku, Caslina und Andretta Mkhwanazi
82. Rosta Mlilo
83. Dina Mtshali
84. Christina Nkosi (born Ngwenya)
85. Eliot Mlilo
86. Henry Dlongol

APPENDIX 4

MAP SHOWING THE AREA WHERE THE HERMANNSBURG MISSION
STATIONS ARE IN ZULULAND

APPENDIX 5

THE GENEALOGY OF THE ZULU RULING HOUSE

APPENDIX 6

ABAKWAZULU EGAZINI COLLATERAL ROYAL HOUSE

APPENDIX 7

MAP SHOWING BATTLEFIELDS IN ZULULAND

APPENDIX 8

MAP SHOWING THE NEW REPUBLIC IN NORTHERN ZULULAND

APPENDIX 9

**MAP SHOWING SHOWING RESERVED AREAS AND CROWN LAND IN
NATAL AND ZULULAND**