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The Bambatha Watershed

Swedish Missionaries, African Christians and an Evolving Zulu Church in Rural Natal and Zululand 1902–1910

Studia Missionalia Upsaliensia LXXVIII
Lars Berge

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*Swedish Missionaries, African Christians and an evolving Zulu church in rural Natal and Zululand 1902 – 1910*
Abstract


This study examines the Church of Sweden Mission and the encounter between Swedish missionaries, African Christians and evangelists in Natal and Zululand in the early twentieth century. The ambition with the present study is to demonstrate that the mission enterprise was dependent on and an integral part of developments in society at large. It attends to the issue of how the idea of folk Christianisation and the establishing of a territorial folk church on the mission field originated in the Swedish society and was put into practice in South Africa. It describes how the goals implied attempted to both change and preserve African society. This was a task mainly assigned the African evangelists. By closely focusing on the particular regions where the Church of Sweden Mission was present, conflicts between pre-capitalist and capitalist, black and white societies are revealed. The 1906 Bambatha uprising became a watershed. The present study demonstrates how the uprising differently affected different regions and also the evolving Zulu church. In the one region where Christianity was made compatible with African Nationalist claims, it was demonstrated that it was possible to be both a nationalist and a Christian, which paved the way for both religious independency and nationalist resistance and, eventually, large scale conversions.

Keywords: South Africa–church history–1902-1910, Zulus (African people), Church and State–South Africa, nationalism and religion, Church of Sweden Mission, evangelists, missionaries, Swedish.

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Contents

Preface ........................................................................................................................ 5

Introduction ................................................................................................................ 7

Part One: The General framework. From the South African War
   to the Bambatha Uprising, 1902-1906

Chapter One: The New Colonial Context ................................................................. 33
Chapter Two: Accentuated Disintegration of African Society
   in Natal and Zululand ............................................................................................... 59
Chapter Three: The Missionary Factor .................................................................... 99

Part Two: The Church of Sweden Mission at Home and in South Africa
   from 1902 to 1906

Chapter Four: The Swedish Background ................................................................. 149
Chapter Five: The Church of Sweden Mission in South Africa ............................. 179
Chapter Six: The CSM in Context: The African Christians
   of the CSM Tradition .............................................................................................. 221
Chapter Seven: The Leadership of the Evolving Zulu Church .............................. 253

Part Three: The Bambatha Uprising and its Aftermath

Chapter Eight: The Historiography of the Bambatha Uprising ............................. 295
Chapter Nine: The Bambatha Uprising and CSM African
   Christians – Two Case Studies ............................................................................... 309
Chapter Ten: Repercussions on the Evolving Zulu Church ................................... 331

Concluding Remarks .............................................................................................. 379

Bibliography ........................................................................................................... 383
Abbreviations

AMZ  Allgemeine Missions-Zeitschrift
CNM  Church of Norway Mission
CSM  Church of Sweden Mission
DN   Dagens Nyheter
Fb   Församlingsbladet
GHST Göteborgs Sjöfarts- och Handelstidning
HM   Hermannsburger Missionsblatt (HMS periodical)
HMS  Hermansburg Missionary Society
KÅ   Kyrkohistorisk årsskrift
LMT  Lunds Missionstidning
LUB  Lunds Universitetsbibliotek
LundMS Lund Missionary Society
MFSKM Meddelande från Svenska Kyrkans missionsfält
NBL  Norsk biografisk leksikon
NF   Nordisk Familjebok
NM   Norsk Missionstidende (NMS Periodical)
NMC  Natal Missionary Conference
NMS  Norwegian Missionary Society
NMSA Norsk Missionsselskab Arkiv (NMS Archives)
RAS  Riksarkivet Sverige (Swedish State Archives)
SBL  Svenskt biografiskt leksikon
SCB  Statistiska Centralbyrån
SKMA Svenska Kyrkans Missions Arkiv (CSM Archives)
SKMT Svenska Kyrkans Missionstidning (CSM Periodical)
SMoK Svenska Män och Kvinnor
SMS  Swedish Missionary Society
SPG  Society for the Propagation of the Gospel
StD  Stockholms Dagblad
SvD  Svenska Dagbladet
TDR  Tillkomme Ditt Rike
UDA  Uppsala Domkapitels Arkiv
UdA  Utrikesdepartementets Arkiv
UUB  Uppsala Universitetsbibliotek (Uppsala University Library)
VL   Vårt Land
ZMB  Zuluvennen-Missionblad (CNM Periodical)
Preface

During my work on this study, I have greatly benefited from discussions, advice and support from many persons. I have been fortunate in having inspiring supervision. Professor Carl F. Hallencreutz but also Associate Professor Axel-Ivar Berglund has supervised my work in the Department of Religious Studies at Uppsala University. I am very grateful for their generous support. Kajsa Ahlstrand, Gunnel Cederlöf, Urban Claesson, Anki Ekman, Jenny Gustavsson, Ove Gustavsson, Anna Götlind, Fred Hale, Bo G. Jansson, Lars Jönsson, Tekeste Negash, Lars Pettersson, Ulla Sandgren and Gustav Sjöblom, have inspired me and read and commented on different parts on the text and suggested many improvements. I have also benefited much from the time and assistance that have been given to me by O. J. Zondi, Bengt Johansson, Diana and Duncan Buchanan and the late Rev. Simon Andreas Mbata during my visits to South Africa. The members of Carl F. Hallencreutz’ and later Sigbert Axelsson’s and Alf Tergel’s seminar as well as of the Seminar at Dalarna University College have made many fruitful comments on texts I have presented to them. Sven Hedenskog, Stefan Cardell and David Engdal at the Church of Sweden Mission Archives have been most helpful. Helga Hauff of Freiburg has generously assisted in collecting information on German missions. Without the help of Gustaf Björck and Jens Pernander my texts would still have remained in my computer.

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Lars Berge, Falun, December 20 1999
INTRODUCTION

In my youth in the Transkei, I listened to the elders of my tribe telling stories of the old days. Amongst the tales they related to me were those of wars fought by our ancestors in defence of the fatherland. The names of Dingane and Bambatha... were praised as the pride and glory of the entire African nation. I hoped then that life might offer me the opportunity to serve my people and make my own humble contribution to their freedom struggle.

Nelson Mandela, address in the Treason Trial in April 1964.

Bambatha still Alive

When chief Bambatha kaMancinza and the young men of the Zondi chiefdom, near Greytown in present-day kwaZulu-Natal, in early April 1906 swept through the Natal thornveld and raised the banner of resistance, he emerged as the most significant leader of the armed uprising which, since then, is known as the "Bambatha rebellion" or the "war of the heads", alluding to the per capita nature of the recently imposed Poll Tax, or "head tax". But the government's imposition of the £1 tax on all adult men in late 1905 was only a catalyst after years of grievances, experienced by an increasingly suppressed, exploited and impoverished African society. Making use of the uniting tradition of the Zulu kingship and having received support from prominent chiefs and their followers, a resistance force came into being in southern Zululand. But in the encounter between assegais and Maxim guns the uprising was short-lived. By June10 Bambatha and his men were defeated. Many of them were killed, presumably also Bambatha himself whose head was cut off for purposes of identification. A week later new resistance flared up in the thickly populated Umvoti reserve but was swiftly crushed. By mid-July all overt resistance had ceased. However, widespread unrest continued throughout 1907 and by the end of the year Dinuzulu kaCethwayo, son of the last Zulu king and by many whites believed to have brought about the uprising, was arrested, brought to trial and finally found guilty on three of twenty-three charges of high treason raised against him. Sentenced to four years' imprisonment he died in exile in the Transvaal in 1913. The uprising can adequately be summed up in the losses: twenty-four white soldiers lost their lives and thirty-seven were wounded while between 3,500 and 4,000 Africans were killed and some 7,000 taken prisoner. For people who lived in the affected areas large numbers of their male breadwinners had been taken away either permanently or temporarily, a great number had become homeless because of
white troops' extensive burning of homesteads and crops. In the footsteps of the uprising followed hunger, cattle plague and pestilence. This, in turn, severely affected living conditions and dramatically raised the number of labour migrants to the gold mines in the Transvaal.

Bambatha himself left no records in which he could have motivated the uprising. What he tried to achieve remains an open question. From scanty records, written by contemporary European and African observers, it is difficult to identify plans of action. Ousting whites from Natal and re-establishing the Zulu kingdom might be a possibility.² According to Captain James Stuart who gave a first hand account of the uprising and later made an extensive investigation into the events, “the spirit of Bambatha” was generally held to be ”a desire to control their own affairs not on European lines but on those sanctioned by the collective wisdom of their own race”.³ He noted that Bambatha continued to have a powerful impact also after his defeat and death. Shortly after the uprising there were strong rumours that Bambatha was still alive. Most important was the fact that his wife Siyekiwe did not go into mourning and refrained from shaving her head as was customary. "Under normal conditions", Stuart commented, "this would undoubtedly have been an important criterion but conditions were clearly abnormal." This, he judged, was of importance for the belief sustained by Africans that Bambatha was not dead but roaming about somewhere, "If his favourite wife... did not believe in his being dead, no one else would as she was not unnaturally looked on as the principal authority in such matter. Who, they argued, can know better than a woman if her husband be dead or not?"⁴ The saying put it that Bambatha was in hiding, first in one part of Zululand and then in another, on his way to safety at Lourenço Marques in Portuguese territory. One place where he was said to have been sheltered by loyal supporters was in the Ekutuleni church. In the late 1930s the rumour was maintained by local parish members.⁵ His memory is equally kept very much alive not only by present-day Greytown residents but also by rank and file church members and officials of the Lutheran Parish, since long established in that part of the country.⁶ Hence, Bambatha's name continues to resound powerful connotations also enumerated among the pantheon of pan-South African heroes by the most prominent among modern African nationalists. Bambatha is also keenly referred to by the leaders of the regionally-based Inkatha Freedom Party assumed to entertain a general loyalty to the Zulu royal cause. When Inkatha hitherto camera-shy "self-protection units" for the first time appeared public in uniform at a Durban election rally in February 1994 – at a hazardous moment endangering the process towards South Africa's first free elections in April 27 of that year – they were presented as the "Bambatha Battalion".⁷
The Bambatha Uprising in its Historical Context

After fifty years of colonial administration in Natal, over twenty years of white intrusion in Zululand and, from the years around the turn of the century, an accelerated impact of South African industrialisation, the 1906 Bambatha uprising signifies an important turning point in early twentieth century Natal and Zululand history. It was the last armed resistance to European rule in that part of Africa and marked the end of one pre-colonial or pre-capitalist epoch and the beginning of another, indicating the emergence of a "new" South Africa. This is clearly underlined by Marks who defines the "Bambatha rebellion" as an essentially "tribal" uprising run on "traditional" lines. In later studies she has defined the uprising as an African peasants' resistance to proletarianization and, with increasing accuracy, as restorationist rather than revolutionary. Other scholars have tended to emphasise pre-1900 developments. John Lambert locates the first turning point to the 1890s characterised by increased white settler repression beginning in 1897, diminishing resources and rapidly spreading deterioration and proletarianization of African society. From his point of view the "Bambatha rebellion" becomes an "inevitable" climax of the downward trend in which many Africans who objected to white rule, were driven to an uprising in a desperate attempt to save themselves. A rather different view is presented by Benedict Carton in his study of 1996. He suggests that it was the young men caught in the grips of migrant wage labour who, emancipated from the hold of chiefs and elders, tried to throw off the last bonds of rural society when rising against both white and black authorities, the latter seen as collaborating with government, magistrates and settlers. The government's 1906 clamp down, he claims, led to the elimination of such generational tensions in rural society and a resumed and increased labour migration. Marks claims the defeat of the uprising to have been a crucial moment in Natal and Zulu history which preconditioned the capitalist expansion in Natal and the opening up of Zululand to white settlement. She also sees it to have been one of the vital factors behind whites' increased concern for a unification of the four colonies resulting in the formation of the South African Union in 1910.

The role played by African Christians in the uprising was from the outset brought to the fore by Stuart who claims that its root-cause was an undue impact of Western civilisation. He accuses black Christians, notably members of the African Independent Churches, to have been major participants. This is refuted by Marks who emphasises the "tribal" factor. But she claims that Christianity, both Western and African Independent, played important roles in the course of and particularly after the uprising. Among Africans in both Natal and Zululand, she claims, the events of 1906 brought about an increasingly and generally felt need for education and a new interest for Christianity but also a general getting together of African Christians and non-Christians. This move towards one another by two formerly separate groups in black society,
as well as the post-1906 happenings, reinforced political action among African Christians and contributed to the 1912 formation of what today is known as the African National Congress.⁰¹ In several ways the 1906 Bambatha uprising may indeed be seen as having been an important watershed.

The Scope of the Present Study

The overall purpose of my study is to analyse the changing relationships between Church of Sweden Mission (CSM) missionaries, black evangelists and African Christian church members in rural Natal and Zululand before, during and in the aftermath of the Bambatha uprising. My ambition is firstly to analyse CSM ideological aims as seen against the background of the late nineteenth century Swedish society from which its particular program emerged. Secondly it implies an assessment of the relationship between these aims and the actual practice of its Uppsala-educated missionaries in South Africa. An assumption is that it is only when the CSM ideology, purposes and its local missionary labour are seen in relation to both the people among whom the missionaries worked and developments in society at large that a more complete understanding of CSM's contemporary role in Natal and Zululand can be achieved. This implies a focusing on the various regions in which the CSM was present. It is important to examine how the local CSM, its missionaries, church members and black evangelists reacted in the context of the economic, social and political forces at work in Natal and Zululand before, during and in the aftermath of the Bambatha uprising. This furthermore implies the positioning of the CSM in its contemporary South African context and an analysis of the state of affairs in 1902 seen against the background of the late nineteenth century advancing white capitalist economic and political forces. It also requires an assessment of the nature of the white settler governments' policies on African administration, taxation and redistribution of land and labour resources. Further it calls for an analysis of African society and pre-capitalist economy including its basic understandings of land, cattle and social institutions, and to what extent these were changed. It also requires information on other Western missionary inputs present in the Natal and Zululand region including their distribution, localities and policies. Which were some of the major mission organisations? What were their attitudes to African society and their intentions in shifting Africans to a Western culture and capitalism? Finally, the force of an emerging African Nationalism, at the time only established and embodied in the aspirations of an educated but very small Natal African Christian élite, has to be taken into account as a part in the early twentieth century context.

My study commences with the ending of the 1899-1902 South African War. It was at that time that the post-war South African industrialisation process commenced, initiated chiefly by the mineral discoveries in the latter third of the nineteenth century. Natal white settler rule became a reality in 1893 and came in 1897 to be dominated by farm-
ers’ interests. The study leads up to the 1910 formation of the South African Union, marked by the Colony of Natal being forged into a new political constellation, and the coming into power of an alliance between gold mining and commercial maize farming interests in the interior, i.e. a northward shift of the centre of economic and political gravity from Natal to the Transvaal.

Four regions of rural Natal and Zululand in which CSM missionaries and evangelists operated and where a majority of church members lived, are discussed: Appelsbosch (or eSwidi) and Oscarsberg (eShiyane) in Natal, and Ekutuleni and Ceza in Zululand. The first two regions are important because they came into being as CSM missionary areas at an early stage and were larger and included organised congregations under black leadership. These two regions illustrate two quite different social and economic environments and they were both affected by the Bambatha uprising. The CSM Appelsbosch region, located to the east of the mission station itself in Great Noodsberg in the Natal Midlands, had its main field of activity in the intersection between the Umvoti and Inanda African reserves (Mapumulo and Ndwedwe divisions). The second major CSM region was centred around the Oscarsberg mission station at Rorke’s Drift in the white farmer-dominated southern part of the Dundee division in northern Natal. Roughly 60 per cent of CSM converts lived in these two regions, adjacent to two of the three areas where resistance in 1906 was locally mobilised (i.e. Mapumulo, Richmond and Msinga-Rorke’s Drift). The CSM Zululand regions, i.e. Ekutuleni in the white-dominated “Proviso B” intersection of southern-central Zululand, and Ceza to the north-west, in the neighbourhood of Nongoma and situated in the royal heartland of Zululand, are to be regarded as expanding mission fields rather than established congregations. But they provide illustrative comparisons to mission enterprises in Natal. Particularly Ceza which was established by an independent Zulu Christian initiative and only later affiliated to CSM, provides an interesting contrast to the other CSM regions.

State of Research: Missions and African Christianity in Natal and Zululand

Church and Mission History

South African church and mission history, hitherto produced over the years, has been confined to chiefly two narrowly categories. One comprises of institutional histories often closely describing developments of individual churches and missions. The second is that of autobiographies and reverential biographies of important church leaders and prominent missionaries. They are mostly written by missionaries as a means of canvassing financial support and extending missionary zeal in their home countries. Scholars of academic church history are frequently themselves closely associated with a missionary cause. Largely apologetic and with a perspective which ascribes histo-
rical change to the role of individual agents the material very often deals with events from the white missionaries' point of view. And a remarkably little attention is paid to the African Christians with whom the missionaries were involved on a daily basis, and even less to the views and interests of the "heathen". As far as CSM is concerned this holds true for most that has been written over the years. Among them Gunnar Brundin's 1924 history of the first fifty years of the CSM and its two mission fields in South India and South Africa, Anton Karlsgren's 1909 study on CSM in South Africa, as well as J. E. Norenius 1924-25 two volume history of CSM in Southern Africa are good examples of older and narrowly confined institutional histories. Frans Fristedt's and Tora Hellgren's autobiographies of 1905 and 1919 respectively as well as Carl Axel Hallström's 1937 account of the life and work of CSM missionary Jonas Fredrik Ljungquist illustrate the second category of literature.

A major academic study on CSM is Tore Furberg's *Kyrka och Mission i Sverige 1868-1901* published in 1962. Against the background of Swedish historical and ideological developments he describes the formation and establishment of CSM in Sweden and its two mission fields in South India and South Africa. The major part of his study is concerned with the organisation of CSM. But he also takes up missionary achievements with particular reference to changing relationships between the missionaries and the Uppsala-based Home Board. The CSM enterprise in South Africa was launched later than work in India. The first achievements in Natal were characterised by the missionaries' individual and diverging approach to their tasks rather than the aims envisaged by CSM in Sweden. It is important to note that CSM ambitions and policy were the contributions of one of its leading theologians, Henry William Tottie. After first having visited Natal and Zululand in 1886, his theological preferences were spelt out in his major mission theoretical study published in 1892. In his academic lectures to students and missionary candidates at Uppsala he continuously referred to his theologically motivated stands.

Furberg's study is to be placed within the confines of its time and church historical discipline. One of its major limitations is that it is confined to the perspective of the Church of Sweden and CSM *per se*. This implies that the emergence of CSM in Sweden is seen chiefly as an outgrowth of changed priorities within the Church of Sweden. The activities of CSM missionaries in South Africa are to a large extent seen as detached not only from other missions operating in the area but also from their converts, the African Christians, as well as from developments in black and white society at large.

J. E. Hofmeyr's and K. E. Cross' extensive 1986 bibliography on South African church history states quite clearly that also much of the more recent literature "proved to be little more than mere descriptions of particular denominational institutions and activities". While one of the major problems within the genre is the "little awareness
of the work or even the existence of other churches", an even more fundamental neglect is the general ignorance of the broader context of society at large. "For most part", Brian Kennedy writes, "religious history has been the monopoly of church historians and students of comparative religion who have usually studied it in isolation from the wider society." If considered at all, factors such as geography, production, social structures and systems of government, are often treated superficially. This is naturally not limited to writings on South Africa but rather a part of a wider phenomenon in much of religious and church historical studies, manifest in a self-chosen isolation from contemporary historical trends. In the Scandinavian context, the Norwegian sociologist of religion, Pål Repstad, has recently urged colleagues to more consciously recognise and pay attention to social conditions in their research. One reason for the anomaly is the close identification with the church on the part of several scholars which has made possible an overoptimistic view on the role of religion in society. Another, as proposed by South African historian Jeff Guy, is the connection naturally made between religious history and religious experience where the latter, by definition, necessarily belongs to the sphere of the unworldly and the supernatural. While religious experience is not merely a reflection on the material world, "the world mediates spirituality and spirituality mediates the material world". Religious people are thus not solely religious. They are also men or women, adults or children, workers or peasants. As individuals or as groups, Richard Elphick points out, they act and are acted upon in many ways appropriate to their multiple identities. Their religious sensibilities sometimes reinforce, sometimes undermine and sometimes are irrelevant to their activities as members of other groups. In the field of church and mission history, the balance has often swung far in one direction where, as noted by Guy, "Religious feelings and actions are too often seen in their own terms."

The New Developments of the Early 1970s

Outside the bounds of church and mission history, as Johannes du Bruyn and Nicolas Southey state in their study on Protestant missions in South African historiography, there is a long tradition of dismissing and ignoring the influence of religion and Christianity as factors in society. In the light of the widely differing concerns and preoccupations of church and mission historians on the one hand, and mainstream historians on the other this is understandable. The advent of the Oxford History of South Africa of 1969 and 1971 is by them seen as a breakthrough in that the volumes give more attention to Christianity than any other comparable work, previously presented by mainline historians. As a major contribution from the English-speaking and liberal academic tradition in South Africa there were those who criticised it for its preoccupation with issues of racial interaction rather than with the complex relationships of black and white societies as well as the manner in which capitalist and pre-capitalist
modes of production were articulated. From other quarters its treatment of missionaries, converts and African Independent Churches were considered meagre most apparent in its neglect of Natal and Zululand developments. From one point of view the *Oxford History* was nevertheless a fresh start: in its intention to deal with the response of Africans to Christianity and, as stated by Monica Wilson, one of the co-editors, the importance of literacy and church adherence for the formation of an African peasantry.

The early 1970s also saw the emergence of a new generation of scholars who from Africanist and materialist views moved away from the hitherto dominant explanation of South African society in terms of race attitudes. They came to focus on the importance of British intervention for a capitalist transformation, the role of soldiers, traders and missionaries in conquest, the meaning and effects of the South African industrialisation, the different paths various societies followed in this development and issues on proletarianization and impoverishment. In *The Rise and Fall of the South African Peasantry*, Colin Bundy took the debate further in regard to Christian missions’ contribution to the development of an African peasantry. On Marxist and Africanist presumptions he challenges the image of “dual economies” which implied that the impoverishment of the African sector stemmed from the backwardness of the African cultivators. He focuses on the interdependence between African agricultural practices and Western capitalist intervention, making use of the “underdevelopment theory” (as indicated by words such as “rising” and “falling” in the title of his book) and emphasising the inevitability of the economic subordination of the periphery to the metropole.

Basing his research on the agriculture of the *Mfengu* of the Eastern Cape and the largely pastoralist-cultivators’ positive response to an early market economy in which trade and Western Christianity were vital ingredients, it was the small élite of mission-educated African Christians who in the pre-1870s were in the forefront of a flourishing development. He emphasises, "the role of the missionaries as torch-bearers of capitalist social norms and the market economy as advocates of increased trade and commercial activity.” and "their contribution to class formation in African society.” After a period of expansion between 1870 and 1890, there was a third period to about 1913 characterised by decline and subsequent destruction of the peasantry. While prosperity among the peasantry was the result of the encounter with Western capitalism, so was its fall. When African agricultural dominance from the 1890s increasingly was succeeded by white commercial farming, it was achieved only through a conscious government-supported neglect of the former. Bund’s chapter on Natal serves as a comparative material to the situation in the Eastern Cape and is intended to support his general thesis. Also as far as Natal is concerned, Bundy identifies a similar pattern of "peasantisation" and "proletarianization” as both being a part of "peripheralisation”, i.e. the incorporation of independent producers into the world economic system and the consequent development of underdevelopment.
Bundy’s findings have been widely acknowledged. Change of agricultural systems, relationships between trade and production, connections between local structures to world systems, the importance of class and state in economic changes and his emphasis on the interdependence between Western Christianity and commerce have added to the importance of his study.35 The extensive debate evoked by his work will not be discussed in this study and it may suffice it to note that much of this discussion is concerned with his application of the underdevelopment theory. Against Bundy’s assumptions it has been argued that the market is given far too much a deterministic role either ignoring production processes or treating them as mechanical derivatives of world market structures. Thus class structures and different responses and strategies to the advent of capitalism within African society are glossed over, leaving peasants’ struggles as little more “than transitory and futile gestures in the face of the inevitable course of the world economy.”36 Other related issues have dealt with his definition of the term "peasants", as well as his scheme of a rise and fall of this peasantry.37 Against the background of his far reaching generalisations it is inevitable that also his chapter on Natal has been exposed to criticism. “With respect to Natal,” Norman Etherington states, “the book provides little more than a jumping off point for more research.”38 Similarly Sheila Meintjes has argued that a more careful study of this part of the country would have provided a markedly different picture of the so-called peasantry and a far better view of the roles played by chiefs and headmen, relations of production in shaping the pattern of wage labour, as well as varieties in the forms of social transformation from one region and chiefdom to another.39

A most important study which focuses both on the Natal and Zululand situation and pays particular attention to missionaries and African Christians, is Etherington’s *Preachers, Peasants and Politics in Southeast Africa, 1835-1880: African Christian Communities in Natal, Pondoland and Zululand*.40 By way of his research, a radically new perspective has been brought into the historical study of Natal and Zululand missions as well as of African converts. In contrast to older studies, Etherington emphasises the interaction between missionaries and African converts and in particular the response of the latter. With the comparing of the impact of Christian missions among the south-eastern Nguni in the period before the 1879 Anglo-Zulu war and using chiefly mission sources, Etherington brings in an essentially materialist perspective into the study of mission history.41 This enables him to go beyond the previously dominant white missionary and actor-centred perspective to a position in which not only the missionary-convert interaction, but ultimately also the missionary organisation itself is seen as part of developments in the wider social, political and economic environment.

An important contribution which Etherington makes, is his discussion on the reason why converts were so few. They were indeed few if considered in the context of the massive investments made by the missionary organisations.42 This was particularly
true in Zululand, at the time still an independent kingdom. But also in the Colony of Natal where missionary achievements remained meagre during a large part of the nineteenth century, the same holds true. Etherington finds two reasons for this. One was the particular situation in Natal where a multiplicity of competing mission societies offered a wide range of choices and hence reduced missionary bargaining power. Another was the missionaries' frequent solidarity with the colonial power and settler society, particularly evident during the 1879 Zulu war. While not entirely equating the missionaries with colonialism, Etherington still finds the missionaries firmly rooted in the colonial environment. Because of local conditions most missionaries gave increasing support to British imperialism at the same time as, "the subtle chemistry of racial prejudice worked noticeable changes upon missionary attitudes. The colour line became a nearly universal characteristic of Christianity in Natal," which leads him to the conclusion that, "In the long run similarities among missionary operations heavily outweighed the differences." His argument remains a challenge. But it also points at a weakness in his approach. In his attempts to construct a uniform social base for the missionaries' ultimate goals, he, William Beinart claims, "strips the missionaries of their religious ideology with which they surrounded their every activity." He tends to regard them as a social group or unity and therefore runs the risk of underrating ideological implications, regional differences as well as individual variations among them. With ambitions to cover at least nine or ten denominations and mission organisations, scattered throughout a wide region, generalisations are perhaps unavoidable. But by paying attention to the colonial and African environment, in which the missionaries laboured, and in comparing the different missions at work he draws a most important conclusion: African response depended more on the situation within African society than with the variations in doctrine or methods employed by the many missions involved.

A second important contribution is his investigation on who the converts were, their reasons for conversion and the development of African Christian communities. In searching through the scanty statistical material available, he suggests a number of reasons for conversion. Not ignoring the religious component, a number of reasons for conversion are suggested: the need for refuge by outcasts and misfits, shelter for women and children in their flight from dominating husbands and parents, coupled to missionary ability to provide land, employment and education. These were attractive reasons for conversion. Like Bundy he points out how small and isolated groups of Natal converts soon became a significant economic force, chiefly due to their educational and economic abilities. Education and participation in capitalist economic activities gave converts a better understanding of the changes wrought by European colonialism. Leadership training within the church enabled them to deal with white authorities in ways which whites could understand. But he also shows how this progress was hampered by colonial legal measures and settler hostility. While the African Christians' sense of isolation between black and white societies first had become the spur to their further
Etherington suggests that the lack of secular opportunities after 1880 was a major reason for their energies being diverted into political and religious channels. Thereby he is also able to challenge Bengt Sundkler’s view on the emergence of the African Independent Churches. But as Etherington tends to regard missionaries as a unit, the same criticism can be levied against his view on the African converts. His assessment of how converts’ difficult “middle position” occasionally led them to a selective adherence to some traditional customs, such as lobolo or some of the traditional rituals, remains valuable. But his generalised assumptions give too sharp a distinction between the convert minority group and "traditional" society, obscure regional differences and underestimate variations within the convert community. When he concludes his study with the 1879 Anglo-Zulu War and assigns the economic decline of the African Christians, "largely ground down into the ranks of the South African proletariat" to the closing years of the century, both the rapidity and the uniformity of this decline is too prematurely assumed. Not only did they continue to be a force to be taken into account well into the twentieth century. They did also, as remarked by Meintjes, become increasingly stratified. Many were driven into wage labour as the mineral industry on the Rand began to become a factor of importance. But it is equally true that many prospered by transforming their economic activities in various ways. In like manner it may be argued that the African Christians’ rising interests in church leadership, rather than in the much studied and analysed African Independent Churches primarily ought to have found outlets in the so-called mainline churches. With the increased pressures put on African society in the 1890s several trends, noticed by Etherington, ought to have become even more apparent in subsequent decades.

Meintjes’ unpublished study of 1988 limits itself to the role of missionaries and African Christians in a particular mission community. Drawing on the Africanist and materialist contributions of the early 1970s, succeeding contributions on particular societies in the South African region and the continuous discussions on peasant studies, she seeks to go beyond the generalisations implied in the terms “peasantisation”, “proletarianization” and “underdevelopment”. She focuses on the mission situation of a single black community at the micro level of social experience, its internal development and encounter with imperialism, and hence the title, "Edendale 1850-1906. A Case Study of Rural Transformation and Class Formation in an African Mission in Natal." The attitudes of local Methodist missionaries are dealt with as are their belief in British society as a model for civilisation, its individualism, nuclear family concept and Protestant work ethic as well as their propagated obedience to the authorities. Her assertion is that "it would be simplistic to argue that mission ideology and practices can be subsumed as aspects of capitalist ideology and practice." But it is overshadowed by her general assumption of the missionaries as "the spiritual wing of imperialism" and her emphasis on the material effects of missionary activity, details which form the core of her work. Her study becomes the story of the rise and fall of
the Edendale community which at a first stage and through petty commodity production and purchase of land in freehold tenure, gave rise to an educated and prosperous African Christian petty bourgeoisie struggling to acquire civil rights on par with whites. At a later stage the mineral discoveries and the industrialization process by the end of the century similarly lead to its gradual decline. Two aspects are important. One is her assessment of how the Edendale community first by extension of private ownership of land in communal form in the 1880s and 1890s, was able to resist the government's increased disfavour of its competitiveness. The other aspect is her description of how events – after changes in the political economy and the natural disasters of the 1890s caused an economic and social decline – instead of leading to clear-cut proletarianization resulted in a class differentiation between the few who were able to adapt to the new capitalist economy, and the many, who were less fortunate and therefore were forced into wage labour.

Studies on Early Twentieth Century African Christianity in Natal and Zululand

While Etherington has emphasised the isolation of nineteenth century Natal converts, Meintjes has enlarged on Bundy’s assumptions of the emergence and continued fortunes of a Natal African Christian petty bourgeoisie and its first political appearance during the latter part of the nineteenth century. They created the Natal Native Congress in 1900. Studies on early twentieth century developments have chiefly considered the continued fortunes of the educated but very small African Christian middle class élite. This group has also been elaborated on by Marks in her study of 1970. She describes their intermediary position between white and black societies, declining opportunities and, as a part of the “new independent spirit”, she notes their increased political mobilisation in the years around 1900. Indeed, their changing attitudes and actions form an important theme in her book. She shows how the Bambatha uprising resulted in closer relationships between ”traditionalists” and converts and an increased spur to political action. While Marks’ contribution to the historiography of the Bambatha uprising will be discussed in the below (Chapter nine ), it suffices to note that her approach naturally includes developments among African Christians. In describing changing attitudes among them, she emphasises their upper social stratum in which such developments were most clearly visible. Her study focuses firstly on their educated and politically active élite in the Natal Congress. Most prominent among them was John Langalibalele Dube, a pioneering educationalist, newspaper editor and pastor in the black church, affiliated with the American Zulu Mission. From the time of its establishment and almost to his death he presided over the Natal Congress. In 1912 he also became the first president of the Union-wide Congress. Secondly she describes their constituency, the emerging but still very small African Christian middle class in the older and more established mission communities in Natal. In the light of the ambitions in her study, Western missionaries are only of secondary concern. This implies that they are considered chiefly in so far as they came to play a role
in the emerging new independent spirit, such as some American missionaries, or whether they came to support the Zulu royal cause and the emerging new Zulu nationalism, highly supported by Harriette Colenso, the daughter of the famous bishop, outstanding but exceptional among missionaries.

Also concerned with the Natal élite, but with a periodisation reaching farther than to the immediate aftermath of the Bambatha uprising, is William Manning Marable’s unpublished doctoral thesis of 1976 "African Nationalist: The Life of John Langalibalele Dube". The core of his study is the question how Dube was influenced by the African American educator and politician Booker T. Washington’s rural-based philosophy of racial self-help and economic nationalism.60 By making use of large hitherto not consulted body of mission-related sources, chiefly accessible in the United States, the value of Marable’s study is his careful analysis of Dube’s Washingtonian policy of accommodation of white paternalists – as a means of taking his own group, the African Christian middle class, from a pre-industrial society into a bourgeois culture – and his relation to people inspired by other, more radical, African American ideologists. In describing Dube’s efforts to promote a progressive education for a relatively small number of South African blacks, Marable suggests this to have been Dube’s chief concern which came to his later political options and be decisive for his subsequent aloofness from the social and political aspirations of the African masses.61 His account of Dube’s agreement with the Natal government, notably in the aftermath of the Bambatha uprising, provides a valuable background to understanding his continued political course. Although Marable does not define his own position in relation to previous research, it is evident that his findings provide for a revision of the alleged casual relationship between the Natal Congress leaders of the post-Bambatha years and the formation of the Union-wide Congress in 1912. Marable’s description of Dube’s later preferences are similar to accounts of Peter Walshe in his study on the rise of the African National Congress, which Marable unfortunately overlooks, and more so of Brian Willan’s in his thorough study on Sol Plaatje and the political activities of this class in the Cape Colony.62 In regarding the Natal African Christian leaders solely as "modernizers" and by neglecting developments in African "traditional" politics,63 Marable’s study calls for criticism similar to that addressed to Walshe’s book, namely that it contains a largely a conventional description of an élitist group and organisation in a social vacuum. As with Walshe, he regards the African Christian leaders as "new men". To some extent this was what they were. But as Marks points out in relation to Walshe, "new men" are not rootless, "another strand in their world view derived from their African past and from their relationship with the African people on whose behalf they claimed to speak."64 The major weakness of Marable’s account of the post-Bambatha period is that he entirely disregards Marks argument of new links forged between the Natal educated élite and the followers of the new Zulu political mobilisation and, hence, fails to recognise the corresponding role that African Christians came to play in the emerging new Zulu nationalism.
This is taken up by Marks in her recent contributions in which she deliberately brings to the fore the concept of class. In acknowledging the rather ambiguous position of the Natal Congress leadership as both “progressive” in its advocacy of bourgeoisie and democratic ideals and in goals of self-improvement, land purchase and moderate claims for political representation which is deeply conservative, she indicates a revision of earlier writing.65 Her concern is the paradoxical relationship between the African Christians’ desire to take part in a capitalist economy and at the same time being among the most fervent supporters of the Zulu monarchy.66 Claiming inspiration from Benedict Anderson’s now classical *Imagined Communities* of 1983, she recognises "the very access to print through the literacy and English language brought by the missionaries" to have made the new "imagined political community", implied by nationalism, a possibility. Applied on the particular Natal situation with its resilience of African society and comparatively weak colonial state, she allocates two background factors. One is the Natal government’s policies on conserving and manipulating aspects of African pre-capitalist life patterns, its segregation and the settlers’ hostility against an African Christian peasantry. This made it difficult for an African Christian minority to develop itself on an idealised perception of an imperial middle-class society, such as was done by the African intelligentsia in the Cape Colony. The other is the undermined position of the peasantry in the 1880s and 1890s which led to its élite to attempt to widen its constituency among the African majority population.67 Contrary to simplistic assumptions of African Christians’ ”acculturation” to white society and emphasising their potentiality as ”mediators between cultures”, she picks up her 1970-assessment on a post-Bambatha closer relationship of the two groups. But she now carefully assumes this to Dube having been ”roused by the fate of Dinuzulu”.68 As in *Reluctant Rebellion*, her major concern is not the follow-up of the new relationships and immediate consequences during the following decade. Instead, and largely due to her perception of Dube as ”the spokesman” of African Christians,69 she claims it was only after 1917, when Dube was ousted from the Presidency of the National Congress or, more precisely, ”only after 1918 or 1919 that those loose connections began to take political shape”.70 This naturally leads her to focus on the 1920s, as it was in the early years of that decade the new Zulu nationalism most evidently came to be materialised in the formal establishment of the Zulu National Council or *Inkatha*. The development went with an increasingly radicalised peasantry following the 1913 Land Act and the government’s perception of ethnicity and segregation – which gave Dube and his colleagues increasing impetus and leverage.71

Nicholas Cope’s *To Bind the Nation. Solomon kaDinuzulu and Zulu Nationalism 1913-1933* is a study on the social forces that shaped the early twentieth century Zulu nationalism into a modern political movement and the transition in the political role of Zulu kingship. Against the background of the very limited knowledge of the Zulu royal family in the early twentieth century, and with this limitation as his point of departure,
it is the life and political role of Solomon, head of the Zulu royal family in the years 1913-1933 which forms the theme of his study. Cope describes how Zululand in 1913 essentially was different from its nineteenth century environment. Among the factors for change were the sway of powerful social and economic forces, the influence of white missionaries and a few communities of land-owning converts. Above all, this underlines "the impossibility of conceptualising the Zulu royal family in the twentieth century in accordance with the role it had played in the nineteenth." According to the periodisation and purpose in his study, Cope finds Solomon personifying the unification of Zulu tradition and Western modernity.

The initiative which brought about the forging of the new links, Cope ascribes to the African Christians in Natal proper, seen as a landowning middle class, "a self-consciously distinct social group in a Zulu-speaking society" and "in many senses an establishment of 'black Englishmen'". But he also takes up the role played by local convert communities in Zululand. In comparison to Natal, he recognises their recent establishment only since the early years of the twentieth century. Notwithstanding the fact that opportunities for Africans to own land in Zululand barely existed and only had been allowed in the former Boer New Republic since 1902, he notes that some Africans had begun to purchase private property. Because of his generalised concept of African Christians in Natal proper and his making this the criterion for recognising African Christians also in Zululand, his account is narrowed down to comprise largely of two communities: Eshowe in central Zululand and Vryheid in the former New Republic. Of these, only the latter he qualifies as more "advanced" since Africans from 1905 had begun to buy small properties and thus portrayed as having adopted an European – and alien – notion of individual ownership of land. This "distinguished the residents of Vryheid East Township from the rank and file Zulu." It is notable that it was precisely among this group of middle class African Christians, represented by a local clergyman, that the first move towards Solomon was made in the years after 1913, by him seen as a first step in the process towards the formation of the Inkatha in the early 1920s.

Cope's perspective, confined to the African Christian landowning class, raises a number of questions. Besides the probability to regard them as rootless, "new men", according to Marks, it accounts only for the very upper social stratum among them which, against the background of Christianity and the difficulties for Africans to purchase land, in Zululand ought to have been infinitesimal. What remains uncertain is to what extent this group was representative of a broader stratum of African Christians, living in the rural areas of Zululand and the former New Republic. Cope only mentions the issue. But through selective reading of his work some indications are provided. The development of the African Christian community, adjacent to the royal homestead at Nongoma, provides such a case. First established by the Anglicans in 1898, but developed with little success until "the negative influence of Dinuzulu" was removed
after his trial, exile and death in 1913, it was only after Solomon's succession that conditions were improved. By the early 1920s an African Christian community "living near the royal epicentre" had emerged. Some of its members attempted an institutionalised co-operation with local chiefs, with the intention of establishing local representative councils in the reserves. In the 1920s, mission work began to advance in an unprecedented wave of success. Cope explains this as a change in the cultural climate, inspired by Solomon in which Christianity became the mark of social excellence and political leadership. Several chiefs in various parts of Zululand now began to scramble to consolidate their positions by associating themselves with the church. Even fragmentary notions on an African Christian community in a region, demarcated as an "African reserve", i.e. without previous individual ownership of land and situated in the heartland of royal and "traditional" Zululand, suggests a profound development on grass-root levels – where Christians were less "distinguished" from "the rank and file Zulu".

Further discussion on these issues require a thorough study of pre-1913 developments and access to different sources beyond Cope's study, featuring "big names" on the elite level immediately associated with Solomon, i.e. foremost Dube and other Natal leaders, and the developments of the 1920s.

Recent Studies of Natal and Zululand Missions

In recent years interest in religion and Western missions has been growing, not only among scholars of mission and church history, but also among secular historians. Indicative of this is the recently published Missions and Christianity in South African History and Christianity in South Africa. A Political, Social and Cultural History. Several of the articles have the Cape as point of departure. But a few are also devoted to Natal and Zululand developments.

New approaches have been applied in missionary biographies. A most important contribution is Guy's 1983, The Heretic. A Study of the Life of John William Colenso 1814-1883, which is devoted to one of the most controversial and outstanding figures in South African church history. A particular feature of the study is that Guy includes the several facets of Colenso's life, the theologian, the missionary, the political activist etc., and firmly locates him into the context of imperialism and the society in which he lived, first in Britain and subsequently in Natal. Guy provides historians with a comprehensive and qualified analysis of Colenso's life and labours, his limitations and the massive opposition he encountered in both Natal and Britain. In recognising Colenso's role as both a theologian and a political activist Guy shows that "religious belief is a multi-faceted social phenomenon and not only a personal conviction" and that "devout religious views can also be an expression of social forces in the continuing struggle for power and domination."
In analysing Colenso's political role, Guy refrains from describing him as a spokesman of African freedom but rather as an advocate of British freedom for Africans. It were the "grand principles" of English justice and mercy, believed to be inherent in British rule at home and abroad, which structured his life. In the context in which he lived and worked, however, "his liberal convictions and his faith in the English commitment to justice and the transforming power of the Truth were out of place." And although he, before he died, "saw the reality of the forces which actually transform lives in a colonial context—duplicity, dishonesty, and violence. He protested courageously against these means, but not its ends." Also his role as a missionary is related to his position in society at large. With the essentially conservative nature of the Natal system of African administration, without fundamental economic imperatives for real change, there were few incitements for change also in ideological or religious terms.

It was that he believed that such changes could be brought about by persuasion, effective communication, devotion and hard work—and to believe this is all that is needed is to fail to understand that struggle between irreconcilable forces is the dynamic of historical change.

The different aspects in Colenso's life are most clearly brought together in Guy's description of the vicious controversy that was raised by Colenso's biblical criticism. This, Guy claims, was not only due to the questioning of the literal "Word of God", but because it implied an attack on the authority the Bible stood for in Victorian Britain, "the father in the home, the magistrate on the bench, the bishop in the pulpit, where the Bible was raised as the symbol of authority in the demand for obedience to that authority." But even more so, the fact that it had been a black man who had led Colenso to re-examine the very foundations in his own religious thinking, the thinking of a consecrated Bishop in the Church of England, was entirely unacceptable in an era of imperialist expansion. Later this was to be followed by social evolutionism and racism, further emphasising the supremacy of Europe and its religion.

But there has also been new developments in the historical study of mission organisations. With a particular relevance for the present study, two works on Lutheran missions in the Natal and Zululand region are important. One is a study presented in 1986 by the group of Trondheim-based historians under the editorship of Jarle Simensen, *Norwegian Missions in African History. Vol. I, South Africa 1845-1906*. With materialist ambitions and research based on published reports and missionary articles in two major Norwegian mission periodicals, the bulk of the book deals with missionaries' encounters with and attitudes to black and white colonial society in Zululand and Natal. An opening chapter on the different social and ideological origins of the missionaries provides a useful background for an analysis on how factors have influenced their attitudes and actions in the encounters with the local society. An important chapter by
Per Hernæs challenges Olav Guttorm Myklebust's earlier and largely hagiographic study on pioneering Norwegian missionary H. P. S. Schreuder. The concluding chapter which explicitly follows Etherington's work of 1978, analyses different motives to religious conversion in relation to social and economic conditions of individuals and families.

A main contribution made in the Trondheim-study is the exposure of Norwegian missionary political and cultural imperialism. In it as well as in articles written by largely pietist Lutheran missionaries on which the study is based, missionary disapproval on a number of features in African society is abundantly illustrated. This is a major problem with the study. Without a closer examination of the basic fundamentals of African pre-capitalist society, the evidence of missionary antagonism on African society contained in their work cover a wide range of topics without a differentiation in regard to the substance of such attacks. In contrast to Etherington's work of 1978, the Trondheim study breaks new ground in its account of missionaries' social, regional and ideological or religious backgrounds and the implications these have had on the mission field. But when studying the missionaries in the South African context, the Trondheim-scholars tend to see the missionaries as a unite. This is not to question Etherington's assumption that all missionary operations in the course of time tend to become increasingly similar in thought, and become "whiter" than originally intended, which is verified in their research. A major weakness is rather the limited concern for the varying conditions, prevailing in the different regions in which the missionaries operated. The Norwegian missionaries were primarily based in Zululand. But they were also active in Natal. On an issue such as land holding on either side of the border between Zululand and Natal, conditions were in 1906 quite diverse. There were also important differences between the regions within Zululand where the chain of Norwegian mission stations stretched from the south-east to the far north-west. Norwegians were certainly the missionary pioneers in Zululand. But in their respective regions there were also other missions present, foremost Saxonian Lutherans and Anglicans. A comparative analysis of their missions, in relation to other contemporary mission organisations, would have been useful. Such an analysis would have added to the understanding of how they proceeded in mission work in these particular regions and also for an overall impression of the Norwegian mission enterprise as such. The major weakness in the Trondheim-study is that it largely neglects inputs of African Christians with whom the missionaries lived and worked. Even if the Norwegians by the turn of the century had some 3,000 converts, there ought to have been much more to say about the converts' lives, beliefs and aspirations not only as victims of missionary imperialism but also as conscious participants in the work. Undoubtedly this would have shed further light on the missionaries, their role and attitudes to people in contemporary society.
As noted by Etherington in his 1996 overview of recent trends in the historiography of Christianity in Southern Africa, studies of twentieth century missionaries are very thin on the ground. He also calls for more work on German and Scandinavian missions. One such study is Fritz Hasselhorn’s *Bauernmission in Süd­ afrika. Die Hermannsburger Mission im Spannungsfeld der Kolonialpolitik 1890-1939* of 1988. With an extensive periodisation and ambitions to cover the activities of the Hermannsburg mission in Natal, Zululand and the Transvaal, the character of Hasselhorn’s account of developments in the two former regions is generalised and leads to descriptions of attitudes and actions of the mission leadership. Hasselhorn’s work is based on a large amount of missionary material. Documentation includes not only missionaries’ reports, articles and correspondence to Saxony, but also the most valuable correspondence between the missionaries on the South African mission field. As with the Norwegian study, also Hasselhorn pays attention to the social and ideological backgrounds from which the missionaries came, and describes their roles in contemporary white and black society. Like Hernes, he has noted important changes in their ideology and strategy as a result of changes in South African economy and politics. As a result of the limited financial aid from their home country, the missionaries were themselves obliged to cater for their sustenance and to finance the mission outreach. For this reason, Hasselhorn states, land holding became the all-pervading problem to the Hermannsburg missionaries. Hence, the issue of land is a major concern of his study. Hasselhorn’s perspective is largely confined to the Hermannsburg mission. His limited references to economic, political and social developments in society in general and African society in particular is clearly noticeable, and on the presence of other missions he gives hardly any recognition. Occasionally attention is given voices of dissenting converts on issues related to land and African traditional social institutions, but his concern for African Christian congregations and black leaders in the evolving church is by and large lacking.

But mission stations were only one element in the total picture of conversion and, as pointed out by Etherington, a small one at that. One of the most important recent studies which gives as much attention to the evangelised as to the evangelisers, is John and Jean Comaroff’s 1991 study of the London Missionary Society and the Wesleyan Methodist Missionary Society work among the Tswana: *On Revelation and Revolution: Christianity, Colonialism and Consciousness in South Africa Vol. 1*. With a departure in anthropology, the Comaroffs’ accentuate what they call “the long conversation” between the Tswana and missionaries. To them conversion, rather than an instant as assumed by missionaries, is seen as a gradual and a long drawn-out process. Essentially a story of the colonisation of consciousness, they emphasise the importance of cultural struggles for the constitution of power in society and assess the political role of the missionaries when the Tswana gradually were drawn into the colonial world. In spite of their call to pay attention to both sides in “the long conversation”,
however, the Tswana are still viewed by them as "recalcitrant objects" of the missionaries' endeavours, as remarked by J. D. Y Peel. Perhaps as a result of their dependence on missionary sources, the Tswana become a fairly unindividuated mass. But, he asks, "are these missionary sources really so constraining?" Most surprising of all "is the wholesale neglect of African evangelists, catechist, teachers, church elders etc. -- a body of people whom evidence from elsewhere in Africa suggests played the crucial mediating role in religious change." Among scholars it is foremost Richard Gray who has pointed at the incorrectness in a wholesale identification of Christianity in Africa with the Western missionary. "The whole thrust to recent research on this subject", he claims, "has exposed the extent to which the growth, expansion, and development of Christianity south of the Sahara has depended on, and been distinctively moulded by, African initiatives." While a considerable literature has been produced on the origins and developments of the African Independent Churches, particularly in South Africa, however, far less attention has been paid to such initiatives in so-called mainline churches. And, as reminded by Elphick, it is in the twentieth century that the theme of Africanization becomes most dramatic. The growth of the African Independent churches was important but, he points out, "one should also note that, as early as 1911, only 15 per cent of the workers... in missionary organisations were white." Only by moving away from the formal, public power can one begin to reconstruct the role of the black majority in the formation of popular Christianity.

**Strategy of Analysis**

This study is by and large devoted to CSM missionary work in South Africa. The point of departure is the assumption that both CSM missionary outreach and African Christian response essentially were dependent on conditions that prevailed in the society in which they occurred. This approach has determined the present strategy of analysis. A first assignment is to place CSM in the South African context and in relation to white and black people and the applicable societies and then proceed to a comparison with other churches and missions with particular reference to the closely related Norwegian and German Lutherans.

The criteria against which the CSM ideological character and practice is to be determined commences with the basic fundamentals of African pre-capitalist society: land, polygyny and lobolo (or bridewealth) and proceeds with its educational goals and attitudes towards white authorities. The second step concerns the placing of CSM missionaries, the reactions of church members and the importance of black leaders in their local regions at the micro level of social experience. This involves an analysis of how the missionaries' congregations and black leaders in CSM related to social, economic and political conditions within the local regions. The local regions taken together, compose of a representative sample of the varying socio-political contexts at the turn of the century.
Natal and Zululand. Particular emphasis is paid to what is defined as the emerging black leadership of the evolving Zulu church, namely the evangelists, and in the in the course of time changing relationship between them and their superiors, the white missionaries. A third part of the study concerns the 1906 Bambatha uprising around which much of the study is centred.

Towards the background of the attention previously paid to the Natal African Christian middle class élite, as referred to in the above, and the African Independent Churches, these are not particularly dealt with in the present study. The concern is rather to focus on the interaction between missionaries and African Christians in a so-called mainline mission and on what may be defined as a grassroots level. The term "Region", in itself a difficult concept, is in the present study defined as an area centred around a major mission station and reaching to various outstations and their vicinity in which CSM agents regularly pursued evangelistic work. Because of the itinerant nature of their work, fixed borders can hardly be defined. It was not uncommon that evangelists used to work also in districts dominated by other missions and church members often lived in areas far away from outstations. In the subsequent chapters, where nothing else is indicated, all translations from Swedish, Norwegian, German and French into English are mine. The translations from Zulu into English have been made by Dr. Axel-Ivar Berglund, who also has acted as my consultant on Zulu thought-patterns and symbolism.

The Source Material

My material includes hitherto not consulted Swedish missionary sources which take up the 1906 Bambatha uprising. The material that forms the basis of the present work has been collected from a variety of sources but the bulk is deposited in the CSM Archives at Uppsala(SKMA). This includes Home Board and Missionary Conference minutes, correspondence between missionaries and Home Board as well as reports from the various mission stations, statistics etc. The CSM archives also contain documents derived from the so-called field archives(Fältarkivet), formerly deposited at some of the mission stations in South Africa, which includes correspondence between the missionaries and rather substantial and detailed reports on local conditions only intended for the missionary staff. In addition to these, the Uppsala archives hold several collections of private correspondence between local missionaries and their relatives in Sweden as well as private collections of other agents affiliated with the CSM. A substantial part of the CSM field archives, which derives from two of the major mission stations, Appelsbosch and Ekutuleni, is deposited at the Lutheran Church Centre and the Theological College at Umpumulo, Natal.
It may first be established, that Marks' statement holds true, namely that: "While ruling class actions, ideologies and anxieties are abundantly documented, it is extremely difficult to delineate the nature of popular consciousness in Natal at the beginning of the century."101 Marks statement is certainly applicable also to CSM sources. This implies that missionary attitudes and actions are considerably simpler both to trace and describe than the perceptions and responses of their African co-workers and ordinary church members. Throughout the forthcoming chapters it therefore has to be remembered, that the opinions of the Africans with only a very few exceptions all have been obtained through the missionaries' sources. They are not only incomplete but coloured by missionaries' assumptions. Missionary records are generally limited to the place where the missionary worked. The relative accessibility of material from mission stations is strikingly contrasted to the very little information there is from important CSM outstations, such as from Ifaye where Josef Zulu, the first CSM clergyman, resided, or from the entirely African-managed outstation at Amoibie, a key area in the local uprising in the Oscarsberg region and, at least until a white missionary arrived and settled there by 1905, from Ceza, near the Zulu royal homestead at Nongoma in Zululand.102

But even if one to a great extent has to rely on missionary records and hence is deprived of "the African point of view", as commented by Elphick, the missionary sources are voluminous and incredibly rich. By cross-examining them shrewdly, as the best historians have always done, and by utilising the whole range of missionary records including those of dissidents, one may – by asking new questions and reading between the lines – also be able to relate some of the desires and aspirations of the missionaries' African converts.103 Compared to other source material, such as magistrate reports,104 the CSM missionary sources do not only provide first-hand information but they were also recorded by observers who were academically trained, often had spent several years among the people, knew them well and spoke their language.

Chapter Summaries

This study is divided into ten chapters. Chapter one describes the emergence of colonial rule and settler dominance and attempts to establish the government policy as it appeared by 1902. Chapter two analyses the late nineteenth century developments in African society and strives to describe the state of affairs on the eve of the Bambatha uprising. Chapter three deals with the major Western missions present in Natal and Zululand with an emphasis on Norwegian and Saxonian Lutherans. Chapter four analyses the CSM in Sweden by providing an interpretative framework in which the CSM ideology and goals may be understood towards the background of the Swedish late nineteenth century society. Chapter five focuses on the Swedish missionaries in South Africa with a particular reference to how they related to these goals, African pre-
capitalist society and white settler rule. Chapter six explores the CSM established regions of Natal and Zululand with a particular focus on its African Christian church members and general conditions immediately preceding the Bambatha uprising. Chapter seven presents the CSM African co-workers in their respective regions. Chapter eight provides a historiography of the Bambatha uprising and chapter nine a case study of two CSM regions particularly affected by the violence. Chapter ten analyses the CSM in the aftermath of the uprising.

1Mandela 1994: 349.
2Marks 1970: 208.
3Stuart 1913: 536.
4Stuart 1913: 338n, 432-433.
5Information conveyed 7.8.89 at the Seminar for Mission Studies, Uppsala University, by the late Dr. Bengt Sundkler, former Professor of Mission Studies and in the late 1930s a Church of Sweden Missionary to Zululand. For a discussion on Bambatha's eventual survival and escape to Lorenzo Marques based on oral tradition collected in the 1960s, cf. Binns 1968: 179-181.
7"Zulu king meets De Klerk: Drama at Durban City Hall." The Daily News, 15.2.94.
12Stuart 1913: 420-421, 513, 520, 536, 538.
16Furberg 1962.
17For an analysis of Furberg's account of CSM pre-1902 developments in Sweden and South Africa, see below Chapter five and six respectively.
20Repstad 1995.
25For a discussion on mainline historians' allegedly little interest for issues relating to religion and Christianity in South Africa and a reference to the continuous debate about the missionaries' role as either colonial conquerors or saviours, see du Bruyn and Southey 1995: 28, 31, Elphick 1995: 13.
In this respect it may however be reminded that it is also a *History* where most of its contributors are non-historians, cf. Hyam 1973: 617 and Marks 1976: 188.


In this respect he acknowledges his dependence on German-American political scientist André Gunder Frank. Bundy 1988: v.


Cooper 1981: 288. Cf. Wright 1977: 77-82 and 88. In an analysis of the radical school of South African historiography, Norwegian historian Jarle Simensen refutes the view of a monolithic centre aligned with capitalist interests, arguing that colonial rule derived from a pluralist society made up of several conflicting - economic, political and humanistic - interest groups. Similarly, white settlers often got into stark conflicts with metropolitan interests. He also criticizes the tendency to underrate "horizontal" conflicts between families, districts, peoples and states, where the most serious omission is the depreciation of ethnic conflicts which "may be seen as a parallel to the Marxist underrating of the national factor in European history."


Etherington 1981: 76.

Meintjes 1982: 128. Following Bundy’s line of argument further but with a particular emphasis on the changing fortunes of African peasants in the Colony of Natal, Slater’s article of 1975 should be mentioned. Focusing on the Natal Land and Colonisation Company, he deals with the initially favourable conditions for the African peasants on the Company’s lands and their dramatically changed conditions resulted by the economic and political developments during the last decades of the nineteenth century. Slater 1975, cf. Slater 1980.


Etherington 1978: 4-5


Etherington 1978: 46.

Beinhart 1980: 444.

Including the American Zulu Mission, the Weslyan Methodists, Scottish Presbyterians and both factions of Anglicans as well as Roman Catholics. The Lutherans are represented by the two Norwegian missions, the Berlin Missionary Society and the Herrmansburg Missionary Society while the Church of Sweden Mission, which barely had begun at the time of the 1879 Anglo-Zulu War, only is mentioned. Cf. Etherington 1978: 27 and 35.


Etherington 1978: 175.

In contrast to Sundkler, who finds segregation, denominational fragmentation and missionary reluctance to ordain African ministers to be major factors, Etherington claims denominational divisions to have been much more disturbing to missionaries than they were to Africans, the few ordinations not to have bothered the majority of African Christians, who rather would have preferred secular vocations, and segregation not to have been a grievance by the first two generations of Natal converts. On Sundkler's view Etherington says: "It may well be that Sundkler was led to overrate the ecclesiastical sources of Ethiopianism by his acknowledged religious interest." and the particular errand with his Bantu Prophets in South Africa. Etherington 1978: 158-162 and Sundkler 1961: 29-32 and 295-7. Cf. Etherington 1985: 280.

54 Meintjes 1982: 129.
61 Marks 1970: 72-76.
62 Dube's reliance on Washington, as well as the influence of black Americans like W. E. B. Du Bois and Bishop Henry MacNeal Turner of the African Methodist Episcopal Church on other South African nationalists, has to some extent already been described by others. Cf. Walshe 1970: 12-14, Marks 1970: 74, 349.
65 On his assumption that "The traditional Zulu leadership was unable to make a transition into modern society and despite its protests, notably the Bambata rebellion of 1906, it ceased to provide direction and control for the majority of African farmers, urban workers and tribalists." Cf. Abstract to Marable 1976.
68 Marks 1986a: 45, 53.
69 Marks 1986a: 56, 58-59.
71 Marks 1986a: 43, 57, 75 and 69.
74 Marks 1986a: 63, 69.
76 Cope 1993: 12, cf. 10-11, 22-24, 26-33. See also 32-33 and 22-26.
77 Cope 1993: 120. Through the Anglican church and its education at St. Helena, Cope claims, "Overall, the western influences on Solomon had sunk deep." Cope 1993: 47, cf. 45-46. On "the scant enthusiasm that the Zulu royal family, especially Dinuzulu, had shown for Christianity", see Cope 1993: 10, cf. xv.
78 Cf. Cope 1993: 23, 97, 120.
81 Cope 1993: 81-82, 104 and 129.
84 Guy 1983.
84 Quotation from Guy 1991: 190.
86 Guy 1983: 82.
89 Norwegian Missions 1986 which is a revised version of Norsk Misjon og Afrikanske samfunn 1984. The English version is extended to also include a chapter by South African historian Charles Ballard. Cf. Ballard 1986. For an account of the Norwegian missions, cf. Chapter three in the below.
90 See Myklebust 1980.
95 In spite of the since-long established presence of the Herrmansburg mission in the north-western parts of Zululand, Dinuzulu is entirely neglected and on very little on the Bambatha uprising, see Hasselhorn 1988: 138.
96 Etherington 1996: 203.
97 Comaroff and Comaroff 1991.
102 Missionary Sandström began his work at Ceza in the second half of 1905. Norenius 1925: 70. Although Amoibie earlier had been managed by a white missionary and Ifaye was run by Zulu, neither of them were recorded separately in the CSM Statistics. Cf. Statistik (även Rhodesia) 1900-1927, H: 1, (Fältarkivet) SKMA.
104 On the value of some magistrate reports, see Lambert 1995b: 165, 170.
PART ONE:
THE GENERAL FRAMEWORK. FROM THE SOUTH AFRICAN WAR TO THE BAMBATHA UPRISING, 1902-1906

CHAPTER ONE: THE NEW COLONIAL CONTEXT

The purpose of this chapter is to describe how the particular colonial administrative system that had developed in Natal during the nineteenth century, with the influence of economic, political and ideological factors, changed during the last decade of that century. It also seeks to define how the late nineteenth century settler government's policy and actions were aimed on the one hand against African pre-capitalist society with its homestead economy and chiefly power structures, on the other against the growing community of African Christians, among whom a political leadership was emerging, as well as against the Western missionary enterprises.

Pre-Colonial Conditions

Because of the Drakensberg, a range of high mountains in the west, the Natal and Zululand region is in a sense separated from the interior of the subcontinent. With the Indian Ocean in the east, pre-colonial trade routes chose to move towards the north along the coast in the direction of present-day Mozambique. In the north the Phongolo river marks the border to Mozambique, Swaziland and the Transvaal. In the south the region is bounded by the Mzimkulu river. Historically, the region was divided by the Thukela and Mzinyathi (Buffalo) rivers with Natal – or Tierra de Natal as it in 1497 was named by Vasco da Gama – in the south, and with kwaZulu or Zululand in the north. The latter was from the early nineteenth century to 1879 an independent kingdom.

Natal and Zululand can furthermore be divided into three bioclimatic zones that run parallel to the Indian Ocean. The coastal lowlands are characterised by high rainfalls and a hot, sub-tropical climate which makes the coast ideal for agriculture but less suitable for grazing because of the presence of insects against which cattle had no immunity. In pre-colonial times this area was covered with extensive stretches of bush. Because of the fertile soils the coastal belt was also thickly populated. With the arrival of white farmers in Natal the cultivation of sugar-cane became dominant. Also tea, coffee and arrowroot were grown. The export of sugar became a commercial interest
which to a certain extent differed from the rest of South Africa. Further away from the Indian Ocean in the coastal hinterland, the central bioclimatic zone is distinguished by low annual rainfalls, high temperatures, between three and five dry summer months each year and frequent droughts. With higher elevations the landscape is steep, broken and rocky. Because of the dry and easily eroded soils, sustenance depended on a fragile balance between the density of the population, a limited and small scale gardening in the pockets of arable land and a seasonal cattle grazing. The latter implied that the herder could move his cattle between the sweetveld in the valleys for winter grazing and the sourveld grass in the higher-lying grounds which provided for grazing in the spring and early summer. The Highland zone, finally, once covered by forests and bush is now dominated by a savannah covered by sour grass which is suitable for cattle grazing but only in the spring when rainfall is expected. When the sour grass matures it loses its nutritious character. While maize is grown only with moderate success due to hailstorms and frost, sorghum, also known as millet, is more appropriate for this climate. In colonial Natal the Highlands became the principal cattle ranching and sheep farming region.¹

At the beginning of the nineteenth century, the region was populated by small groups of San people, hunter-gatherers who lived in the close vicinity to the Drakensberg, and Nguni communities consisting of homesteads scattered throughout the region in loosely linked chiefdoms. Among Nguni agriculture and stock-keeping were equally important. In the early decades of the nineteenth century, however, the region was caught up in a series of upheavals and population movements that came to involve much of the subcontinent.² At least since the second decade of the nineteenth century, several Nguni peoples in the region were tied into dependent tributary relationships with a powerful grouping of Nguni to the north of the Thukela river, the kingdom of the Zulu. The rise of Shaka kaSenzangakhona, Zulu king c. 1816-1828, the kingdom, its military system and the manner in which it through conquest and incorporation came to include previously existing chiefdoms, will however not be dealt with in this study. Whether one regards Shaka as a bloodthirsty tyrant, a military genius, an African nation-builder or a champion of the coastal slave-riding, to quote Jeff Guy, the early history of the Zulu kingdom is not only a subject of considerable interest in South African history but also one of the most controversial issues at stake.³ In the context of the present study it is sufficient to state that among the peoples living to the south of the Thukela river many of the previous social and political structures were severely fragmented by the hegemony and the appropriation of advances by the Zulu kingdom to the north.

Because of its vital strategic importance in protecting the route to British India and as a consequence of their war with France, the British temporarily took possession of the Dutch settlement at the Cape of Good Hope in 1795. Due to the resumption of the Napoleonic wars, a permanent occupation followed in 1806 although the Cape was formally ceded by the Netherlands only in 1815 in terms of the Peace of Versailles and
in return for payment of two million pounds. Africa was, however, far less important to Britain than commercial interests in India. When the British occupied the Cape the intention was not to build an African empire. The limited intentions were, however, to be challenged because it soon became evident that the British government could not isolate its naval station at the Cape from the rest of the subcontinent. Several potential harbours along the peninsula necessitated the extension of imperial control to prevent a possible intervention of rival European countries. The 1820 settlement of some 4,000 British immigrants on the eastern South African frontier, intended to be a buffer against the recently expelled Xhosa, proved to be crucial for the continued developments. Immigrants' appetite for land and labour and their inclination to steadily move northwards and eastwards into the interior resulted in confrontations with African neighbouring peoples which threatened to jeopardise British need for security around its coastal positions. Beginning in 1822, the British navy had begun a systematic exploration of the south-eastern African coastline and in its following arrived small bands of traders and adventurers. By 1824, a minor settlement of mainly British traders and hunters was established at Port Natal (Durban) and the indigenous people, of whom many were refugees from Zululand, began congregating around the port. In return for protection they provided the hunter-traders with produce, chiefly ivory and hides. By virtue of achieving a working relationship with Shaka the settlement was able to survive. Although traders, anxious to secure their position in the neighbourhood of the port, repeatedly pleaded for a colonial annexation, successive British governments rejected all such requests for the establishment of British authority over the settlement. As late as 1835 the territory was still seen as having no significance for any British interests.

At the Cape, conflicts between the Dutch and the British, partly as a result of the abolition of slavery which undermined the hitherto established basis for colonial production, led to the Great Trek – the Voortrekker migrations to the north and north-east – and the subsequent establishment of the Boer (lit. "farmer") republics in the interior. In 1837 one group of Boers traversed the Drakensberg and settled in Natal. On land claimed by them the Boers set apart large tracts of farmland for themselves coupled to aspirations of achieving Africans as labour. After the battle of Ncome (Blood) River in 1838 when Dingane kaSenzangakhona, Shaka's half-brother, assassin and successor in 1828-1840 was defeated, the Boers established their short-lived Republic of Natalia. In spite of military victories over Zulu armies, however, the Boers were unsuccessful in developing and maintaining regular patterns of colonial exploitation of Natal's African population. While the Republic of Natalia had taken on itself to annex the total area of Natal, greater parts of Zululand and to turn the indigenous population into farm labourers, recurrent clashes between Boers and Zulu resulted in the early 1840s. Eventually the stability of the whole subcontinent was threatened. Only after requests by the Cape Governor the British government reluctantly agreed to the annexation of the Republic which resulted in Natal becoming a district of the Cape
Colony in 1843. From this time the British government maintained its authority in the colony mainly as a strategic measure to prevent foreign rivals from obtaining a coastal position. They wanted to preserve stability between the small white community and the much larger African population and to exercise economic control over the Transvaal and Orange Free State, thus containing the Boers in the interior. In that year the population of Natal comprised between 50,000 and 100,000 Africans and a small, scattered Boer community which had dropped from 6,000 people in 1840 to 365 families by the end of 1843. Among the Boers the disillusionment with the new government's land policies and its unwillingness or inability to force Africans to work for white farmers resulted in a continual stream of emigration from Natal into the interior. By 1847, the number of Boer families remaining in Natal had dwindled to about sixty, of which the majority lived in the north. Even if the Boer Republic itself had played a minor role in the long-term history of Natal, by the defeat of Dingane at Ncome in 1838 it had paved the way for early British immigration in 1849 and 1850. While the Boer emigrants disposed their land claims cheaply before their departure from the Colony, their vast land claims soon passed into the hands of absentee speculators, many of which seem to have been English speaking, Cape merchants.

Colonial Conditions

Segregation of Land, Indirect Rule and the War against Zululand

In 1856 Natal became a separate British colony under representative government with its own executive and legislative councils. But it soon became apparent that Natal only had few natural resources useful for the economic benefit of the mother country. Lacking any vital raw materials for export and situated far away from the markets in Cape Town, it turned out to be poor, isolated and vulnerable; indeed, it was one of the least promising of British colonies. With economic liberalism being in fashion in Britain, embodying the belief of laissez faire, that the state should interfere as little as possible in the affairs of its people, and with a British policy conducted mainly on the basis of imperial rather than colonial priorities, the government's interest in Natal was essentially precautionary. The British government was not, as emphasised by Benjamin Kline, disposed to become involved in costly schemes which went beyond the limits of imperial needs. To Natalians, i.e. the white citizens of Natal, it became clear that the colony had little to expect from the British government. The policy employed was economically disastrous: the few attempts to bring about colonial industries failed and the resources set aside for colonial administration were insufficient for the establishment of a sound governmental system. In Natal colonial officials faced the practical problem of how to administer a small white settler community and the much larger African population. For this reason the country was divided into white farming areas and African locations or reserves which was one sixth of the land set aside for purely African
The British having taken over the Boer republic feared an exodus of remaining Boer families in the north. Hence most of the African reserves were placed in the south of the colony, in regions which, due to the poor quality of the soil, did not attract white farmers. Similar conditions prevailed in the mountainous and broken areas of the coastal hinterland. In addition to African reserves and white farming areas there were also portions of land known as Crown Land and, chiefly along the coastal region, large stretches of land classified as "Mission reserves" of which a large part was administered by the American Zulu Mission, one of the earliest missionary organisations to arrive in Natal.

The responsibility for implementing the scheme of segregation and constructing a system for the administration of Africans in Natal was laid primarily in the hands of the Diplomatic Agent for the Native Tribes, also known as the Secretary for Native Affairs, Theophilus Shepstone (1817-1893). Since then, Shepstone's name has been largely seen as synonymous with African administration in colonial Natal. This is seen both in older publications such as those of Edgar H. Brookes and David Welsh but also, in more recent times, in studies as those of John Lambert. The manner in which Shepstone made use of the limited resources at his disposal, his widely recognised knowledge of African law, custom and languages, his bureaucratic power and personal characteristics and not least his long-standing service as Natal Secretary for Native Affairs (which lasted for almost thirty years to 1875), contributed to this development. Acknowledged as the most famous among British administrators of nineteenth century southern Africa, his influence lived on long after him. Because of his authority he retained a considerable influence to his death in 1893. As he was succeeded first by his brother and then by his son, the Shepstone family continued to dominate the policy of African administration until the colony finally was granted "responsible government" in 1893. The Shepstone policy first developed in Natal became a precursor for the policy of apartheid subsequently developed in South Africa. Because Natal also became a springboard for administrators and settlers who moved further north, similar systems were implemented throughout British colonial Africa.

After the Shakan wars in the early nineteenth century and the occupation of land by the Boers, African pre-capitalist life in Natal was upset but not destroyed. With the British annexation of Natal, the Zulu kingdom had lost most of its influence in its southern "buffer zone" and many Boers had trekked on, people returned to their ancestral lands. It was as a part of this process, with pre-Shakan power structures slowly and gradually being restored in Natal, that Shepstone was able to play his role. What came to develop was a system of indirect rule in which Natal Nguni as far as possible, both in the reserves and on the white man's farms, were to be ruled by their own hereditary chiefs. The chiefs were at the same time regarded as civil servants of the colonial government.
in which the head of the political hierarchy was the Lieutenant-Governor of Natal, now elevated to the position of "Supreme Chief".\textsuperscript{18}

In trying to place the Shepstonian system of indirect rule into a wider theoretical framework, the concept of an "invention of tradition", as proposed by Terence Ranger, is useful.\textsuperscript{19} The time of the great flowering of European invented traditions, i.e., ecclesiastical, educational, monarchical etc., is by him assigned to the parallel European rush into Africa of the 1870's, 1880's and 1890's. In this respect he claims the deployment of these in Africa to demonstrate the effects rather than the causes of the European invented traditions. The Shepstonian system, developed already from the late 1840's onwards, can nonetheless be seen as somewhat of an early precursor of such an "invention". According to Ranger, white settlements in Africa who were overwhelmingly outnumbered by Africans had to both define and justify their roles as well as provide models of subservience into which Africans sometimes could be drawn. In contrast to the situation in Europe, the "invention of tradition" in Africa became much more a matter of command and control.\textsuperscript{20} To provide the theory and justification of structures of colonial governance and because so few comparisons could be made between British and African political, social and legal systems, British administrators set about inventing African traditions for the Africans. Their point of departure was their own understanding and respect for "tradition" which disposed them to look with favour upon what they took to be traditional in African society.\textsuperscript{21}

In regard to the situation in Natal Shepstone was very much aware of the special status of the Nguni-Zulu. As stated by Welsh, Shepstone regarded them as different from other Africans, e.g. the people on the eastern frontier of the Cape. He believed the then current Zulu power structures to have instilled into the Natal indigenous people "notions of most implicit obedience to their rulers" of which the administration could take advantage.\textsuperscript{22} In this respect the powers given the Lieutenant-Governor, alias the Supreme Chief, were meant to mirror those previously exercised by the Zulu king. The ultimate political power over all Nguni in Natal was thus placed in the hands of the Lieutenant-Governor who ruled by decrees. He was the one who not only appointed chiefs but who also could divide and amalgamate the various peoples as he pleased. He could also remove a chief found guilty of any political offence for incompetence or for any other just cause. He had "absolute power" to call on chiefs and their men to defend the colony and to supply labour for public works. He could remove entire groups of people or parts of a group of people from any part of the colony to another part. Still, as reminded by Shula Marks, the white Supreme Chief was not as susceptible to pressures as Zulu could put on their king, despite the Supreme Chief's authority which resembled that of the Zulu king. The intrigues of chiefs, she says, assumed a particular significance after the arrival of the Europeans who exercised control of the whole state and, at the same time, were ignorant of and not bound by the values of the
old system. In the new power hierarchy the orders of the Supreme Chief were to be carried out by the Secretary for Native Affairs. Since the introduction of the system, however, both the interpretation and enforcement of the Lieutenant-Governor’s decrees were mostly in the hands of Shepstone himself and his assistants. Subject to the Secretary for Native Affairs were the white, salaried resident magistrates and the administrators of customary law who were to rule according personal insights in African customs. At lower levels in the administrative pyramid were the chiefs with their advisers and, subject to them, the chiefs’ local headmen.

The ideology of indirect rule was based on the intention to build on already existing chiefdoms. In his attempts to reconstruct pre-Shakan society in Natal Shepstone had recognised fifty-six chiefs. In addition to these there were nine newly created chiefdoms who were to include refugees from Zululand and such who could not be fitted in to the system. These chiefdoms were ruled by government-appointed chiefs. Among them was the chief of the so-called Quamu, an amalgamation of peoples in northern Natal whose chiefdom eventually became one of the largest in the colony. A colonial invention was the concept of “tribe” assumed to occupy a particular geographical area and to be subject to one chief, implying a limitation of a chief’s authority and rule. In pre-colonial times, however, chiefdoms were based on kinship structures; chiefdoms were not territorially discrete units with clear-cut boundaries. When the British brought about precise boundaries they imposed an alien concept, often disregarding existing political and social realities. Laband has shown, as far as Zululand is concerned, that for own convenience one drew the new boundaries as per geographical features – connected by abstract lines drawn on a map – rather than on the actual distribution of homestead heads adhering to a particular chief.

Within the chiefdoms the chiefs were to function as government servants. The pre-colonial role of a chief as allocator of land to his people was recognised by Shepstone. Within his territory, a chief had the sole right to allocate land held under communal tenure and, in return, receive tributes from his subjects. The judicial power of the chief was recognised in civil suits and minor criminal cases involving people within his chiefdom and reserve as well as in civil cases between folk outside the borders of the reserve. However, criminal cases involving Nguni outside the reserves were heard under Roman-Dutch law. Among the invented traditions which had great effect on the chieftainship was the introduction of the *isibalo*, the power of the supreme chief to call upon subjects to labour on public works in the colony. Shepstone believed this to mirror the system employed in pre-colonial days in which a chief could require his subjects to build on his homestead, cultivate his fields and discharge military duties, being fed whilst on duty but without pay. If the Lieutenant-Governor was the supreme chief he could, it was argued, compel his subjects to such work. In this respect the chiefs were obliged to engage fifteen per cent of their adult male population to public
works such as on the Colony's roads, an engagement applicable every six months.\textsuperscript{28} But even if the chiefs retained at least a semblance of their pre-colonial status among their subjects, their authority was exercised on an entirely different basis. They were now the deputies of the Supreme Chief, subject to his pleasure and, most importantly, paid officials of the colonial government. In return for taking on the responsibility to maintain a law-abiding behaviour among subjects, they now received cash pension.

A major ingredient of the Shepstonist system was the alleged recognition of African customary law. But, as Welsh says, while certain parts of pre-colonial law were recognised, other customs were often mis-stated by European administrators. Some others were amended because the colonial administration considered them to be immoral. What actually emerged then was an amalgamation of both pre-colonial law and colonial innovations where the ultimate right of interpretation was in the hands of Shepstone himself. Contrary to procedures and rules of evidence in British courts, by him judged to be applicable only "in cases between individuals of a people far advanced in civilisation", Shepstone saw himself more as a "father" or a "patriarch administrator", required to decide on particular circumstances and to satisfy the disputes between members of a family.\textsuperscript{29} Even if Nguni generally referred to Shepstone as Somtsewu (which according to Guy may be interpreted "Father of Whiteness"),\textsuperscript{30} his Zulu nickname was not merely used as a title: it was also used as a political and administrative practice.

This practice has further been elaborated by the literary scholar Anne McClintock. As exemplified by her, Shepstone also made use of the invented tradition of the "Imperial Monarchy", another idiom coined by Ranger. Patterned on the neo-traditions of monarchical inauguration in Europe, inventive colonials were enacting such replicas all over British Africa. But while Ranger finds this "theology" of an "omniscient, omnipotent and omnipresent monarchy" to be "almost the sole ingredient of imperial ideology as it was represented to the Africans", she claims the most authoritative and politically influential of all the invented rituals in the colonies to be that of the "father" or the patriarch.\textsuperscript{31} By a parallel reading of Henry Rider Haggard's \textit{King Solomon's Mines} of 1885, McClintock describes how the authority of the fatherhood was being reinvented in the colony – while it as a result of changing social patterns was withering in industrialised Britain – and how the concept of the "white father" towards the background of contemporary white evolutionist beliefs in race and gender hierarchies, may be seen as providing an ideological justification for colonial policy in Natal. In the hierarchy assumed, McClintock explains, the English male aristocrat was placed at the pinnacle of the white race while the white working-class prostitute was seen as being on the threshold between the white and black races. The Zulu male was regarded as the "gentleman" of his race while the female Khoi and San were seen as being at the nadir of human degeneration.\textsuperscript{32} By relating her theories to Shepstone's use of the concept of "father" she shows how he was able to manipulate the traditions of fatherhood and
kingship and, at the same time, mimic allegiance to certain customs of the Zulu chieftainship – while he retained for himself the "superior" status of father. She proceeds to suggest that the hierarchical racial relationships between white father and black king, placed above the gender relations between these men and black women, can be linked to the struggle between white settlers and black men on the issue of land and labour. Drawing on Guy (cf. Chapter two below) she claims that the work of black women, apart from land, to be the single most valuable resource in the pre-colonial era. The frequent settler and missionary condemnation of polygyny were thus essentially an assault on African habits of labour which withheld from white farmers the labour of black men and women. McClintock argues that Shepstone’s reinvented concept of fatherhood was related to the assumed hierarchy in race and gender. He suggests that the Shepstonian concept of the "father" ultimately has become a central ideological attempt to gain control over excess labour that the polygynous black man controlled by way of the labour power of his wives. McClintock’s discourse provides a new and vital dimension to the understanding of Shepstone’s ideological assumptions which may be given a wider application in the then contemporary society. It must however be stressed that the colonial state during a large part of the nineteenth century remained rather weak, a fact to be taken into account in order not to attach too much importance to Shepstone’s person.

The legacy of Shepstone and his achievements are disputed among historians. Among these, Kline argues that Shepstone’s role has been unduly underlined at the expense of Imperial motives which he believes were far more significant than hitherto appreciated. Etherington has drawn attention to Shepstone’s failure in improving the material and moral conditions of his dependants, poor educational possibilities, access to land and modification of marriage laws as well as in recruiting Nguni labour to white farms. However, he claims, Shepstone proved his ability to maintain law and order at minimum expense and thus put a lasting mark on Natal. Yet the most important aspect of the Shepstonian system seems to be that the "peace" he maintained among Natal Africans ultimately depended on the fact that it implied a considerable degree of continuity within the process of production by allowing a significant number of Africans to retain an access to land, a detail pointed out by Guy.

The considerable amount of power Shepstone yet was able to exercise over chiefdoms was also due to his tactic of "divide and rule". The confinement of chiefdoms to specific territories, an obvious lack of land and ill defined borders in the early years of colonial rule led to strains and clashes between different chiefdoms. Old tensions and rivalries between chiefs were exploited and those who had been prominent in the pre-Shakan days were favoured and those who had sought recognition in the Zulu kingdom were often disfavoured.
A most important long-term measure affecting change in Nguni society was the introduction of the so-called hut tax where territorial chiefs were responsible for their subjects' payment of the tax. In 1849 the tax had been introduced in Natal and later, when Zululand had been conquered, the hut tax was imposed also there and successfully collected in 1889.40 One purpose for introducing the tax was the need to raise revenue for the colonial administration as well as indirectly forcing Nguni into the labour market and bringing about social change among them.41 In order to bring about these expectations Shepstone had to balance between, firstly, British requirements for an inexpensive administration by way of segregation and indirect rule, secondly, white settlers' demands to obtain labour from the reserves and, thirdly, Western missionaries' objection to polygyni while the polygynous household had to be retained to avoid black resistance to any move to limit polygyni, let alone abolish it. In this respect the hut tax laid on every household senior according to the number of huts in his household proved to be a fee payable for the productive capacity of every wife as each wife had a hut of her own. The practical consequence came in its instrumentality in gradually and carefully diverting the surplus female labour from the homestead into the colonial treasury while at the same time taking control of the circulation of women out of black men's hands and, simultaneously, driving these males into wage labour.42

In the first half of 1879 war was waged against the independent kingdom of Zululand. Varying views on motives which led to British aggression have been presented. A fundamental point of departure and common to their understandings is the concept of a "frontier" as a zone of interpenetration between two distinct societies, and the assumption of an attempt to close the frontier, thus safeguarding British interests in the subcontinent.43 In this way some scholars have seen the British policy as part of the larger transformation of the local economy and that transformation as a consequence of the discovery of diamonds in Griqualand West in 1868 which in turn led to the development of both mining and capitalist agriculture. These developments led to an increased demand for African labour and land as well as closer links to the capitalist economy of Europe. Guy explains the British invasion of Zululand as essential in order to open the kingdom to the developing European-oriented regional capitalist economy and to unlock a potential supply of wage-labourers.44 With the different approach of "war and society" studies, John Laband places the Anglo-Zulu War more in the context of British attempts to secure strategic trade routes to the Indian market.45 In attempts to form a confederation of the white-ruled but financially and military weak states in the region, the danger of costly and undesired wars with neighbouring African peoples, among them the Zulu, remained a problem.46

Laband emphasises the roles of British colonial officials, e.g. Sir Bartle Frere, expected to complete the federation, and local statesmen such as Shepstone whose concern was the Zulu people. He describes how the Zulu kingdom in British propaganda came to be
depicted as a most savage and barbaric state and how legitimate and "legal" grounds had to be found before a number of minor incidents along the Natal and Zululand border led to the waging of war. After the battles of Isandlwana and Rorke's Drift, the battle of Kambula in March 1879 proved to be a Zulu defeat. Eighteen British and about 2,000 Zulu soldiers were killed. In July of the same year, the final battle of the old Zulu order was fought near the Zulu royal centre of Ulundi. The fourth Zulu king, Cetshwayo kaMpande, who reigned 1872-1879, was captured and sent into exile. From that date the Natal officials rather than the British officials in London were to exert the weightiest influence on official policy in post-conquered Zululand. The 1879 war was only the beginning of the shift of power. As Guy writes in his *The Destruction of the Zulu Kingdom*: "...the war became only the first stage in a prolonged process during which metropolitan and colonial forces undermined the strength of the Zulu by exploiting division within their society, and brought about a civil war which left the country and its people open to political subjugation and economic exploitation." For this reason it might well be said that the following civil war, between 1879 and 1884, in many ways was more disastrous to the Zulu than the war of 1879. In addition, Zululand was divided between British and Boers. In 1884 about one third of the north-western parts of the land which included some of the best grazing grounds was taken by Boers who formed their "New Republic". The remaining parts became "British Zululand" and was in 1897 incorporated into the colony of Natal. As a part of the agreement preceding the incorporation Natal officials reluctantly surrendered to British demands for the return of Dinuzulu kaCetshwayo (1868-1913), the son of the last king, from exile. In 1898 he returned to Nongoma in Zululand, not as a king but as a petty chief of the Usuthu people formerly associated with Zulu royalty. Many Africans both in Zululand and in Natal regarded the return of the popularly-recognised head of the Zulu people as a promising forthcoming restoration of the Zulu royal house and the Zulu nation. White Natalians, however, regarded Dinuzulu with great fear and as a most potent threat to white supremacy. As a result of British victory in the 1899-1902 South African War the Boer New Republic (which from 1888 had been affiliated to the Transvaal) was returned to Zululand which, in turn, was annexed to Natal as Natal's "Northern Districts", also known as "Northern Natal". In the remaining two-thirds of Zululand there were only around a thousand whites, chiefly missionaries – many of whom were of Norwegian origin – traders and government officials. To many white settlers in Natal, however, Zululand had for long been looked upon as a most promising country, suitable for cattle grazing and sugar plantations. In the years 1902-04 the Zululand Lands Delimitation Commission set aside roughly 60 per cent of this land as African reserves and excluded the remaining 40 per cent for white occupation. Developments in the formerly "British Zululand" had thus been later but also the land to the north of the Thukela was now drawn into
conditions that increasingly became similar to those of Natal. At an early stage males from Zululand were part in a stream of migrant labourers moving to the industrialising centres of the subcontinent due to the need for wage-labour brought about by the first successful collection of the hut tax in 1889. In regard to the land issue, however, A. J. Christopher has drawn the attention to the fact that it was only by 1906 and 1907 that settlers in larger numbers began to occupy more substantial acreages of land set aside for whites, soon to be turned into private sugar and wattle plantations. 52

**Gold, Responsible Government, the 1899-1902 South African War, Further Segregation and Racial Prejudices**

Natal played no significant role within the British empire at least to the final decades of the nineteenth century. But after particularly about 1890 the colony underwent fundamental and far-reaching changes. These changes can be reduced to chiefly two processes with economic and political features which emerged at roughly the same time and interacted upon as well as affected one another. The first was the discoveries of deposits of gold on the Witwatersrand in 1886. The formerly insignificant part of the subcontinent suddenly came to be known as the richest spot on earth. Within six years gold had overtaken diamonds as southern Africa’s most important export. By 1898 the Transvaal was the largest single producer of gold in the world, accounting for 27 per cent of total world production. As said by Iain R. Smith: "Gold became the hub round which the whole of South Africa’s development since has revolved". However, in contrast to most gold-discoveries elsewhere in the world the Witwatersrand deposits consisted mostly of low-grade ore only accessible through deep-level mining. To a great extent this also came to shape the developing industry which called for the assistance of technical innovations brought into existence by the "second industrial revolution" at enormous capital costs and leading to the development of company mining. The gold mining industry led to a massive influx into the Transvaal of European immigrants, uitlanders, and the employment of large numbers of African migrant labourers drawn from various regions of southern Africa. In pace with the development of gold-mining and its related industries on the Witwatersrand, immigration and urbanisation continued. 53 The mineral discoveries led to economic developments and changes that included most of the subcontinent. In Natal all major indices of economic growth exhibit steep rises between 1890 and 1910. 54 Roads, railways and harbours were built and the demand for coal led to the exploitation of mines in Northern Natal, particularly in the Newcastle and Ladysmith areas. 55 While during most of the nineteenth century several of the previous white immigration schemes had failed and the total number of whites had remained rather small, white immigration to Natal now accelerated. Between 1891 and 1904 the white population in Natal more than doubled. 56 Incoming immigrants to both Johannesburg and Natal led to the construction of railways and mercantile activities created a new and demanding market for
agricultural produce from Natal, spurring the commercialisation of agricultural produce. No sector of the economy was more strikingly transformed than white farming activities.

The second process was the granting by Britain of "Responsible Government" to the Colony of Natal in 1893 by which Natal became a self-governing colony with a cabinet responsible to a wholly elected parliament. Although the Colonial Office in London retained the legal mandate to veto any bill that affected Africans and Indians, in practice the white settlers came to run an independent government which included the control over its African majority population. There were several reasons for Britain's move. Kline argues that the British government, after almost five decades of contradictory colonial rule, had come to the conclusion that its interests could without financial strain be secured by relying on the settlers to manage the administration of the indigenous people. In Natal, the imperial bourgeoisie had, in the course of the nineteenth century, consisted of a dominating alliance of absentee landlords linked with merchant capital and the owners of large sugar plantations along the coast. With increased European immigration and with the commercialisation of white agriculture there emerged a gradual change of dominance among the white interest groups which in turn was followed by new economic and political claims.

As from 1893 Natal thus came under the rule of its local white population. To quote Bundy "...into the hands of the burgeoning class of commercial farmers and its allies." This was particularly true as from 1897 when farmers formed the majority in all the subsequent cabinets. Further, it was in regard to Nguni land and labour that the changed structures among white people were to become most crucial. Neither to coastal sugar planters who since the 1860s had relied heavily on Indian indentured labour nor to absentee land speculators who mainly had rented out their lands to African cultivators in the wake of failed immigration schemes, had the issue of African labour been of prime importance. Those who would have been most dependent on African labour were the stock- and maize farmers of the interior. But this white agricultural sector had, for most of the nineteenth century, remained rather underdeveloped. As late as in the seventies and eighties white farmers had found it difficult, even impossible, to compete with African farmers in the production of foodstuffs for the market.

The African peasants produced the bulk of foodstuffs consumed by white Natalians. The competitiveness in grain and vegetable produced by Africans was in part brought about by own relatively little need of manufactured goods and family members cooperating in the production of crops. These factors led to their grain prices being kept fairly low. In the forefront of these developments were the rather small but prosperous group of African Christians on the mission reserves, mission farms and the emerging aspirant middle class who, because of their western education, enjoyed an easier access to markets than their non-Christian neighbours. After 1893 and especially after
1897, with the white farmers in power there developed an increasing opposition against black producers which led to their hastening impoverishment and proletarianization.\textsuperscript{62} The black peasants were seen not only as competitors on the colonial market but also obstructing the flow of labour from black areas to white farms. Before 1893 one of the major objectives in settlers’ demand for responsible government had been the control of the African labour force. Now, with political power available, several laws were passed by the government to deprive blacks from access to land and moves to destroy their independence.\textsuperscript{63} As stated by Marks, "The intense competition for African labour at the turn of the century, produced by the general expansion of the economy, sharpened this particular battle and gave the legislation during the twenty years of Natal’s self-government its peculiar character."\textsuperscript{64} Taxation continued to remain an important element in the system of African administration and with the inclusion of other measures it was particularly in the period after the South African War that the government’s repressive legislation was enforced. In an attempt to handle the deficit and the financial depression which followed the war-years’ economic boom, an additional per capita or Poll Tax was introduced in 1905, imposed on all adult males who did not pay hut tax.\textsuperscript{65} The additional tax became a major factor leading to the outbreak of the Bambatha uprising in 1906.

To the settler government it was not enough to "bring forth" labour as it commonly was termed. It was also a matter of keeping the African labour within Natal and in particular on white farms. In their demands for labour, the undercapitalised farmers of Natal had to compete with the more powerful economic interests at the Transvaal gold mines and adjacent industries. To black labourers on the other hand, white farms were less attractive when compared to better working conditions and higher wages offered on the Rand. Relations between Natal and the Transvaal of the interior was intertwined and complex. It was thus during the nineteenth century that Natal increasingly had been forged into the world economy, foremost by the way of the growing sugar production and, as from the 1860s, with the import of Indian indentured labour to the coastal sugar plantations. But while Natal, as was the case with the Cape Colony, also controlled the inland trade, such as for the export of wool, its interests had since long been tied to those of its neighbours. With the discovery of gold, Natal became increasingly involved in the economic developments of the region as a whole.\textsuperscript{66} Relations to the Transvaal needs to be seen in regard to the internal political changes that occurred within Natal and the different demands for labour inputs. These developments in Natal, the labour demands coupled to differences between dominant settler groups, also affected Natal’s relations to the Transvaal. The first responsible government ministries, headed by John Robinson and Harry Escombe, tended to pay more attention to urban, mercantile and mining interests and was, with its major aim to secure a rail link to the interior, not inclined to endanger Natal’s relations to the Transvaal.\textsuperscript{67} But as from 1897, when farmers formed the majority in all following cabinets, relations
towards the Transvaal became increasingly strained. Several laws were passed to make it difficult for Africans to work outside the borders of the colony. The 1901 Labour Touts Act prohibited recruiting for the gold-mines, and another act obliged all Africans other than labour tenants to hold an identification pass which made it possible for farmers to keep labour on their farms by not issuing them passes. As long as farming interests dominated the Natal government (i.e. between 1897 and 1910, when Natal entered the South African Union), the issue of inter-colonial labour migration remained a crucial issue. In this respect the larger political developments, following the British victory in the South African War, were adversary to the interests of the Natal government.

The South African War of 1899-1902, in Europe also known as the "Boer War", was the most extensive, costly and humiliating war fought by Britain after the defeat of Napoleon in 1815 and prior to the outbreak of the First World War in 1914. It gave repercussions far beyond the confines of the subcontinent. When one of the smallest states in the world on 11 October 1899 delivered an ultimatum to the government of the world's greatest imperial power, this attracted, through an extensive manipulation of the press, the attention of the public opinion not only in South Africa and Britain but also in so small and distant country as Sweden.

The war passed through three distinct phases. The first commenced with a Boer offensive leading to an occupation of northern Natal with the besiege of Ladysmith and an invasion of the Cape when Kimberley and Mafeking were laid under besiege. After the arrival of heavy imperial enforcement, the second phase began with the relief of the three besieged towns and the commencement, in March 1900, of a counteroffensive, ultimately leading to the annexation of the Transvaal in September of that year. The third prolonged phase of the war was largely characterised by Boer guerrilla war faced with British reprisals and attempts to restrict the mobility of the guerrilla units and their access to supplies. The British forces operated through tactics of "scorched earth" and the establishing of concentration camps for Boer women and children. The war was finally ended by a negotiated peace on 31st May 1902 at Vereeniging. All in all the South African War claimed the lives of 22,000 imperial soldiers, over 7,000 republican fighters from the Boer states and almost 28,000 Boer civilians, the majority of whom were children under the age of sixteen, who perished in British concentration camps. Peter Warwick has described the war as in a real sense a "South African war", involving perhaps as many as 30,000 Africans fighting with the British army and touching the lives of hundred of thousands of other Africans who lived in regions in which white people made up a mere fifth of the total population.

From Natal's point of view the war was one in which the colony had to defend itself against attacks by invading Boers. Conventional warfare was centred mainly around Ladysmith in the north. The war began disastrously for the colony. It was the scene of
some of the most intense fighting. But the Boer occupation, stretching from the end of October 1899 to the end of May 1900, was relatively short-lived. The war was furthermore, as claimed by Brookes and Colin de B. Webb, not Natal’s war. Many Natalians were not in favour of warfare although British patriotism expressed itself in word and deed before, during and after the war. That it not really was a Natalian war is illustrated by the fact that less than one in five of white men of military age had been recruited for military service. However, Warwick in a study which take black people in war into account describes how, in the very last months of the war, a series of skirmishes occurred in the border region between the Transvaal and Zululand, between Vryheid guerrilla bands (mostly local farmers) and Qulusi fighters. The hostilities between Boers and Zulu (which dated back to the conquering of Zululand as a result of the annexation of the ”New Republic” in 1884 ) was reinforced from the beginning of the war, culminating in the Holkrans incident on the 5 May, three weeks before the end of war where 300 Qulusi men fell upon the Boer encampment and killed fifty-six of the seventy guerrilla fighters. The incident, by General Botha called ”the foulest deed of the war”, left deep scars among Boers in Natal and Zululand who desired revenge for the ”massacre of Holkrans” and contributed to the further deteriorating of Boer and Zulu relations in this particular region (see Chapter Eight, below).

Attempts to understand the causes of the war will inevitable include the fact that gold played a major role. To quote Eric Hobsbowm, ”Whatever the ideology, the motive for the Boer War was gold.” In a more detailed examination of the prime movers to its outbreak, there are at least three factors which need to be taken into consideration. Firstly. the presence of mainly British gold-magnates in the Transvaal and, by emphasising their role, the claim is made that it essentially was a mine-owners war, fought by Britain to serve the interests of the mining industry. Thus Marks argues that it was mine-magnates who ultimately made the demands on the Transvaal republic which it was unwilling to meet and hence prepared the way for both the war and the political reconstruction subsequent to the peace agreement of 1902. A second factor is the importance of the gold deposits for British economy. Of the capital investments which had poured into the Transvaal some came from the profits of the diamond-mining industry. But the substantial investments came from abroad of which 60-80 per cent was British. Two thirds of South Africa’s trade was with Britain. Although trade with South Africa was only a minor share in the overall British global market, South Africa was by far the most important area of economic interest in Africa where it accounted for two-thirds of the continent’s total foreign trade and investment. Thomas Packenham has argued that it was the British government in emphasising its role and political moves which manipulated the mine-owners, thus uniting their common interest which ultimately led to war. Similarly is Warwick’s reference to the Gold Standard, its alleged importance to the Bank of England and his claim that ”the interests of Britain and the Transvaal mining industry became closely intertwined at the
highest levels.” A third factor is the geo-political change following on the mineral revolution implying a northward shift of the centre of economic and political gravity from the Cape Colony to the Transvaal, a development Britain perceived as a challenge to her pre-eminent imperial influence on the subcontinent. The prosperity and new authority given to the rural and recently peripheral Transvaal republic and the supposed danger of a German commercial and political intrusion, appeared to threaten British plans for a stable, self-governing federation in which her interests would be safeguarded. John Iliffe claims that the reluctant British government was drawn into the war, “...not to control the gold mines but to protect Britain’s position in South Africa against the threat arising from the gold mines.”

Smith, in a study published in 1996, emphasises the diversity of the situation. Refuting the idea of a war caused by a conspiracy of mine-owners, he describes the miners as divided amongst themselves, unable to form a monolithic block. They did not feel controlled by the British government, nor is there convincing evidence that the government acted at their behest. Assumptions that the British government was being dictated by the interests of gold-mining industry (or the cause of the uitlanders) or of the government going to war to protect British trade or profits made by cosmopolitan capitalists in the Transvaal, are equally refuted. Smith claims that whether the Transvaal remained a republic or became a British colony, gold would still continue to flow through to London, the bullion of financial capital of the world. In spite of large investments in South Africa, the British government showed no real anxiety about British economic interests. Instead “the British government feared the political consequences of the growing economic power and importance of the Transvaal for the rest of South Africa...” Imperialism was at its peak while the ”Scramble for Africa” had only just been completed and Britain had to win also in South Africa, whatever the cost. Hence, Smith says, South Africa became the test case for the future of the British Empire. For this reason Britain had to intervene directly if South Africa was to be welded into a British dominion. With Smith’s understanding of the war in mind the peace of 1902 represented a significant milestone in the history of South Africa. At the time, indeed even during the war itself, imperialism as an ideology was viewed pessimistically and had become defensive, as claimed by Ronald Hyam. When the British government after 1902 began to create a stable and modern nation-state the effort was pursued in collaboration with the new constellation of power groups in the interior of the subcontinent, i.e. a new élite of commercial farmers and politicians in the former Boer republics in combination with leaders of the gold-mining industry. But the new dispensation was neither in the interest of the settler oligarchy of Natal nor of its African majority population.

British attempts at a fusion of the four Southern African colonies as a means of retaining economic and strategic influence gained through the war were thus reinforced after
1902. The need for a federation between the British colonies and the defeated republics was seen as the only way to retain influence in a part of the African continent where Afrikaner power was bound to reassert itself in the future. A first step towards a federation was taken in 1903 when an inter-colonial conference was held to formulate a customs agreement between the four colonies. At the same conference it was also agreed to appoint an inter-colonial commission to formulate a common "Native Policy". In this respect, the recommendations of the 1903-5 British-appointed South African Native Affairs Commission, the so-called "Lagden commission", became most important in outlining a theory of territorial segregation for the establishment of a unified, segregated South Africa. It was in the recommendations of the "Lagden commission" that the policy of segregation of African peoples, labour control and wage bars first was given full formulation. While the proposals of the commission appeared to be in line with the proposed merger between foreign and national capital interests centred around industrial developments in the Transvaal, the settler-dominated Natal regarded the recommendations with suspicion. While the main aim of the commission's recommendations, as remarked by Lambert, was to ensure a cheap, reliable labour supply to the gold mines, the interests of the commission were different to those of the Natal government and its supporters. For the period 1902 to 1910, it may be claimed that as long as Natal remained an independent colony it continued to resist proposals of unification, whether these derived from Britain or from other colonies.

In the course of the years around the turn of the century there was also a marked increase in racial prejudices among white Natalians. In keeping with the world-wide English-speaking community also Natalians were affected by ideas on the inferiority of other races, ideas which were gaining popular acceptance. Already during the nineteenth century the discourse on the "degenerate idleness" of Africans had been nourished by white settlers, largely in response to Shepstone's programmatic tolerance of African society, the relative self-sufficiency of the indigenous producers and colonial authorities' inability to drive black men forcibly off their lands to wage labour. As noted by McClintock it is scarcely possible to read any travel account, settler memoir or ethnographic document without coming across a chorus of complaints about "...the sloth, idleness, indolence or torpor of the natives who, the colonists claimed, preferred scheming and fighting, lazing and wanton lasciviousness to industry." Although the link between poverty and sloth had a long history in Britain, the self-sufficient and rivalrous African producers, she says, the discourse of idleness was rather a realm of contestation, marked with the stubborn refusal to labour or to alter established habits of work. Most importantly, the assaults on Africans' agriculture patterns were at root an assault on polygyny and lobolo where the reserves supposedly locked up a potential labour supply which in its turn enabled "African men to sit idly in the sun" and lobolo contracts kept the women in "slavery".
In the 1890s, the Indian community had been targeted. The fear of the "Yellow Peril" that swept through the English-speaking world at the time was in Natal commonly seen as being that of the people of Indian descent. Their increasing competition with white traders were taken as evidence for this stance. As an Indian who had recently arrived in Natal, Mohandas K. Gandhi, Maureen Swan describes, was one who both witnessed and experienced white racist sentiments and discriminatory legislation aimed at devising control over the Indian community. In May 1894 the Natal Indian Congress was created with Gandhi as its first Honorary Secretary. In the course of the following years he and other Congress members published tracts denouncing Natal's local government and the rise of racism in the colony. To Gandhi the anti-Indian attitudes and legislation was largely because of their new hegemony, particularly within certain sectors of the economy. "The moment the Indian entered into competition with the European trader..." he found himself "...thwarted, obstructed and insulted by a system of organised persecution." By the turn of the century Natal Indians were disenfranchised and, through legislative action, Indian business competition was to a great extent checked. In a society where colonists' relationships to both Indians and Africans was almost exclusively that between master and servant, racialist attitudes about "savage" Africans and "coolie" Indians were easily nourished. As a part of the South African War hysteria and British imperial solidarity, the racial prejudices were increased drastically, fostering ideas of British supremacy. In the immediate post-war years, as shown by Andrew Duminy, a number of factors added to these sentiments. In the 1904 census it was revealed that there had been a radical increase in the African population which by now outnumbered whites by eight to one. White fear about escalating crime and spreading disease, due to a growing urban African community, and an increased competition for unskilled and semi-skilled jobs between Africans and Europeans, were other decisive factors.

A Renaissance for Segregation and the New Threat of African Christians

The Shepstonian policy of indirect rule and land segregation had by no means been un questioned by the nineteenth century Natal settlers. It had severely been criticised and demands had been raised about breaking up of the reserves and "the abolishing of tribalism" as a means of solving the labour shortages on white farms. At the turn of the century, such radical ideas were advocated by many stock farmers in the interior or the so-called "up-country" people who not only were shaped by the roughness of the frontier society but who also, unlike sugar planters along the coast, were entirely dependent on black labour. While the "Native problem" to many a settler remained synonymous to the "labour problem", the general attitude towards the segregationist policy was considerably changed over the years. When Natal, after more than thirty years of Native administration by Shepstone and his successors (who largely had followed in his footsteps), eventually was granted its own responsible government, general opinion
had moved towards a status quo disposition, among some Natalians even an appreciation of the Shepstonian system. As said by Welsh, "It seems a paradox that the colonists of Natal, after attacking the Shepstonian system for so long, should gradually come to accept it and, indeed, elevate it to the status of an inviolable orthodoxy". In his *The Roots of Segregation. Native Policy in Natal 1845-1910* Welsh enumerates several reasons for Natalians' stand, describing them as the outcome of several factors, each inter-related and reinforcing the others. Already from the 1880s, there was clear evidence that African traditional life was disintegrating in the wake of emerging industrialisation and urbanisation, leading to a loosening of rural ties. To whites this became evident through the increasing influx of Africans to urban areas and a growth of crime rates. In the light of this development, support to the reserves seemed necessary. But there were also other reasons for change in general white opinion. White employers regarded blacks as rural and traditionalists who were seen as docile labourers, yet preferable to those who had been "spoiled" at mission schools or by an urban environment. As was the case in the campaign against the Indians in the 1890s, there was also a growing fear of economic and political competition from successful African agricultural producers, artisans and traders.

At the turn of the century it was the African Christian who became the main target of colonists' condemnations. Particularly after the South African War, colonists steadily came to oppose the "mission kaffir" as an undesirable and potentially dangerous element in society. People who came from mission stations were regarded the "worst classes", while the "better classes" remained at home. Many Natal politicians, of which a majority represented the settlers, believed that conversion to Christian faith and education gave Africans an independence for which they were not fitted. Liberty was being given to people who had not sufficiently evolved from a condition of "barbarism" to be compliant to exercise that self-control which was necessary for "the higher life". Beside racial prejudices, the fear of competition was obvious. Differently from the Zulu warrior or the rebellious colonial chief, educated African Christians did not wish to opt out of the political system by which they were governed. Neither did they reject western culture. "Rather, he wanted to share political power with whites, to have greater opportunities to assimilate modern culture, and, most of all perhaps, to be recognised as someone who had broken away from traditionalism." as Welsh puts it. It was also in the post-war years that educated African Christians were beginning to make their presence felt in politics. As a result of the British victory in 1902, African Nationalist leaders became particularly active in their political claims for equal rights, hoping that their demands would lead to franchise similar to that applied in the Cape Colony.

It was foremost the emerging political mobilisation of the African Christian middle class elite that became known to the wider settler opinion. These people were chiefly well-to-do farmers, teachers and clergy who were fluent in English and had adopted a
western life style. In Natal the group was representative of the very small group of *Funemalungelo*, Christians who were exempted from Native Law. Modelled upon the Natal Indian Congress, leading black Christians such as Martin Luthuli and John Dube, formed already in 1900 the Natal Native Congress. Besides the overtly political Congress there was a different and more religious movement among African Christians which also contributed to worries in white minority society. Some of these who had been educated at mission schools and trained as clergy, but who for various reasons had broken away from the established churches, became leaders in the new African Independent Churches or, as they frequently were labelled, the "Ethiopian movement". When these churches increasingly made known their presence, and slogans such as "Africa to the Africans" were heard by white settlers, the latter's anxiety increased. Although the two movements were very different from one another in both character and ambitions, white Natalians often lumped them together and spoke of them as "Ethiopianism."

It was in the light of these developments that the settlers' new adherence to "traditionalism" and segregation became a convenient pretext for withholding political rights from educated Africans. In the system there was no place for those who aspired to European cultural and socio-economic norms. A deliberate policy was pursued to reduce the differences in privileges between the educated converts and the majority population and to make them equally subject to African law. The undermining of the privileged status of the exempted, that had begun in 1893, was accelerated. From 1905 children of exempted converts were no longer automatically included in their fathers' privileged grouping.

During the larger part of the nineteenth century white settler opinion had been severely critical of the Christian missions. Missions were accused of locking up valuable land that ought to have been reserved for colonists. The American Zulu Mission, with its large coastal Mission reserves on land that could be lucratively cultivated by white sugar cane growers, was particularly targeted. Missionaries were also blamed for "spoiling the natives" and producing useless labourers who not only had become "proud and idle" but also demanded higher wages. It was also claimed that, due to "Africans' savage nature", Christianising was essentially impossible. The settler government had at no stage encouraged missionary labours. In the years after the South African War, however, anti-missionary feelings were strongly expressed, both by a general opinion among settlers and by their government. Typical of these sentiments was a letter printed in the Natal Mercury in 1904, "...if ever the white settler wished to make South Africa a white man's country the missionaries should never have been allowed to enter it. Look back but a short time of thirty years and see what evil has been caused by educating the native." The same attitudes prevailed among settler representatives in the legislative assembly. Mission reserves were severely criticised for providing freehold property on which Africans could live "in idleness" (as claimed by the Lands Commission Report of 1902). In the 1903 Mission Reserves Act, the government took
over the administration of Mission Reserves and levied a particular tax on its inhabitants. This was followed by a general enforcement of stricter regulations for the missionary enterprise in the reserves, insisting that mission work in these areas was to be carried out only under the supervision of a white missionary. A similar development was seen in regard to the government's attitude towards mission schools. While black education in Natal and Zululand throughout had been the concern of different mission societies, qualified education had been brought under the control of the government through a government grant-in-aid system and the appointment of an Inspector of Native Education in 1885. During the first decade of settler rule, i.e. from 1893 to 1903, there was a considerable reduction in the average grant per child to mission-operated schools. It also became more difficult for some mission schools to obtain grants while others were closed on the pretext that teachers were not qualified. Between 1901 and 1904 this development was accelerated implying a drop of 20 per cent in grant-in-aid schools.

As a part of the new appreciation for the segregationist policy, the settler government and its representatives voiced their candid support for the African reserves and its chiefs. In 1896 F. R. Moor, the Secretary for Native Affairs, said, "It has been the policy of the present administration to, in every way in its power, keep up and maintain the tribal system, and with the chief at its head... I thoroughly believe in the tribal system. And more than that, I believe that without considerable danger it would be impossible to alienate these people from their tribal system." After the turn of the century, several of the prominent officials at Native Affairs Department voiced similar attitudes. Among them was James Stuart, an authority on African culture and language, who became one of the major apologists of the ideology in the early twentieth century. The basic issue was, as spelled out by him, whether Africans were to begin to adapt to western civilisation or be treated as members of "...another civilisation radically different from our own." His stance was coloured by the Social Darwinist thinking that was popular in his day, "Equality is a state of affairs which, at the present state of evolution, should not even be dreamt of. It is an unnatural condition between people so utterly dissimilar in civilisation", he said. To him education and the breaking of traditional customs, which he strongly renounced, would only lead black people to the dangerous "Ethiopianism." Some years later similar attitudes, a praising of the Shepstonist system and a condemnation of the forces of integration, were voiced by S. O. Samuelson, the Under-Secretary for Native Affairs (in practice the permanent head of the Native Affairs Department from 1893 to 1910). From the various declarations of the government representatives and officials in the early years of the century one may conclude that there was a marked ambition favouring chiefs and reserves in as far as ideology is concerned.

Nevertheless, as Lambert has shown, measures to actually strengthen the position of chiefs and headmen were very rare. In practice the actions of the successive ministries
undermined rather than bolstered the authority of African elders. Beginning with the 1896 Natives Location Act, numerous regulations and rules for the control of the reserves were issued. But they were often contradictory and confusing, not seldom with the only result of angering people or remaining ineffective. The Act of 1902 was nothing short of an infringement on the remaining authority held by chiefs and headmen. Authority given to local magistrates in regard to land allocation in the reserves was actually a replacement of that of chiefs, Lambert states, "Government policy towards chiefs was becoming more self-defeating. Pressures on them to control their people were increasing; while the means to do so were steadily removed." 110

Another tendency in Natal government policy on reserves and chiefs was possibly more consistently accomplished as it involved an obvious favouring of chiefs who had been appointed by the government and a disfavouring of more powerful and popularly supported hereditary chiefs. The Zulu monarchy with its proud military traditions, warriors, chiefs and kings had always acted as a powerful deterrent to white Natalians. It was on the other hand, only because of British pressure that Dinuzulu had been allowed to return from exile at St. Helena in 1897. As long as the settlers ruled in Natal and Zululand, i.e. until 1910, every attempt was made to discredit and suppress the representatives of the old Zulu order. In doing so, the administration exploited the growing territorial fragmentation of chiefdoms and thus undermined the more powerful chiefs by formally dividing their chiefdoms. The whole thrust of official policy, as Lambert has pointed out, was to stress the role of the chiefs as government subordinates, exercising authority at the government's pleasure rather than in their own rights, involving a depreciation of the prestige of hereditary chiefs and relying more heavily on the more obedient appointed chiefs and local headmen. 111 The government had, however, not taken full account of another responsibility vested in the role of a chief, i.e. that of being the head of his people.

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3 Guy 1996: 1-2. In his article Guy suggests that the image of Shaka has been coloured by the interests of the first white traders, that the king himself was aware of the significance of their arrival and that he also tried to make contact with the powers behind them. Guy 1996: 28-29. Cf. Guy 1994 (First published 1979): Chapter one. On ecological factors in the rise of Shaka and the Zulu kingdom, see Guy 1980.
6 Brookes and Webb 1987: 43.
9 Slater 1975: 257.
Hereafter "reserve", "Location" was the term used to describe the lands especially set aside for Africans in Natal but, as suggested by Welsh, while "location" appears to have been used in Southern Africa only, the word "reserve" is more universally understood. Cf. Welsh 1971: 6.


Welsh 1992: 211.

Welsh 1971: 19.

From 1906 the title was changed to Minister of Native Affairs, Marks 1970: 33, 39-40.


Laband 1994: 35.

The isibalo system started in 1848 when men were sent out to work on the road between Durban and Pietermaritzburg, was interrupted between 1854 and 1858 but remained in existence until 1911. Welsh 1971: 122-123, Lambert 1989: 377, cf. Stuart 1913: 25, Marks 1970: 43.

Welsh 1971: 5, 117-118.

Guy 1994: 51n.


McClintock 1990: 98, 110 and 112.

In contrast to the views presented by Brookes and Welsh, Kline attempts to show that it was the British government which controlled Natal's African policy and that racial segregation suited imperial purposes because it gave stability to this distant colony. Thus Kline, trying to find a niche for his own study, finds Shepstone's role unduly stressed and imperial motives diminished. Cf. Kline 1988: xix, 6-7. Commenting on Kline's book, Freda Harcourt criticises Kline for not showing enough familiarity with recent South African historiography and argues that, in practice, and in comparison to far stronger interests struggling over land and labour, neither the British government nor Shepstone was actually in control. Harcourt 1989: 260.


Guy 1983: 80-82, 221-222.

Lambert 1989: 377


Welsh 1971: 23, Lambert 1989: 377. In his more recent studies, Lambert questions the link between taxation and the aims of forcing Africans onto the labour market, more emphasising the government's aim of protecting the viability of the homestead economy, see Lambert 1995b: 20.


Christopher 1971: 205.


Marks 1970: 121. In comparison with the African population however, the whites in Natal were still a comparatively small minority and they constantly felt themselves threatened by the much larger African population. According to the census of 1904, the first to count the non-white population of Natal, the colonists were outnumbered by non-whites in the ratio of 1:10. Marks 1970: 155.


Bundy 1988: 184

In the election of that year the farming interest returned two-thirds of the members of the Assembly. Marks 1970: 18, cf. Lambert 1989: 383. The final ousting of merchant interests from the government did however only occur two years later, Lambert 1995: 159.

Bundy 1988: 177


Bundy 1988: 191. With a division of labour between men and women in African pre-capitalist society, this meant that agricultural labour mostly was the assignment of women. As women still remained the major agricultural producers, it was men who foremost were proletarianized. Cf. chapter two below.

Lambert 1989: 383

Marks 1970: 17

Although several scholars such as Marks, Lambert and Cope claim the hut taxes to dramatically have increased between 1902 and 1905 (Marks 1970: 128 and 141, Lambert 1989: 383, Cope 1993: 6) in one of his more recent articles this is refuted by Lambert, cf. Lambert 1994: 109. There were however increases in other taxes, see Lambert 1995b: 113 and 169.

Marks 1986a: 11.


Lambert 1989: 383


Warwick 1983: 3-4.


Warwick 1983: 75, 78, 179.

Brookes and Webb 1987: 202-203,


Smith 1996: 45.


Smith 1996: 397, 398, 400.
As pointed out by Lambert, the average grant per child to mission schools dropped from £1 2s. 8d. in 1893 to 13s. 3d. in 1903. Lambert 1995b: 167. By 1906 the government’s expenditure on Africans’ education was actually very small, particularly when compared with what was spent on Europeans. The applicable figures for 1906 are quoted by Marks. While 17s. 4d per head of the population was spent for Europeans, it was 5s. 9d for so-called Coloureds and 1s. 1d. for Indians while it was only 2d. for Africans. Marks 1970: 56.
CHAPTER TWO: ACCENTUATED DISINTEGRATION OF AFRICAN SOCIETY IN NATAL AND ZULULAND

Beginning in the 1890s, African society in Natal and Zululand was caught in a process of accelerated change. The powerful economic force contributing to this development was the mineral revolution on the Witwatersrand which spread industrialization also to Natal, where it gave growth to the white settler community by way of an intensified use of land, a gradual transition to commercial agriculture, resulting in an increase in economic power. As seen above, these changes were accompanied by political change when the British government in 1893 transferred its authority to Natal’s white minority population. This became particularly marked after 1897 when white farmers’ own interests began to dominate their government. In this year also “British Zululand” was incorporated into Natal, implying that both Natal and Zululand came under white settler rule. In 1902 the settlers’ rule was furthermore extended to include also the north-western parts of Zululand, formerly known as the Boer New Republic, but now referred to as the Northern Districts or Northern Natal (not to be confused with northern Natal of the old colony). During the second half of the 1890s and in the early years of the twentieth century the combined impact of these economic and political changes was further accentuated by a series of severe natural disasters which, beginning in 1894 and continuing for several years, widely ravaged the south-eastern parts of Africa. During this period, the combination of these factors resulted in a radical uprooting of Natal and Zulu African society and a growing number of men having no alternative but to join the stream of wage labourers to the farms and towns in Natal or the gold fields in the Transvaal.

In this respect the 1899-1902 South African War to some extent became a caesura. Even if parts of northern Natal and Zululand were seriously ravaged by warfare and tensions were heightened between Boers and Africans, to most people the war and the economic boom, which lasted to 1903, brought opportunities rather than hardships. The changes brought about by colonialism, settler capitalism and an incipient industrialization were most apparent in Natal which during the nineteenth century, to great extent, already had been segregated. The drawing of African labour to the white-owned farms nonetheless remained a crucial issue on the government’s agenda. Also in Zululand important social, economic and political transformations occurred as a result of Zululands’ defeat in 1879, the subsequent civil war and annexation by Britain in 1887. But the most significant development, i.e. the alienation of land, was yet to occur in the years after 1906 and 1907.¹ For this reason and as a background to the 1906 Bambatha uprising, particular emphasis in this study will be given to developments in Natal.
As the most recent and comprehensive study of the Natal African society during the late nineteenth century, a substantial part of the chapter therefore falls back on John Lambert’s 1995 Betrayed trust, Africans and the State in Colonial Natal which covers the colonial period up to an including the events of 1906. The importance of his study lies in his focusing on the economic developments on a decidedly grass-root level with a more long-term analysis of the homestead economy which underpinned African society and which therefore remains crucial for an integral understanding of the changing fortunes of African society. Because of the close association between the homestead economy and the issue of land distribution, his study is similarly an account of the process of restricting access to land, begun with the imposition of colonial rule, the equally related undermining of chiefly authority and, as an increasing number of Africans were drawn into the capitalist economy as wage labourers, the dislocation of African society itself. The particular attention paid to internal developments and tensions within the homestead over time enables him to break new ground by describing the changing roles of men and women, elders and youth but also how the arrival of white missionaries and the presence of converts within African society came to challenge homestead life, especially its mode of production. The root cause behind the ultimate decline of African society is by him allocated to the natural disasters of the 1890s, while insisting it was only after these had undermined the social safety net of chief­doms and kinship groups that larger number of Africans were unable to resist the forces driving them towards proletarianization. This is probably too the context in which his somewhat awkward title Betrayed Trust and its underlying assumption is to be understood while he claims Africans in Natal – instead of regarding the colonial presence with benevolence and "as a protection against the Zulu" – now were betrayed and "had little alternative but to look north of the Thukela for salvation", hence a new appeal of the Zulu royal family.

In the applicable years African society experienced great changes, different regions undergoing varying degrees of Western economic and political penetration. This is particularly evident in some of the major CSM regions of concern in this study. On the one hand there were apparently more "traditional" societies where chiefs still seemed to have maintained a considerable amount of influence over their subjects, the impact of African traditional religion remained strong and resistance to Western Christian missionaries and African evangelists correspondingly was potent. One example is the region consisting largely of reserve land in the intersection between the Umvoti and Inanda reserves near the CSM Appelsbosch mission station in the Noodsberg valley of the Natal Midlands. But also in this region there seems to have been variations in social transformation between the people living north of the Umvoti, closer to Zululand, and those who had their homes further south in the Inanda reserve, closer to Pietermaritzburg, the colonial capital. Such distinctions were nevertheless minor in comparison to, on the other hand, societies that far more profoundly appear to have
been exposed to Western infiltration, social transformation and, to a greater extent, to a permanent dependence on wage labour. One such region with relevance to the present study was the southern part of the Dundee division around the CSM mission farms at Rorke’s Drift in northern Natal. In Zululand proper, similar distinctions were less apparent than in Natal which had experience of some fifty years of colonial rule. But also in Zululand variations could be found between the southern-central parts, such as the Emtonjaneni region where CSM had its Ekutuleni mission station, and the far north-western royal heartland of Zululand where the CSM in the early years of the new century came to adopt an already established African Christian congregation at Ceza.

Although not an easy task, the question of distinguishing between "traditional" or pre-capitalist societies, on the one hand, and societies that no longer can be defined as "traditional", on the other, seems important in the analysis. By and large, as pointed out by Simensen, there is need for more precise definitions of commonly used concepts such as "pre-European", "pre-colonial" or "pre-capitalist" which, he claims, require to be carefully related to an applicable context. Not only did the encounters between Westerners and Africans, involving different African societies, vary considerably in time but also the manner in which different contacts in various regions took place. Similarly Guy has noticed that "the retention and adaptation of older social elements... in a changed situation makes analysis difficult, especially when one is required to separate the 'traditional' from the novel. Surface social continuity so often hides fundamental change." For this reason, some sort of an analytical benchmark is required. In "Gender Oppression in Southern Africa’s Pre-Capitalist Societies" Guy suggests one such distinction by drawing on three sources. First, with reference to Gluckman, he acknowledges the traditional or pre-capitalist society as a society in which the accumulation of people is of premier importance. Secondly, drawing on Meillassoux, he identifies the pre-capitalist society as a society in which the accumulation of people has precedence also over the accumulation of things, i.e., "the relative importance of reproduction — in the sense of the creation and control of people — over production." Thirdly, and somewhat unconventionally based on Marx, he draws attention to the term "labour power" (the productive potential or human beings’ creative capacity). With Guy, however, the term is not employed in the way that Marx used it for capitalist societies (as a means of gaining a material surplus product). Rather, Guy sees it in the context of the African pre-capitalist society as a reproduction of labour power, i.e. through the surplus of cattle owned by men where this surplus was used to increase the number of wives. The analytical benchmark he proposes is thus a distinction between, on the one hand, societies based on the accumulation of people or the creation and control of labour power and, on the other, societies based on the accumulation of "things" or commodities. "The passing of this feature — the creation and control of labour power — and the introduction of social structures based on the accumulation of commodities therefore mark the passing of pre-capitalist society." Nevertheless, as pointed out
by him and as reminded by Cherryl Walker,\textsuperscript{11} the benchmark is only an \textit{analytical}
one and does not indicate a specific date or definite time in history. In this respect itmay rather be seen as the least common denominator on which other factors can beadded to further qualify the extent to which capital had come to dominate. As will beillustrated in the present chapter, as well as in the subsequent chapters on CSM areasof missions in Natal and Zululand (Chapters six and seven), the process of incorporationinto the capitalist system was uneven and jagged, uniform neither in timing nor ingeographical demarcation.

As seen in the chapter above, the issue of first land and thereafter labour were ofutmost importance when settler economic and political dominance established itself inNatal in the course of the nineteenth and early twentieth century. The issues will remainimportant although the question posed in the present chapter is how this dominanceaffected the economic and social developments in African society, as those were seenin the early years of the twentieth century. The assumption is that any meaningfulunderstanding of the developments must have the issue of Africans' land as point ofdeparture, land being closely related to labour and its reproduction.

A common feature in some of the more recent studies on Western missions amongAfricans is an emphasis of the "cultural imperialism" which most missionary enterprisesundoubtedly were responsible for. When mission societies with a Reformed or Pietistbackground (not seldom of British or American origin) have been focused, such the­mes appear to have been particularly frequent in missionary records. A wide range ofexamples of missionaries' onslaught on African society and culture have been broughtforth by scholars who have pointed at issues like polygyny, \textit{lobolo} or bridewealth,African traditional religion, "ancestor belief", modes of clothing, naming, housing,"beer", etc. In the Scandinavian context of mission studies this genre is foremostrepresented by Simensen and his Trondheim-based group of historians in their 1984and 1986 history of the mainly Lutheran-Pietist Norwegian Missionary Society inSouth Africa.\textsuperscript{12} This is not a main theme of the present study which instead departsfrom what may be assumed to have constituted the basic pillars of African pre-capitalist economy and only from there establishes the criteria by which the missionaries' activities may be compared and evaluated, i.e. in the issues of land and African social institutions. As a comparative background and a springboard for the subsequent parts of this study, section one below is devoted to an analysis of the African pre-capitalist homestead and its economy.

Western dominance and influence made up of settlers, colonial (and later settler-)government and/or Western missionaries had in one way or another to relate to at leastone of these basic factors. The attitudes of Western missionaries will be discussed inthe following chapter and with a particular reference to CSM in chapter five, below.
Section two of the present chapter seeks to describe how developments in the latter part of the nineteenth century brought about change in African society and affected the issues of Africans’ land, social institutions and, related to the two, “traditional” or pre-capitalist power structures. The final section is devoted to an analysis of the particularly severe conditions to which African society was exposed on the eve of the 1906 Bambatha uprising.

African Pre-Capitalist Society: The Homestead with its Land, Cattle and Social Institutions

While cattle were central to the Nguni-Zulu economy, land for grazing formed its economic base. The land was excellent for stock-grazing but required herdsmen to move animals in the various types of vegetation, depending on the different annual seasons. Land was not individually owned. It was communal property used also for cultivation. The Nguni-Zulu economy was centred around the homestead as the basic unit of production and consumption. Each homestead consisted of a number of huts grouped around a central cattle enclosure. Homesteads lay scattered on the many hills and in valleys of what today is kwaZulu-Natal. People who claimed heritage to a common founding ancestor made a clan. While Nguni-Zulu were exogamous, wives were sought in a clan other than the own. Several homesteads were grouped together in larger and loosely defined assemblages of lineages groups to form the social and political unit of a chiefdom under the authority of a chief. A chiefdom varied in size and scale. Larger chiefdoms were often divided into sub-units under headmen. Interrelated chiefdoms could be grouped together into paramount chiefdoms. Among Zulu to the north of the Thukela river there was the further unit, a kingdom, ruled by the king who wielded power in association with, but as a superior to, the chiefs in the kingdom. A chief was the allocator of land for communal and personal use and the authority who permitted marriages whereby men could marry and establish homesteads of their own. But he could also be a leader in war and an important religious officiant when the whole chiefdom was involved. In providing his subjects with the material and spiritual needs in life he earned respect and wealth. In return for his leadership he would demand the acceptance of his authority. He passed his chiefdom’s laws and collected fines and tributes. A chief could demand his subjects to build and maintain his homestead, clear land for crops and to pay one beast annually. Lambert has stressed that the services and tribute payable to a chief was not solely for his personal benefit while what he received also was regarded as a common social safety net, expected to act on behalf of his people when shortages arose.

Production was on principle organised by and for the largely self-sufficient homestead, each of which consisted of the homestead-head, his wives and their children. In the homestead there would be, together with cattle and attached to it, grazing and cultivable lands. Wives were in charge of their particular huts. Each inhabited hut could thus be
said to consist of the homestead-head, his wife and their children in a monogamous setting, while the homestead, consisting of the different huts were a unit under the homestead-head and thus a polygynous setting. Each hut formed a production unit within the homestead with own cattle and land. Division of labour was not among the larger polygynous unit but among family members, belonging to a particular hut, thus based on sexual divisions in each homestead. Semi-nomadic Nguni-Zulu society was centred primarily around cattle and the herding of cattle with less social and economic importance given to agricultural production. The division of labour between sexes implied that tillage of fields was commonly entrusted to women. Men cleared new ground and treated the hard upper surface; women hoed, sowed, weeded, gathered and threshed the crops. The raising of crops was a necessary occupation but regarded as inferior to the raising of cattle. Women being the primary agricultural producers implied that the productive labour power of homestead was, as emphasised by Guy, dependent on the wives and their children. It was their work which provided the subsistence base upon which the society depended.

The importance given cattle in Nguni-Zulu society is illustrated by the position of the cattle enclosure in the centre of the homestead. Cattle were reared for milk rather than meat which was eaten only on festive and ritual occasions. The number of cattle to which a male had access was an indication of his social standing and political power. Cattle were also used to accumulate further labour in storable wealth. Because of the lobolo which was vital in the process to accumulate capital in Nguni-Zulu society, cattle were essential in adding further wives to a homestead. Thus surplus in women’s agricultural labour was related to cattle invested in new wives and their expected labour. Guy states that cattle could be seen as self-reproducing reserves of spent labour and of labour power. At the very heart of Zulu society was the drive to accumulate cattle but this accumulation, he says, was not an end in itself but practised in order to transform these cattle into human beings, thereby increasing the size of the social group and the number of labour power at the command of an individual. Sons were assigned animal husbandry for the support and perpetuation of the homestead until such time that they married and formed own homesteads. Daughters engaged in domestic work and agricultural labour within their father’s homestead until they, in their turn, would marry and assume their productive and reproductive duties. Daughters’ marriage was throughout seen in the light of additional cattle, being brought into their father’s homestead. With each generation, homesteads were continually being recreated and marriage very intimately tied to the transfer of cattle from the male to the wife’s father.

Lobolo was thus an important social transaction entirely controlled by men. When cattle were exchanged for women, the exchange implied the condition that the woman was to be obedient and fertile, while disobedience and infertility led to the return of the cattle to the father-in-law. Obedience was naturally understood to be the fulfilment of
agricultural duties, whilst fertility was the birth of children whose labour, in due course, would be used in the homestead. This implied that the transfer of cattle in recognition of marriage was applicable over an extended period of time. The number of cattle was similarly not fixed but continuously regulated also after marriage and dependent on the behaviour of the wife, her fertility, the number and sex of her children. The number of girls born would naturally be viewed in relation to the father’s need of cattle and the cattle at disposal of the daughter’s husband.17 While missionaries and settlers very often condemned lobolo as implying the purchase of women, it was instead based on a number of reciprocal obligations. Women’s labour created a value higher than that which originally was expended for her own labour power. Fertility was indeed acknowledged as an ability embedded in women and their productive and reproductive capacities, valued in terms of cattle. Cattle, in turn, were the possession of men. Hence fertility was ultimately controlled by men.18

Eileen Kriege and Axel-Ivar Berglund have dealt with the importance of cattle in Nguni-Zulu society, including the importance of cattle in Zulu religiosity. Attached to the important link between men and cattle also religiosity was to a great extent controlled by men. This was particularly evident in cases of ritual slaughter whereby the yet living communicated with the “shades”. With the burial of the departed on ancestral land in immediate vicinity of the homestead or in it, the shades were believed to be ever present. To the yet living, the survivors, the shades were of utmost importance. They were believed to imbue their survivors with energy and fertility, ward off evil spirits, curb illness, divert calamities, punish immoral behaviour and expose people of ill will. When tragedies and evil, e.g. women’s’ sterility or if cattle died unaccountably, the shades would be approached by the survivors who were convinced that the shades would react constructively. Or if a disaster or a frightening happening befell a homestead and divination indicated a shade’s dissatisfaction and hence anger, a ritual celebration of some kind would be a necessity. Places particularly associated with the shades were at the back of the innermost of a hut and of the cattle enclosure. Male elders were the celebrants on occasions requiring ritual slaughter to appease the shades. The homestead-head was the chief officiator and his role as senior in a homestead would depend on his ability to communicate with the shades. When mediating between the living and the shades, the head was nonetheless as presiding senior believed to have accumulated wisdom which in everyday life he was expected to show with his people who would look up to him for protection and moral guidance.19 Shades of importance in any household would be those of the husband. A woman’s clan shades were, as a rule, unimportant and had no place in her new home, her having been incorporated into her husband’s clan.20 Homestead headmen were the officiators on behalf of the household, the chief or king when the whole people was concerned, when larger units of people were involved. Women were not considered as celebrants on ritual celebrations. It is probably in this latter context we are to understand a statement by a homestead senior
in the Noodsberg area who in a dispute with the local Swedish missionary in the late nineteenth century claimed that religion was the concern of men, not of women.\textsuperscript{21}

The above image of an African pre-capitalist society can be qualified further in a number of ways. First, Nguni-Zulu society in the pre-colonial and pre-capitalist period was seen as static and unchanging; this is unhistorical.\textsuperscript{22} Homesteads were part of a dynamic social process of termination and regeneration. Homesteads were continually passing out of existence with the death of men who had established them, while new homesteads were created as young men left their mother's household and married. Similarly, each "cycle" of production and reproduction was asymmetrical and fluctuated according to varying conditions for social existence.\textsuperscript{23}

Secondly, in regard to the position of women, there were important differences among them, according to "social age". Older wives held varying positions of authority over youths and the first wife (or senior wives) possessed a position of standing that was denied to junior women. Similarly young women had rights to the labour of their adolescent sisters.\textsuperscript{24} In rituals it may be assumed that elderly women, who were beyond child-bearing age and regarded as "men", could have had certain functions.\textsuperscript{25} Finally, the subjugation of women in pre-capitalist societies must of necessity, as Guy rightly emphasises, be qualified and not be compared to conditions under later economic systems. As the primary agricultural producers and in control of the production processes women had a significant degree of economic independence. A substantial share of the produce from their gardens and labour was retained by them for their own use. Added to the role and value-patterns of women was the social safety net and security, involved in belonging to the larger homestead unit and, in its extension, the chiefdom. But the importance of women was the value attached to their fertility which gave them an autonomy, a social standing and an integrity.\textsuperscript{26}

Hence there was an important relationship between, on the one hand, material resources such as cattle and free access to land for grazing, cultivation and hunting, and, on the other, the social practices of polygyny and lobolo. This interdependence was crucial for the survival of the homestead economy. As Slater has pointed out, loss of control over one of the economic resources or the abandonment of a social practice would undermine also the value and the possibility of retaining control over remaining resources. Loss of land implied no grazing for cattle and no cultivation of crops. Loss of cattle would hinder the payment of lobolo which in turn reduced the homestead labour power, required in the tending of crops and subsequently possibilities for a homestead to reproduce itself. The abandonment of lobolo and polygyny would have damaging effects on the whole economic system.\textsuperscript{27}
British Colonialism: Intervention and White Settler Rule

After the reign of Shaka and Dingane, the intervention of the British colonial power and the growth of both the African and white settler populations in the 1870s, coupled to the increased impact of the South African industrialisation and the granting of settler's self rule in the 1890s made a profound impact on Africans' homestead economy in Natal. In Zululand developments were delayed. The British annexation of 1887 was followed by the introduction of the 14-shilling hut tax which played a significant role in creating the demand for a first large-scale labour migration. Still, in the early years of the twentieth century and after fifty years of colonial rule the most apparent transformation of African society was to be found in Natal, irrespective of whether people lived on white-owned land or in the reserves.

Changes in the Conditions of Land

The functioning of the homestead economy was dependent on the unrestrictive access to land which was required for cattle grazing on the combination of the seasonal types of grass for various forms of agriculture and additional food supplies, gained in hunting. The first most important restrictive measure was that in which land was divided into white farming areas, Crown lands, Mission reserves and African reserves. The objective of totally segregating Africans was never feasible because of the government's reluctance to already from the beginning set aside white lands for Africans' occupation. In the early years of colonial rule, whilst the white settler population still was rather limited, Africans populated also Crown lands which like the reserves consisted mostly of poor soil and often were located in least accessible areas of Natal and distant from markets, hence largely rejected by whites.

In the 1870s important changes occurred when after the discovery of diamonds at Kimberley in 1868 both the black and white population grew rapidly and more arable land passed into the hands of white settlers. Between 1894 and 1903 the area under settler cultivation had virtually doubled, although whites comprised only ten per cent of the total population of Natal. Less than half of the white minority lived outside the two main urban centres, i.e. Pietermaritzburg and Durban. By 1901 white farmers occupied slightly more than half of the colony's land. In the course of 1902 the area was further extended whereas the land under private title now covered two-thirds of the colony. Both the white and black population at the close of the nineteenth century grew rapidly. It was whites who demanded more land, while Africans suffered increasingly from a serious shortage of land. In the years at the turn of the century the land issue in Natal had become acute. Between 1891 and 1904 the average number of Africans per square mile had increased from 15.72 to 29.7 while the applicant figure for Zululand in 1904 was only 17.1 to the square mile.
The majority of the African reserves were located in the coastal hinterland of southern, south-western and eastern Natal. In the east the five large reserves were Inanda, Umvoti, Tugela, Impafana and Klip River, consisting of blocks of land making up 1,085,388 acres which stretched from Pietermaritzburg in the south to the Thukela river in the north and to the Umsinga area in the north-west. Much of the terrain is such that successful farming is difficult. But high annual rainfalls in parts of the Inanda and Umvoti reserves allowed for year-round grazing. Independent African producers could still be found in the reserves in the early years of the twentieth century, although evictions from nearby white-owned farms in the previous years had led to reserve land, increasingly being overpopulated and overworked. Heavy over-grazing and a constant ploughing of the shallow topsoil had resulted in widespread erosion. Hence these reserves were described as barren, rugged and cold. J. E. Norenius, who arrived in Natal in 1901 as CSM missionary, travelled through the Umvoti reserve and reported on the many who had been evicted from the bordering farmland, "There they spend their lives hidden and forgotten. Even nature seems to hold them down in the darkness of heathendom". The lands in the reserves being arid, overpopulated and not able to support the many who lived on it, led to a growing number of men being forced to seek wage labour elsewhere. But to have one's home in the reserve while working outside its borders was yet preferred by many because it gave them a bargaining power which they would not have if they lived on a white farmer's land. In this way they would have possibilities to seek alternative employment or refuse to work and so extract more favourable terms from their employers. Overcrowding on the reserves did however imply that, despite hard labour and high rentals demanded by white farmers, more than half of the African population of Natal lived as tenants on private properties owned by Europeans.

Africans could live on white-owned land either as labour tenants or as rent tenants. Labour tenancy was the most common contract in northern Natal, such as in the southern part of Dundee division where there were no African reserves. Africans were therefore obliged to resort to living on the vast lands held by white farmers. Farm labour tenancy was defined as a system of land tenure whereby a family in return for the work by at least one member of the homestead was allowed to reside on a landlord's farm, cultivate an own piece of ground and have access to grazing for stock. The homestead-head usually agreed that one or several of his sons would annually supply the farmer with six months' labour at a nominal wage. But because labour contracts seldom were in written form, farmers would make use of family members as they pleased. During peak periods, such as weeding and harvesting, all inhabitants including women and children had to provide required labour without payment. They were required to work for farmers at precisely those times of the year when they should have been working their own gardens. Furthermore, they were often unable to plant more than the minimum needed for their own subsistence. Unlike independent African homestead
producers, tenants did generally not share harvested products with the farmer. In one part of northern Natal of concern in this study, the CSM Oscarsberg region, labour tenancy was particularly widespread.

A second category of Africans on white-owned land were the rent tenants who paid for their tenure either in cash rent or agricultural products. Because it permitted greater independence, such contracts were considerably more attractive to Africans than labour tenancies. During the nineteenth century there were rather favourable opportunities for rent tenancy contracts on the large tracts of land, foremost in northern Natal, that were held up of absentee landowning companies. The companies were more concerned about land speculation than in the development of commercial agriculture. At the turn of the century rent tenants were found, e.g. at kwaJobe, near Oscarsberg. Early in the 20th century, one noticed how such tenants differed from neighbouring labour tenants by their particularly proud and independent manners. Because of a rapidly growing market for agricultural produce, the large-scale immigration of white settlers and a political climate which was becoming increasingly critical to absentee landlords, also their areas were gradually developed into white farmland. The new farm-owners regarded the former rent tenants owners as a valuable potential source of labour. Farmers therefore tried to change tenants into farm labourers. Rent tenancy, by whites contemptuously labelled "kaffir-farming" or "squatting", came to interfere with farmers' increasing demands for cheap labour. Farmers frequently complained over their not being able to motivate the old tenants, now farm labourers, to work as they were expected to do, "A native will rather pay rent and squat, and do as he likes, than live rentfree and work." By 1904 few cases of pure rent tenancies remained in Natal proper. The majority of Africans lived on white-owned farms under conditions that more or less resembled those of labour tenancies.

A third category of land available to African cultivators were areas which were managed by many Western missionary Societies, the largest stretches of land being those surrounding mission stations of the American Zulu Mission along the coast. At a time when the colonial government still appreciated the educational and "civilising" potential of Western missions, and an African peasantry still was desirable for its supply of foodstuffs to the market, land had been earmarked as Mission reserves. From 1855 the government had recognised twenty such reserves, which varied from 5,500 acres to 12,922 acres in extent and totalling some 153,273 acres. In addition to the Mission reserves, there was land granted to or purchased privately by various missions to be used for establishing mission stations, mission farms and congregation centres, all regarded as springboards for evangelistic outreach and land where Africans could settle. At the turn of the century land, either granted or purchased by mission, was almost equivalent to that of the mission reserves, amounting to 140,998 acres. From the mid-nineteenth century chiefly American Congregationalist and Methodist missionaries
began to encourage individual tenure and small-scale ownership on mission-held lands which, in combination with Western methods of commercial agriculture, resulted in the emergence of an African Christian élite, distinguished by their production of crops, particularly intended for the colonial market.42

There were also progressive Africans who deliberately opted for individual land-purchase, which choice came to represent a major means whereby the insecure and humiliating conditions of labour tenancy could be resisted.43 As from the 1860s, African Christians as well as others began buying land. The well-to-do bought private or Crown land while the less affluent, who could not raise the capital required for outright purchase, leased land. They achieved at least a certain amount of independence.44 Since the 1870s and initially as a result of missionary support African purchase of land was considerable in Natal. Particularly in the north-west, e.g. in the Klip River County and along the foothills of the Drakensberg, a considerable number of farms were bought either by individual Africans or by groups under the leadership of chiefs.45 In the late nineteenth century a considerable number of land syndicates were established along lines, similar to developments in the 1860s when African Christians created the Edendale Methodist mission farm. For these independent or semi-independent peasants and farmers living conditions were considerably better than among the less fortunate labour tenants or wage-labourers on the white-owned farms. Indeed, already by the end of the century a class of well-off landowners, an African petty bourgeoisie, was formed among Africans who lived off their shares on the land held by the syndicates, on their individual land tenure, on mission reserves or on mission farms.46

Before 1879 the allocation of land in Zululand had been in the hands of the Zulu king. By 1902 Zululand consisted almost entirely of Crown land, worked by homestead dwellers in communal tenure. But there were exceptions; among them the small plots owned by European officials at the magisterial offices. More importantly the only region, where whites were able to purchase private land, was the "Proviso B" section of the Emtonjaneni district in southern-central Zululand. In return for Britain's official recognition of the Boer New Republic in 1886, Boers dropped their claims to a protectorate over Dinuzulu, the son of the last king, on condition that Boer farmers were allowed to retain ownership over their farms in the "Proviso B".47 There were also the sites which under the old regime had been granted to a few missions operating north of the Thukela river. Among them were the two Norwegian societies which held rather large tracts of land adjacent to their mission stations. A considerable area in this respect were the 13,000 acres encompassing the Entumeni mission station, once granted to pioneering missionary Schreuder by king Cethwayo. This grant was confirmed on a map, drawn in 1873 by no less person than Shepstone.48 But with the arrival of settler self-rule in Natal and Zululand's subsequent incorporation into the Colony in the early years of the twentieth century, the legal ownership of these lands was still
uncertain. In north-western Natal, where no African reserves had been demarcated and where virtually all land was owned by white landlords, the situation was very different in comparison to Zululand proper. At the turn of the century the overwhelming number of Africans in this part of the country lived on chiefly Afrikaner-owned farms as rent-tenants or labour tenants.49

The Homestead and the Changes in African Social Institutions

To the Natal Nguni, south of the Thukela river, the destruction of the Zulu kingdom and the arrival of the Boers implied that tribute previously extracted by the Zulu state, to some respects was replaced by Boer demands on surpluses. While the Boer state nonetheless remained financially weak, the new conditions became advantageous to Africans and enabled a remarkable revival in the fortunes of homestead production.50 When the Boers later were replaced by a similarly rather weak British rule, Natal Nguni were generally able to respond successfully to the changing conditions. This was advantageous for those who lived close to the new economic centres. Their surplus of foremost maize was sold on the markets and until the 1880s, when the price on maize steadily increased, many homesteads were able to meet the financial demands made on them by settlers and government.51 Furthermore, without the need to supply the Zulu kingdom with cattle and, in the early years of colonial rule, with a considerable freedom to move their cattle between the various types of land, homestead-heads began to build up their herds which in turn enabled them to marry more frequently. It has been estimated that, by late 1840s, each homestead-head in the Umvoti region had an average of four wives.52

It was foremost the homesteads situated in the vicinity of the new economic centres such as Pietermaritzburg and Durban which benefited from the urban markets. The influence of markets and a dependence on sales for money was therefore evident in a reserve such as Inanda on the south coast, not far from either Pietermaritzburg, or Durban. This was also the case for coastal areas where commercial activities first was spurred by the early present missionaries of the American Zulu Mission and later by an increasing number of white farmers.53 Although further away from larger markets, the use of cash was probably widespread also among Africans, living on absentee-owned farms. An example was the Dundee division of northern Natal where rent tenants sold their crops to pay their fees to absentee landlords. As a general rule it may be assumed that with growing distance from the central districts northwards to the Thukela valley and the border region to Zululand, the influence of markets and a corresponding dependency on cash ought to have decreased. But a growing number of white traders were opening stores to tap homestead production also in some of the far remote areas of Natal. Also Africans in Inanda appear to have been particularly active in bartering local produce and goods, such as blankets and tools, with fellow black people in the
Thukela valley, in Zululand and further up-country. However, in regions distant from central Natal, the impact of trade was probably uneven and should not be overestimated. Commodities were exchanged for goats, cattle and hides made up of the surplus already produced which not required drastical changes in the homestead mode of production.

In central Natal the benefit of the new economic dispensation was apparent. The proximity to the Pietermaritzburg market was one of the major conditions for the success of African converts who in 1851 on a mutual share basis with a renegade Methodist missionary purchased and settled on the Edendale farm. This was true also of homestead dwellers who exchanged market produce and goods among themselves. Homestead-heads were able to extend their gardens, raise their incomes and use earned money to purchase more cattle with the object of increasing their labour power and thus furthermore improve their ability to supply the market with produce. The importance of these changes was not only in creating new opportunities for independence, away from the dependence which hitherto had bound an individual to the collective resources of his people, but also in the social stratification of people they gave rise to. Wealth accumulated by of homestead-heads close to markets tended to raise the number of cattle required for lobolo and by the 1860s this increase put marriage beyond the means of most young men. But it similarly encouraged the polygyny of older and richer men. According to Shepstone, it was not unusual that forty to fifty head of cattle was required for a commoner’s daughter and one hundred for a daughter of a chief, while in pre-Shakan times lobolo seldom exceeded five head of cattle. Alarmed at the prospect of a growing number of unsettled youths in the colony the government in 1869 attempted to regulate the number of cattle which could be demanded by a father. The number of cattle was maximised for commoners to ten, for sons of hereditary chiefs to fifteen and for appointed chiefs to twenty, with an unlimited number for hereditary chiefs. The Marriage Law of 1869 caused an outrage among missionaries and settlers who saw it as sanctioning polygyny and lobolo. Coupled to the Marriage Law was a tax of £5 for each wife. Naturally the tax was unpopular among Natal Africans and failed to produce the anticipated revenue. It was abolished in 1875 and the hut tax was doubled. The limitation put on lobolo cattle did, as suggested by Lambert, both improve the younger males’ marriage prospects and help to end the monopoly of older, wealthier men.

As a result of the discovery of diamonds in 1868, the arrival of new immigrants and a second generation of settlers coming of age in the 1870s Africans’ opportunities for wage labour increased. But the discovery of diamonds also lured hundreds of men to work in the diggings near Kimberley. Young men, who worked for the payment of their fathers’ hut taxes and to meet the new demands for commodities, also invested in cattle and hence marriage opportunities. The number of marriages increased. But new
problems arose. With the increase in the number of homesteads at a time when the amount of arable land was increasingly becoming scarce and the African population with the 1840s had increased threefold, a reduction, both in the size of homesteads and in the average number of cattle held, became evident. In the 1880s the fragmentation of homesteads resulted in a considerable decline in polygynous homes. Few men other than chiefs had more than two wives and many had only one.

Yet the pre-capitalist homestead economy and its vital social institutions, albeit weakened, came to endure and functioned along-side or within the framework of colonialism and capitalism. But this is largely a superficial picture. The new conditions that Africans faced, i.e. reductions in land occupation, the presence of markets, the new concern for individual accumulation and the hut tax did not only require cash and wage labour, they also brought about changes which determined new conditions both for lobolo and polygyny. The increased hut tax was a further economic burden on polygynous men and hence the number of polygynous marriages continued to decline. By the turn of the century merely some 20 per cent of the men had more than one wife. Fixing the number of lobolo cattle and the time of their transfer had a destabilizing effect on marriages. A father lost his protective right in respect of his married daughter and could no longer be required to return a portion of the lobolo in event of a dissolution of marriage. While lobolo cattle were not returnable, women could similarly leave their husbands, knowing that their abandoning them would not hurt their fathers. The changed conditions for lobolo led to a shift from the previous reciprocal obligations to one of direct exchange where, as Guy claims, the colonial state had created a "target" towards which the migrant workers laboured as well as introduced changes which implied that the lobolo transaction came to be seen as a form of a sale.

In the early years of colonialism the main concern of British rule was to maintain and support the homestead. Lambert states that, "Throughout these years and until the end of the colonial period the thrust of official policy in Natal remained the preservation of the hierarchical and patriarchal nature of African society." This is a central theme of his Betrayed Trust and vital for his attempts to describe how the "trust" – that only later was to be "betrayed" by the settler government – was developed in the course of the colonial period. Lambert also questions the assumption that the government should have used taxation as a weapon to force Africans onto the labour market. He claims that the overall purpose with the taxation was to raise revenue. Lambert avoids taking issue with other scholars. But, as recalled from the above, at least Welsh argues that one object in the imposition of the hut tax was also the intention to force Africans into the labour market as well as to effect social change among them. Lambert also tends to play down the potential relationship between taxation and wage labour and thereby the role of taxation for
effecting change in Natal African society. He refers to white farmers' inability to supply the markets, in contrast to Africans' higher competitiveness, and argues that Africans' self-sufficiency and relative access to land implied few Africans to have been dependent on wage labour before the 1870s. Too heavy stress on the Shepstonian mechanisms to preserve the "hierarchical and patriarchal nature of African society" or to reinforce collective responsibilities may however obscure the equally built-in mechanisms for change. In avoiding direct confrontation, the Shepstonian system certainly sought to preserve "peace" but it was also a determined effort in trying to manipulate or reorient existing structures of the pre-capitalist black society. Even if the colonial government remained rather weak during a large part of the nineteenth century, the seven-shilling hut tax introduced in 1849 may yet be seen as an important example of the transforming aspects of this mechanism. Certainly, the largely voluntary bartering at markets and with traders had its share in the transformation of Natal African society. Nevertheless, beside the decisive restriction to Africans' land occupation it was the colonial government which introduced the hut tax which was equally imposed all across the country and unmistakably forced homestead-heads to be involved in new economic relationships in which cash necessarily was required. As long as a majority of homesteads had access to surplus agricultural products, which could be sold on markets – presumably up to and including the 1880s – this circumstance has been largely overlooked by historians. But it needs to be underlined that with the introduction of the hut tax in 1849 the first step had been taken in a process which would lead the homestead away from self-sufficiency to a situation which demanded increasing dependence on outside factors. Naturally, this process was increasingly accentuated with the doubled hut tax of 1875. Furthermore, seen from the point of view of the crucial role of African women in pre-capitalist society, colonialism and the hut tax added to the already existing system of gender exploitation. Guy puts the issue very clearly, "the surplus created by wives and children was now appropriated not only by their husbands and fathers, but by the colonial state as well."

The dependence on outside factors and the introduction of cash into the pre-capitalist women-cattle-labour power cycle implied that values, which were independent of this cycle, came into being. Increased need for wage labour led to homestead dwellers becoming alienated from production at home and hence no longer merely confined to the creation and control of women's labour power. To the people living north of the Thukela river in the yet independent kingdom of Zululand the new conditions for colonial Africans who sold their labour or their produce were discernible. To them the Natal Africans were Amakhafula, i.e. those who had been spat out – a Zulu conception of an alienated man – or, as they also put it, from dry and healthy maize they turned into rotten maize, "from maize with a potential for self-sustained growth to corn which had softened and lost that quality."


Apart from the alienation of land, the presence of traders and markets, the introduction of the hut tax and a corresponding need for cash and wage labour, there were other influences to take into account. In the 1870s, Western missions began to make major inroads among the African population in Natal. Missionaries, such as those of the American Zulu Mission and Methodists, rallied against both polygyny and lobolo and propagated for the adoption of Western values, such as individual tenure and commercial attitudes towards cattle and agriculture. The presence of comparatively small groups of African Christian monogamous families, markedly differing from the majority population in their object to create wealth for themselves as individuals, were of course not new. These people were to a great extent in the forefront of Africans’ agricultural achievements and, in this respect, also provided models for homestead Africans. But as the number of individual conversions grew, so also new strains were added to homestead and kinship structures. Not only was the encouragement of individualism the very antithesis of homestead communalism but it also came to contribute to the further undermining of the homestead as an economic unit, particularly noticeable when labour services of single converts was removed. With the new wave of conversions occurring in the 1890s the strain was to become increasingly evident.

While, beginning in the 1870s, the withdrawal of a growing number of young men to wage labour led to a weakening of the control and authority of homestead-heads, it did not destroy the homestead economy which could function despite their absence. Seen against the background of the division of labour in the pre-capitalist homestead a similar withdrawal of women and girls would however have been disastrous and the crucial role of women for the survival of the homestead economy was recognised by the colonial government. After Shepstone’s retirement from the public scene the recognition became evident in the 1878 codification of “Native Law” which gave legal enforcement to the subordination of women. The purpose of the Law was to ensure that women remained tied to their households. If a woman abandoned her home, the Law spelled out, courts were obliged to return her to her father or husband. With the 1891 Code of Native Law male control over women was further strengthened with clauses which not only allowed homestead-head the right to inflict corporal punishment on women but also to virtually control all the aspects of female life. Thus a system was created which allowed the young men to seek wages away from home while, by social sanction and law, women and children as far as possible were to remain at home, responsible for the production of food and the reproduction of labourers.

Before the 1890s, Africans were generally able to cope with colonial presence, because of their production of an agricultural surplus, occasionally supplemented by wage labour. Indeed, the 1880s was the heyday of African agriculture when, after the discovery of diamonds and subsequently gold, homestead producers became the key suppliers of food for the burgeoning industrial centres. Africans’ competitiveness was in this respect
largely due to their lower production costs and dependency on labour, mostly from their own domestic circles. But by the early 1890s the scene changed. An extensive selling out of Crown lands and a widespread fencing of the countryside which limited Africans' freedom to move cattle and the choice of land, was coupled to a series of new charges on reserve and Crown lands. Between 1877 and 1894, the African population nearly doubled. During the 1890s, an accelerated spread of settler agriculture and a further sale of land, which previously had remained as Crown- or in absentee-owned hands, resulted in an increase of evictions from farms and a further overcrowding of the reserves. While reserve dwellers in the early 1880s in average were able to use some 55 acres per hut, the figure for 1906 was reduced to 36 acres. Africans production of maize in the early years of the new century was only half of what it had been in the early 1890s. The overcrowding of the reserves and restrictions on the size of applicable gardens on white-owned farms implied that few Natal Africans could continue to adequately supply markets. When food production barely kept pace with the rising numbers in the growth of population and food shortage was becoming common in spite of women working more diligently in fields, the result became an increased need for young men, and later their fathers, to find wage labour in Natal as well as outside the colony borders. By the mid-1890s an estimated twenty per cent of all able-bodied Africans in Natal spent some two-thirds of their productive time in search of work outside their homesteads.

In Zululand the people prospered during the reign of king Mpande kaSenzangakhona (c.1798-1872) from 1840 to 1872. Internal tensions did occur but when king Mpande died, his son Cethswayo succeeded him without the kingdom being divided. Although not a trading people, the Zulu were naturally not entirely sealed from outside influences, a fact which was particularly evident among people who lived along the coast. Most homesteads had long since exchanged cattle and hides for blankets, tools and other commodities. But in contrast to the situation in Natal this does not seem to substantially have altered the basis of their production. The bulk of the population was still supported by the labour expended within the homesteads. Although surplus was extracted by the state, the Zulu consumed the products of their own labour which largely provided the means of subsistence and reproduction in the homestead.

When changes occurred after the invasion of 1879, and particularly with the end of the civil war in 1884, the previous success of Zulu kings to protect their subjects from outside interference led to now more rapid changes. Apart from the interference of Boer farmers in north-west and of Natal government officials in the south, the civil war was on the one hand a struggle between and within groups moving towards a capitalist domination of Zululand, such as those living along the coast and since long involved in trade, and on the other hand factions attempting to revive and retain the pre-capitalist system. After the civil war and the British had given away the north-
western parts of the Colony to the Boers, the remanding parts of Zululand became a British colony in 1887. The Governor of Natal became also Governor of Zululand and administered the territory through a Resident Commissioner at Eshowe who supervised the Resident Magistrates of the six administrative districts into which Zululand was divided. Although Zululand in a formal sense was a British colony already from the start, it was nonetheless dominated by its neighbour in the south. With officials largely drawn from Natal's Department of Native Affairs the result was a gradual implementation of the Shepstonian system of administration also in Zululand. As was the case with Natal Nguni several decades earlier, the Zulu resisted attempts at outright dispossession. The colonial powers lacked the facilities and infrastructures to control large numbers of the Zululand population. In keeping with developments in early colonial Natal, the government was compelled to recognise and ensure an adequate functioning of homestead production on which the whole system was founded. In terms of the 1878 Natal Code of Native Law — "so far as applicable" — extended to Zululand on its annexation, also in Zululand the magistrates had to pay considerable attention to all cases related to the maintenance of the productive and reproductive role of women by keeping them in the homestead as well as by ensuring a continuation of lobolo. 87

Unlike Natal in the late 1840s, the consolidation of the colonial power north of the Thukela went parallel with the Natal white settlers' increased economic strength and growing influence in the affairs of the colonial state. In due course these developments were to lead to a reinforcement of the settlers' long-standing claims on Zululand resources of land and labour. But colonial consolidation was also coupled by the advancement of new and powerful economic forces. The hut tax had first been payable in 1888 but because of the short-lived royalist uprising of the same year it was successfully collected only in 1889. The government's introduced demand for money into the economy of Zululand coincided with an hitherto unprecedented demand for labour in neighbouring territories, following the 1886 mineral revolution at the Rand. Zulu men moving into a migrant wage labour was therefore both sudden and of large-scale dimensions. Whilst cattle at first were sold for the payment of the hut tax, the amount of cash in Zululand increased rapidly and, as from the early 1890s, money for taxes was raised largely through wage labour outside the country. 88

In Natal, developments in the 1870s thus led to greater opportunities for wage labour and resulted in an increasing number of young men getting married. But in Zululand of the late 1880s, the extension of the Natal Law with its regulations on the number of lobolo cattle had made it more difficult for the young men to marry. With an unspecified number of cattle, ranging between three to six beasts in pre-colonial times, the number had now been doubled or tripled, according to the Natal law. Apart from making it more difficult for the young men to marry and establish homesteads of their own, it also contributed to an increased concern for individual accumulation and indicated
greater divisions between Zulu who possessed property and those without. Zululand was increasingly drawing closer to a situation similar to Natal’s and, attracted to a growing cash market, additional numbers of white traders opened more stores for the sale of commodities among the Zulu. At first sight the way of Zulu life did not seem to have radically been changed through the loss of independence: the homestead mode of production was retained, polygyny and lobolo still generally practised. But below the surface, basic principles of marriage and homestead formation were altered. As soon as the colonial state was established and from the time, when the hut tax first was successfully collected in 1889, capitalism began to dominate Zulu society. In the 1890s Zulu society changed fundamentally, "from a society in which man was the aim of production to one in which production was the aim of man." But the development was only the beginning of circumstances which were to accelerate during the early twentieth century. By the 1890s there had not yet been a Zulu peasantry in the sense of agricultural commodity producers. Similarly, while the process of proletarianization in Zululand probably began in the 1880s with the destruction of the Zulu kingdom, it was still a very uneven and jagged process. At the beginning of the new century, people in some of the southern districts were strained because of the social transformation occurring among them, while people to the north seemed to prosper well into the twentieth century. While there were some 155,000 African inhabitants in Zululand proper in 1892, the number of whites amounted to only 700, although the number of whites by 1894 had risen to some 1,000. It was only in the years after 1906 that their numbers increased dramatically at a time when most crucial changes occurred among people north of the Thukela – that of the alienation of their land.

Changes in the Position of Chiefs

After the arrival of the British in 1843 and the limited resources made available for colonial administration, Shepstone was obliged to acknowledge the role of the chiefs as allocators of land and rulers over their people. The authority of fifty-six existing chiefs was recognised. For the inclusion of remnants of other chiefdoms and refugees from Zululand, Shepstone created nine new chiefdoms under government-appointed chiefs. After the upheavals under Shaka and his death in 1828, the Boer invasion of 1837 and the 1839-1840 civil war between Dingane and Mpande, Shepstone had to relate to a society experiencing rapid change. In some chiefdoms authority was on the decline, while people in other chiefdoms, who had been prominent in pre-Shakan days, now saw new opportunities to re-establish their chiefdoms and authority. Uncertainty in the prevailing situation proved advantageous to the establishing of colonial rule. It enabled an exploitation of old tensions between chiefdoms, a disfavouring of former clients to Zulu state and a parallel boosting of other chiefdoms, presumably more loyal to the new order. Among the former belonged the Ntuli people who during the nineteenth century had sunk to relative insignificance. A group of Ntuli under chief Mnini kaManti
had been forced to migrate to the far south of Natal because land resources, set aside for them in the Umnini reserve south of Durban, was no longer sufficient. Another group, who lived in the vicinity of the Inhlangakazi mountain in the Natal Midlands, had obviously remained rather prosperous until the 1860s, living under chief Funwayo kaMpopoma who was said to have had thirty wives and over a hundred children. But as white farming expanded in the fertile lands of the adjacent New Hanover division, decline was experienced also for this Ntuli group. By the turn of the century Funwayo's grandson, chief Mdiya kaNdlela, was struggling to reinforce his own position within the chiefdom, a struggle which in part involved his subjects' relations to two competing and neighbouring missions, one of which was the CSM in Appelsbosch region.

Conversely, other chiefs who had been prominent in pre-Shakan days were now when the Zulu kingdom had lost its influence south of the Thukela, able to reinforce their authority, while the weakness of the colonial state gave them considerable room for action. Among them were the Thembu and the Chunu who from a position in Zululand in the 1820s had been driven southward but successfully recovered under colonial rule. Among them were also the Nyuswa, a sub-clan of the Ngcobo, who around 1800 had been a large grouping of people north of Thukela. After an internal power struggle between the Sihayo and Mgabi factions, Shaka had expelled the entire chiefdom from Zululand and forced them to migrate southwards. There the smaller Mgabi faction broke away from the main group and moved further south to eventually settle in the vast area known as the Valley of the Thousand Hills, near Pietermaritzburg. The main group, the descendants of Sihayo, remained on areas further north and there, during Shepstone's rule, were allocated land in the region of the upper Mona stream near the Noodsberg Hills. In the early years of the new century this main group had been divided under different chiefs who resided at the junction of the Umvoti and Inanda reserves. One of them was Sotobe who, although supported by the local magistrate, found it difficult to maintain his authority, because many of his subordinate men for long periods were absent on wage labour and several women were in danger of being lost to intruding competitors for power. Some of these were Christian evangelists who were supported by CSM, operating from the Appelsbosch mission.

It was to the government-appointed chiefs of the newly created chiefdoms that the support of the colonial power was most crucial. Some of them prospered and expanded and among them was the "government tribe" of the Quamu people, based in the Umsinga division in Natal, which with a steady influx of refugees from across the border to Zululand, developed into the largest chiefdom in the colony. Because of influx, its size and spread on also white-owned land, the Quamu were internally divided. This was particularly evident in the border region to Zululand, surrounding the wade at Rorke's Drift in the Dundee division of northern Natal. At the turn of the century, due to the dominance of Boer farmers and the seemingly heterogeneous population of
whom many were immigrants from various parts of Zululand, the lack of available land had created an environment in which pre-capitalist homestead production and the influence of Quamu chief Kula and his district headman Mtele was weakened. With a continuous social transformation among the people in the region, several of the chief’s subjects seem to have been attracted by the availability of the tracts of land owned by one of the local missions, i.e. the CSM stations on the Oscarsberg and Amoibie farms.\textsuperscript{102}

Although chiefs were supported by the government, it were the hereditary chiefs who were the more respected among their subjects.\textsuperscript{103} This was important when obtaining services from their people and even more so when enforcing the demands, imposed on them by the colonial government. Most important in this respect was the annual collection of the hut tax as well as the \textit{isibalo}, the forced labour service. Both obligations forced chiefs to provide the state with a labourer for every eleven of buts during six months of the year for public work, such as on the colony’s roads. The \textit{isibalo} system was a constant source of grievance among labourers, because the rate of pay was lower than offered on the open labour market. While it only involved those members of a chiefdom who lived in the reserves and on Crown land, it caused tensions within the applicable chiefdom and envy over people who were exempted because they lived on private lands and on mission farms. The lack of a proper system of rotation also gave chiefs the possibility of repeatedly sending out men against whom they bore a grudge.\textsuperscript{104} But although some chiefs took undue advantage of the system "most found themselves squeezed between the pressures exerted on them by the government and those exerted by their people."\textsuperscript{105} The ultimate authority of a chief was dependent on his ability to distribute land to his followers. But when the settlers consolidated their hold on land during the 1870s thereby preventing chiefs to allocate land on private farms and whilst the African population during the same time increased, forcing sections of chiefdoms under district headmen to find arable land outside the reserves, chiefdoms were fragmented and the chief’s authority weakened. When individual members converted to Christianity in order to avoid the humiliation of the \textit{isibalo}, few chiefs accepted this further erosion of loyalty and the withdrawal of their people from their obligations. This resulted in a hostility of many chiefs to missionaries and their converts and to chiefs’ contempt for inhabitants of mission lands.\textsuperscript{106} With the government’s attempt to strengthen the authority of chiefs, the ground for future conflict between government and missions was laid. (below, Chapters five and six).

Both the 1878 Code of Native Law and its 1891 substitute underlined a chief’s authority to include also private lands. But with the removal of a chief’s judicial power to try minor criminal cases while at the same time introducing the possibility for appeal to magistrates, the chief’s authority was further confined.\textsuperscript{107} While the chiefs’ power thus was restricted to the control of land, which in turn was increasingly being limited, legislation implied an ongoing restriction of the control over the productive and
reproductive resources of each homestead. While chiefs were unable to build a foundation for social dominance independent of the structure of cattle and labour power, they too were ultimately dependent on the reproductive and productive capacity of women. With the further alienation of Africans' land and an increased dominance by white settlers in the latter part of the nineteenth century, the role of women was to become even more crucial.

The most important effect of the consolidation of settler farming in combination with the granting of self-government in 1893 was the provision for the settler government to enforce its authority on their African subjects. Although the government aimed to uphold the status of chiefs because they collected revenue and kept "Natives obedient", the ministry's intention was not so much to bolster chieftaincy power as to bend it to settler requirements. This was foremost seen in regions since long dominated by white farmers and where the authority of chiefs had been reduced. This was particularly evident in north Natal, in the Dundee division. Here, where virtually all land was owned by Boer farmers and where there were no reserves and mission lands, the lack of African acreage implied that a chief had lost all his authority to control the distribution of land – and hence the productive and reproductive resources of his chiefdom. Because his subjects lived scattered on white farmland, on mission farms or as migrant workers in urban centres, they were free from the chief's jurisdiction and extremely difficult to exercise control over. When trials involving civil cases on private lands in 1895 was transferred from chief to the magistrate's court, a chief's power to exercise any control over people living on white-owned lands was further limited and almost solely confined to the binding force of kinship within the chiefdom. While few farmers before the mid-1890s were able to fully control their labourers, this detail now changed. With the chief's diminished authority over followers on private lands, the last pre-capitalist obstacle against a farmers' full control over a labour force was removed and the white landlord's hold over his tenants correspondingly strengthened. This was precisely the situation at hand in the CSM Oscarsberg region.

But also in the reserves a chief's power was weakened. The legal ground for the settler government's direct interference with the administration of the reserves was laid in 1896 when, through Act 37 of that year, the authority over the reserves was transferred from the Supreme Chief to the Natal ministry. After 1897, when the government decidedly was dominated by farming interests, the decline in a chief's authority accelerated. Numerous regulations and rules issued by the government were often contradictory and confusing. While the intention was to strengthen a chief's hold over his subjects, particularly the youth at a time when many of them were seeking wage labour outside Natal, the government came to undermine the most important instrument of control it had at its disposal: the chief. A series of measures were introduced which all contributed to the weakening of chiefs' powers, making it more difficult for
them to maintain their "middle position" between government and followers. Distinctions between appointed and hereditary chiefs were increasingly blurred and more power was given to district headmen, now appointed only by the approval of white magistrates. This led to a further fragmentation of chiefdoms, not seldom leading to sections of chiefdoms breaking away to form new units. Territorial fragmentation was also exploited by the administration as a means of undermining the position of more powerful, usually hereditary, chiefs by a formal division of their chiefdoms. By 1906, when there were some 200 chiefs in Natal, not less than nineteen chiefdoms had been divided since 1893. It was in the Umvoti reserve in eastern Natal where the government's tactic to "divide and rule" had gone furthest. There a number of smaller chiefdoms were created irrespective of the circumstance that people belonged to the same clan or sub-clan. Examples are the Nyuswa, Ntuli and Quabe. With the fragmentation of chiefdoms followed that increasing numbers of chiefs had fewer homesteads over which to rule, less resources at the collective disposal of the chiefdom and less land to distribute among subjects. A chief's authority to allocate land was further limited when, beginning in 1902, no homestead could move into a reserve without the permission of a magistrate and no homesteads could be established unless it consisted of at least four huts.

Ultimately, chieftainship was a reminiscence of pre-colonial times. Both the position of chiefs and their duties were changed before they could fit into the new colonial structures. The government had created a situation which stressed a chiefs' role as a government subordinate and where their authority was exercised more at the government's pleasure than in own rights. The little power a chief still maintained was subject to local magistrates and the courts whereas the chief's authority increasingly was being questioned by his followers. As paid officials, dependent for their powers more on the approbation of the government than that of their people and upholding the often unpopular and misunderstood laws, many of them came to hold very little esteem by their subjects. Hence, in the early years of the twentieth century many Africans had reason to regard their chiefs as puppets of the settler regime.

In Zululand the civil war between spokesmen for the old Zulu order, working for the revival of the kingdom on the one hand, and people assisted by outside forces who worked to ensure a political division as a means of reinforcing their own positions, created a class of chiefs loyal to the colonial authorities. The conflict between the Usuthu and the Mandlakazi can be seen as the result of attempts by colonial officials to create a class of compliant chiefs. When Britain annexed the country in 1887 it took over the much hurt remnants of the Zulu kingdom which still was threatened by the bitter Usuthu-Mandlakazi rivalry. Within a year of annexation the British administration sparked off renewed fighting by allowing the Mandlakazi, the archenemies of the royalist Usuthu, to occupy their old territory which included many Usuthu suppor-
lers. Dinuzulu and his followers rose against the British, took shelter on the Ceza mountain, a traditional stronghold on the borders of the New Republic, raided those considered loyal to colonial rule and in June 1888 attacked and defeated the Mandlakazi at Nongoma. After having been crushed by the British, Dinuzulu and his men were put on trial in 1889, found guilty of high treason and sentenced to imprisonment on the lonely island of St. Helena. As a result of the civil war the majority of chiefs of the old Zulu kingdom had died, were in gaol or in exile, while several of the now powerful chiefs were foreigners, loyal to colonial rule. This was particularly evident in the south Zululand which already before the annexation in 1887 had been claimed as the Zululand reserve and by way of annexation had been first to come under the dominance of the colonial government. The defeat, trial and expulsion of Dinuzulu concluded the last act of resistance to white rule by the pre-colonial Zulu ruling class.

With the extension of the Natal system to Zululand, officially recognised chiefs were to rule over their subjects, while they at the same time took on the responsibility to be government servants. Through the extension of the 1878 Natal Code and unlike their colleagues in Natal the chiefs in Zululand retained jurisdiction in less important criminal cases as well as minor civil legal issues, while benefiting from the fines and fees of their courts. As local administrators of customary law they also continued to control polygynous homesteads, kinship and the transfer of lobolo. At first sight it may appear that conditions in Zululand to a great extent still relied on the reciprocal relationships between chiefs and followers. But analogous to the situation in Natal, from the moment the chief was appointed by the government the material basis of his authority began to change, and, as emphasised by Guy, it was only as long as he served the interests of the colonial government that a chief retained his rank.

In the eyes of their subjects several Zululand chiefs ought to have been seen as colonial collaborators. Dinuzulu, in his St. Helena exile, had evaded such suspicions while other chiefs of the royal party with a similarly retained popular credibility found it increasingly difficult to live under colonial conditions. Among them were Mehlokazulu kaSihayo (d. 1906) of the Umgibe who lived to the north of Rocke’s Drift on the Zululand side of the bordering Mzinyathi (Buffalo) river. He was the eldest son of chief Sihayo who had been especially favourite to king Cetshwayo but who after the “settlement” following the Anglo Zulu War of 1879 was forced to leave his chiefdom. While his father had been killed at the battle of Ulundi in 1883, Mehlokazulu played a prominent role in the civil war and, after the defeat of Cetshwayo, emerged as one of the new leaders of the Usuthu party, siding with Dinuzulu in his struggle against the Mandlakazi. As a chief loyal to the old order he was in the 1880s driven from district to district, for a time living in the New Republic before returning to his father’s people in the Nqutu district of Zululand.
Other chiefs had been able to remain with their people but with considerably reduced powers. Among them were Sitheku kaMpende, the highest ranking chief in the land between the Mhlatuze and White Mfolozi rivers. He was one of the princes of the Zulu kingdom, the son of king Mpande and the brother of Cethswayo, the last king. In the 1879 settlement with Britain he had lost much of his formal authority, being placed in a subordinate position under the government-appointed chief Gawozi of the Mpungose. Because of his traditional prominence, Sitheku nonetheless continued to play an active role in Zulu politics. In 1882 he was one of the leaders of the 2,000 men strong deputation to Natal who demanded the restoration of the king and the permission for the king and his family to return to their homes. The 1887 partitioning of Zululand between Boers and British proved to be severely hurtful to Sitheku as his large homestead now fell under the "Proviso B" section in which Boers farmers were given private property rights. By the end of the year Sitheku furthermore came under a new landlord when the farm, on which his homestead was built, was purchased by a Swedish missionary. This marked the beginning of a long, strained and at times intensely tense relationship between Sitheku, his followers and the local CSM missionaries.

In 1893, the British government as a result of its failure to retain "peace" and due to the heavy costs in subduing the Zulu royalist uprising had reconsidered its policy in Zululand. Sir Marshall Clarke, the successful Administrator of Basutoland, was appointed Resident Commissioner. This marked a brief spell of new considerations on Zulu problems. Attempting to reverse the Usuthu-Mandlakazi tensions he advocated the repatriation of Dinuzulu and Usuthu exiles. The following year Dinuzulu's pardon was agreed on by the British government. But because of the fears that Zululand might be lost to white settlement and because of a new government in Britain in 1895, the pardon was delayed to 1897 and coupled to Natal's annexation of Zululand. In the meantime the new rule in Zululand brought about a leniency towards the Usuthu leaders. One indication of this was that Mehlokazulu in 1893 was appointed chief of his father's Qungebe people. This is probably also the context in which Benedict Carton's comparative analysis of the different conditions between the Natal and the Zulu side of the Thukela basin in the 1890s is to be seen. Without referring to Clarke's policy in Zululand Carton finds that chiefs north of the Thukela river generally retained greater customary powers and suffered less governmental interference than their counterparts in Natal. Whilst the legal authority of appointed chiefs in southern Zululand for the period ending 1897 slowly was trimmed by white officials, he finds that officials north of the Thukela shielded Zululand chiefs from the Natal Native Administration. The annexation of Zululand by Natal in 1897 resulted in the settler government placing Natal judicial officials over those in the Zululand government although the intention of the British proclamation of annexation was to be implemented gradually. The most important aspect of this was that five years were to elapse before the land was to be demarcated for the opening up of Zululand to white settlement.
The annexation of Zululand in 1897 spelt the end of the attempts to "Basutoilandize" Zululand. It implied that the Shepstonian system ultimately triumphed after nearly twenty years of conflicting solutions. And Dinuzulu could return to Zululand on condition that he be regarded as no more than a government advisor and not as a paramount chief. Clarke had warned that it would be impossible to treat Dinuzulu as an ordinary petty chief and that he from the very outset would be expected to confine himself strictly to the affairs of the Usuthu in his own district. As remarked by Marks, "By pretending that his wider powers did not exist, Natal seemed to hope to insulate herself from the effects of those powers." In this respect the traditional hostility of Natal settlers to the head of the Zulu royal family had not been changed during the years of his exile, and the "westernising" effects of his stay at St. Helena did not lessen the hostility. Of Dinuzulu's treatment on St. Helena Stuart wrote "The Governor of the island, with no sense of the fitness of things, treated him just as he might have done Napoleon. The result was he was neither savage nor civilised. He was 'spoilt'." In the opinion of other whites the king's efforts to build a western-type house for himself and the progressive ideas on agriculture which he had acquired overseas, were sufficient to define him as a "spoilt nigger". On the other hand there is no doubt that Dinuzulu's return to Zululand was seen by many Zulu as a restoration of the royal house. Immediately after his return there were rumours about his intentions to once more build up the power of the Zulu royal house and to extend his authority to the whole of Zululand. The stream of young men who came to pay their respects to him and to build on his homestead were seen with suspicion by white officials. However, the South African War soon came to overshadow every other issue in South Africa. But in regard to Dinuzulu the war provided him with a new point of departure for action.

Zulu and Boer rivalry had a long history which dated back to the 1838 battle of Ncome river. It had greatly been encouraged by the Boer occupation of the north-western part of Zululand where they established their New Republic. To the Zulu this was a bitter blow. This part of the country had provided some of the best lands for year-round grazing, it included a number of large and prominent chiefdoms as well as the important burial sites of pre-Shakan royalty at Emakhosini. When most of these areas were turned into white-owned farms, the Zulu were forced to become labour tenants on the land of their ancestors. With the outbreak of the South African War, and Boers in the Vryheid district seizing Zulu cattle and horses, relations worsened between Boer farmers and Zulu. Dinuzulu repeatedly drew the attention of the Zululand authorities to the maltreatment of his people in the Vryheid district, indicating that, "although [their] country was given to the Boers they consider themselves as much subjects of Her Majesty the Queen as any Englishman resident in [the] Transvaal Republic." When the Boers in January 1900 occupied parts of southern Zululand, the role of Dinuzulu became a most crucial to the British forces. Enthusiastically Dinuzulu responded to their needs by providing the British army with an ever-increasing number of scouts and guides. His intelligence network operated
with ease in the north-western area of Zululand. He and other chiefs were encouraged to drive cattle and sheep away from the Boer territories, a lucrative business because Zulu were allowed to retain at least ten percent of the seized livestock. For the purpose Dinuzulu recruited a 1,500-strong regiment, the Nkomindala, which was based at Nongoma, the main royal homestead situated not far from Ceza mountain. The new role given to Dinuzulu was naturally regarded with great suspicion and criticism by the Natal government whereas magistrates tried to confine the activities of Dinuzulu’s regiment. Such attempted restrictions enraged the Chief-of-Staff, Lord Kitchener who, with little respect for the views of Natal settlers, underlined that it was only with the aid of the Zulu that the war could be brought to a swift end.

When warfare gradually ebbed out and the British in 1901 prepared to leave the region, Dinuzulu, who feared remaining guerrilla bands in the Vryheid district, was disheartened. Nevertheless, by the end of the war Dinuzulu had achieved a degree of influence both in Zululand and in the New Republic that went far beyond his role formally set out in the terms for his return from St. Helena. Under the British he was allowed to organise the Usuthu for the defence of the Zululand border. Through his collaboration with the British army he made use of a remarkable skill in playing off the military against the Natal administration. During the war the balance of power in Dinuzulu’s relations with the colonial authorities shifted to Dinuzulu’s advantage, because of the disruption of the peacetime system of colonial authority and the need to avail oneself of Zulu assistance in the British war effort. To put it as does Warwick, "His influence was exercised in spite of the colonial administration, not with its approval or support." In the years after the war the Natal government, unrestrained by British presence, resumed its hostile policy towards Dinuzulu. Also among the Boers of the now former New Republic, attitudes towards the Zulu were more hostile than ever, much so because of the 1902 Zulu attack on Boer guerrilla fighters in the Holkrans incident. As will be seen below, the mutual hatred was particularly evident around Nongoma and Ceza in the north-western borderlands of Zululand proper. At the same time, through Dinuzulu’s regained prestige as a result of the war, the epithet "Zulu" was acquiring a pan-Natal and nationalist connotation. It is clear, that in the post-war years also Africans in Natal were looking to Dinuzulu for leadership. It is striking that also educated and Christian Africans turned to Dinuzulu as a representative of the Zulu royal house and therefore also as a symbol of Zulu unity. Early positive relationships between leading African Christians in Natal and Dinuzulu had begun during the king’s exile at St. Helena. Spokesmen of the African Christian community such as Magema M. Fuze and Martin Luthuli acted as royal advisors. These were brought about as a result of contacts furthered by Harriette Colenso, daughter of the famous Anglican Bishop Colenso. As will be described later in this study a closer relationship between the king and Christian missionary labours, as well as with several women of the Zulu royal house, developed not least at Nongoma.
African Society in Natal and Zululand on the Eve of the Bambatha Uprising

It was in the 1890s, following the discovery of gold in 1886, that Africans in greater numbers assumed oscillatory migrant wage labour. With the development of the mining industry on the Rand thousands of Africans in Natal and Zululand sought employment on the mine-fields where wages were four to five times higher than on the farms in Natal. The surge to the Rand continued to increase to 1897. In Natal, the move to the mining industries drove up the wages to the extent that it caused a labour crisis and a temporary collapse of the isibalo system. As a consequence of the increase in men working for wages in the colony and in the Transvaal, homestead dependence on the cash economy grew.

The widespread move to migrant wage labour was furthermore spurred by a series of severe natural disasters. Climatic conditions and ravaging pestilence in south-eastern Africa in the years at the turn of the century were disastrous. In 1894 and 1896 devastating locust plagues destroyed both sugar and maize crops, causing starvation among many. In the years 1897-98 locust swarms were followed by severe drought. Then came the rinderpest plague. While whites lost 34 per cent of their herds, Africans— with similar figures for both Natal and Zululand— lost about 85 per cent. In some areas, such as in the Umvoti reserve, not less than 97 per cent of cattle owned by Africans was wiped out. Having most of their capital in cattle, recovering was far more difficult for Africans in comparison to white farmers who owned land to mortgage or had capital funds in banks. To Africans it was furthermore not only a matter of wasted capital but a loss of oxen for ploughing and, particularly for young men, an obstacle to hopes of marrying with so much of lobolo cattle dead. The loss of cattle was nothing less than a catastrophe, further undermining the very foundations of African pre-capitalist society.

Government measures, settler advancement and an incipient industrialisation played a vital role in the transformation of African society. It was also the ecological disasters which firmly served to cement Africans into a position of dependency on the settlers. The social safety net previously facilitated by the kinship group or a chiefdom was further weakened, "while the ability of the homestead to function independently of migrant labour was made wellnigh impossible." Lambert claims, "This struck at the very basis of the umuzi (homestead) and accelerated a process of proletarianization in African society." Guy points out that diseases and droughts cannot be categorised as just "natural disasters". They were natural enough but the degree to which they were disastrous depended on the social context in which they occurred. With reference to Zululand he points to the fact that the disasters of the late 1890s took place in a colonial context. This was a situation which demanded that each year, regardless of
economic well-being, the 14-shilling hut tax was to be collected from every hut in every homestead in the country. While in pre-colonial Zululand the extraction of surpluses had been related to the productive capacity, under colonial rule failure of a homestead to realise its productive potential was not considered a sufficient reason to excuse it from the payment of the hut tax.\textsuperscript{147}

The worsened farming conditions meant that homesteads gradually ceased to be self-sufficient economic units. Diminishing resources led to an increasing number of males, particularly young men, being forced to periodically leave their homes and assume migrant labour. This also had disruptive effects on the family life. The social changes contributed to insecurity and anxiety in which social norms increasingly were being questioned.\textsuperscript{148} Relations between chiefs and commoners, men and women, elders and youths were deteriorating. Carter describes how generational conflicts emerged on both sides of the Thukela, and how the loss of cattle and altered young peoples' attitudes toward their elders eroded the powers parents exercised over children.\textsuperscript{149} At the same time new opportunities for wage labour provided young men with opportunities to acquire independent power and wealth, "Wages from migrant labour gave junior men the ability to buy the material objects associated with seniority, leading to earlier emancipation from generational control." By 1900, Carter says, sons were increasingly withholding contributions "to the common purse."\textsuperscript{150} Something of a "youth culture" was in the making, as Cope has noticed, in the early twentieth century Zululand.\textsuperscript{151} Youth began to challenge the authority of elders in a number of ways. The loss of cattle due to rinderpest had severely disturbed the complex web of privileges, obligations and rights related to marriage. One indication of changed marriage routines was the upsurge in premarital sex, demonstrating that young men and women took themselves greater liberties contrary to the wishes of parents and elders. Similarly premarital pregnancies were increasingly being used as a strategy to marry without parents' permission or access to lobolo.\textsuperscript{152} Another issue was the widespread misuse of ritual beer drinking, traditionally used by elders to enable senior men to assert their authority. By early 1900, young men and women turned drinking parties into turbulent affairs, violating the established code of respect. Similarly, from 1900 to 1905, "faction fighting" incidents seemed to increase out of proportions.\textsuperscript{153}

With the men away at migrant wage labour for longer or shorter periods of time, women's work at home was increasingly becoming crucial for the survival of the entire homestead economy. However, as a growing number of women refused to accept roles traditionally assigned to them, this too caused alarm among homestead-heads and elders. Women, albeit only in limited numbers, who tried to escape the increased maintenance burden of the homestead, forced marriages and the rural patriarchal authority, left for towns or, more frequently, local missions stations where missionaries and African evangelists willingly received them. Chiefs and homestead-heads saw the
women's exodus as an additional undermining of their power. The move to mission stations was often merely used by young women as a way in their search for domestic employment in towns. Hence both homestead-heads and missionaries, "shared a somewhat similar fate, that of losing girls to another set of beliefs, to another group." But fathers were the great loosers.

Meanwhile, elders at home struggled to uphold domestic arrangements that reflected an increasingly outmoded social hierarchy. In using colonial authority to limit the independent actions of juniors, seniors hoped to strengthen their rather tenuous hold over them. Similarly, in line with the 1891 Natal Code and in the subjugation of women, magistrates were generally on the side of senior men. With increased strains put on homestead society, the reliance of seniors on white authorities to uphold elders' status forced a tighter alliance between the Natal government, on the one hand, and chiefs and homestead-heads, on the other. Also on white lands, where chiefs and homestead-heads obtained pastures and gardens from white landlords, and homestead-heads sold the labour of their sons to settler farmers, similar symptoms of rising generational tensions were apparent. In their dealings with white farmers and officials, some chiefs and homestead-heads came to be regarded by youths as conspiring with whites to the elders' advantage and to the disadvantage of young men and women. Thus, on both sides there seems to have been misgivings and a betrayed trust.

The outbreak of the South African War in 1899 led to an interruption in the communications with the Transvaal gold fields and the dislocation of the migrant labour system. In parts of Natal and Zululand this coincided with another poor annual harvest. By the turn of the century, grain was particularly scarce in the Nkandla, Nquthu and Emtonjaneni districts of Zululand. With many young men who had returned home from the gold mines because of the war, there were additional mouths to feed. In southern and eastern Natal, however, which only slightly was affected by large-scale warfare, the war resulted in an economic boom which lasted to 1903. Railway and harbour works provided employment for a large number of men and in the towns where there was a rapid growth of permanent black communities. Both men and women found new employment. By providing the military with produce and labour at wages higher than those paid by the settlers, the war made it possible for many to restore their rinderpest losses. In northern Natal, however, which from October 1899 as a whole was occupied by republican burghers often assisted by many of the local Boer stock farmers, the effects of the war were often devastating. The occupation brought about a tide of refugees to sweep towards the coast, these being mainly workers from the colmines at Dundee and Newcastle. Others fled behind British lines, abandoning their crops and livestock. As the British army advanced, looting of cattle and theft by both British soldiers and by retreating burghers followed. Once the war was over, rebel farmers returned to their lands, while Africans, of which many had been loyal to the
Crown, were not rewarded. Because of this the war did much to further racial tensions in northern Natal.161

In the years after the South African War the downward trend in African society accelerated. After the severe drought of 1903, affecting most of Natal and Zululand, Natal, together with the other Southern African colonies, deteriorated into an economic depression, following the post-war economic boom.162 Inability to raise the money required for taxes and food led to widespread debts among the African peasantry. For those who lived on white farmlands, failure to pay the required money was often exploited by the farmers in refusing their tenants to seek work elsewhere. Some farmers on the other hand themselves lent money to their tenants. But while repayment generally was in the form of labour it led to a further tightening of bonds between tenant and farmer.163 In the reserves people increasingly joined the flow of migrant labour in a struggle to avoid starvation and to find money to pay their taxes and rents. In some areas converts and non-Christians seem to have been equally affected by the calamities. In 1902 a number of young men in the Umvoti district, of which not a few were the sons of Christian mothers, migrated to the cities for wage labour.164 In 1903 the number of Africans seeking work in the Transvaal exceeded the figure in any of the pre-war years.165 By 1904 at least 95,432 of a total male African population of 296,344 in Natal, or 32.2 per cent of the total population, including children, were in full-time or part-time employment as agricultural or migrant labourers.166 Labour migrancy drained the countryside of its male population, particularly its young men. An example: in 1903 the Nkandhla Magistrate calculated that there were 50 per cent more women than men in his district and in 1904 the Mapumulo and Kranskop magistrates estimated the same ratio. The overwhelming number of migrants were "males" over the age of 15, and the second largest category, although with a much smaller volume, was "males under 15". An average of the 10 per cent of the "outward passes" granted in the Thukela valley districts went to boys.167

The time was also one of increasing land congestion. With a particular reference to the Natal Midlands, where farmers' profits from wattle-planting and dairy-farming in earlier years had enabled them to purchase much of the surrounding land, a wave of evictions of Africans from purchased land occurred in 1905.168 To Natal Africans the loss of land also meant the loss of their "ancestral place". As one homestead-head in 1902 explained, "How can we give praise, seeing that practically the whole land is in possession of various individuals who have purchased it with money?" As forwarded by Carton, the loss of burial grounds meant the loss of "spiritual power". In the years before 1906 this was not equally crucial in Zululand. After the Bambatha uprising, however, when white farmers on a larger scale began their invasion of the lands north of the Thukela, also there chiefs and homestead-heads began to voice similar complaints. As furthered by one chief near Eshowe, white farmers then began "ploughing up the
land where his father was buried, turning up his very bones." Desecrating "ancestral graves", Carton claims, was an offensive that Africans attributed to evil forces. The powerlessness of chiefs, elders and homestead-heads was in this respect impossible to justify to their subjects as well as to themselves.169

In late 1905 the government most apparently came to contribute to the growing process of African impoverishment when it in its attempts to cover the deficit following the South African War coupled to the financial depression, introduced the per capita or Poll Tax. Although the tax of £1 per annum was particularly aimed at young unmarried men who had no huts of their own, it also hit the homestead-heads, as it normally was the young men away at work who provided money for their fathers’ tax.170 It was foremost among the young men, struggling to earn money for the tax and the lobolo, that frustration was rife. In 1906 the Poll Tax became, in words of Welsh, "The spark that set alight the tinder-dry brush".171

Concluding Remarks

By the turn of the century the general conditions for Africans’ land occupation had been severely deteriorated in Natal. Outside the reserves, where the majority of people lived, expansion of white commercial agriculture and measures taken by the settler government had diminished the number of black independent producers. The vast majority of them had increasingly been bonded as labour tenants and, apart from the small lot each family had for its own subsistence, African pre-capitalist economy appears to have been defunct, causing an alienation of land and the proletarianization of its people.

On the one sixth of land in Natal designated as reserves, land was still accessible to Africans. But even if "traditional life" in the reserves at least on the surface appeared to continue as usual, overpopulation, far too heavy cultivation of the land and, before 1903, the natural disasters, African pre-capitalist society was changed also there. In describing these changes, Guy’s definition holds good, namely that what characterises a pre-capitalist society is that it is "based on the accumulation of people or the creation and control of labour power". Its most basic feature, the accumulation or creation of labour power, was stifled. By the turn of the century both polygyni and lobolo was still commonly in use by most Africans, in reserves as well as on white lands. But the radical depletion of cattle, the inability to pay lobolo and the decline in polygynous marriages, had led to a weakening of the homestead as an economic and reproducing unit. With diminishing resources at its disposal also the African pre-capitalist power structure and its control of the labour power was seriously threatened. The overpopulation of the reserves greatly affected chiefs’ abilities to allocate land to their subjects. That led to a decline in their authority. Even if taxation and labour migration also in Zululand had begun before the turn of the century, it was not until in the early
years of the new century that whites’ land purchase and settlement was made possible on a larger scale. With regards to Zululand, developments were thus similar to Natal, although somewhat delayed.

The concept of proletarianization needs to be qualified in regard to the question of the division of labour, i.e. that between men and women within African society. On white-owned land where Africans through the labour tenancy were turned into bonded labour, it was foremost men but at times also women and children who were involved. This was not so in the reserves. When labour migration gradually had become widespread also in these areas, the developments in the division of labour followed social sanctions and Law. While women and children still were kept on their land as the primary agricultural producers, albeit under increasingly difficult conditions, it was the non-productive, young men who were being sent to seek the cash that was required in the new situation. In the reserves and increasingly in Zululand it was first the young men and then their fathers who were being proletarianized. In regard to women and girls it was, however, different. Although elaborating on a general situation in sub-Saharan Africa, Schmidt states that, "In actuality, women, the backbone of the African peasantry, were only marginally proletarianized during the pre-World War II period". While the pre-1903 natural disasters certainly had accelerated this "process of proletarianization in African society", as maintained by Lambert, the qualification made by Schmidt emphasises that women and girls to a greater extent remained in their sector of the homestead economy, i.e. in agricultural work at home.

While African society certainly had moved towards a critical situation at the turn of the century, with an increased burden being placed on those at home and with particular reference to the role of the women, these developments also had implications in the pre-1906 years. Together with the disruptive effects on family life and the questioning of established social norms, the crucial importance of women for the survival of the homestead economy had led to a relative strengthening of their position in society. With the following chapters of this present study in mind, particularly focusing on the interaction between an African Christian community and its surrounding environment (Chapter six and seven), the question may be raised whether this strengthened position of women and girls and the similarly weakened position of men, also influenced attitudes towards African traditional religion, because cattle, used in ritual celebrations, as well as lobolo, to a great extent were controlled by men. The increased labour migration and radical depletion of cattle led to women’s questioning of the patriarchal role of homestead-heads and chiefs in African traditional religion. With a relatively strengthened position of particularly women and girls, religious alternatives outside the framework of traditional religion may have appeared provoking.
In relation to the social turmoil in African society at large the question of religious change may be extended even further. Government-appointed chiefs in particular, but also hereditary chiefs, due to their collaboration with the government, had found it increasingly difficult to uphold their authority among their subjects. In this respect it may be questioned whether there were religious changes and new options also within the sphere of African traditional religion. With reference to the turn of the century situation in Zimbabwe, as argued by Maxwell, spirit mediums did play a significant role in the resistance and faction fighting among the Hwesa in the 1902 Makombe Uprising as well as in the 1904 planned uprising in Katerere. In recognising the intertwined relationship of religion and politics and assuming that developments within African traditional religion and African Christianity did not occur as mutually separated from each other, it can be asked whether – in the face of a decline of chiefly authority and increased pressures by the state – also in Natal and Zululand the developments contributed to a renaissance for spirit mediums or, as termed in the Nguni-Zulu context, inyangas (traditional diviners and/or herbalists). If such a possible renewal of African traditional religion is true, the tendency towards such a religiosity may have spilled over also to the community of African Christians.

As a whole, African society was gradually moving in the direction of a society “based on the accumulation of ‘things’ or commodities”. An indication of this is the fact that more than a third of the total amount of the male population in Natal of which a large part came from the reserves, increasingly had become dependent on wages, obtained through oscillatory migrant labour. When cash was brought into the system, it introduced a source of value that was independent from the pre-capitalist women-cattle-labour power cycle. Altered attitudes, foremost among young men towards lobolo, are evidently an indication of a far reaching change. There was one group in African society that definitively moved in the direction of a society based on the accumulation of ”things” or commodities. That was the group rather loosely defined as African Christians. With an adoption among some of them of the Western concept of ”individuality” they had distanced themselves from the structures of kinship and people and, with their aspirations for individually owned land they parted from the communal ownership of the land of their ancestors. Similarly, as emphasised by Etherington, Lambert and others, with their adoption of the Western concept of monogamy and their view of cattle in commercial rather than in social terms, they radically dissociated themselves from both polygyny and lobolo. ”The contrast in attitudes towards cattle”, Etherington claims, ”is precisely the difference between people who have adopted the capitalist mode of production and people who have not.” But, as it will be shown below (Chapter six), the African Christian community was not a homogenous unit. As well as in issues of land and labour, also among the African Christians there were important differences most markedly depending on different living conditions in different regions.
1 Christopher 1971: 205. This date is even further postponed by Marks: "Although land for white occupation was set aside by the Zululand Delimitation Commission of 1902-5, it was really only taken into white occupation after Union." Marks 1986a: 134, n. 31.
4 Lambert 1995b: 187. As commented on by Sandra Scott Swart, the phrasing does however suggest a paternalistic outlook on the part of the author "in which the Africans believed colonial rhetoric to protect them and also suggests a moral scheme in which the colonial state owed them this protection." Scott Swart 1996: 101. While she suggests the title to have been proposed by the publisher, it actually corresponds to the very theme of his study. On his train of thought, see Lambert 1995b: 20, 35, 52, 101, 124, 143, 177, 186 and below in the present chapter.
5 Swedish missionaries named the station Oscarsberg in honour of the then ruling Swedish Monarch, King Oscar. Zulu people have throughout spoken of eShiyane i.e. the little eyebrow, referring to the hill which rises immediately behind the station.
7 Guy 1990: 43. For an earlier draft of this article cf. Guy 1988.
8 Guy 1990: 38, 37.
10 Guy 1990: 43.
15 Guy 1990: 35.
21 Hallström 1937: 103.
26 Guy 1990: 46.
30 Marks 1970: 121.
31 The total number of Africans living in Natal and Zululand in 1904 was 910,727 of which 607,229 lived in Natal. Lambert 1995b: 162.
34 Marks 1970: 122
39. Liljestrand in SKMT 27 1902 13-14: 210-221
41. Lambert 1989: 387
42. Lambert 1995b: 16-17, 49-50.
43. Slater 1980: 163.
44. Etherington 1978: 122-123.
52. Lambert 1995b: 43.
56. On the importance of markets during the early years of colonial rule in the so-called mist belt, in the regions surrounding Pietermaritzburg to the north, cf. Lambert 1988.
57. Lambert 1995b: 45.
65. Cf., above.
66. Welsh 1971: 23, Lambert 1989: 377. In his more recent studies, Lambert questions the link between taxation and the aims of forcing Africans onto the labour market, more emphasising the government’s aim of protecting the viability of the homestead economy, see Lambert 1995b: 20.
70. Guy 1990: 43.
71. Guy 1990: 44.
95 Cf. Carton 1996: 133.
96 Lambert 1995b: 24, 26, 33-34.
100 Cf. below, Chapter six and seven.
102 Cf. below, Chapter six.
103 Lambert 1995b: 27.
108 Guy 1990: 42.
113 Cf. Marks 1970: 337.
114 Cf. Chapter six, below.
121 Ballard 1986: 92.
124 Guy 1994: 38
127 Cf. Chapter six, below.
129 Marks 1970: 220.
130 Carton 1996: 147.
133 Laband and Thompson 1989: 221.
137 Warwick 1983: 79.
138 Warwick 1983: 83, 87-89. According to Marks, this can not be seen as an intention of following the Shaka-Cethswayo tradition. Dinuzulu explained the name Nkomindala as derived from the Afrikaans Wie kom [in?] daar, i.e. Who comes in there? Marks 1970: 112.
139 Warwick 1983: 89.
141 On the 1902 Holkrans incident, see Chapter one, above, and on the post-1902 local conditions in the Czwa region, Chapter seven, below.
149 Carton 1996: 158.
158 Warwick 1983: 86.
164 Hallendorff in SKMT 27 1902 8: 131-139.
166 In the same year, 30 657 African men were employed in rural areas and a further 31 897 were employed in towns. Of the 32 878 who had been given passes to leave Natal, 22 399 had left for work in the Transvaal. Lambert 1995b: 169.
169 Carton 1996: 188.
170 Marks 1970: 141.
172 Schmidt 1992: 3.
CHAPTER THREE: THE MISSIONARY FACTOR

After British rule had been established in the Cape region and white settlers and Western missionaries increasingly were moving further into the interior in search for African land, labour and potential converts, several missionary organisations began to take interest in the hitherto "unrelated" independent Zulu kingdom in the east. The highly disciplined kingdom was not easily accessible from the sea. It also appeared to lack any form of organised religion which might prove resistant to the preachers of the gospel.¹ Several missions began to plan for an extension to the Zulu: both those who already had been established in the Cape region- a part of Southern Africa, which already in the early nineteenth century was becoming an "occupied" field² – and mission organisations in Europe and North America in search for virgin fields.

The visit by Captain Allen Gardiner to king Dingane in 1835 and the news he spread on his return to England spurred missionary interest in the Zulu. At about the same time a pioneering group of American Congregationalist missionaries made their way to the Zulu court.³ The two ventures sparked off the arrival of a first wave of missionaries to the Eastern coast and by the last decades of the nineteenth century these were followed by a second. But for most of the nineteenth century, with only a few exceptions, the Zulu kingdom remained closed to the missions. Christianization was seen by Zulu authorities as a potential threat to established relations of kinship and mutual obligations while kings and chiefs feared the undermining of the established religion and their power-base and thus tried to prevent their subjects from converting. And among those organisations which had been able to enter Zululand, there was an insignificant number of converts. While many missionaries had hoped that the Anglo-Zulu War of 1879 would weaken the centralised monarchy and the regimental system, all missionary enterprises continued to meet with relatively little success. It was only in the course of the last decade of the century that missionary activity in Zululand gained any momentum. By that time there were Anglican and Lutheran missionaries operating north of the Thukela river.⁴ Natal, on the other hand, had many missionaries. In 1879 only eight societies had established missions, but by 1903 twenty-six, having among them 170 mission stations and 436 outstations. The gospel was being preached every Sunday in at least 1,000 places.⁵ Natal became one of the most heavily-evangelised regions in the world.⁶ During a large part of the nineteenth century and in contrast to the massive investments made, accomplishments there were nonetheless rather limited.⁷

The great number of Western Christian missions operating in Natal and Zululand can roughly be divided into two categories. In the first one are churches and missions which first arrived and established themselves at the Cape, and from there advanced
further eastwards to eventually reach the Natal-Zululand region. Among them were Presbyterians from Scotland, Anglicans and Methodists from England, Lutherans from Prussia and Roman Catholics from France. Among them, three aspects are of importance. First, the chiefly British denominations contributed to unite the Natal and Zululand region with the colonial centre at the Cape as well as with its metropolis in Europe and, more particularly, with Britain. In this respect the geo-political changes of the late nineteenth century and the northward shift of the centre of economic and political gravity from the Cape to the Transvaal posed a challenge also to the Cape-based British denominations and missions, manifest during the 1899-1902 South African War. A second aspect, due to their inter colonial structures and an African membership including various ethnic groups, was that they facilitated a first meeting ground for members of an emerging but regionally diverse African Christian political élite — albeit that it was only after 1910 that a unification between them eventually was achieved. Thirdly there were Cape-based denominations and missions which operated not only among Africans, but also ministered to their fellow countrymen and religious affiliates within the white settler population. To quote Hallencreutz, these could be said to have regarded themselves as equipped with a "double mandate". As a general phenomenon white and black congregations came to develop along parallel lines. But among some, e.g. the Presbyterians, the result was the formation of separate white settler and black mission churches. Although these separate lines in due course gradually began to converge, this was generally not pursued until well into the twentieth century. Also among Methodists, Anglicans and Roman Catholics worship was generally segregated even if their ecclesiastical structures remained multi-racial. As a category, these churches and missions could thus be said to be defined as "inter colonial" and with a "double mandate".

A second category of mission organisations operated in the Natal and Zululand region and their initial object was the conversion of black people in Zululand and Natal. Among them were American Congregationalists and Norwegian, Swedish and Saxonian Lutherans. In comparison with the more clear-cut "regional missions" with a "single mandate" in Zimbabwe, certain qualifications need to be made. Firstly, although "regional" from the outset it did not take long before agents of these missions began to move beyond the initially chosen territory. In regard to the Saxonians it took only three years before they commenced mission work in the Transvaal where they proved to be far more successful than on the east coast. In 1865 the first Norwegian missionary to Zululand visited Madagascar where a mission field was established in the following year. In 1883 American missionaries moved north to Inhambane in Mozambique and ten years later a mission station was established at Mt. Selinda in Zimbabwe. Similarly Swedes after two decades of only moderate progress in Natal and Zululand established extensions both in Johannesburg and Zimbabwe although the mission in Johannesburg did not develop as intended and the latter by and large became a failure.
Nevertheless, in comparison to the first category of churches and missions, to these non-British missions the intercolonial Cape-connection was, with only minor exceptions, far less emphasised. Secondly, even if all four missions thus had arrived in the region with the object of evangelising Africans, some came to minister to white settlers as well. This was mostly evident in regard to the Lutheran Hermannsburg mission which not only was instrumental to a number of colonists from Saxony, but also continued to minister to their compatriots among farmers in the German-speaking areas of the Natal countryside. Like the Presbyterians the Hermannsburg Lutherans developed separate white and black churches although to a far less extent the Zululand-based Lutheran missionaries from Norway catered for their compatriots in Durban and in southern Natal. In a similar fashion the Church of Sweden Mission which since 1902 had an outpost in Johannesburg, originally intended for work among Zulu migrant labourers in the city, for at least two decades came to be pre-occupied with the Swedish diaspora. In this respect the Congregationalist missionaries of the American Zulu Mission, in spite of their ready association with the government during early colonial rule, increasingly distanced themselves from whites, particularly so in the years following the advent of the settler rule in 1893.

The particularly large number of competing denominations and missions in the relatively small region—by indigenous inhabitants described as "not wider than God's little finger"—was, according to Etherington in his study of 1978, a major reason for their limited success, at the same time as the wide range of choices lessened their bargaining power. With the numerous alternatives supplied, it followed that the various denominations were inclined to accentuate their own particular national and religious traditions. In comparison to the Roman Catholic Church the bulk of Protestant denominations were far later in venturing into foreign missions and deciding on strategies to be put into practice in the conversion of Africans. With few exceptions, Protestant missions began only after the late eighteenth century with missionary zeal, noted on both sides of the Atlantic Ocean. In time and space this largely coincided with—and drew on the resources facilitated by—the industrial revolution and British colonialism. Missions and missionaries were encouraged by the nineteenth century changes in the Western world and came to appear as articulate advocates of "modernity". Among them were Wesleyan Methodists and American Congregationalists. Yet others had their roots largely in the values of pre-industrial, rural and patriarchal European societies, with ideals often accentuated in reactions against nineteenth century transformations of their home countries. Several of these missions were formed by the inspiration of Romanticism. Among them were high-church, liturgically motivated Anglicans, Roman Catholic Oblates of Mary Immaculate as well as Hermannsburg Lutherans. Nevertheless, as will be seen in the below, when all these denominations and mission societies eventually took root in the colonial and white settler-dominated society—further transformed through the mineral revolutions of the late nineteenth
century - different traditions invented in Europe were not always found appropriate and therefore altered to sometimes become remarkably similar.

The overall aim of this chapter is to provide a framework, an overview, of Natal and Zululand denominational and missionary environments, towards which the particular character of the Church of Sweden Mission with its agents and converts is to be seen when further described and analysed in below. A first concern is to present a general survey of major churches and missions, operating in the region. In the light of the absence of such descriptions in virtually all other monographs on mission activity - and in order to avoid existing theological differences among them - this remains crucial for the positioning of the role of an individual society. As far as possible this includes the general background of their agents, developed "tradition" and strategy as well as geographical location and the number of their missionaries, African co-workers, adherents and schoolchildren in Natal and Zululand respectively. In regard to figures these are to be seen as approximate for, as noted by Plessis already in 1911, mission statistics is "a very elusive quality". When to the Church of Sweden Mission in below, certain denominations and missions are of necessity more important than others, either because of natural interactions due to a geographical proximity or because of denominational and theological relations within the Lutheran family. American Congregationalists, Roman Catholics and Anglicans represent the first group, while Hermannsburg and Norwegian Lutherans both represent the first and the second group. Particular attention will be paid to the two latter.

Both missionaries and those who wrote about their endeavours cherished the idea of missions as a "third force" between white settlers and the indigenous people. But by their mere presence in the rapidly changing and increasingly white-dominated colonial society, a position of neutrality was an impossibility. Inherent to their convictions and by deliberately promoting their aims, they became active agents not only for religious, but also social and economic change. In this respect the role played by Western denominations and missions became part and parcel of the wider social, economic and political framework in which the mineral findings and the subsequent industrialisation during the late nineteenth century played a significant role. Missionary tradition, strategy and theory need to be considered in relation to missionary praxis. A second concern is to distinguish how missions related to basic concepts in African pre-colonial society, i.e. the understanding of land issues as well as practices of polygyni and lobolo.

Already at the time of the arrival of the first missionaries and the granting of the first Mission reserves in 1856, missionaries came into direct contact with the material lives of the people among whom they were to work. In keeping with an increasing amount of African land being alienated by white settlers, the importance of mission-held land
was correspondingly raised. It is in this light the role of land, allocated the churches and missions concerned, is to be seen. Attitudes on polygyny and *lobolo* crucially demarcated qualification for membership in the churches and indicated the economic system to which black church members were expected to conform. Similarly, education given at mission schools fostered a value system which they were expected to endorse.

A third concern is a presentation of how some churches and missions expressed themselves, firstly in terms of the South African War which, to some extent, will shed light on what they hoped to see develop in a future unified South Africa and, secondly, towards the settler government’s renewed, but ambiguous, policy of strengthening the African ”traditional” sector, at the expense of African Christians and Western churches and missions.

**Cape-based Churches and Missions in Natal and Zululand**

After its arrival in 1821, the Glasgow Missionary Society, with a Scottish Presbyterian background, established itself in the Eastern Cape. One emphasised educational work which came to be one of its major characteristics. Education was developed particularly at Lovedale, the Scottish mission-centre on the eastern frontier which became its most important teaching institution. In the 1840s it developed into an interdenominational, multi-racial seminary. Soon Lovedale became the foremost of its kind in contemporary southern Africa and a model for future educational missions. Students from Lovedale were spread all over southern Africa as ministers, catechists, teachers, clerks etc. In the Natal and Zululand region the Presbyterian mission was mainly based to the south of the Thukela river. Having arrived from its stronghold at Lovedale, mission work was extended to the Natal Midlands. Impolweni near Pietermaritzburg, and in Northern Natal the Gordon Memorial mission station, adjacent to the Umsinga reserve, opened in 1870 and became important centres. By the late nineteenth century the Presbyterians in Natal had four ordained missionaries at an equal number of mission stations and the total number of adherents amounting to 5,247.

With no institutional separation between minister and lay members, an emphasis on itinerant lay preaching and an organisational flexibility, Methodism was a missionary movement from the start. The environment from which it had originated in Britain was also important for its development in southern Africa. In contrast to Congregationalism, which had its strongholds in the agricultural countryside and among the merchants and weavers of the old clothing towns, Methodism aimed mainly at the growing working and middle classes. In this respect it was more associated with the developments of the industrial revolution and the subsequent radical social changes in Britain, both embodying a belief in a capitalist ideal of spiritual and material accumulation and claiming to offer remedies against the brutalising experience of urbanisation and wage labour. In South Africa, Methodism expanded in two
directions: northwards among the Khoikhoi in Namaqualand and eastwards among
the 1820 settlers, where the first Methodist minister envisaged an unbroken chain of
"Christian fortresses" reaching to Natal.22 By 1830 a string of six mission stations
had been established in the east, eventually reaching into Natal, where missionary
work was established by 1842. In the Eastern Cape, the heartland of southern African
Methodism, missionary work was closely associated with ministry to white settlers
which helped shape the nominally multi-racial character of the Methodist church.23
Methodists, together with the Anglican and Roman Catholic churches, had no place in
their ecclesiastical structures for a separate mission church.24 In practice, however,
Methodists from the start practised segregated worship. Separate white and black
congregations resulted, together with an insufficient integration on the clerical level,
in the end in Methodism, more than other denominations, becoming subject to several
secessions among its black membership.25

Also in Natal Methodism was prominent among the major Protestant denominations
of British descent. Apart from key elements of Methodism - lay preaching and
organisational flexibility – the undertakings in Natal also involved the establishment
of rather large farming communities for its African adherents.26 One of the most
enterprising of their early missionaries was James Allison (1804-1875) who founded
two large mission communities: Indaleni, near Richmond, and Edendale, close to
Pietermaritzburg, in 1847 and 1851 respectively. Allison soon seceded from the
Methodists,27 but the communities established by him came to remain within the
denomination. The Edendale community was in this respect a most illustrative example
of missionary industriousness and African response in the late nineteenth century.28
Among Africans, Methodism eventually became the largest Protestant denomination.
In regard to Methodists as well as to Anglicans and Roman Catholics, statistical figures
on African membership are difficult to obtain, if for no other reason all three refrained
from distinguishing between European and African members.29 D. A. Merensky 1901
suggests that it may be assumed that the Methodists in Natal (who by this time comprised
of far more Africans than whites), had 13 missionaries and about 16,000 adult African
Christians including catechumens.30 In Zululand however, developments took place
later. It was only in 1903 that mission work began there.31

In contrast to the Protestant-Evangelical and non-episcopal denominations, the Anglican
and Roman Catholic churches had been slower in developing their administrative
systems and, due to the episcopal structures of these denominations, it was only after
these first had been securely established by the mid-century, that effective work
began.32 Robert Gray (1809-1872), in 1848 appointed Bishop to Cape Town, was
instrumental in Anglicanism in regard to the organising of a colonial church. With a
diocese still consisting of the entire subcontinent, the 1853 appointments of bishops
for Grahamstown and Natal were important first steps in the organisation and admi-
nistrative conditions for the commencement of mission work.\textsuperscript{33} The influence of Gray was also important in regard to the shift towards Anglo-Catholicism. Seeking inspiration in conservative doctrines, and influenced by Rome rather than biblical inspiration as a source of authority, the Tractarian tradition was to affect the Anglican church in southern Africa strongly.\textsuperscript{34} Partly as a result of these influences among the clergy and despite internal ecclesiastical controversies in the early 1860s, 1870 provincial synod established a self-governing colonial church and the drawing up of a constitution for the Church of the Province of South Africa.\textsuperscript{35} Also for Anglicans worship was generally racially segregated although both predominantly white and predominantly black parishes were all represented at the same synods. Even if the control of the church remained in the hands of its white membership, the structural unity at highest levels was probably important in discouraging secessions and, as a general phenomenon in southern African church history, Episcopalian structures appear to have safeguarded the unity of both the Anglican and the Roman Catholic churches.\textsuperscript{36}

In Natal the missionary activities of the Church of England did not get under way until 1853 when the colony became an independent diocese under its first bishop, John William Colenso (1814-1883) with whom its early missionary, ecclesiastical and political developments in Natal and Zululand came to be closely interwoven. With his considerable powers of intellect and enormous moral integrity, Colenso emerged as one of the most outstanding figures of South African history, as convincingly described by Guy in \textit{The Heretic. A Study of the Life of John William Colenso 1814-1883}.\textsuperscript{37} As a missionary, initially allied with Shepstone, in his early years Colenso was trapped in the dilemma of both supporting the Shepstonian system of segregation as a means of protecting Africans against settler domination and yet winning few converts because of the essentially conservative nature of a system which allowed few economic changes and incitements for conversion.\textsuperscript{38} A key to the understanding of Colenso's life is probably that he, unlike most of his contemporaries, not only listened to Africans like William Ngidi and Magema Magwaza Fuze with sympathy and understanding but also made radical use of the insights he had gained. Most significantly this was the case when he, together with his Zulu assistants, worked on the translation of the Old Testament. He came to realise the difficulties involved not only in translating but also justifying historical inaccuracies – e.g. the narrative of Noah's ark – ethical imperatives and missionary practices.\textsuperscript{39} In the early 1860s Colenso stood out as a leading Biblical critic, questioning belief in the Bible as the literal "Word of God". Attacked from many quarters, Colenso was in 1864 deposed as bishop of Natal and two years later excommunicated by the Archbishop of Cape Town.\textsuperscript{40} The struggle began as an issue of doctrine and Biblical truth. But it soon expanded to become a question of legal rights of members of the Church of England, and the constitutional status of the church in the colonies. By using the secular courts to defend his legal status, Colenso was able to retain his episcopacy as "the Queen's Bishop" but, deprived of funds in Britain and
thus unable to pay his clergy and attractive clergymen from England, Colenso became increasingly isolated, which development eventually led to the virtual end of his missionary labours.41

Being both the head of the Church of England’s mission to the Natal and Zulu population and the bishop to the colony’s white settlers, the conflict inherent in the double mandate of the inter colonial churches was epitomised in Colenso’s episcopacy. When he first involved himself in the 1874 trial of chief Langalibalele of the Hlubi and later in the cause of the Zulu kingdom, he emerged as the perhaps most outspoken white political activist of his time. Because of this he was severely challenged both by many of his remaining white supporters and by Shepstone, his former ally.42 On the intercolonial level the legal controversy between Colenso and his opponents, which was a result of the heresy case, contributed to the 1870 formation of the Church of the Province of South Africa.43 In Natal and Zululand the conflict led to the split of the Anglican Church into two factions. One was led by Colenso as the Church of England in South Africa, with independent financial backing, and the other as the Church of the Province of South Africa with the support of the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel (SPG), the missionary wing of the Church of England. Anglican missionary work suffered severely for several years. While the missionary work of the Colenso faction continued under the leadership of the bishop’s daughters, it soon diminished to eventually become negligible.44

A notable accent of the Anglican approach was the prominence given to educational work. At St. Albans College in Isandhlwana a number of African clergy and evangelists were educated.45 In comparison to other missions, there was also a relative respect for Zulu traditions and customs, the strategy being to convert the Africans “by gradually weaning them away from heathenism without suddenly disrupting old customs.”46 In Natal, where Anglicans also had a considerable following among Indians there were 25 missionaries of the SPG, of which three were Africans and one Indian, and had a following of some 5,000 church members.47 The Anglicans succeeded in establishing two mission stations in Zululand proper, very much due to the initially close personal friendship between Colenso and Shepstone.48 The first of these was kwaMagwaza which was established about 1860.49 When Zululand ten years later became an Anglican missionary diocese, it marked the beginning of a rather expansive period and, in 1898, the year after Zululand’s incorporation into Natal, it became a part of the Church of the Province of South Africa. The chief centres in Zululand were the Mackenzie Memorial College with diocesan headquarters at Isandhlwana, St. Augustine’s Mission on the Zululand side of the border (i.e. near Rorke’s Drift and the CSM Oscarsberg mission), and the Nongoma mission, close to the Ceza mountain in the royal heartland. At the turn of the century, schools were established by Anglicans and Norwegian Lutherans throughout most of the less remote parts of Zululand.50
With some 90 places of worship in this part of the country the SPG would claim some 3,800 baptised adults and 1,200 catechumens. In the early 1860s, Catholic presence was insignificant. In most Protestant denominations the bulk of missionary work was pursued by their missionary organisations with the object of establishing mission churches. The Catholic church, on the other hand, regarded its mission work as an assignment given the entire church, aimed at the extension of the Church itself. In this respect the establishing of the hierarchy by the mid-century and, perhaps even more important, the arrival of a number of Catholic orders, marked a turning point and led to considerable growth of the Roman Catholic church among the indigenous population. This was particularly evident in two regions, Lesotho and Natal. In Natal, an apostolic vicariate had been established under Bishop J. M. F. Allard of the Oblates of Mary Immaculate, a French-speaking order organised in response to the anti-clericalism of the French Revolution, who arrived in South Africa in 1852. The first missionary attempts of the Oblates failed largely, due to language difficulties. In keeping with other missionary endeavours the turning point came after the 1870s. In the 1880s the Oblates established what was to become their most important base, the St. Francis Xavier mission station on the Bluff at Durban. The strategy was to build Catholic villages and the Catholics' efforts extended to various areas in the Natal Midlands such at St. Peter's Noodsberg (Montebello), and in Zululand. But a more substantial change came with the 1882 arrival of the Trappists, an order characterised by a life of silence, prayer and manual labour. Under the Austrian Fr. Franz Pfanner (d. 1909) they purchased a large farm near Pinetown and established the Mariannhill Abbey which soon developed into a most influential mission centre in the region. The success of Mariannhill was largely dependent on three factors: its education, particularly industrial training, its wide extension of a chain of mission stations throughout Natal, accompanied by the purchase of large tracts of land (see below) and its extensive publishing enterprise. The establishing of the Mariannhill printing press proved to be of tremendous importance. Various mission periodicals published were spread throughout most of the German-speaking parts of Europe and in return encouraged personal as well as financial support. Among missionaries Pfanner stood out as an ardent critic of contemporary white settler racism and openly declared, "I cannot tolerate distinctions being made between people based solely upon their race, as if it were a matter of colour of a man's skin how much he counts before God." Consequently, the Mariannhill schools admitted both whites and blacks and, in contrast to Lovedale, they appear to have been thoroughly multi-racial. Pfanner made this publicly known in the Natal Press. Among white settlers his stand caused much anger in public opinion and eventually forced the Mariannhill schools to only
admit African students. By 1898 Mariannhill was, with its 285 monks, the largest abbey in the world, both numerically and in the number of its extensions. Altogether, the Roman Catholic Church experienced a remarkable growth in the south-eastern part of the country. In 1895 the Trappists in Natal had some 2,200 African Christians and about 1,500 children attending their schools, but by 1903 the number of African baptised in Natal, the Transkei and Zululand, where work only began in 1895, reached 10,000.

The Natal and Zululand-based Missions

The American Zulu Mission

The American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions was founded in Boston in 1810. The religious spirit came from New England Congregationalism, brought about by the emotional intensity of the Second Great Awakening that swept through United States at the end of the eighteenth century. Major themes of this particular stream of American Protestantism included an emphasis on individual conversion, a need for Christians to actively seek salvation and redemption from sin which, in turn, was coupled to a Puritan, strict moral conviction and the Calvinist belief that material success was a reflection of inner godliness. Among several of its missionaries there was also an optimistic view of the American way of life which encouraged them to bring religion as well as "civilisation" to less fortunate people. After the success experienced by American Board missionaries in the Hawaiian kingdom in the 1820s and 1830s, the Home Board became convinced of the importance of first obtaining the support of a mission field's ruling élite with the object of converting peoples en masse.

The missionaries of the American Zulu Mission, as it is commonly known in southern Africa, were thus among the earliest entrants in the Natal mission field. In 1836 they approached the Zulu royal court of king Dingane kaSenzangakhona (Zulu king 1828-40). Their first venture to Zululand failed, but a second chance appeared when they in 1840 were invited by Mpande, the new king. But Grout had allowed his mission station in Zululand to become a political threat to the Zulu state and in 1842 Mpande—who complained that the converts called themselves "the people of the missionary" and had become estranged from the kingdom and refused to obey royal orders—broke up Grout's mission.

The Americans concentrated their missionary activities to the coastal areas north and south of Port Natal (Durban) which became the focal point of their work. The first station, Umlazi, was established in 1836 and was in the mid-1840s followed by Umvoti and Inanda. With the arrival of new missionaries, the Americans had by 1851 founded twelve stations throughout Natal. While only few Nguni spontaneously came to
the mission station, the missionaries had to find new methods for conversion. Among them they developed the unusual technique of hiring Nguni servants whose children were to live with the missionary family and thus become influenced by the new religion. Successful in the early days, the "household system" was nevertheless criticised by the second generation missionaries of whom some instead opted for itinerant preaching, although with moderate achievement. 69

Being the first missionaries to settle in Natal, the Americans were in an advantageous position. When the government in 1856 demarcated the Mission reserves, it granted them the vast stretches of arable land surrounding their stations along the coast. The land was some of the best in the Colony and included the majority of the reserves. 70

Like other missionaries, operating under the essentially conservative Shepstonian system also the Americans had difficulties in winning converts. The availability of land did nonetheless become a first condition for the Americans' potential in attracting converts. On their large and isolated estates, often strong-willed and independent-minded missionaries became landlords, with greater opportunity for power than they would have experienced at home. This, Dinnerstein claims, underscored the almost feudal sense of a landed estate. Furthermore, and partly as a result of the congregational and self-governing principles, this gave them a considerable amount of autonomy in relation to the Home Board in Boston. 71 Several directions issued by the Home Board and regarding education, the language of instruction at mission schools, as well as the raising of an indigenous agency - which ever since 1810 had been of importance to the Board (see below) - were by and large successfully resisted and avoided by the missionaries. 72 In contrast to Colenso who for the upholding of his authority ultimately was obliged to rely on Britain and her legal system, the American missionaries' position may in this respect be said to have been the reverse.

The American missionaries' encouragement of individual tenure and western methods of agriculture among its converts turned out to be of utmost importance for future developments. Aldin Grout, on the exceptionally good land of the Umvoti mission, was in this respect in forefront. He in due course distributed all the land worth cultivating to his converts, encouraged sugar cultivation and the erection of a sugar mill. In the 1860s, Umvoti became the largest and most flourishing of the stations as well as the most outstanding example of economic development. It also attracted new converts from adjacent surroundings and fostered an economic independence among its inhabitants. 73 This was of importance in the formation of the first African Christian communities, from the 1860s envisaged to develop according to the "three selves" formula, i.e. with the object of establishing self-supporting, self-propagating and self-governing congregations. 74
As with other missions, growth remained rather slow before the 1870s. Beginning in the 1870s, however, the number of converts almost doubled and after 1890 the development continued. The phenomenal rate of increase in converts during the decade between 1895 and 1905 represented an annual growth of 115 per cent and became known as the "Golden Age" of the American Zulu Mission, a success which by the missionaries was attributed to purity and revivalism. By this time the missionaries' emphasis on direct conversion, rather than on socialisation through indirect means, had also been abandoned. Already in the 1870s large numbers of Natal Africans began to show growing interest in the education, provided by the Americans. Among the converts education and the encouraging of self-support was a most important factor. Their keen interest was shown by their own financing of elementary education and borne by the converts themselves. In due course elementary schools - but foremost secondary education provided by the Americans - was to become among the finest educational institutions for Africans in Natal. Those at Inanda and Amanzimtoti (below) were particularly outstanding.

In the 1870s the Americans ordained, after much pressure exercised by the Home Board (below), their first three African clergy: Rufus Anderson, Umsingapansi and James Dube, father of the well-known politician Dube. Later three more were ordained. For various reasons only one of the six remained by 1880. In 1883 one more was ordained and in the turn of the century amounting to seven. In the approximately twenty congregations the Americans numbered 32 African assistants. The self-financing scheme was obviously successful. Neither clergy, assistants nor congregations had after 1894 received any grants from the Home Board in the United States. Among the converts of the American mission, an African-managed missionary society, the Native Home Missionary Society, was established in 1860 and in 1900 the self-governed African Congregational Church. In the early years of the twentieth century the American Zulu Mission employed eleven male and ten female missionaries at its ten mission stations. Merensky suggests that the American Zulu Mission counted some 14,000 "adherents" and 3,000 school children. But the number of actual members of the African Congregational Church was probably, following Dinnerstein and Keto, around 5,000.

The American Zulu mission has generally been acknowledged as one of the most successful of the mission organisations working in Natal. There are several reasons for this: its early arrival and commencement of mission work, Americans, at the turn of the century having second- and even third generation African Christians, occupation of several large mission reserves which facilitated the economic base for an emerging African middle class, its missionary ideology which emphasised the raising of self-governing congregations, and education, fostering an early self-reliant African leadership.
The Lutheran Missions

A particular feature of the Natal and Zululand denominational environment was the long history and relatively strong presence of Lutheran missions. In the latter part of the nineteenth century, Lutherans had run more than a third of the mission centres in southern Africa of which 70 per cent were in Natal, Zululand and the Transvaal. In several parts of the subcontinent Lutheranism also became the major expression of African Christianity. It was in the Transvaal where Lutheranism, in numerical terms, came to gain its most considerable following, but proportionally it was strongly represented in Natal and Zululand where almost a third of the total number of African Christians by 1910 belonged to this tradition.

Ever since Martin Luther in the sixteenth-century Protestant Reformation translated the Bible into the German language, an important feature of the northern European churches was stress on the vernacular languages for expressing the Christian faith. Among Lutheran missionaries in southern Africa this was equally mirrored in an emphasis on learning African languages and, as a natural development of this and their heritage in largely national churches, an emphasis on the creation of national, ethnic (or "folk") churches on the mission fields where the proclamation of the "Word" alone was believed to suffice for conversion.

Among historians this has generally been recognised as a characteristic of missions originating from Germany, where Romanticism and its "organism" philosophy became influential. Johann Gottfried Herder's earlier ideas of the spirit of a people was projected by Hegel to a political level and, as underlined by the German missiologist Hans-Werner Gensichen, in due course this also made an impact in missionary circles,

The folk spirit, manifesting itself primarily in the language but also in art, religion and other corporate cultural activities, could be absorbed into missionary ideology as the chief point of contact for the Gospel message, the main link between God's work in nature and its transformation in grace. This could amount to just an additional emphasis on the comprehensive character of salvation, calling for the use of all the resources of the folk spirit in order to implant the church firmly in the respective cultural soil. But it could also be used in order to elevate the cultural identity of the mission, including the claim to represent a higher culture than that of the heathen savages.

In South Africa this has been recognised in regard to Preussian and Saxonian missions, sometimes with reference Gustav Warneck's concept of mission work, not seeking to divorce the individual from the contexts of family, clan or people. Scriba and Lislrud
agree, "German missions, in particular, aimed to plant specifically national churches (in German, *Volkskirchen*) in which Christianity would be expressed in the language and culture of individual African and immigrant peoples." As will be illustrated below, Hegelian influences concerning the concept of "folk" were very well represented and quite clearly expressed in both Norwegian and Swedish missions (Part two). A second distinctive feature which similarly came to be of importance in the southern African environment was the Lutheran concept of the two kingdoms, the spiritual and the civil, both ordained by God but neither with power over the other. The doctrine was brought to a head among Norwegian and German missionaries at the time of the 1879 Anglo-Zulu War and, again, among them and Swedish missionaries during the 1906-8 Bambatha uprising (Part three). A third feature was its severe fragmentation into a number of missions and evolving churches.

The Norwegians

After the Americans, the Norwegian missionaries were second to arrive among the Zulu. While several missions entered with the intention of establishing themselves in Zululand proper only the Norwegians accomplished this at an early stage. They were the missionary pioneers in independent Zululand, before the first mineral discoveries began to have an impact on the economic and political developments of the subcontinent, and at a time when British and settler dominance still was in its infancy in Natal. This came to shape their early missionary strategy. Due to their early arrival they were also important to other Lutheran missions, which arrived in the region. To a certain extent this accounts for the Hermannsburg mission of Saxony and even more apparently for the subsequent arrival of the Swedish mission which not only at the time of its formation in 1874 was established largely by inspiration from the first Norwegian missionary outreach to the Zulu, but also at its entry in 1878 was dependent on its Norwegian predecessors. For reasons such as these, and for the purpose of describing and analysing the closely related CSM below, an outline of the history, character and development of the Norwegian mission deserves detailed attention.

In Norway the missionary movement originated as a result of early Moravian Pietist- and British evangelical influences and in the course of the nineteenth-century revivals within the Church of Norway. Two rather different streams emerged. The smaller of these was in part influenced by the Danish minister and poet N. F. S. Grundtvig who, with a following among the Norwegian clergy, came to focus on the pastoral duties of the church as well as regular divine worship. The other, initiated by Hans Nielsen Hauge in the late 1790s, took root among farmers and fishermen on the Norwegian west coast. One emphasised the study of the Bible, prayer, individual conversion and repentance. In 1842 representatives of several local missionary organisations of the latter grouping came together to form the Norwegian Missionary Society (NMS) which,
Based at Stavanger on the west coast, developed into a largely lay and democratic movement within the Church of Norway. With its broad popular base and geographical spreading, the NMS came to play an important role as a vehicle for the Norwegian mobilisation for national liberation (see below Chapter four).

Hans Paludan Smith Schreuder (1817-1882), a high-standing intellectual and a gifted linguist, was the pioneering Norwegian missionary to Natal and Zululand. Still today his memory is very much kept alive among African Christians of the Lutheran tradition and generally referred to as *Mankankanana*. From a well-situated family background of the official class in Norway and with excellent degrees in philosophy and theology from the University of Christiania (Oslo), Schreuder developed a decidedly church-centred Lutheran theology, a stand which came to remain an essential characteristic in his missiological thinking. It is Olav Guttorm Mykrebust, the *doyen* of Norwegian mission history, who in his 1980 biography *H. P. S. Schreuder. Kirke og misjon*. has placed on record a life-long study on Schreuder. In 1843 Schreuder set off as a missionary to southern Africa, jointly supported by the short-lived Christiania missionary committee, formed by leading Christiania theologians, and the NMS until he in 1846 was fully adopted by the latter. From the outset Schreuder was thus somewhat distanced (and later separated) from his Pietist-Evangelical support in Norway. In due course he was to be questioned also by NMS co-workers who not only were less educated but who also, being mainly the sons of farmers and artisans, were of a lower social stratum in Norwegian society.

When Schreuder set foot in Natal in 1844 his object was to create a Zulu Lutheran folk church within the framework of the independent Zulu kingdom. His major concern was not in the first place the conversion of individuals, but rather to win the Zulu people as a whole and, ultimately, to make Zululand an African Christian state. Christianity was to be reconciled with Zulu independence. This political slant of the Norwegian enterprise has been thoroughly described by the University of Trondheim-based group of scholars in their 1986 study *Norwegian Missions in African History. Vol. I: South Africa 1845-1906* under the editorship of Jarle Simensen. Christianization and civilisation, they claim, was to be seen as the perhaps only way of, in the long run, securing the independence of the Zulu kingdom. The history of the Norwegian Lutheran folk church was in this respect important in providing a model for what Schreuder hoped to achieve in Zululand. His ambition, however, presupposed the consent of the king and, ideally, a baptising of the royal family as the beginning of the Christianization of the people from the royalties to the commoners. Over a decade after the Zulu kingdom had ceased to exist as an independent state, but before it was incorporated into the Colony of Natal in 1897, a similar approach was, as shall be described below, defined by Henry William Tottie, the most prominent of the CSM theologians of the late nineteenth century, when he in 1892 formulated his theology on missions (Chapter four).
Schreuder made it clear that he would not enter Zululand unless the king first gave him his permission. He firmly regarded his errand as a purely spiritual matter and not, as with Grout only a few years earlier, with intentions to stir sedition among the people. After twice having been refused permission to enter Zululand by Mpande, Schreuder returned to Natal in 1850 and established the first NMS mission station Umpumulo ("the Place of Rest"), in the neighbourhood of the Americans' Mapumulo mission station and strategically situated on the Natal side of the Thukela river. Shortly thereafter an opportunity was given when Mpande fell ill and called on Schreuder for medical aid. When the king recovered, Schreuder was able to consolidate his position as his advisor and physician. But he was also, together with the recently arrived Lars Larsen, Tobias Udland and Ommund Oftebro, permitted to commence missionary work and establish the Empangeni and Entumeni mission stations in Zululand proper. Mpande's demand for material contributions was considered by the missionaries as well as his demand for loyalty to the kingdom which they, in line with Schreuder's strategy and the Lutheran doctrine of the two kingdoms, accepted in various fashions. The Norwegians' siding against the advancing Boers was probably of particular importance especially in the north-western part of the country. It laid a foundation for a remaining and relatively favourable disposition towards Christian missions among Africans such as e.g. in the Ceza region where the CSM eventually established itself (Chapter seven). Thus Schreuder gained the respect and confidence of the Zulu authorities and justified his mission's presence in Zululand. The NMS were duly rewarded when permitted to establish a string of mission stations reaching from Eshowe (1861) in the south-east to Inhlasatshe (1862) in the far north-west. Assistance was however required to consolidate the Lutheran gains and, after first having achieved Mpande's approval, Schreuder invited in the mid-1850s the Hermannsburg mission to join in the tasks. Nevertheless, when the king canvassed for allies during the 1856 civil war he also admitted other missionaries, and the most serious thwart against Schreuder's plan for a united Lutheran field was Mpande's granting land to the Anglicans at kwaMagwaza in 1859, a most strategic site which hitherto had been hoped for by the NMS. Another setback to Schreuder was his inability to allow his male converts to be fully accepted as warriors in the Zulu regimental systems, and thereby as full citizens of the Zulu kingdom. Unable to have them fully integrated into the Zulu state, Schreuder was forced to abandon his hope of a Christian Zulu nation. If Schreuder was to succeed the only solution would have been to lower demands for baptism and "the expectation that the Zulu should adopt a 'civilised', i.e. European, personal ethic and a European view of society" To effect mass-Christianization this would also have included the royal family, so that Christian ideas could have ripened on a national basis and under national control. With little room for compromise on questions of faith and for cultural adaptation among the other Norwegians, Schreuder's "national" policy was however doomed to failure. While questions of faith and cultural adaptation are not further specified, this would, as described in chapter two
above, have required a reconciliation with the pre-capitalist women-cattle-labour power cycle, foremost polygyni. In this issue Schreuder only nominally differed from the views held by most other missionaries.

For many years the Norwegians made few converts. Instead of gathering whole clans and homesteads as they had hoped, like their American and HMS colleagues, the NMS ended up by populating their mission stations with hired servants, orphans, and imports from Natal. The king permitted them to establish their stations and to preach to his people but did not wish his subjects to accept Christianity. In the early 1870s the Norwegians experienced a turning point in the number of converts (which in itself is an interesting parallel to simultaneous developments among other missions in Natal). Even if the number of converts continued to remain limited, the Zulu authorities who still remembered the Grout expedition, were now less favourably disposed towards the Norwegians who were regarded with increased suspicion. The missionaries' limited material contributions to the kingdom were furthermore contrasted to more considerable incomes brought by other whites, foremost John Dunn who organised the traffic of migrant labourers to Natal. By the end of 1872, king Mpande, to whom Schreuder had developed a relationship of personal friendship, died and was succeeded by Cethswayo. Developments resulted in a crisis in 1873 which actually reached to the point where the NMS was threatened by total expulsion. While this was not effectuated, it did, Hernæs claims, mark a significant change in the Norwegians' attitudes towards the Zulu king. The crisis of 1873 had both revealed the exposed position of the NMS and now forced Schreuder to reconsider his original intention which he replaced by a more "imperialist" strategy. In this respect Hernæs' challenges Myklebust's rather apologetical portrayal of Schreuder's remaining friendship with the Zulu. In his relations to Cethswayo, Hernæs claims, Schreuder began to rely on political pressure from Natal and the British to eventually altogether opt for a replacement of the king as a means of bringing about freedom of religion. Most missionaries, frustrated about the few converts made, were even more determined in this respect and, to them it was perfectly clear that the mission had no future under existing conditions.

By this time internal disagreements within the NMS led to a split between Schreuder and the majority of his colleagues. In 1873, the disputes led to Schreuder founding an independent missionary body, "the Church of Norway mission by Schreuder", later renamed the Church of Norway Mission (CNM), supported by a "Schreuder Committee" in Christiania. Most of the mission stations remained with the NMS, but Schreuder kept Entumeni in Zululand and founded a new mission station, Untunjambili, in Natal.

After the cleavage of the Norwegian enterprise the two missions developed along different lines. The NMS missionaries gained a new constitution in which the
Missionary Conference became the highest administrative institution on the field and missionary Ommund Oftebro was appointed the local NMS Supervisor. At the time when Natal officials waged war against Zululand, the NMS missionaries, with the exception of Larsen, gave them their unconditional support. This was even more evident when the NMS missionaries, again excluding Larsen, evacuated their mission stations in January 1879, thus choosing a course of open confrontation with the Zulu authorities. After the war many of the NMS missionaries were of the opinion that the defeat of Zululand had been a necessary lesson in "humiliation" which they believed eventually would benefit conversion. As will be seen below, in the context of the Bambatha uprising this was to remain a theme also among missionaries of also other organisations, such as Fredrik Ljungquist of the CSM (Chapter nine). During the decades after 1880 when social, economic and political conditions dramatically changed in Zululand, the attitude of NMS missionaries largely followed the stance attained in 1879. The division of the country, the appointment of anti-royal chiefs and the draconian campaigns against the royalist Usuthu, hardly concerned a majority of missionaries. Cethswayo's defeat in the civil war and his death in 1884 was rejoiced, while the exile of Dinuzulu in 1889 by most was seen as a relief. The only exception among NMS missionaries was Larsen, the loner at his remote Inhlasatshe mission station in the far north-west. Clinging to the original strategy of relying on "the Word" alone, he tried to avoid interfering into politics, convinced it would compromise the missionaries in the eyes of the local population. When the Boers occupied his region he condemned their promises of civilising and Christianising as a false cover for pure material self-interest and was depressed about the subsequent destruction of the Zulu economy.

The CNM came to follow a somewhat different course. In the "Schreuder Committee" in Norway the folk church tradition was maintained and developed by its most prominent theoretician George Kent, one of the leading Norwegian Hegelians of his time. Like Schreuder, and in contrast to the NMS, also Kent emphasised mission as an indivisible manifestation of the church. But unlike him and elaborating on concepts of a folk sovereignty and a folk spirit, Kent's thinking of the late 1870s resembled a political slant in the definition of the church, associating it with the nation (or the state). Similar views were, as will be seen below, also elaborated on in the late nineteenth century academic environment at Uppsala in Sweden (Chapter four).

Also in Natal and Zululand the CNM came to differ from the NMS. Myklebust underlines the fact that Schreuder was among the few missionaries allowed by Cethswayo to remain in Zululand during the war. In this respect Hermæs qualifies the scene and points out that Schreuder's policy actually followed the marked out direction of 1873, and thus did not radically differ from that of the other Norwegians. Still, Hermæs says, there is little reason to believe that Schreuder gave his support to a war of permanent conquest. He rather imagined it possible and desirable, as a means...
to create his envisaged Lutheran state church, to preserve the country as a nation, not in the sense of an independent and politically unified state, but rather as a people, possibly as British protectorate. A more substantial distance to the NMS was developed after Schreuder's death in 1882, when he was succeeded by Nils Astrup (1843-1919), consecrated bishop in 1902. Astrup also came from a family of civil servants and was a university graduate with degrees in both law and theology. After having arrived in the region in 1883 he systematically sought first-hand information about Zulu conditions and the royal house. In the CNM periodical this was illustrated by the emergence of a new picture of Zululand where Astrup praised "the intellectual power" of the Zulu which he considered to be on a higher level than in "the lower classes of the English population". He was most critical of the materialism brought by Europeans. Both Cethswayo and later Dinuzulu were described as peace-loving and worthy leaders of their people and the British conquest had been instigated by intriguing Natal settlers. He also regretted the British annexation of 1887 which he feared would entirely endanger and dissolve the Zulu social system. In a similar way he regarded Dinuzulu's exile in 1889 a shameful political act which not could be justified on the basis of Christianity. Disassociating himself from the majority of his fellow countrymen of the NMS, Astrup stated, "I will never join those who pray that God must crush the Zulus into humiliation" continuing "I think it signifies a lack of love to ask God to do His work in a particular manner, which is maybe a harsher way than the One He in His incomprehensible power and love would have chosen." In relation to his colleagues in the NMS, he added, "I have often been offended by such prayers sent up by brothers and sisters." To Astrup the long-term solution was instead to give the Zulu "political rights and admission to the legislative assemblies which would remove any danger of future revolt". As shall be seen below, this was a stance he maintained throughout years to come. Among the Norwegian missionaries at large he was furthermore the only one who always expressed respect for the Anglican bishop Colenso.

Schreuder's pioneering efforts had thus been entirely conditional for the early establishment of Norwegian missions in Zululand. His sincere efforts to avoid war and attempts to maintain a seemingly neutral position are unique among missionaries, although also he favoured some kind of British overrule. This had also been Colenso's early position but, in contrast to the other missionaries, he and his family moved in another direction and became ardent defenders of Zulu independence during and after the time of the conquest. At a later stage his daughter Harriette came to play a most important role in the process of bringing closer relationships between the royal family in Zululand and an emerging African Christian élite in Natal. With regards to the Norwegians their history had already from their outset been closely intertwined with that of Zululand, its people and royal family. After the turn of the century and at least during the first decade of the twentieth century they continued to primarily identify
themselves with Zululand where they had close on 70 per cent of their following. This is one of the characteristic features of the Norwegian mission and most evident when compared to other regional missions, such as the CSM. Although there were obvious differences between the two Norwegian missions, albeit not always clear-cut, there were also important common features. One was that "all the Norwegians disassociated themselves from the racial thinking which towards the end of the century dominated settler society in Natal." While the rude racism of the Natal settlers not entirely may be equated with the perhaps more sophisticated evolutionism that simultaneously was in vogue at academic institutions in Europe, indeed also in Sweden, this constituted one important difference between two prominent representatives of Norwegian and Swedish missions respectively (Chapter five).

At the turn of the century the older NMS was headed by Ole Olsen Stavem (1841-1932). At the time the NMS had 12 missionaries at an equal number of mission stations of which four were in Natal, 47 African teachers and evangelists, almost 2,200 adherents, 666 schoolchildren and 167 adult students. In contrast, the CNM accounted for three mission stations of which one was in Natal, four male missionaries, three female teachers, four African teachers, an unspecified number of evangelists and over 1,000 baptised converts.

The Hermannsburg Saxonians

The Hermannsburg Mission Society (HMS) has its roots in the 1848 revival, sparked off by the Lutheran priest Ludwig Harms (1808-1865) among his mainly peasant followers in the small town of Hermannsburg, near Hanover in Saxony. Inspired by Romanticism and the medieval communities which once had christianised his part of Europe, the HMS was founded partly as a reaction against the Enlightenment. Harms enrolled the local population into a movement of missionaries, artisans and farmers with their families who - as was the case with the medieval orders who had lived off their land - aimed at the establishment of self-sufficient, evangelising colonies among the heathen in Africa. His strategy was to raise Africans to Christianity and civilisation by the example of the pious and hard-working Saxonians and by training them in agricultural labour. After a failed attempt to settle among the Galla in East Africa, the HMS turned to Natal.

With the envisaged strategy, it followed that the HMS enterprise to a large extent came to be preoccupied with the issue of acquiring land for its missionaries and colonists on which to settle. Fritz Hasselhorn has brought to the fore also other motives behind the search for land. One was the low social origin of Harms' followers. One third of them consisted of farm labourers and another third of farmers' younger sons with no hope of inheritance and thus threatened by social decline. Saxonians who followed the
missionaries had little to lose and much to gain. Another problem was the shortage of capital within the HMS. Unable to financially support its missionaries, the individual missionary had to rely on own purchase or lease of land and its development. In 1854 the HMS founded its first mission station "Hermannsburg" in Natal Midlands. Further stations such as Ehlanteneni, Etumbeni, Emhlangane and Empangweni spread throughout the region from southern Natal to the Drakensberg in the west. In 1857 the HMS took over the Liteyane mission, started by David Livingstone, and used this as a base for mission work among the Tswana which undertaking in numerical terms proved more successful than the HMS Zulu mission.

Having been admitted by Mpande in 1858 the HMS began work in Zululand and within nine years five mission stations were founded in the south and an additional eight in the north. Like Schreuder, Harms opposed the pietistic concept of converting individuals rather than pay the nation its interests and, in line with the Norwegian aims for Zululand, the HMS shared in the attempt to establish a Lutheran Volkskirche in what was hoped to eventually become an African Christian state. Also Schreuder's anti-imperialist policy was followed by the HMS. But in the HMS this particular policy was even stronger than among the Norwegians. Because of Britain's long history of putting other nations "under the yoke" Harms was particularly eager to locate his mission stations far away from the British colony. In spite of its many mission stations in Zululand, also the HMS made few converts. Harms' naive assumption of Africans being without culture and whereas "the Word" alone would be effective when preached among the heathen, increasingly disappointed the missionaries of the HMS. By 1872 the HMS missionaries had only some 30 baptised Africans in central Zululand. When their mission stations, mostly inhabited by employed immigrants from abroad, after 20 years of mission work remained largely isolated from the local population, the missionaries began to reconsider Harms' idealistic approach.

In this respect the 1879 Anglo-Zulu War became a turning point also in the HMS strategy. Harms' "national" intention was replaced by deputy superintendent August Hardeiland's demand for an "iron fist" which would crush the kingdom and make the Zulu more amenable to evangelisation. From this time the Hermannsburg missionaries became most vocal in their demand for British conquest. But, unlike the Norwegians' shift into a pro-British policy, to the HMS the war of 1879 was a turning point in another sense. When terrified HMS missionaries and colonists joined in laager with Boer settlers on the Natal side of the Thukela river, there developed among them a growing dissatisfaction with the forceless and undetermined British colonial rule and a strengthened conviction of a "firm" policy towards their African Christians. In the post-war years tensions increased between the missionaries and their converts and conflicts arose over several issues. These included, as one could expect, the land issue, lobolo and demands for a more relevant education. The
widened gap between missionaries and Africans increased by the 1880s, when the broad European current of evolutionism and Social Darwinism gained ground also in Germany. Missionaries who arrived after 1884 were all imbued with the conviction of the supremacy of the white race in general and the German in particular.141 The missionaries became more critical to social and political aspirations of Africans who now, because of their supposedly long heritage of heathenism and thousands of years of "degeneration", were decidedly seen as an essentially different kind of people who could not be converted or socially upgraded in a short period of time. Raw Darwinist concepts were adopted by them, thereby legitimising the issue of race as used by white settlers.142 Georg Haccius (the 1890-1916 deputy mission director) came to spell out the HMS position as a via media between, on the one hand, Boer views of Africans as "descendants of Ham", entirely unchangeable and merely useful as serfs, and, on the other, the British with their "false" understanding of an equal humanity: "with a firm hand and a Christian pedagogic we wish to raise the Africans through labour and service leading to their true well-being and eternal health and blessedness."143 With a growing influence of Social Darwinism, German missionaries and colonists drew closer to the general trend among the mostly British-born white Natalians. And when also Germany began to appear as a colonial power in the mid-1880s, the missionaries' image of Britain shifted from first having seen her as a useful, albeit weak, protector, to a rival power for colonial territories. "The spell of the Scramble for Africa captivated the mission."

At about the same time, particularly after the 1881-1882 Anglo-Boer War, German missionaries began to draw closer to the Boers who now had advanced to the position of potential allies.144 The gradually closer identification with white settler society was also marked by the fact that a large number of German colonists in its early years came to establish their own German-speaking farming communities. In Natal important such communities grew up around the Hermannsburg mission station in the New Hanover Division of the Natal Midlands and at Elandskraal, around the Nazareth mission station in the north of Natal, close to the CSM Oscarsberg mission.145 In the early years of the century the HMS founder's nephew, Egmont Harms (1859-1916), served as the HMS mission director and Heinrich Röttcher (1834-1911) as the superintendent of the Zulu mission.146 By that time the HMS in Natal and Zululand included 22 missionaries at its 20 mission stations of which about a third were in Zululand, 35 African teachers and evangelists at an equal number of out stations and almost 5,000 African Christians of whom 40 per cent lived in Zululand as well as some 900 schoolchildren.147 To complete the fragmented picture of Lutheran enterprises in Natal and Zululand two additional German mission societies need to be considered. One is the Hanoverian Free Church, the 1893 offshoot of the Hermannsburg mission, whose missionaries professed to be representatives of "the pure Lutheran" tradition, and took with them
two former Hermannsburg stations in Natal. Among the Lutherans they had the smallest following, with 800 adherents in 1900. The other was the Berlin Missionary Society (BMS) which actually from the start was a Cape-based and intercolonial mission. Ten years after the founding of the society the first five missionaries arrived in South Africa and mission work was established first in the Orange River Sovereignty. Missionary efforts spread to the Cape and the Ciskei and, in 1847, among the Nguni in Natal. In 1861 BMS missionaries arrived in the Transvaal where they came to establish their largest mission field. The BMS eventually became the largest of the Lutheran missions in southern Africa. In Natal it had established five mission stations in the western parts of the colony near the Drakensberg, towards the Transvaal. In 1900 it had some 2,500 members and about 386 schoolchildren.

Western Denominations and Missions and the Issue of Land

While relations to land in pre-colonial and pre-capitalist times to a great extent was based on communal usage, the European conquest brought about delimitation of land and the introduction of privately owned land property. As the alienation of land from Africans proceeded in Natal, so did Africans’ incentives to draw near to lands held by the churches and missions. In 1863 the correlation between soil fertility and evangelical growth was explained by an Anglican missionary thus, "The natives may be converted in any place" he said, "but they know the country too well to settle where they cannot have a good pasture and where they cannot at the same time carry out agricultural pursuits with profit. Where that is not the case they will leave and go to other places (generally to other Mission stations)." Hence it was no accident, Etherington states, that the largest congregations grew up around the stations which had the best land, and missionaries who did not have good enough land consequently struggled to get at it. "Missionary societies with land at their disposal won more adherents than those that did not, regardless of theology." The largest tracts of land were the some twenty Mission Reserves which, beginning in 1856, were granted by the colonial government to various mission organisations, located chiefly along the Indian Ocean coast or in the coastal hinterland of the Natal Midlands, these reserves varied in size from 5,500 to 12,922 acres, in extent totalling 153,273 acres. The mission reserve was held in trust by a board comprising of representatives of both government and mission organisation. On these lands the missions encouraged individual tenure and the cultivation of cash crops. For most of the nineteenth century these attempts were, however, rather unsuccessful. Most people remained in the pre-capitalist mode of homestead production. It was only a small minority of Christians, often made up of families, who moved onto the reserves from outside the area, and who accepted individual plots of land and European practices. As the only considerable missionary body present in Natal at the time when Shepstone commenced
his division of the country, the largest stretches of land along the coast were, as already mentioned, first operated by the Americans. In 1864 twelve of the twenty-one reserves amounting to some 60 per cent of these lands was controlled by them. The Hermannsburg mission was, with reserve land reaching to 16,539 acres at its disposal, second in size after the Americans. Adjacent to its Umpumulo mission station also the NMS was in possession of reserve land which amounted to some 12,000 acres.

Apart from the mission reserves there were also other categories of land owned by the various denominations and mission organisations operating in Natal. Smaller portions of land were granted by the colonial government as "mission sites", intended for the establishing of outstations in the reserves. Larger areas of land were purchased as private property by the missions. At the end of the nineteenth century there were not less than 95 mission stations with a combined size of 140,998 acres, virtually equivalent to that of the Mission reserves. Of this figure almost seventy per cent, or 96,879 acres, of the total amount of land purchased by missions, belonged to the Roman Catholic Trappists, who already from the time of their arrival in the early 1880s established a chain of mission stations throughout Natal and purchased a considerable amount of farm land for their adherents to cultivate. The Mariannhill brothers were thus remarkably successful in their land acquisition policy, probably backed by their network of supporters throughout central Europe. Most likely this was also, as suggested by Etherington, a major reason behind their remarkable growth in numbers of converts in the years around the turn of the century. Conversely the Oblates of Mary Immaculate, the other major Roman Catholic order operating in Natal, was less fortunate both in purchasing land and in winning converts. While the Trappists obviously held a most prominent position in this respect also among the other missions, some mission land was indeed very large. The Methodist mission farm at Edendale was one of these. With its 6,123 acres it had a reputation of being one of the largest and best farms in the colony ever since it first had been owned by the Voortrekker leader Andries Pretorius. Purchased on a share basis between Allison and his rather large group of converts and developed through the enterprise of its people and its close vicinity to the Pietermaritzburg market, Edendale provided a fertile base for an emerging African Christian middle class. After a share holding company was formed among some of the Edendale members, an additional farm was purchased at Driefontein and, by the early 1880s, both Edendale and Driefontein African landowners had become as business minded as any of their white counterparts.

In Zululand, however, where private property was unknown and where all land ultimately had been owned and distributed by the king, the situation was different. Mpande permitted missions to enter his country only on condition that no property rights were to be given and that no European colonies were to be established. While the Zulu kings' restrictive policy thus allowed only a few missions before 1879,
British colonial officials also remained reluctant to permit entrance into Zululand by missionaries. At the end of the nineteenth century there were only a few missions established in Zululand. Apart from Anglicans, Norwegian and German Lutherans, in 1887 also the CSM entered and in 1895 the Roman Catholics. While also the Methodists were early to arrive in 1903, it was foremost after the 1902-04 delimitation and even more so after the 1906 Bambatha uprising, with conditions more favourable to whites, that Zululand more profoundly was thrown open also for missionaries.

Contrary to what Simensen and others claim, property rights of the Norwegian missions in Zululand were far from satisfactorily secured. Since the time of Zululand's incorporation into Natal their land holdings to the north of the Thukela river remained unsettled. The South African War came to cause considerable worry among Norwegian missions, as land they occupied were of the old regime. The most important mission stations of both the NMS and the CNM were situated in southern Zululand which, in the event of a settler invasion from Natal, would be in a most exposed position. In 1901 Stavem was most pessimistic. The strong and hostile settler opinion against land occupied by missions in Natal, he said, did not augur well for Zululand, and neither from the Natal government nor from the anticipated delimitation commission was much to be expected. In the following year when the commission began its work, NMS deputy Supervisor S. Leisegang strongly condemned the anticipated division of the country, the feared invasion of "thousands" of whites and a corresponding displacement of Africans. With regards to NMS situation he predicted a future separation of missionaries and their African adherents where the latter would be removed from the mission lands to the planned reserves.

In contrast to the NMS missionaries' somewhat distressed prospects Lars Dahle, the NMS director in Norway, who in 1903 paid a visit to the mission field, was more optimistic. His view of colonial conditions in Natal and Zululand were by and large hopeful, a view he held when comparing the Natal and Zululand situation with that of the French-ruled and Roman Catholic-dominated Madagascar from which he had personal missionary experience. Meeting with both the Governor and the Undersecretary of Native Affairs, S. O. Samuelson, the son of a former NMS missionary, Dahle was delighted to report on the Natal officials' considerate attitudes towards his mission, and the fact that at least two members of the 1902-04 Commission were reported to be particularly supportive of mission work. Dahle was aware of the fact that the delimitation report was first to be reviewed by the government in London. He and the other NMS missionaries in 1879, ultimately placed their trust with the British government, which Dahle regarded as most well-disposed towards Christian missions. While not as equally naively sympathetic to the settler government in Natal, also Astrup of the CNM ultimately relied on a British decision against the Natal settlers. In 1905 he approved of the commission's results where half of the land, of
which some was regarded as fertile, he said, was set aside for Africans, which he entirely ascribed to beneficial British influences. But while the land-hungry Natal settlers were outraged in regard to the limited amount of land allotted to them, and their attacks on missionaries who defended black rights had reached new heights, he feared for their government's gradually increased influence over Zululand. However, neither of these fears were to be realised in the years before the 1906. When the Bambatha uprising resolutely had been put down, new regulations began to bite, and when large groups of white settlers eventually began to invade the southern parts of Zululand, both missions were seriously affected, not least Astrup's CNM which at the time still managed large and fertile tracts of land once allotted to Schreuder by king Mpande (Chapter ten).

**African Social Institutions**

Among the missionaries the most important assault on African values and basic family institutions concerned polygyny and lobolo. Since the advent of the first mission organisations in Southern Africa, the vast majority of missionaries condemned polygyny and excluded polygynist from baptism and church membership. Polygynists were not to be admitted to church membership, unless they set aside all their wives, save one. The requirement was most probably the main cause of missionaries' considerable difficulties in reaching out to the male population. The American Zulu Mission was from the start of its work in Natal, strictly uncompromising in its attitude towards both polygyny and lobolo, indicating both institutions as the roots of African resistance to Christianity. In the early years there had been few conflicts between missionaries and converts because of polygyny when many of the men still were young and not rich enough to have more than one wife. Over the years this was however changing and by 1879 the American mission established its Umsinduzi Rules which prohibited polygynists from becoming members of the church, prohibited lobolo contracts, forbade widows from living with women or men respectively outside the bonds of marriage, forbade participation in customary beer-drinks, the consumption of any intoxicating beverage and the smoking of hemp. Although the Americans were the most rigid in their stance against polygyny, most other missions were of a similar opinion.

In spite of his initially accommodating folk policy also Schreuder clearly regarded polygyny to be a sin. In the missionary conflict with Colenso and his tolerant views, Schreuder who not only accused Colenso of heresy, but also claimed some of his own converts to have become polygynists by many of Colenso's views, actually emerged as one of Colenso's major opponents. In regard to Schreuder's condemnation of polygyny as a sin, Schreuder made no difference whether sins were committed in Zululand or in Norway. For this reason he did not regard polygyny a sin particularly characteristic of Africans. Unlike other missionaries' frequent assaults on polygyny
among Africans in general, Schreuder refrained a general criticism as this would prevent already baptised converts from returning to their old religion.\textsuperscript{179} Nils Astrup, his successor, appears to have followed a similar policy.\textsuperscript{180}

The NMS views of sin, atonement and eternal life were essentially intended to be applicable to all peoples, regardless of culture. Occasionally also the NMS leadership admonished against a too drastic interference in local habits. Pioneering missionaries were, however, overwhelmed by difficulties in dealing with local cultural expression. They had neither the energy, the ability nor the will to reconcile with details they found unacceptable. This followed logically from their assumption that African traditional religion in its entirety was "heathen", and the conviction that the Christian faith contained morality, social order and technology. NMS missionaries therefore came to condemn a wide range of features, present in African society, foremost polygyny and lobolo but also witchcraft, veneration of shades, hlobonga or premarital sexual intercourse, traditional "beer", alcohol in general and costume.\textsuperscript{181} Hence NMS missionaries' views were not very different from the Americans' "catalogue" of sins, although they at first had failed to recognise how closely several of the features were intertwined with Zulu social life. After the 1879 Anglo-Zulu War when the expected "humiliation" of the Zulu not had produced anticipated results, they opted for an entire extinction of the pre-capitalist economic and social system which they now considered to be irreconcilable with Christian faith (as defined by European cultural criteria). Instead they opted for the integration of their mission field into the modern southern African economy.\textsuperscript{182} At the turn of the century polygyny was still condemned, as was lobolo.\textsuperscript{183} Also the Hermannsburg missionaries were in this respect closer to the NMS than to Schreuder's yet somewhat modified stance. Even if Harms shared Schreuder's concept of a national folk Christianization, in the highly controversial issue of polygyny and as furthered by Hasselhorn there is little evidence of a less rigid stance among the HMS missionaries. From their outset in Natal they were firm in their advocacy of a nuclear family in Western understandings as the only Christian form of Christian life and were consistent in their condemnations of polygyny. Like the Norwegians, the HMS missionaries eventually took note of the incompatibility between their demands for monogamy and African social and economic system. Like them, they also became supporters of a Western conquest of Zululand while they in Natal withdrew to their considerable land holdings and their attempts to create a new environment in which polygyny would become unimportant.\textsuperscript{184}

Apart from the Roman Catholics, most Protestant bodies were represented in the Natal Missionary Conference which was mobilised in efforts to convince the Natal government to legislate against polygyny. The Conference, to a great extent dominated by the Americans, protested against polygyny in 1893 when it was agreed to approach the government and: "draw their attention to the fact that the practice of Polygamy
tends to the continued debasement of the natives, and... urge that the time has now come after fifty years of British rule for some check to be placed upon the custom.”

In 1901, after an initiative of the Mission Council of the United Free Church of Scotland in which it was stated that “the practice of polygamy is one great obstacle to the civilisation and moral improvement of the people”, the Conference decided to appoint a committee to draw up a petition to the Governor of Natal for the abolition of polygyny. The Lutheran missions were represented by the two NMS missionaries, S. Dahle and Stavem. At least the latter was involved in the deliberations.

In the Church history of Natal and Zululand there were nonetheless opponents to the generally accepted policy. The most radical and well-known among them in the nineteenth century was Colenso. Ever since the early 1840s the issue of polygyny had been considered by him. To him the family was a significant factor and after his arrival in Natal this was coupled to his sympathetic view on also African family life. Although he agreed that polygyny conflicted with Christian thinking and could be regarded as uncivilised, he protested against the powerful condemnatory preaching against polygyny, a preaching which was widely used among his contemporaries. He found evidence in the Old Testament which he interpreted as sanctioning the practice. To him any sudden or unconsidered disruption of family life as a condition for conversion was unacceptable, and for this reason he argued that polygynists should be accepted as church members. With the moral and sexual prejudices as well as the economic interests involved among the white settlers, Colenso was harshly attacked by them.

Among the missionaries in Natal and Zululand Colenso had very few followers – and many enemies. Guy, in distinguishing Colenso’s certainly unrivalled position among missionaries, claims several of his ideas on polygyny, education and the entire concept of mission to have been rejected then and then “been ignored ever since”, It might be an overstatement. To some extent the Anglican Society for the Propagation of the Gospel (SPG) seems to have followed a via media and allowed polygynists into its parishes as catechumens, but refused them baptism. From outside the circle of missionaries, criticism was voiced against the missionaries’ rigidity on polygyny. Among them was J. J. Field, the Magistrate of Mapumulo, neighbouring the American Zulu Mission who was an ardent critic of the attempts of the Natal Missionary Council to have polygyny prohibited. In 1901 Field stated that he considered “any hasty coercive measures with the object to prohibiting the custom would ... be highly injudicious... and would probably end in far greater trouble than anti-polygamist seem to think,” adding that “it will be just as difficult to make natives religious by force of law as it is to make more civilised nations sober by legislation.” From own experience as a magistrate he illustrated the complexity involved. Usually a converting polygynist, he said, would retain his youngest wife. This was, however, a custom to which Field objected, “I have in the interests of justice and fairness endeavoured to explain to the Amakolwa [African Christians] that, admitting as I do that polygamy is contrary to
scriptural teaching, then the first wife only can be recognised and that to put her away, except for adultery, is to outrage the tenets of Christianity and the religion they (the Amakolwa) have accepted and profess. A second or subsequent marriage during the lifetime of the first married wife is committing adultery."

In spite of united declarations of the Natal Missionary Conference however, the polygyny issue gave the missionaries no peace. Besides, there were severe problems involved for the converts. When women who were married to polygynists became Christians, their husbands could refuse to let them go. And if the wives broke away, they were forced to leave their children with their father and themselves became practically social outcasts. This created perpetual conflict between missionaries on the one hand and homestead-heads and chiefs on the other. Problematic were also the many cases when Christian girls, women or widows (the latter following the Nguni-Zulu custom of marrying the late husband’s brother) married polygynists. They were all excluded from the Christian congregations and there were no exceptions to this rule. To some missionaries, however, the problem of polygyny did not so much involve women because no theological rules seem to have prevented them from receiving the wives of polygynists as parishioners. As the Anglican missionary Goodwin pragmatically pointed out, the condemnation of polygyny did not really hit the women as they could very well be baptised as each and all of them were only married to one single husband. This was also the stance of Swedish missionaries (Chapter five).

It was different with lobolo. In spite of a more vulgar attitude expressed among missionaries that a husband who cemented a marriage bond, with a cattle transferred to his father-in-law, was "buying a woman", some mission organisations had actually opted for a modified position. Those with a Reformed or Pietist background tended to be highly negative and very strict in their stance, often ascribing this to their call to "uplift" the African women whom they felt were living in deep degradation. Women were seen as the ones who toiled in the fields, while their husbands led lives of indolence and self-gratification. Among them, the American missionaries altogether prohibited members of their congregations from participation in lobolo contracts. In 1900 also the NMS missionaries condemned the custom among their followers. At the outset they were, however, more lenient on the issue, in part due to practical reasons, while it in the early days had proved virtually impossible to, without a transfer of lobolo-cattle, find wives for male converts. In the Norwegian cases the formerly more lenient attitude was probably also due to the influence of Schreuder. Although he essentially regarded lobolo as a depreciating of women, he still realised the difficulties in rapidly abolishing the custom among those already baptised. At times he could even lend money to African Christian men to purchase lobolo cattle. To him lobolo was gradually to fade away among the converts and in this respect he compared the stance on the caste system among Lutheran missions in India.
early years the Hermannsburg missionaries also seem to have tolerated the practice as a transient evil. When several African Christian fathers began to demand *lobolo* for their daughters, they were first punished by the missionaries. But in 1891 *lobolo* was declared entirely unacceptable in HMS congregations. The discipline was, however, difficult to uphold, and in practice the missionaries outlawed cattle but allowed other gifts. In order to prevent African teachers from migrating to the gold mines; they were even granted loans for the purchase of cattle.207 Also other societies tolerated the existence of *lobolo* on practical grounds though few thought it desirable. Among them were Anglicans and Methodists.201 Ever since it first met in 1877, the Natal Missionary Conference discussed the issue at several meetings without being able to reach a unanimous declaration.202 But even within organisations that more or less tolerated the practice of *lobolo*, some missionaries still quite harshly spoke out against it.203

**Missionary Education**

Apart from the missionaries' attitudes towards land, polygyny and *lobolo* which constituted a burdensome obstacle and demarcated their stance in relation to the essential pillars of Nguni-Zulu pre-capitalist society, the most direct missionary contribution to social and cultural change was their schools. Africans' education had always been of a primary concern for many missionary organisations operating in Natal and Zululand. From their point of view the elementary education and the propagation of the Christian faith at the mission schools was most efficient in the conversion of Africans. Already from the time when the first American missionaries arrived in Natal schooling was a priority. Although the Home Board in Boston constantly impressed it upon the missionaries that preaching of the Gospel was to be their main task, education was from the first granted a place in all American Board missions. Throughout the world schools were to be established at all mission stations, so that the people could learn to read the Bible.204

The great majority of schools in Natal and Zululand were so-called "bush schools". These consisted of evening- or Sunday schools at the many outstations and prepared scholars for the larger and more advanced station schools and, in many ways, the first step towards baptism. In lack of educated teachers, outstations schools were often run by local evangelists. Children were instructed some hours a week in elementary Christianity, reading, writing and arithmetic. At some of the larger mission stations there were also boarding homes, often managed by European woman missionaries. When the students stayed for longer periods, sometimes for several years, and only occasionally went home on leave, they would be given a more permanent and solid western upbringing by the missionaries. In similarity to the Americans' "household system", these were particularly important in the pioneering years, before Africans in larger numbers themselves began to be attracted to the mission schools.
The station schools were more or less similar to elementary schools in Europe. From 1885, when the first inspector of education was appointed, missionary education was brought under government control. Those schools were supported by government grants-in-aid. The schools were inspected annually by missionary and government inspectors from whose reports it was decided if the schools were to continue to be recognised by the government and thus continue to receive the grants. By 1901 there were 196 such schools with 11,051 pupils. With a similar syllabus for both Natal and Zululand, students were taught fundamental arithmetic, writing and reading. Common language subjects were Zulu, English and German but, to qualify for the grants, most denominations also conducted instruction in English.

Among the English-speaking, inter colonial missions with a double mandate to minister to both whites and blacks, the use of the English language was obviously not a problem. But among other missions this was by no means indisputable. In the 1860s the Americans’ Home Board expressed its wish to avoid introducing the English language in the planned education for future teachers and preachers. At their mission in Ceylon-Sri Lanka, instruction in English gave the young men marketable skills which led them to prefer more lucrative employment in trade and government than in mission organisation. In Natal, however, the American missionaries assured the Board that an abundance of well qualified white candidates would preclude the government from considering blacks, no matter how well qualified they were for these positions.

Among the Hermannsburg missionaries the discussion was somewhat different. In accordance with their emerging Social Darwinist assumptions and anti-British attitudes, missionaries for a long period of time refused to teach English in their schools. In this regard they remained firm in spite of their converts’ increased concern for an improved education in general and in English in particular, “our children have to find their living among the English and while we so often have been cheated they have to learn more.” The HMS had been early in establishing its teachers training school at Ehlanzeni in 1876 but it was only after the need for government grant-in-aid was recognised in 1885 that other subjects than religion were introduced. But even then teaching English remained a most controversial issue among the missionaries. They believed that the English language would interfere with religious instruction, make Africans arrogant and reduce the amount of time students worked for the white missionaries. Also Norwegians recognised the government’s demands and, after the 1890s, secular subjects such as geography and history were introduced. The demand for English was, however, a more difficult issue. Schreuder had pioneered the study of the Zulu language and Norwegian missionaries had always taught in the mother tongue, in accordance with the Lutheran tradition of emphasising the vernacular. English had no justification and because of their limited education most Norwegian missionaries were handicapped in comparison to their English-speaking colleagues. By the turn of the century, however, English had to be introduced as a result of reinforced
government demands and, as with the Germans, due to pressure exercised by their converts. It was they that had to make their way in the increasingly English speaking world of South Africa.²¹⁰

While most of the mission schools emphasised academic subjects, "industrial" or practical training was generally less encouraged. To some missions the issue caused tensions among missionaries and between them and their Home Boards. Already from an early stage American missionaries encouraged practical enterprises among their converts as a means of promoting the economic development of their stations, where Grout's venture at Umvoti clearly was an advanced undertaking. This was pursued regardless of the opposition of the Home Board which feared that if a mission became too deeply involved in the material and economic life of the people, it would not concentrate on primary spiritual goals.²¹¹ Seen against the background of the local missionaries' independence, there was however little the Home Board could do to enforce its views on such matters. Among the Norwegians developments were otherwise. Among them the conflict over the "civilisation" strategy, and emphasis placed on the need for Africans to be trained in practical work before conversion, led to the ousting of NMS local Supervisor Ommund Oftebro in 1887 who opted for a practical training. He was replaced by Stavem who, together with the Home Board, opted for a "Christianising" strategy, emphasising an extended preaching of the Gospel, establishing of outstations and the education of evangelists and teachers. In the years that followed, the Home Board repeatedly intervened to limit practical work. In the establishment of a mission station, practical work was of course required, but it was considered to be only a necessary first stage, later to "let the truth of the Gospel show its power and do its work under heathen conditions such as they were."²¹² The NMS Home Board was more reluctant in stimulating practical work than any other mission organisation. This was partly due to radical pietist influences in the Norwegian missionary movement but also to a lack of funds. The Schreuder mission had no such doctrinal barriers, but financial problems made it difficult to realise plans for practical work.²¹³

The most unabashed advocates for practical training were the Austrian Trappists at their institutions at Mariannhill.²¹⁴ Already by the mid-1880s schools were established for both boys and girls with the purpose of teaching them intensive farming. Thus Mariannhill became known for its large-scale training of carpenters, blacksmiths, wagon makers, stone masons, printers and even professional photographers.²¹⁵ Apart from Pfanner's overt and unreserved criticism of white Natalians' racism, the threat of considerable numbers of African farmers and skilled artisans competing with whites²¹⁶ was probably a further reason for whites' opposition to the Catholic brothers.

Higher education (i.e. beyond two or three years of schooling), for the training of African evangelists and teachers was established by the American Zulu Mission
comparatively early. Ever since its establishment in 1810, the Boston Home Board always spoke of the importance of developing what was termed a "native agency". But it was only by 1853 that a first teachers' training seminary was established at Amanzimtoti, largely due to the pragmatic need for more manpower. The seminary was, however, not given priority by the missionaries. It was only after the intervention of the Home Board in the early 1860s, and in line with its envisaged "three selves" formula, that two teachers-training institutions, Amanzimtoti for men and Inanda for women, were founded in 1865 and 1869 respectively. Both institutions trained students for the teaching, a profession which hitherto had been inaccessible to them. The American schools at Amanzimtoti and Inanda attracted students from all denominations. One reason was their academic excellence, another was that the other missions, e.g. the Anglicans and Methodists, were slow in promoting own secondary education. With an increasing demand for African teachers, graduates from these institutions spread to Protestant missions throughout Natal. Training institutions were eventually opened also by other missions, among them the above mentioned of the HMS in 1876 and Umpumulo of the NMS in 1893. But the rather limited number of educational institutions for African teachers became important in contributing to the particularly interdenominational flavour of African education in Natal.

The issue of higher education was closely related to the development of an indigenous clergy. Among the intercolonial churches and missions, the first black South African to be ordained was Tiyo Soga, who, after having completed his schooling in Scotland, was ordained in Glasgow in 1856 and then returned to his Xhosa people as a Presbyterian missionary. In 1866 the Methodists in the Cape accepted 150 Africans as probationary ministers of which the first three were ordained in 1871 and the majority of the remainder in subsequent years. In 1871 also the Anglicans ordained their first African priest, Paul Masiza. As a rule, Presbyterians ordained fewer Africans than Anglicans and Methodists, mainly because of their more limited finances and higher educational requirements since their programme at Lovedale was more demanding than any of those of the other South African denominations. Similarly, Methodists and Anglicans with their more hierarchical church structures could easily appoint African clergy with lower educational qualifications and still, as noted by Gerald J. Pillay, provide for their supervision by a white, or later, better qualified African clergyman. Among the Americans it was only by reinforced pressure from the Home Board and against the will of the missionaries that such training was realised. The radical measures implemented by the new Foreign Secretary, Nathaniel Clark, in the mid-1860s were in this respect instrumental, both including a direct plead to African Christians, reminding them of their duty to preach, and, as an ultimate solution, removing missionaries as parish clergy and placing Africans in their place. Hence, beginning in the 1870s the Americans achieved their first black ministers. Both in regard to the Americans as to the Methodists there were delays in the ordination of clergy. When the ordination of
black ministers did begin, it was only on explicit orders from home. Without such Home Board demands the missionaries might have waited decades before acting.221

Several of the other missions were far later. In 1893 Simon Ndhlela became the first minister of the NMS and, in the following year, Titus Mtombu was the first Anglican Zulu convert to be ordained.222 In other Lutheran missions black clergy were ordained only in the early years of the new century. Josef Zulu of the CSM was ordained in Uppsala in Sweden in 1901, and Samuel Ninela of the CNM was ordained in 1903.223 The HMS missionaries were far later. Their distrust in African co-workers and fears for secessions delayed ordination of any black ministers. However, in the HMS Tswana mission a lack of missionaries, a wide distribution of scattered mission stations and a prejudice against the ordination of African ministers, forced the mission to introduce the office deacons in 1904 who eventually were supposed to be ordained. In the Zulu mission where the missionaries were even more sceptical to full ordination it was only because of the unhealthy climate at Ekuthlenge that Josef Gwamanda eventually was ordained as first deacon in 1906.224

The importance of conversion and socialisation through the mission schools can hardly be overestimated in effecting social change in African society, i. e. by distinguishing Christians and in introducing western values among them.225 Outward signs of the new identity of Christians were evident. To the new identity belonged wearing western clothing, a new (preferably Biblical or European) Christian name and, less prevalent, living in a western-styled, square-shaped house. But missionary requirements also demanded more profound changes. Missionary disapproval on polygyny and lobolo was the most important in this respect. It struck at the very core of the pre-capitalist social and economic system. Whether missionaries fully recognised the impact of the new life-styles may not have been clear. But the system of the semi-nomadic life with its division of labour was, according to them, irreconcilable with the Christian way of life and an extremely strong barrier against Christian morality. At least as the missionaries had seen Christian living and expressed in their European cultural settings. For the African converts to the Christian faith the implications were far-reaching. A social system, in which males formerly were involved in herding cattle and not in agricultural cultivation, had to be changed into a system where work in the fields became men's work and women, removed from agricultural labour to become housewives.226 Men's physical labour became a moral virtue, and indolence a sin.227 As will be illustrated below, the restructuring of gender relations became most apparent in the older missions. In the American missions, with their large fertile lands, a large number of monogamous families had come into being while in a mission as the CSM, where some of the major achievements had been pursued within the African reserves, this was more difficult to bring about. For the missionaries, however, it was not only a matter of combating African pre-capitalist social institutions, reorganising the sexual
division of labour and propagating the "dignity of labour". It was also a matter of promoting the emergence of a new class among Africans. This was most clearly seen at the older, larger and more advanced American or Methodist missions with their ambitious schemes to convince their adherents to buy land and become owners of property.

The missionaries' emphasis on Protestant work ethic, such as the "dignity of labour", coincided with the needs to advance capitalism in Southern Africa. Education functioned as a two-edged sword which at the same time brought about subjugation, co-option and the stratification of Africans in an increasingly oppressive society. The "dignity of labour", propagated in the mission schools, prepared converts for the highly exploitative structure of wage labour. Although a small number of Africans found their way to higher education, most of them had no other option but accept a subordinate place in society and end up in manual labour.

Cochrane argues that leading missionary objectives can strikingly be compared to the general economic and political strategies that, on the larger political level, were outlined in these years. When the inter-colonial "Lagden Commission" of 1903-1905 planned the unification of the four Southern African colonies, it warmly recommended the Churches' role in educating Africans to take their place in white society – while moderating their resistance through moral education. Similarly, at the First General Missionary Conference of South Africa in 1904, Dr Wilder of the American Zulu Mission said about the "traditional African" that, "He must be 'denationalised'; which means that he must see that there is dignity in labour... that instead of by deceit, lust and violence, he must now get possession of material things by working for them". In this respect we come very close to Bundy's description of the role of the missions as torch-bearers of capitalist social norms and market economy.

Missionary Positioning During the South African War and the Increased Pressure by the Natal Settler Government

During the 1899-1902 South African War attitudes, voiced by the Western churches and missions, were as much divided as the nationalities they represented. In his 1994 overview of the churches and the war, Greg C. Cuthbertson claims that the English-speaking laity, clergy and missionaries by and large had been imbued with British imperialism which already during the second half of the nineteenth century had found its expression in the Crimean War, the Indian Mutiny and the Anglo-Zulu War. The tide favoured imperialism and among the churches of British origin this was mainly seen within Methodism, in which the vast majority of Methodists accepted the imperialist creed. Among English-speaking missionaries the South African War was seen as a "holy war" on behalf of Africans. Among Anglican missionaries the claim was that British victory would ensure "justice" for Africans, a conviction that was repeated over and over again in sermons, articles in church papers and on political
Also among Nonconformists the war was favoured and British victory would be to be beneficial for evangelisation. The Presbyterian James Stuart of Lovedale was an ardent proponent of British policy. To him the war was seen as a crusade on behalf of Africans, and several of his students took part at the front. Of all the missionary organisations operating in the subcontinent, it was the London Missionary Society (LMS) which did most to generate the myth, that the South African War was being fought on behalf of Africans. Because of its size and influence in the Cape, high calibre and better education of its missionaries led by John Moffat, the son of Robert Moffat, and its access to the Nonconformist press, the LMS more than others was able to mobilise Nonconformity for British imperialism.

While Dutch Reformism in the Transvaal naturally mobilised in the struggle for independence against British aggression, the position of the Roman Catholic Church is less obvious. Despite the fact that the Boers were staunch opponents to Catholic theology, Catholics tended to view politics from a religious perspective, generally more concerned about their education than in growing Afrikaner nationalism. A few of its clergy entered the political debate. In general, however, Roman Catholicism preferred a less politically bold stance. Towards the background of its "foreign" image, its non-British, Austrian or French clergy in a religious environment dominated by Protestant-Evangelical denominations and with a lower social status of its white membership of whom many were Irish, as well as its preoccupation in establishing and extending its base among the African population, their stand politically was what one could have expected.

In Cuthbertson's essentially Cape-based perspective Lutheran missions are left out. Similarly Davenport goes no further than contrasting the rather uniform views of the English-speaking clergy with the attitudes of the "missionaries from the countries of the European continent such as Germany and Scandinavia." – only to leave the issue without references or further explanations. C. P. Groves is, in his 1955 general overview of western missions in Africa, more useful. On the Hermannsburg and Berlin missionaries, as with the bulk of Germans in Europe, he says, that they found their sympathies with the Boers. The stance of the Hermannsburg missionaries was thus, as shown by Hasselhorn, consistent to their changed attitudes during the 1879 Anglo-Zulu war and the rapprochement which had occurred between Germans and Boers.

Even if public opinion in both Sweden and Norway, as well as in other countries on the European continent and in Ireland, to a great extent was on the side of the small Boer states, Groves' assessment of Norwegian missionaries being "in much the same position" as the Germans may however seems somewhat overstated. In regard to the Norwegians, the Simensen-group of scholars are of little help in that they entirely
overlook the South African War and its consequences for the Norwegian missions. Towards the background of their previous concern for the Boer occupation of the NMS north-western region during the 1880s, their general focusing on Zululand and their period reaching to 1906, their lack of academic attention is notable. In the light of the remaining local tensions between Boers and Zulu, which culminated in the 1902 Holkrans incident, and subsequent new relations forged during the war between Dinuzulu and local missionaries this is striking. One reason for the lack of the Simensen-group’s attention to the issue may be that the Simensen-study depends on Stavem’s Et Bantufolk og Kristendommen. Det Norske Missionsselskaps Syttiaarige Zulumission of 1915 where accounts of the war and missionaries’ attitudes during the war are remarkably sparse.

More useful in this respect is Arne Gunnar Carlsson’s ”Norske Reaksjoner på Boerkrigen 1899-1902”, a pro-gradu specimen in 1978 presented at the University of Trondheim. Mainly concerned with the attitudes of the Norwegian Press towards the war, it also includes an explanation of the missionaries’ contribution to the moulding of public opinion in Norway. The war led to a heated debate in Norway, regarding the international power balance, the rights of small states and, associated with the latter, the national mobilisation for independence from Sweden. Carlsson states that both the NMS and the CNM missionaries as well as their leadership were one-sidedly pro-British. In Norway, the NMS director Lars Dahle was a clear exponent of a pro-British opinion which also came to dominate among mission-supporters. In this respect there seems to have been little difference between the NMS and the CNM. While the Boers stood for racial hatred, Britain, Dahle claimed, was the carrier of progress and the champion of civilisation. Dahle’s admiration of British rule included later, during his visit to the mission field in 1903, obviously also the Natal settler regime.

Between the two mission leaders, the least appreciative view of the Boers was Nils Astrup’s of the CNM. To him Boer treatment of the Zulu represented a most ruthless exploitation of underpaid labour. Like Dahle he believed British rule would be the best for South Africa, a belief he assumed was shared by a majority of Africans as well. In contrast to Dahle, however, Astrup was more balanced in his view of the Natal government. Beside evangelisation, he said, the deepest intention of the mission was the defence of Africans, not only against Boers but also against English-speaking officials’ treatment of Africans and the advancing Europeanization. As a leading spokesman for Africans’ higher education, his sharpest attack on the Boers concerned what he claimed to be Boer views on Africans’ schooling. The lower they stand, he said, the better for the ”tyrants” who easily can exploit their manual resources for hard labour. Besides, he continued, they fear that the indigenous would become so intelligent that they, as in the Cape Colony, would be granted franchise.
that has proved able to influence the natives in the direction of civilisation and morality.” By 1905, the Conference had to accept the fact that the government’s replies were "extremely unsatisfactory" and that, "these repressive measures instead of securing the objects presumably sought by the government are... actually operating to produce feelings of unrest and dissatisfaction among the native Christians in the locations." The regulations "now in force have the effect of preventing the spread of Christianity and education, and keeping the people in their present state of ignorance and heathenism."267

Concluding Remarks

In summarising the chapter we note that there was a considerable difference between Natal and Zululand in regard to the influence of the various mission organisations and the number of adherents. Western missions and African Christianity was considerably stronger in Natal than in Zululand. While the largest of the societies operating in Natal at the turn of the century, the Methodist, not yet had entered Zululand, the second largest, the American mission, also had most of its following in Natal. Instead of reaching into Zululand, these large and important missions had concentrated on the establishing and development of African Christian communities on the large tracts of land that they possessed in Natal. It was from these communities that the small but increasingly articulate African middle class emerged. Among the few organisations operating in Zululand, the Anglicans(SPG) were the largest. But while the Anglicans had an equal number of followers in Natal and Zululand, the only missions that, more specifically, had concentrated on Zululand were the two Norwegian Lutheran missions, the NMS and the CNM.

While the missionaries came from a number of various Western countries and different denominations, in their encounter with the fundamentals of African pre-capitalist economy, their attitudes remained remarkably similar. The missions strove to achieve as much land as possible. While some of the missions, such as the American mission, had been fortunate to attain large tracts of land, in co-operation with the colonial government during the nineteenth century, others had purchased large estates in attractive farming areas with the financial aid of their mission supporters in the West. In the light of a situation where Africans suffered from an acute land shortage, the lack of a place on which to live appears to have been most instrumental in the expansion of the number of mission followers. With regards to the African social institution of polygyny, crucial for the upholding of the homestead economy, the vast majority of missionaries, with very few exceptions, had been and were uncompromising in their attitudes. To Africans, this remained one, perhaps the major, obstacle for conversion but also, among many who already had been converted, the issue remained a controversial topic. But it was different with lobolo. While some missions, such as the American, excluded members on the grounds of lobolo, other societies tolerated the
custom among its members. Although missionaries of these societies, too, were critical
towards *lobolo*, the institution remained strong among converts. What accounted for
its persistence was probably the fact that the custom was firmly rooted among those
who already had become members of these societies. As it has been showed in the
chapter above, however, among Christians, *lobolo* was often given a different,
commercial, meaning, in line with the new values that the missionaries tried to
implement among their converts. And with the propagation of a new value system
African Christians were to be transferred from the influences of the African pre-capitalist
economy into that of the advancing Western economy.

For this reason it may thus be said that, at least in economic terms, the missions did not
only become a part of economic change but that they also contributed to it and that
African religious change was closely tied up with the process of social transformation.
This has also been claimed by scholars like Simensen and Cochrane. However,
with reference to the particular conditions that were prevalent in the early century
settler-ruled Natal, it is equally true that this picture has to be qualified and that the
goals of the missions no longer necessarily coincided with those of the ruling white
élite. While a mission society like the American Zulu Mission previously had both co­
operated with the government, in achieving land, and tried to influence the government,
in issues on polygyny and *lobolo*, by the early twentieth century this feature was con­
siderably changed. While the missions aimed at the establishment of self-ruling African
churches and the fostering of an African middle class among their followers, this was
contrary to the settler government’s reinforced policy of segregation and attempts to
hinder economic as well as political competition by African Christians.

2 Elphick 1997: 3.
5 Welsh 1971: 258-259.
8 For Zimbabwe, Hallencreutz suggests a categorisation comprising of national churches with a double
mandate as distinct from mission-related and regional churches with a single mandate, cf. Hallencreutz
9 Myklebust 1980: 68.
10 Keto 1977: 611.
13 Etherington 1978: 100.
14 Commonly ascribed to the Baptist William Carey and his appeal of 1792, *An Enquiry into the Obligations
15 Cf. above, Introduction.
16Du Plessis 1911: 463, cf. Simensen with Børhaug, Hermès and Sønstabo 1986: 247. Apart from the inherent temptation to exaggerate the figures as a means of demonstrating an increased need before mission-supporters at home, the methods of collecting statistical figures varied between and within various missions where some denominations generously counted "adherents" in very large numbers and others restricted themselves to "baptised members". Only in very rare exceptions did a mission account for the distribution of men and women among its members.

17The seminary was also intended to be multi-racial, at the opening there were eleven black and nine white students, but, while black and white were together in the classes at school, they occupied separate dormitories and ate at different tables in the common dining room, which, Donaldson says, was in keeping with the social distinctions of the day. Donaldson 1994: 73. Cf. Hodgson 1997: 75.

18Because of the ecclesiastical conflicts in Scotland in the 1830s and 1840s, the Scottish mission in southern Africa was split between the different Presbyterian bodies, where Lovedale came under care of the Free Church of Scotland. When the Presbyterian Church of South Africa was formed in 1879 it was supported by the three major churches in Scotland emerging as a largely white church while the African part of the church eventually was established as the Bantu Presbyterian Church. Cf. Donaldson 1994: 69-73, du Plessis 1911: 360, 364-365, Davenport 1997: 66-67.


24Elbourne and Ross 1997: 47.


29Du Plessis 1911: 359 and 368.

30D. A. Merensky in AMS 28 1901: 440-441.

31Marks 1970: 53.


37Guy 1983.

38Guy 1983: 80-82.


41Guy 1983: 95, 113, 144, 150, 158.


45Du Plessis 1911: 356.


By the turn of the century, the overwhelming majority of these ought to have been Zulu since the number of whites in Zululand, mostly missionaries and traders, yet was comparatively small, cf. Carton 1996: 133 and above, Chapter two.

"We make no distinction of colour or religion. All boys in our institute receive lodging, board, and instruction without distinction, be he a heathen, Mohammedan, Protestant or Catholic, be he white or coloured, be he English, Dutch, German, Italian or African. They all sleep together in the same dormitory, they eat at the same table, get the same food, and sit at the same desks at school. Only those Bantu boys who return daily to their kraal [homestead], sit at school at separate desks, simply because it is rather difficult to watch over the cleanliness of their bodies sufficiently." Faure 1995: 139.

In addition to this the number of Roman Catholics in Lesotho had by 1904 reached some 8,000. Brain 1997: 200.


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On the general development of Rufus Anderson's (American Board) and Henry Venn's (Church Missionary Society) "three selves" ideal within the Church Missionary Society, cf. Williams 1990.
Etherington however, argues that the Americans’ importance has been exaggerated. In contrast to Welsh, who regards this society as representing the mainstream of missionary thought, Etherington claims not only that the Americans’ congregations were relatively small, but also that their policies often were atypical. “In one respect only did the Americans particularly outshine their denominational rivals,” he says: “Their high schools for boys and girls were much the finest educational institutions for Africans in Natal.” Etherington 1978: 29, cf. Welsh 1971: 262.

As reported by J. E. Norenius, the Swedish chairman of the Lutheran co-operating committee, cf. Norenius 1925: 181-182.

This was the result of the diversity of countries from which the missionaries and settlers had originated and in part due to disagreements over form of church governance, liturgical traditions and emphasis on the Lutheran confessional writings. Scriba with Listerud 1997: 173, 179. Unlike other denominations, James Cochrane states, Lutherans thus found it far more difficult to move from a foreign-based missionary foundation to the establishment of a denomination rooted in South Africa. Cochrane 1994: 207.

First they remained neutral in the 1856 Zulu civil war between Mpande and Cethswayo and then they assisted in the preventing of war with the British in 1861. And when the Boers in the 1850s began pouring into the north-western parts of Zululand, they attained an unambiguous anti-Boer stance which further emphasised Schreuder’s indisputable loyalty to the Zulu kingdom. Hernes 1986: 112-113, 117, 126, 129, 131.
The conflict went back to the 1866 Church of Norway consecration of Schreuder as Bishop of the mission field but it also involved personal disagreements and a conflict between Home Board and missionaries over a strengthened role of the local Missionary Conference. Simensen with Gynnild 1987: 24-25, cf. Myklebust 1980: 292-327.

Simensen with Børhaug, Hermæs and Sænstabø 1986: 223.


Among the Norwegians only Schreuder and Ommund Oftebro of the NMS were allowed to remain while they had been in the country for over 20 years. Two Anglicans were equally allowed as they had been recommended by the Governor of Natal. Myklebust 1980: 271 and n. 24, 408, cf. Ballard 1986: 76.

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144. Hasselhorn 1988: 212. Hasselhorn thus refutes the established view of German enmity against the British to have arisen from the World War detentions. Hasselhorn 1988: 213.


147. D. A. Merensky in AMS 28 1901: 439. The number of teachers and evangelists account for 1905, see HMB 53 1906 41: 102. For approximate figures, cf. Hasselhorn 1988: 226. In the Transvaal however where mission work had been far more successful the HMS had well reached some 40,000 members by the early years of the twentieth century. For approximate figures, cf. Hasselhorn 1988: 225.

148. du Plessis 1911: 378-379


150. Founded in 1824 in response to an appeal from prominent Berliners, university professors and members of the upper class and related to the Prussian Union Church, a union of Reformed and Lutheran churches, the BMS ethos was characterised by a combined Lutheran piety and Prussian nationalism. In contrast to many other missions it emphasised a higher standard of academic training for its missionaries Scriba with Listerud 1997: 175, Elbourne and Ross 1997: 32.


165. As General Wolseley 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 laws 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..." Unterhalter 1981: 114. Quoted by Hasselhorn 1988: 69.


168. Stavem in appendix to NM 56 1901: 79.

169. Leisegang in appendix to NM 57 1902: 119, 122.


173. Etherington 1989b: 281

174. du Plessis 111: 356


180Simensen with Børhaug, Hernæs and Sønstabø 1986: 228.
182Simensen with Børhaug, Hernæs and Sønstabø 1986: 225, 229.
183Simensen with Børhaug, Hernæs and Sønstabø 1986: 236.
184Hasselhorn 1988: 40, 212.
185Welsh 1971: 266
186The latter was nominated to the petition committee, NMC 1901: 18-19.
189On Schreuder, see above, in regard to the Americans, Dinnerstein 1971: 95.
191Cf. Hallendorff in SKMT 29 1964 24: 390-396
192J. Field, Magistrate, Umpumulo Division, Blue Book on Native Affairs, 1901, page B 9.
193Welsh 1971: 264-265
194R. Wolter (a report from the first General Missionary Conference in South Africa) in LMT 59 1905 59: 3: 33-42. On the at the same time polygynous and monogamous relations in the pre-capitalist homestead, cf Chapter two above.
196Among the more extreme and prominent prohibitionist were Dr. Dalzell, one of the leading figures among the Presbyterian missionaries and the head of the Gordon Memorial Mission Station in northern Natal, close to the CSM Oscarsberg mission, who expelled all communicants at his station who received cattle. Welsh 1971: 261, 263
197Simensen 1987: 96.
198Simensen with Børhaug, Hernæs and Sønstabø 1986: 199.
201Etherington 1978: 63.
203At the First General Missionary Conference in South Africa in July 1904, the Anglican missionary Goodwin stated that, to his mind, lobo lolo was not be accepted by converted Christians: "A wife is not sold to her husband but to her husband's tribe, which leads to a life in sin and slavery of worst kind." Quotation by R. Wolter in LMT 59 1905: 3: 33-42
204Dinnerstein 1971: 102.
205Marks 1970: 54-55
206Etherington 1978: 129.
210Simensen with Børhaug, Hernæs and Sønstabø: 242.
213Simensen with Børhaug, Hernæs and Sønstabø 1986: 261-262.
218Etherington 1978: 133-134.
221Etherington 1978: 25, 28.
223On Ninela, cf. ZMB 28 1904, 5-6: 84 and on Josef Zulu, below, Chapter seven.
225An author like Welsh, by example, argues that the introduction of the mission school was the most important agency of social change in African society. Welsh 1971: 48.
227Cochrane 1987: 35.
228Cochrane 1987: 83.
229Cochrane 1978: 30, 63.
230General Missionary Conference of South Africa: 14, quoted in Cochrane 1987: 68.
231Bundy 1988: 37
232As a colonial church in which the laity had an equal voice with the clergy, the pronouncements of the clergy and hierarchy of the Anglican church must to a certain extent have accorded with those of its rank and file members. Cuthbertson 1994: 152-153, Davenport 1997: 63, cf. Groves 1955: 242.
233In 1900 the synod of the Cape of Good Hope district declared its unanimous support for British arms and the "unquestioned supremacy" of the empire and, in the same year, a similar resolution was passed by the Pietermaritzburg conference. Cuthbertson 1994: 157-160. For somewhat different but less thoroughly elaborated description, cf. Davenport 1997: 63.
236Cuthbertson 1994: 165-166.
244Marks 1970: 157-159 and 111.
245Cf. Stavem 1915. Among other reasons it may be argued that the South African War largely has been seen as merely a "white man's war. Since his study of 1983 this myth has been punctuated by Warwick. See Warwick 1983: 6-27.
246Carlsson 1978.
248In regard to the CNM in Norway, the 1902 British victory was enthusiastically greeted by David Thrap, the editor of the CNM periodical. Each and all concerned with mission, he said, who since long had recognised the blessing of British rule ought now to rejoice with the liberal and enlightened English government. Many were those who together with England and her king rejoiced in what was achieved after years of war and, he went on, convinced of the CNM missionaries sharing this joy, also the home supporters fell in among the congratulators. Thrap in ZGB 26 1902 5-7: 65-66.
250Among the Norwegian missionaries in South Africa, Carlsson notes, Astrup was the most important contributor to the Norwegian daily Morgonbladet. Carlsson 1978: 89. To some extent this was probably due to the fact that he, during most of the war-years, was on furlough in Norway. On Astrup's furlough from 1900 until late 1902 and his consecration as bishop in July 1902, cf. Thrap in ZMB 33 1909 1: 21-22.
251Carlsson 1978: 89.
252 Carlsson 1978: 90.
253 Cf. Leisegang in Det Norske Missionsselkabs 60e Aarsberetning in NM 52 1902 23: 119. The CNM missionaries were, with their mission stations located further to the east, further away from the events of war.
256 Dahle in NM 57 1902 22: 426-429.
258 Stavem in Trearsberetning for 1898-1900: 75 in NM 56 1901.
261 The American Zulu Mission Annual, June 1904- June 1905, American Zulu Mission of the A. B. C. F. M.
263 Marks 1970: 122.
264 Marks 1970: 78. In the Swedish context: below, Chapter seven.
266 Proceedings of the NMC 1905, page 4-7, Durban 1905. On evangelists belonging to the Norwegian Missionary Society hindered in their work in the reserves, although they, according to the missionary O. Stavem: "...belonged to mission churches that were chemically cleansed from politics...", cf. Stavem 1915: 317.
267 Quotation from Marks 1970: 79.
PART TWO:
THE CHURCH OF SWEDEN MISSION
AT HOME AND IN SOUTH AFRICA
FROM 1902 TO 1906

CHAPTER FOUR: THE SWEDISH BACKGROUND

The purpose of this chapter is to describe the position of the CSM as a missionary-sending organisation in Sweden in the years at the turn of the century. Tore Furberg's substantial study of 1962 presented the history of the CSM to and including 1901. My present chapter relies on Tore Furberg's research and comments of his results offered by other mission historians. An essential part of my chapter deals with the ideological and theological motives of the CSM agenda as it in the early 1890s was defined by one of Sweden's most outstanding contemporary theologians, Henry William Tottie. I will seek to demonstrate how concepts like "folk", "nation", "folk church" or "national church" and "folk Christianisation" are crucial for the understanding of the CSM theological character and objectives. Furberg's study of 1962 is in this respect most rewarding. In the present study, as evident in the chapters above, the major concern is, however, to determine the position of CSM in its South African environment, i.e. towards its wider economic, social and political historical framework, but also to understand CSM as an extension of Swedish society at the turn of the century. As with much religiously-determined church history, as commented on by Guy and Repstad (cf. above, Introduction), also in its Swedish equivalent there are with only rare exceptions few useful references made in this respect and much research has yet to be done. For this reason a "detour" will be made in this study, with the purpose of finding useful tools for the understanding of Tottie's concepts towards a wider social framework. Section one below presents such an outline of major events in the late nineteenth century Swedish history, corresponding to the period in which CSM emerged as a missionary organisation. Section two describes the formation of CSM and its position in relation to some of the other major missionary societies. Section three presents research on the CSM in Sweden. Section four suggests a tentative interpretative framework which relates to some major theories on "nation" and "nationalism", their application to Swedish conditions at the turn of the century and a brief outline of the contrasting developments in Norway, including Norwegian popular mobilisation and late nineteenth century nationalism, as well as the role of NMS and its missionaries in this process. Section five presents some of the major themes in Tottie's theology on mission. The issue in the last section is to
analyse the state of affairs within the CSM Home Board in the post-Tottie early twentieth century.

**Sweden at the End of the Nineteenth Century**

After the Swedish loss of Finland to Russia in 1809, Denmark had been forced to cede Norway to Sweden in 1814. But as the Norwegians in the meantime had declared their independence, only a military threat could force them to accept a union with Sweden, even if that union allowed them to keep their constitution and gave them virtual independence in domestic affairs. Only their foreign policy was directed by Sweden. The union was an unhappy arrangement to Norwegians. Their subordinate role caused animosity and frictions with Sweden and it was not until 1905 that leading Norwegian nationalists succeeded to unilaterally dissolve it. After half-hearted attempts to regain Finland in the 1860s, Sweden entered into an era of political neutrality. During the reign of Oscar II (1872-1907), the king and several leading conservative politicians were sympathetic to the new German Empire and the social measures introduced by Bismarck. To many Swedes Germany was furthermore the bulwark against the Russian empire. But although pro-German sentiments were strong and widespread, they did not develop into an active political alignment with Germany. For years to come Sweden remained a politically neutral country.

Most important for the understanding of changes in Swedish society during the latter part of the nineteenth century is the first industrial breakthrough which occurred in the decades following the 1850s and which gave also Swedes reason to regard themselves as part of an advanced European civilisation. While the British industrial revolution had generated a demand for timber first supplied by British territories in Canada and then by Norway, this demand was later extended to Sweden and thence to Finland and Russia. This breakthrough has most comprehensively been described by the Swedish economic historian Lars Magnusson in his *Sveriges ekonomiska historia* of 1996. In Sweden this resulted in the development of a large-scale sawmill industry, foremost in the coastal region of its wooded north. With a rapid industrialisation of other countries in Western Europe Sweden experienced an increased demand for its products; timber and wooden goods were followed by a demand for iron and steel. With an already developed infrastructure and a government that was inclined to promote export trade, Sweden was with its low prices and few rivals on these markets in a most favourable position. By the latter part of the nineteenth century Swedish export was furthermore promoted by rising prices on iron and timber. In short, Sweden was fortunate to undergo its first industrial break-through at a time when the international environment was most favourable to Swedish produce. Moreover, in the 1890s these developments were followed by a second phase in which Sweden benefited from the mass producing capitalism that was developed in the Western countries. In Sweden paper, iron and
engineering products were extensively produced. While the economic boom which lasted from the mid 1890s to 1904, largely had been the result of different scientific innovations, many of them had originated in Sweden. From the mid 1890s also Sweden experienced an almost sensational increase in production. The economic trend pointed upwards in virtually all fields, such as in production, export and real wages. Apart from a slightly slackened export trade Sweden was hardly affected by the economic decline of 1904. Nevertheless, by 1907 the trade recession struck hard resulting in a decline in export, falling production figures and a sharp increase in unemployment.4

The gradual transformation of the rather backward rural society was accompanied by important social changes. Already in the latter part of the eighteenth century this process began with the different agricultural reforms which were initiated to remedy the severe fragmentation of Swedish farming land. This led to larger, more effective agricultural units but also to the break-up of the old village communities and an increasing social differentiation of the Swedish peasantry. To this must be added the general decrease in death tolls, partly due to the introduction of vaccine against smallpox, the cultivation of potatoes and a long lasting peace which led to a substantial increase in the Swedish population during the nineteenth century. From 2,5 million in 1815, the population at the turn of the century had grown to over 5 million. As a consequence and very much due to a scarcity of farming land, harvest failures and religious intolerance, between 1850 and 1930 – culminating by the end of the century – over one fifth of the population, or 1,2 million Swedes, emigrated to other countries. The vast majority left for the United States. The emigration was paralleled by an internal migration and an accelerated urbanisation. While 90 per cent of the population lived in the country in 1850, by the turn of the century this figure was only 50 per cent, and rapidly falling.

With the emergence of new social classes, such as an upper bourgeoisie and a growing middle class, and the political demands for constitutional reforms, Sweden slowly moved towards a constitutional democracy. In a reform of 1866 the Diet of the Four Estates was replaced by a two chamber parliament. The most important social change caused by the agricultural reforms was, however, the emergence of a rural proletariat which through its wage labour in the growing industries gradually was turned into a labour class. From the second half of the nineteenth century there were also a number of popular movements that, in reaction to the patriarchal class society, helped to bring about changes in Swedish society. Among them were the Free Churches, the Co-operative Movement for consumers’ rights and the Temperance Movement. In 1889 the Social Democratic Party had been founded and by 1898, closely associated with the former, the National Confederation of Trade Unions. Hence, by the turn of the century also Sweden had developed a modern political party system. In comparison to neighbouring Norway, democratic developments in Sweden nevertheless lagged behind.
The right to vote and to stand for election was still restricted. Only by 1909 all adult males were enfranchised and not until 1921 also women were included.

Also in the religious field Sweden was gradually being changed. Beginning with the reformation in the early sixteenth century the church was nationalised and forged together with the state. Since then, confessional Lutheranism remained a powerful ideological tool in the hands of the Swedish rulers not only in mobilising a national-religious unity but also in canvassing support for political aspirations on the European arena. Also to the leaders of the Church of Sweden the church had been regarded as closely linked to the state. The clergy aimed at a transformation of the people of Sweden into "an Israel of God". As stated by Hallencreutz, the Corpus Christianum concept was applied to the Swedish nation, and an active concern for education on the basis of the Lutheran confessional writings became involved in the programme. But while the National Church during most of the nineteenth century still maintained its grip on the rural countryside and through legal measures secured its dominance, Sweden increasingly became religiously pluralistic. Influences from British Weslyan Methodism and the Free Church of Scotland were important for an early evangelical revival. With the founding of the Swedish Evangelical Mission in 1856, foremost represented in the central and northern parts of the country, a distinctly low-church and popular Lutheran movement was mobilised within the Church of Sweden. Also other types of Protestant denominations emerged. With inspiration chiefly from the evangelical revival in the United States, Methodists and various Baptist groups established themselves as so-called Free Churches. Among them, albeit with a more indigenous background (organised among separating groups of the Swedish Evangelical Mission in central Sweden), the Mission Covenant Church of Sweden was founded in 1878, very much as a reaction against the dominance of the state church.

General developments in society were also mirrored in a changed relationship between church and state. While the Church of Sweden before 1866 was represented in the Diet, it was in 1866 that church and state relations were referred to a General Assembly of the Church, including the bishops and an equal number of clergy and laymen. This was an early indication of a movement towards a separation of church and state which similarly was seen in a gradually increasing distance between church and society, and the monolithic Church of Sweden was taking the second place. Already by the mid-century the established order of parish life began to disintegrate and in the subsequent decades this development accelerated. The collectivism of the established church was gradually replaced by a new individualism which emphasised the voluntary association of individuals, paving the way for an alliance between the new bourgeoisie, its economic and political liberalism and the ideals of the free churches. Faced with a diminishing popular support beginning in the 1870s, the Church of Sweden was increasingly retreating to a defensive position in society. By the turn of the century
when nearly half the Swedish population had moved into the urban areas, not less than 90 per cent of its clergy remained behind in the countryside. A weakened feudal church was being questioned, either passively by an increasingly widespread and general secularisation mainly in the northern and central parts of the country, or more actively by the popular mobilisation of the free churches as well as by the socialist-inspired labour movement.

Within the Church of Sweden, groups concerned with the preservation of the established order nevertheless attempted to launch a counteroffensive. With the emergence already in the 1850s of the confessional, high-church Lutheranism in Lund in southern Sweden the Church of Sweden achieved a theological school determined to provide a new theoretical justification in a changing society. Emphasising the Church and the pastoral office this school was influenced and inspired by the neo-Lutheranism developed among contemporary German theologians as well as from the ideas articulated by Shelling and foremost Hegel. By linking the Hegelian idea of a society or a people seen as a living organism with the idea of the nation and the established national church, the Church of Sweden was ascribed a unique position above all other Swedish denominations. In 1876 Bishop Vilhelm Flensburg in Lund claimed the unity between the Swedish state and its people with its national character expressed in the Swedish folk church, the ultimate manifestation of the Swedish national character. But also in other ways the Church of Sweden tried to regain lost ground. One of them was the establishment in 1874 of a mission agency within the church.

Hence, during the latter part of the nineteenth century Sweden was rapidly being changed. A mostly rural, agrarian-capitalist society was gradually being transformed into a monetary economy and an increasingly industrialised, urbanised and internationally dependent society. Relationships between rural and urban areas, whilst remaining distinctly different regions, was being ventured. Old and established social structures were challenged by the emergence of a bourgeoisie and a working class and by the turn of the century a more relevant portrayal of the new society was that of class divisions and class conflicts. All in all, the decades around the turn of the century constitute a most dynamic period of Swedish history and, gradually emerging from the old world, was the twentieth century Swedish welfare state.

The Formation of the Church of Sweden Mission

The missionary revival of the early nineteenth century and the formation of interdenominational missionary societies within the established Church of Sweden was largely the result of influences from similar movements in Great Britain and Germany. Among these early mission societies responsible for this breakthrough of mission interest in Sweden was, as thoroughly described by Bengt Sundkler, the Swe-
dishe Missionary Society (SMS). In his history of the Church of Sweden Mission, dated 1985, Hallencreutz shows how these missionary societies by and large emerged in opposition to claims made by the nationally confined folk church. The ideal of the ecclesiola-in-ecclesia, endorsed by the missionary society, did not only articulate a distinct religious identification among its members but included a wider geographical commitment, previously not encouraged by the territorial church. While the SMS financially supported other foreign missions, it also had its own missionary among the Laplanders. In the southern and western parts of Sweden where a more confessional Lutheranism had a particular appeal, the Lund Missionary Society (Lund MS) organised mission supporters. Beginning in the 1850s, in co-operation with the Leipzig Evangelical Lutheran Mission the Lund MS had sent missionaries to a joint mission field in South India. To this mission field also the SMS contributed with financial support.

The radicalisation of the evangelical revival and parallel to this the increased reprisals, taken by the government against these popular movements, resulted in the separation of several groups from the national church and the founding of free churches. Among them apocalyptic and biblicist motives had contributed not only to a reinforced criticism of the established folk church but also to a renewed mission-interest, resulting in missionary enterprises foremost in Congo and China. The emerging confessionalism of the 1860s had also brought about a new mission-interest also among other groups in the Swedish religious environment. With a generally increased concern for the missionary cause and with an emerging renaissance for Lutheran Confessionalism by the second half of the century, voices were now being raised for the establishment of a distinctly Lutheran, church-based mission. In this respect the formation of the General Assembly of the Church contributed to the realisation of this goal. While the issue first was put on the agenda in 1868, the General Assembly of 1873 decided that a Church of Sweden Mission (CSM) was to be established within the national church. Subject to the Church’s jurisdiction CSM was to be based within the territorial parishes. Every priest of the Church of Sweden was committed as an agent and every congregation asked to support its work. On the national level CSM was represented by a Board elected by the General Assembly. On the Board, ex-officio, the Archbishop was the Board chairman.

With the formation of CSM the Lund MS became a supporting society. The Lund MS move implied that CSM did not only take over a number of already operating mission-supporting circles foremost in the south-western parts of Sweden, but also, in co-operation with the Leipzig Mission and supported by the SMS, the Lund MS involvement in South India. CSM also wished to open up a mission field of its own. Eventually, the choice fell upon the Zulu in Southern Africa. In this respect Archbishop Anton Niklas Sundberg’s (1818-1900) personal appreciation for the mission work, being carried out by the Church of Norway under Schreuder, played an important role and
was to serve as an example.\footnote{15} Beginning in 1876 three missionaries: Otto Witt, Carl Ludvig Flygare and Frans Fristedt were sent to Natal and Zululand to be initiated into their work and supervised by Schreuder. Although all three were ordained priests in the Church of Sweden, they were not only strongly biased by the contemporary revivalist movement, but also had obvious difficulties in co-operating among themselves and in subordinating themselves to Schreuder and the Home Board. In aims and practice they differed from what the Home Board had intended. Their missionary operations became sometimes revivalist, individual and itinerant and sometimes colonising in line with the methods of the Herrmansburg missionaries. As stated by Furberg, during the first five years since the first CSM missionary had arrived in South Africa, there was hardly any organised missionary progress achieved at all.\footnote{16} While the CSM missionary operations in South India in co-operation with the Leipzig Mission had been organised along known tracks, the enterprise in Southern Africa remained a challenge. During the first two decades of its existence, CSM had only been one of the smaller mission agencies in Sweden.\footnote{17} With regards to financial donations by the general public of mission supporters, the older and more established Swedish Evangelical Mission was far more important. When the Mission Covenant Church separated from the Swedish Evangelical Mission in 1878 it had not only taken over a large part of the financial support of the former but also remarkably increased support for its own mission enterprise. With the Anglo-American revival in the 1880s, and the emergence of an additional number of free churches with mission agencies, the competition over mission supporters was intensified.\footnote{18} Instead of the few missionary societies operating in the 1870s, by the 1890s there were at least a dozen independent missions. By the time of the economic boom of the mid-1890s, however, most Swedish agencies had experienced an increase in donations. At the turn of the century the increased mission interest coincided with a general augmentation of nationalistic sentiments in the Swedish general opinion which, as claimed by Furberg, also presumably worked to the advantage of the missions.\footnote{19} By the turn of the century CSM had increased its income from donations and by way of strengthened financial support gained ground in comparison to other mission agencies. At the time, CSM was not only on par with the Mission Covenant Church but had also reached two thirds the income of the largest society, the Swedish Evangelical Mission. For this reason, and due to general interest for the church mission, Furberg claims, there was a CSM breakthrough in the years around the turn of the century. Among the reasons for this development, Furberg emphasises the revitalisation of congregational life within the Church of Sweden. The cause of mission had gained in popularity among laity and clergy resulting in new collections designated for the mission field. But he also draws attention to the impact of the economic boom of the 1890s and to the late nineteenth century increased nationalistic sentiments which, he claims, were advantageous to a generally augmented mission interest. In pace with the growing popularity for the cause of mission in Sweden,
the Home Board wished to demonstrate a similarly increased need in the mission field. While CSM relationships to the Leipzig mission in South India until 1901 remained uncertain in regard to the distribution of mission stations between Swedish and German missionaries, the South African mission field increasingly came into focus.20

**State of Research**

Over the years a number of comprehensive narratives have been published on the history of the Church of Sweden Mission. Together with reports from different mission fields most of them have been produced by CSM officials as a means of popularising and presenting the mission and its enterprise to the wider spectrum of mission supporters in the home country. While the presentations are coloured by prevailing conditions at the time of their publication, over the years they reveal interesting variations in CSM self-understanding by its leading spokesmen.21 Within the framework of my study one of the more important moulders of public opinion was mission director Gunnar Brundin. His major study was published in connection with the fiftieth anniversary of the establishment of the CSM in 1924.22

On an academic level it is in Furberg’s study of 1962, *Kyrka och Mission i Sverige 1868-1901. Svenska kyrkans missions tillkomst och första verksamhetstid*, that the history of CSM has been described most thoroughly, as from its formation in 1874 to 1901.23 As a representative of the Uppsala School of Mission Studies, Furberg’s contribution is to be seen as a follow-up of Sundkler’s previously presented research.24 In four parts Furberg describes the foundation, development and breakthrough of CSM as a missionary organisation. His study includes the Swedish historical and ideological backgrounds to the foundation of CSM and its commencement of mission work in South India and South Africa. The early period is described as influenced and dominated by Archbishop Sundberg and the confessional Lutheranism he endorsed. An important part of Furberg’s study is devoted to the achievements of the first CSM secretary, Henry William Tottie (1846-1913), a reader at the Uppsala University Faculty of Theology. Through his major academic study *Evangelistik*, published in 1892, he became the leading Swedish missiologist of his day.25 While much of his thinking was keeping with that of Sundberg, Furberg claims that it was through Tottie’s endeavours that the original intentions which led to the formation of the church mission, were realised in Sweden as well as on the mission fields. Furberg sees Tottie’s contribution as the paramount effort in the development of the CSM. The final years of the nineteenth century are thus regarded as a breakthrough for the CSM as a mission agency, largely derived from the administrative and theological foundations laid by Tottie. The assessment of the breakthrough is based on such developments in Sweden as the increased financial donations by mission supporters as well as an extended support by the church at large. Furberg finds several reasons for terminating his study by 1901: a certain
Due to its object of describing the emergence of a Swedish church mission organisation (thus the title *Church and Mission in Sweden*) the major accent in Furberg's study is based on the relevant and particular Swedish developments. In his definition and description of the evolving CSM, following the tradition in Sundkler's study, the dichotomy between the church mission and mission societies in the Swedish environment, especially the Swedish Evangelical Mission, is emphasised. But, as remarked by Myklebust, because of this Furberg tends to underestimate the possibility of ideological influences by other contemporary European mission agencies and theologians with similar church mission traditions, among them the Church of Norway (Schreuder) Mission. By drawing on such comparisons Myklebust suggests the likelihood of Tottie's theology, in several cases being inspired also by others. Among them the Norwegian theologian George Kent, a leading Hegelian of his time and also a prominent supporter of Schreuder's mission. As Myklebust furthermore has pointed out, Furberg's somewhat Swedish-centred perspective may also have led him to stress heavily the importance of Tottie's contribution to CSM mission theology. By demonstrating a number of issues in which critical remarks could be posed against Tottie's theology, Myklebust finds Furberg rather uncritical. In his efforts to present Tottie as the *deux ex machina* in the history of CSM, Furberg has possibly overemphasised Tottie at the expense of Sundberg and thus tended to diminish the significance of the latter. But, Myklebust continues, it may also be that Furberg has far too uncritically assumed Tottie's ideological influences as determining the future developments in CSM. Further issues can also be raised, e. g. with regards to what extent Tottie actually did influence his students at the University of whom some became CSM missionaries and to what extent these influences more precisely can be established.

In his history of CSM, dated 1985, *Till alla folk. Ur Svenska kyrkans missions historia*, also Hallencreutz elaborates on Tottie's contribution to Swedish mission theology. While paying tribute to Furberg's study, Hallencreutz emphasises the two trends of Swedish nineteenth century mission history, i. e. on the one hand that of the early enterprise of the evangelical mission societies as continued and further accentuated in the missions of the free-churches and, on the other, that of the territorial folk church, manifest in CSM. Hallencreutz demonstrates how the particular concern for the mission cause was developed within the framework of the Swedish tradition of the folk church where the concept of a folk church also became the object of the mission enterprise. For this reason Tottie's theology becomes important also in Hallencreutz' study. As Myklebust, Hallencreutz is distinct in defining the German and Nordic theological influences on Tottie's theology. But while Myklebust elaborates on the
importance of such influences in regard to Tottie's concept of the church mission, Hallencreutz' different concern is how these influences determined Tottie's claim for folk Christianization and the object of establishing local folk churches on the mission field. To a certain extent Tottie's concept of the church as an "organism" distinguishes him from his missiological predecessors, a detail to which Myklebust draws attention in his comparative analysis of Kent's and Tottie's theologies. Hallencreutz is, however, able to further qualify the picture of Tottie's theology. By paying attention to Tottie's claimed object for the mission, he shows how Tottie's concept of the church as an "organism" is crucial for the understanding of Tottie's claim for a swift granting of autonomy to the local folk church on the mission field. Hence, as will be argued below, he is able to demonstrate to what extent Tottie, as a representative of the Swedish folk church, was genuinely authentic in his claim for the establishment of territorial folk churches there. But in regard to the possible effects of Tottie's theology on the factual CSM mission field, Hallencreutz is more cautious. Also Anglo-American interdenominational student missionary movements of the 1880s contributed with influence among future missionaries and for this reason Tottie's Evangelistik was not altogether unique in the development of a missionary spirit within the Church of Sweden.

In regard to the situation in South Africa, however, Hallencreutz does suggest some indices inspired by Tottie.

Relating to the contemporary debate on "unreached peoples" in evangelical and ecumenical mission theology, Kajsa Ahlstrand in an article in 1996, "Folkkyrka som Missionsteologi", takes up Tottie's theological contribution. With Furberg and Hallencreutz she also relates Tottie's characteristic concept of the church to the subject of mission enterprise. Whilst Tottie's aim was the Christianisation of a people and the establishment of local folk church, she recognises difficulties involved in the translation of the Swedish "folk" and German "Volk" into the English word "Nation" (as in the Biblical Commission to preach). In cases where the term "Nation" could be seen as synonymous with "State", the term could just as well imply a political understanding. In Tottie's example, his use of the term was congenial with contemporary German romantic tradition in which the "Volk" was seen as an organism, an exponent of a compilation of characteristics. To him, Ahlstrand says, the "folk" and the "church" could be seen as being interdependent relationships. The establishment of the church required a "folk" or, as defined by her, "an ethnic-linguistic group with a common culture" to accommodate the church. A "folk" without a church would correspondingly not be complete. Even if Tottie used "folk church" and "National church" as synonyms, she argues that the task of identifying whether his "nation" was synonymous to his "folk", and his "national church" also implied a political dimension, is most difficult. In present-day discussions and in the light of the post-holocaust experiences, Ahlstrand rightly points out that a term such as "national character" is hopelessly outdated. Instead she suggests a reference to Benedict Anderson's innovative
concept of "Imagined communities" and to the idea that a people constitutes itself (below). Ahlstrand in her current theological-ecumenical mature analysis is more inclined to speak of "cultures" and her remarks on the complexity and political implications involved in Tottie's terminology appear as most challenging.

Furberg's contribution may be placed within the confines of its time, and one limitation of his study is that it by and large is confined to the perspective of the Church of Sweden and CSM per se... But as seen in above, both Myklebust and Hallencreutz have called for a more qualified analysis of potential external and ideological influences on CSM. Thus one of the major objects of this study is to establish the position of CSM and its ideology in its South African wider context, in the light of all the changes that occurred in the contemporary social, economic and political setting in South Africa. But at the same time CSM and its concept of folk Christianisation has to be seen in the light of the Swedish society, from which it emerged in the early 1890s.

With the purpose of my study to focus on the CSM mission field, Tottie's theme of folk Christianisation is of a particular importance. Folk Christianization was not a novelty in a Nordic environment. It had been advocated by the Grundtvig-inspired Danish mission in South India and by Schreuder and the early NMS labours in South Africa. Certainly, European as well as Nordic ideological influences were important in Tottie's formulations of theoretical preferences. But there are also other aspects to be considered. One is the difference in both character and time between mission agencies which based their work on the concept of Folk Church. The society from which Schreuder and the popularly-based NMS had sprung in the 1840s was essentially different from the state church CSM-environment of the late 1880s or early 1890s. Similarly the background on which Hallencreutz assesses Tottie's idea of a folk church on the mission field, inclusively defined as territorial rather than confessional, can further be qualified. The concept probably derived from and was inspired by Tottie's own heritage in the Swedish folk church. But it remains to be explained how the national church in Sweden was understood, or "imagined", at the particular time in Swedish history, and why the folk church-concept became a particularly stimulating motive in the early 1890s. Finally, with reference to Furberg the question arises how Swedish nationalism of the 1890s could stimulate an increase in mission interest. What were the characteristics and in what manner did the characteristics stimulate an understanding of Tottie's comprehended folk church ideas, first in Sweden itself and, in a second stage, on the mission field? Questions such as these clarify the need of an overall and inclusive picture of CSM in its historical environment around the turn of the century, and an understanding of the theological framework in which Tottie's "two-staged" folk church and CSM can be seen as a part of a contemporary society.
The Search for an Interpretative Framework

Folk, Nationality and Nation

Tottie’s concepts of "Folk" and "Nation" can be seen in the light of a radically changing European society of the late nineteenth century. Tottie was not the first to note and articulate both a discrepancy between a well ordered past and a changing present, as well as the need to construct a unifying, collective and inclusive framework in which society would be intelligible. In 1887 the German sociologist Ferdinand Tönnies presented his *Gemeinschaft und Gesellschaft*. Since his time these most well-known twin concepts in sociology have been regarded as fundamental - but also outdated. The issue was again brought to the fore by the Swedish sociologist Johan Asplund in *Essä om Gemeinschaft och Gesellschaft*. Asplund who finds the two concepts indispensable, sees them as a mental figure, a turnstile which marks a turning point between pre-modern and modern society. With Tönnies he regards the two concepts dialectical contrasts, a meaningful way of generalising distinctions between the pre-modern and the modern. While Gemeinschaft is described as the unplanned, natural countryside way of life, characterised by lasting and authentic relations, such as in a family or a kinship group in which society is defined as an organism of mutual obligations, Gesellschaft represents its contradiction. Gesellschaft stands for a modern society, artificially constructed and mechanically aggregated, characterised by conflicts and economic competition in which people strive for profit and work only when paid by others. Interpreting Tönnies, Asplund explains the old, particularist community as by and large having had to yield for a new, more universalist society. In spite of this general view on development Asplund does, however, identify views in Tönnie’s philosophy in which he sees attempts to revive parts of the old Gemeinschaft within the new structures of Gesellschaft. To Tönnies, Asplund says, the emergence of the co-operative movement for consumers rights appeared as such an attempt.

Also the theory on national identity and nationalism presented by Czech-born social anthropologist Ernest Gellner can be referred to. In his modernist and functionalist theories he sees the development of a national identity as a response to the challenging social transformation brought about by industrialization. In the face of a generally experienced rootlessness caused by a division of labour, specialisation and geographic mobility, there was need for a new sense of belonging. This implied that the largely local identity and structural relationships of the older agricultural society were replaced by a cultural adherence, adjusted to the larger political and economic unit of the national state. In his essentially materialist perspective where social and economic aspects are viewed as conditional for the emergence of national states, the development of a national identity is seen as functional in furthering the larger units of production, required by industrialisation. For this reason "the creation" of a national identity is to be
seen as a response to the common needs of both individual and society. The assignment of creating the necessary requisites (or a lowest common denominator) of a nation, such as the standardisation of education and culture as well as the furthering of a common national identity, was to be entrusted the intellectual élite: ethnologists, linguists, historians, geographers etc. 54

In his most well known and often cited study of 1983, *Imagined Communities* also the Irish-American anthropologist Benedict Anderson furthers an essentially modernist perspective.55 But contrary to Gellner's "Nation", assumed to be something "created" (as different from other, supposedly authentic communities Anderson claims that all communities larger than the primordial villages of face-to-face contact are "imagined". This, he says, is "...because the members of even the smallest nation will never know most of their fellow-members, meet them, or even hear of them, yet in the minds of each lives the image of their communion." For this reason, Anderson says, "Communities are to be distinguished, not by their falsity/genuineness, but by the style in which they are imagined." From his anthropological point of view Anderson then defines the inclination for national identity or "nation-ness" as a cultural artefact, more related to categories as kinship or religion than to political ideologies. Rationalist secularism of Western European Enlightenment brought with it its own modern darkness. While the ebb of religious belief did not provide a substitute for suffering, in part moderated by belief, there was a need for a secular transformation of fatality into continuity, and of contingency into meaningfulness. The fostering of the idea of "the nation" became useful.57 It is foremost in Anderson's description of the nineteenth century developments that the concept of modernisation is elaborated on. The development of "national print-languages" and visible models of "nations", provided in the aftermath of the French revolution, resulted in the first decades of the nineteenth century in the emergence of essentially spontaneous and popular linguistic-nationalisms.58 Beginning the 1850s these popular nationalisms were seized by power groups who felt threatened by exclusion from, or marginalisation in, these popularly imagined communities. Such "official nationalisms", Anderson says, "...were conservative, not to say reactionary, policies, adapted from the model of the largely spontaneous, popular nationalisms that preceded them."59

A historically based perspective is furthered by the British marxist-oriented historian Eric Hobsbawm. To him the emergence of nationality conforms to his view on history as a process of expansion, a movement from the local to the global. In a stage of development in which the larger unit of the state emerges, the idea of the nation is seen by him in functional terms. Against the background of a marxist uneasiness of ideologies, Hobsbawm claims nationality to be an "invented tradition", a manipulation of class in the interest of a dominant élite. To Hobsbawm the emergence of nationality and nationalism is therefore not a spontaneous response to industrialization, but rather a
consciously developed strategy in the face of a threatening expansion of a universal franchise and mass democracy. Vague and general concepts such as "nationality", "patriotism", "loyalty" and "duty", became useful tools in socialising alienated masses and an integration of them into a constructed community in which invented tradition worked in the interest of social and political stability.60

The Swedish Turn of the Century Epoch

Several monographs have elaborated on various aspects at the turn of the century epoch in Swedish history. The Swedish ideo-historian Gunnar Broberg claimed that a comprehensive synthesis is still being yearned for. In an article of 1993, När svenskarna uppfann Sverige, he suggests some tentative understandings. The decades around the turn of the century, he claims, can be characterised as a general search for a new, common image of the Swedish nation, a Swedish equivalent to the German "Vaterland". From his point of view the many challenging social changes of the late nineteenth century resulted in the search for a national "standardisation" and "creation" of a number of nationally unifying symbols.61 By and large it may be claimed that the period is characterised by an energetic attempt to define a particularly Swedish people and a distinctly Swedish nation. Instrumental in this respect was the popularisation of Swedish history and an increased interest paid to the various Swedish provinces in art, literature and textbooks for school children.62 The assumption made by Broberg is that the national consciousness around the turn of the century, because of its popular spread not only was a new emerging in the Swedish environment, but a part of a wider, European phenomenon.63

It seems useful to return to Gellner and his view on "the creation" of a national identity being entrusted the intellectual élite. Gellner exemplifies this élite as represented by ethnologists, linguists, historians, geographers etc. With reference to Broberg and his concern for the Swedish environment one could add contributions made by the clergy and theologians of the Church of Sweden who in his words were "traditionally allied with the powers that be". Broberg refers to Alf Tergel's study of the distinctly nationalist and Uppsala-based "Young-Church-movement" that emerged in the first decade of the twentieth century. In their "crusades" chiefly students of theology and future priests in the Church of Sweden endeavoured to regain a waning influence among the urbanised working class by evoking nationalistic and church-oriented sentiments.64 Tergel's contribution is mostly concerned with the emergence and development of this student movement in the early twentieth century with forerunners which were characterised by largely similar nationalistic leanings. However, these developments in the late nineteenth century in Church of Sweden have hitherto only received limited attention. As mentioned by Furberg, there were none the less such nationalist sentiments prevalent among students of theology at the Uppsala university already by the 1890s.65
For the understanding of the character of this late nineteenth century Swedish nationalism is it important to define the historical period in which it emerged. In keeping with Anderson's suggestions, one needs to distinguish between the more popular-linguistic nationalisms of the pre-1850s and the "official nationalisms" of the latter part of the nineteenth century. In regard to Swedish nineteenth century historical developments a similar assessment is presented by the Swedish Uppsala-historian Torkel Jansson in an article, dated 1990, "En historisk uppgörelse. När 1800-talsnationen avlöste 1600-talsstaten". In keeping with Broberg, he recognises a need for studies on the origins of the Swedish nationality. His article may be seen as an introductory assignment. In contrast to Broberg's emphasis on the industrialization and a more synchronous perspective, Jansson traces the origins of the Swedish national conception to the early nineteenth century national liberals and their struggle against the feudal and exclusive elements of the old state. But, Jansson states, it was not the project of national liberals and their struggle against the past that prevailed. Through a process of homogenisation in several spheres of society Sweden was instead gradually being "nationalized", and the initiative was transferred to conservative forces and their attempts to "invent" a Swedish historical tradition.

Norway and Sweden in a Comparative Perspective

In the discussion on Sweden at the turn of the century and the concepts of nation and nationality, a comparison between the contemporary – but different – nationalisms which developed in Sweden and Norway respectively, are particularly illustrative. A comparison will add clarity to the particularly Swedish version of nationality. It will eliminate the context in which Tottie operated and thus be instrumental in understanding the following chapters in this study. In illustrating how nationalistic tendencies influenced attitudes among Swedish and Norwegian missionaries the comparisons will shed light on how they differently encountered the national claims on the Zulu with whom they were involved. For this reason a brief look at Norwegian nineteenth century history is called for.

In Grannländernas historia, Swedish historians Lars-Arne Norborg and Lennart Sjöstedt write that already in 1814 the foundation of Norway as a sovereign state was laid. Within the bureaucratic élite which ruled Norway there was until the breakthrough of parliamentarism hardly any serious objections to Norway's national ties to Sweden. From the 1870s, however, the two countries began to drift apart politically and socially. The Norwegian political scientist, Øyvind Østerud in his Vad är nationalism?, claims that the movement towards independence became a part of a larger modernisation-project in which Norwegian economic developments, e.g. the increased shipping trade and the emergence of a producer's co-operation played important roles. While official institutions in Sweden were characterised by bureaucratic and
conservative structures, Norway headed for radical and democratic developments. Through the 1884 liberal victory Norway did not only become the first parliamentary-ruled nation among the Nordic countries. It also began to develop a modern party system in which Norway became further alienated from the ruling élite in Sweden.71 By the late nineteenth century the Norwegian struggle for independence developed along two lines: a national romantic and a liberal patriotic. By the 1890s the two conflicting cultural traditions in Norway, firstly the Danish-inspired urban, upper class culture and secondly the more popular peasant and countryside culture related to the north, were accentuated in the struggle on language, architecture, art and literature.72 It was also a struggle for an increased democratic rule in which the conservative party, traditionally allied with the ruling bureaucratic élite against the popular demands for parliamentary reforms, became favourably disposed towards negotiations with Sweden and its royal house. The initiative was, however, seized by leftist liberals and their claims for economic change and democratisation. In a somewhat partial but still useful general comparison with Sweden, Østerud finds developments in the two countries strikingly different. Swedish nationalism on the one band, was a conservative, upper-class, élite-phenomenon, based on the myth and nostalgia of an aristocratic epoch as a great power and oriented towards a Swedish hegemony also in the Nordic countries and, according to Østerud, essentially critical to modernity and social changes. The Norwegian nationalism on the other, became a struggle for a new society.73 Hence, Norwegian nationalism developed as a progressive, leftist force in favour of political independence, democracy and modernisation while its Swedish equivalent remained by and large conservative and domineering or, to use the term employed by Anderson, a policy of the ruling élite, an "official nationalism".

The differences between the two national churches is to be understood in the light of these historical developments. While Sweden has a long history of conflicts between evangelical revival movements and the state church, the revivals in Norway occurred within the national church. The Norwegian sociologist Pål Repstad, in Mellom himmel og jord. En innføring i religionssosiologi, dated 1981, states there were several reasons for this. The fact that many of the leaders of Norwegian revivals similarly were priests in the Church of Norway did not only account for a moderate attitude towards the church, but also moderated the church's reactions in its responses to the popular movements.74 The labour movement in Norway did not develop along anti-clerical lines as was the case in Sweden. In Norway the industrial breakthrough occurred later and the emergence of a working class and a labour movement occurred at a time when Christian unitarian culture already was disintegrating. Opposition against the established society was articulated in a secular, purely political fashion rather than in religious terms.75 Most important for Norwegian economic and political developments was the role played by the low-church lay movement which by Repstad is described as having two distinct sides. Seen from the individual's point of view it was morally rigid
and religiously intolerant, but sociologically it became one of the important forces behind the Norwegian democratic breakthrough. The two perspectives do not imply a religiously reactionary movement which could be equated with reactionary politics. The revival inspired by Hans Nielsen Hauge in the early nineteenth century, was certainly "obedient to the powers that be". But it also had important social consequences. The lay movement was "a school in democracy" and, hence, a predecessor to the Norwegian general democratic breakthrough. Through it, its members, mostly peasants or ordinary every-day people, achieved a network of communications reaching from the local to national levels and used for social, economic and political purposes. Its political agenda was by and large dominated by the liberal idea of equal opportunities for all. In one sense the movement was hostile to cultural progress emphasising the rural countryside in opposition to the urban highbrow culture. In another it was politically radical in its critique of centralism and Government authoritarianism. Lay movements became important for the introduction of democracy and largely due to the support of these lay movements the leftist liberal party could eventually reap victory. Thus, while the revivalist inspired lay movement in Norway not only was a part of the national church, it was also an important ingredient of the popular democratic movement which ultimately led to Norwegian independence.

In the process towards democracy the emergence of the Norwegian missionary movement was very much a part of this general popular mobilisation of the peasant class. Indeed, the very foundation of NMS in 1842 is to be seen as the result of the lay movement's new political self-confidence, gained in the election victories of the late 1830s. While NMS was the first of voluntary associations to appear on the national level, it by the turn of the century had become one of the largest popular movements in Norway. The NMS thus shared several of the major characteristics generally ascribed to lay movements. With the revival of the 1850s also the clergy became increasingly involved in NMS. In the decades that followed, NMS retained a leading role, operating in close co-operation with a lay leadership. Although its leadership was not particularly democratic in nature, collectively the NMS had a democratising social function as a vehicle for lay influence. The vast majority of NMS missionaries shared the pietist-evangelical and peasant-influenced background of the home movement. It is in the context of the Norwegian national struggle that, apart from personal disagreements and the issue on who was to control the mission field, we are to understand NMS conflict with Schreuder. With his origins in the ruling civil service élite coupled to his thorough academic schooling, scepticism of pietist influences and adherence to the church hierarchy in his church mission program, Schreuder became distanced from the base organisation in Norway. Consequently, after the awakenings of the 1850s, Schreuder was increasingly being questioned by a strengthened evangelism and by lay ambitions in Norway, leading to his resignation from NMS in 1873 and the formation of the alternative, the Church of Norway Mission.
Growing nationalism in Norway was, however, not applicable to NMS missionaries' attitudes towards cultural and political problems in Africa. In Norway, Simensen-Gynnild claim, cultural nationalism was slow in penetrating missionary strongholds of the coastal areas, partly due to a pietist tradition which was adverse to the liberal overtones of the movement. While African society was regarded not only as "heathen" but also as "savage", Africans were essentially defined as being outside the category of "cultured peoples". Equipped with such chauvinistic assumptions nineteenth century Norwegian missionaries were unable to translate the Norwegian situation to an African context. The lack of cultural understandings was also related to the particular religious background of most NMS missionaries. With the NMS emphasis on individual conversion, in line with its Lutheran pietist-evangelical assumptions, the cultural issues were of secondary importance in their missionary efforts. The spread of the "Word" would do its job and cultural matters were largely bypassed. The Simensen-Gynnild general assessment of NMS missionaries is probably valid for most of the late nineteenth century, albeit that their study only covers the years to 1900. During the South African War, Carlsson's study and contemporary articles in NMS periodicals suggest that at least some NMS missionaries became politically aware and, as the struggle for independence gained pace in Norway in the years before 1905, a growing nationalism may have influenced Norwegian missionaries in Natal and Zululand.

The Theology of Henry William Tottie

It is Furberg who describes how Tottie who in 1884 had become the secretary of the CSM Board brought about clearly defined organisational details, methods in missionary outreach and carefully prepared Lutheran mission theology. His visit to Natal and Zululand in 1886 was important in gaining first-hand information on mission field-conditions. During a period of four months he travelled widely, visiting Norwegian, German, Anglican and American mission stations on both sides of the Thukela. Tottie also took note of an African society in change. In Zululand the situation was still turbulent after the civil war. Boer occupation of the north-western parts prevailed and British annexation of the south was a reality. Visiting all three parts of the former kingdom, Tottie met with Dinuzulu in the not yet annexed remnants of "old" Zululand - and noticed his anguish over land lost to the Boers - with leaders of the New Republic, as well as with British officials in the Zululand reserve. Having been sent to South Africa by the Home Board his primary concern had been to consolidate the local CSM efforts. But as underlined by Furberg, the visit also implied an important input to his mission theological concepts, mainly expressed in Evangelistik, published in 1892.

The proposals he submitted to the Board after his return became decisive for the future methodological and organisational issues in the CSM agenda. Henceforth, the local missionary enterprise was to be managed by ordained missionaries only. They
were to be distinguished by their Lutheran-confessional credibility and their experience as parish priests. Mission work was to be stationary and provide education in foremost Scripture but include reading, writing, arithmetic as well as practical skills, such as agriculture, carpentry and, for girls, housework. In the latter case and in comparison to NMS after Oftebro’s ousting in 1887 on the issue of practical training, CSM thus opted for an opposite alternative. Further education was to be provided for students who were qualified to become either teachers at station schools or evangelists at outstations. In due course indigenous priests were to be ordained. The object was a Lutheran Zulu folk church which eventually, in line with the generally accepted missionary strategy, would be self-supporting, self-propagating and self-governing.

A clear and consistent view in Tottie’s theological both reflection and planned missionary strategy on how a mission enterprise was to be carried out was presented in his major academic study, Evangelistik. Published in 1892, it was the first comprehensive mission theological study (in the modern sense) to be presented in Sweden. While Tottie combined the administrative duties in CSM with teaching at the University, Evangelistik had also been published as a specimen treatise, submitted in support of Tottie’s application for the chair in Practical Theology. In this respect Tottie described his general view of Mission as "the self-realisation of the Church" and argued that mission studies ought to become a legitimate part of compulsory theological studies at the University.

In keeping with many leading confessional theologians in Germany as well as among Lutheran high-church colleagues in Lund, Tottie was in his scientific, academic outlook inspired by Hegel's speculative thinking. To him the purpose of missionary research was to begin with "the idea of a church-mission" from which basic principles of missionary work were to be deduced. While attempting to reconcile the influences of Hegel with Schleiermacher’s empiricism, "the Church" (as a spiritual and universal entity), could not be separated from the empirical church, whereas the subject of mission was a historically determined fellowship. As an empirical entity placed in time and space it was materialised in Tottie’s Church of Sweden of the late 1880s or early 1890s. Seen as "an organism in intimate relation to Christ", the church-mission was characterised by three features: it was to administer the means of grace, be based on its confessional heritage and be carried out by established institutions of the Church. In this fashion Tottie sought to link the missionary purpose and call of the Universal Church to the practice of the national church on a chosen mission field.

It was the Christianization of entire peoples that, according to Tottie, was the assignment, particularly imposed on a church mission. The concept of folk Christianization was, as already mentioned, not new in contemporary missiological debate. Different missions had already attempted to apply it in South Africa, first the American Zulu Mission in
the 1830s and later consciously pursued by Schreuder in the 1850s. Among scholars of mission studies in Europe similar ideas had increasingly, due to the actual experiences on the mission fields and to contemporary ethnological insights, been advocated by representatives of different German missions. But it was among the Nordic folk churches that the concept of folk Christianisation had a particular appeal. Also Tottie’s suggestions were in line with contemporary debate. His view on folk Christianization was based on the established interpretation of the New Testament *ethnos*, as in Matthew 28:19, equivalent to the contemporary concept of “people” in an ethnic sense.

Tottie’s understanding of different ”peoples” or ”nations” seen as ”social organisms” was closely related to his Hegelian assumption of a spirit-history and a spirit-led development of civilisations although he refrained from regarding this development as a static progress. The Christian mission was to be particularly aimed at those civilisations where the indigenous culture and religion appeared to be in decline whether this was due to internal or external reasons, such as the expansion of Western colonialism. At the same time it was conditional that the general character of the people concerned was not yet entirely dissolved but remained intact. Otherwise mission was to be aimed at individuals. In a figurative sense, with a reference to Tönnies, the idea of transition could be seen as indicating the advent of Gesellschaft but where Gemeinschaft yet was retainable. This implied that it was important to determine when an ethnically constituted people was ”mature” for its particular “time of vocation”. To Tottie this was a central theme, assuming ”a history of salvation” and an expectation of a divine intervention at the particular time in history when a people through transition and crisis moved from one stage in development to another. The important events in world history – the exploration of other continents, the conquest by the Western countries and the European colonialism and imperialism – all followed a presupposed law of a development. To Christian missions the events were to be seen as evidence of God’s purposes in history, a divine call to action. Thus Gesellschaft was regarded as irreversible and Tottie in principle agreed to the spread of colonialism as far as it was useful as a means of extending the church.

It was in his distinctly church-centred approach towards the purpose of mission that Tottie was most innovative. He argued that the church-mission was to be fully integrated and based in a territorial folk church which he regarded to be the proper subject of a mission’s enterprise. The ultimate goal of the church-mission was to establish local folk churches in the mission field. To appreciate the status of a local church it was important to bear in mind the criteria with which the ”church” was defined by Tottie. Being ”an organism” in progress, Tottie included both individual-subjective aspects, such as conversion and growth in faith, and objective constituents, such as confession, sacramentality and ordained clergy. As soon as these two criteria had been reached, he saw the local church as a sovereign body, whether it derived its origins from Western
countries or more recently had been founded on a mission field. His views on the autonomy of the local church was emphasised in his argument for a swift development of an indigenous clergy, empowered to proclaim the Gospel and administer the sacraments. To Tottie it was also of primal importance that the clergy of the evolving church was not to be too dependent on the mission agency. In case the indigenous clergy and lay workers relied heavily on a mission, they would become "denationalised", detached from their organic environment and thereby become foreign to their own people. Gradually, the local churches were to become fully independent although the administrative borderline between mission and local church remained undefined by him. To Tottie the purpose in mission was to be reached in a continued co-operation between the two contrahents.

In his mission theology and its implementation, Tottie was thus influenced by the contemporary theological debate. But in one particular respect, as emphasised by Hallencreutz, Tottie’s outlook was clearly dependent on his background in the Swedish folk church. Hence his emphasis on local folk churches as being territorial rather than confessional. Tottie linked his appreciation for the idea of folk Christianisation with his aimed territorial folk church.

Tottie entertained high regard for people’s history and national characteristics. As in contemporary German confessional Lutheran theology in which the Volk included the family and the state as a whole and from which individuals were not to be detached, a people, with its national identity and distinctive character, was not to be subjugated by the missions. Converts were to be but gradually moulded to harmonise with the Christian faith and develop on own conditions. Analogous to Tönnies’ and Asplund’s terminology, the idea of an old, “natural” and particularist Gemeinschaft was to be preserved within the new structures of universalist Gesellschaft. This is particularly evident in Tottie’s argument that the pre-capitalist, indigenous social institutions, such as polygyni and the caste system, were to be tolerated by the missions. Only gradually was polygyni to be phased out as Christianity increasingly gained ground. The future folk church was thus to be inclusive within geographical and linguistic areas rather than by confessional borders.


According to the CSM constitution, enacted by a Government decree in 1874 and amended in 1878, the CSM Board consisted of the Archbishop, with six permanent and four deputy members, elected by the General Assembly of the Church. When the first Board had been appointed, the members consisted of an equal number of well-known clergy and leading representatives of the civil service elite. In most cases Board
members had been chosen because of their general prominence in church and society. While most of them furthermore had been engaged in various other assignments – and only a few had been particularly qualified for responsibilities in a mission enterprise – the actual leadership had chiefly been in the hands of the chairman and the secretary. Furberg points out that it was the dominance of the chairman Archbishop Sundberg that had been all-pervading during most of the latter part of the nineteenth century. With his strong will, personal authority, determined Lutheran high-church principles and high standing in the church, his influence had been decisive in the formation of CSM. To a great extent his intentions had materialised also through the secretary Tottie. When Tottie had been appointed professor of Pastoral Theology at the University of Uppsala and left the secretarial post, his influence was maintained as a member of the Board. Of the same theological tradition was Hjalmar Danell who succeeded Tottie as secretary. In 1897 when Danell had been appointed Professor, he too became a Board member and was succeeded by Gudmar Hogner. Between 1897 and 1906 Hogner served as the first full-time secretary. In the period before 1900 Tottie and Danell became the most influential members of the Board, chiefly due to the fact that both had experience as secretaries. Together with Hogner the three of them functioned as an executive committee within the CSM in which Tottie remained a most important inspirational source.

From the turn of the century important personnel changes took place within CSM leadership. When Sundberg passed away in 1900, he was succeeded by the new Archbishop J. A. Ekman. Because of his different theological outlook, and while Ekman during his previous years as bishop of the Diocese of Västerås, apparently had been a keen supporter of the mission, Furberg argues that his assuming the chairmanship in 1901 is to be seen as a "milestone" in the development of CSM. The emphasis given the year 1901 is to be related to Sundberg’s departure rather than to Ekman’s arrival, despite the fact that Sundberg as a result of his advanced age already by the late 1890s had reduced his active participation in the Board meetings. CSM archives do not indicate any specific involvement shown by the new chairman. His personality may well have contributed to his less apparent strength as CSM chairman. In contrast to his strong-willed predecessor, Ekman is frequently described as quiet, considerate or even shy and reticent. Also among the bishops he was often overshadowed by his more forceful senior colleague from Lund, Gottfrid Billing. By and large, Ekman’s role on the Board seems to have been that of a formal chairman. Indirectly this is confirmed by Furberg who claims that in the post-Sundberg years no particular theological standpoint appears to have determined measures taken by the Board. Decisions made were increasingly due to practical reasons. Even more important for the gradual shift from an expressed theologically based policy was Tottie’s departure from Uppsala in 1900, brought about by his appointment as bishop of the Diocese of Kalmar. In 1903 Tottie resigned from the Board. Of the three leading theologians and
representatives of the previously dominant tradition only Danell remained. It became his responsibility to carry the tradition further.

After Tottie's departure from Uppsala, Danell (1860-1938) was the most able and experienced among the Board members. Since his youth he was an enthusiastic follower of the mission cause and for several years he was a leading personality in the Student Missionary Association at Uppsala. Danell's particular concern was CSM's mission to Southern Africa. Not only did his cousin, Ida Jonathansson, become a missionary in 1883 as CSM pioneering female missionary to Natal. But Danell himself had actually intended to become a missionary to the Zulu. In 1892, these plans were interrupted by Danell's appointment as a reader in Dogmatics at the Uppsala Faculty of Theology. Danell instead involved himself in the work of the CSM Board. When he was appointed secretary of the Board, he was academically equipped and regarded to be within the same confessional Lutheran tradition as Tottie and Sundberg. This was of importance. Danell's period in office is thus to be seen as the fulfilment of intentions, once tabled by Tottie.

In describing Danell's theological position in the Uppsala academic environment, the common image was that of the staunch "orthodox" Lutheran. This was foremost due to Danell's dissertation of 1893 in which he voiced harsh criticism against Protestant Liberal theology as it had been presented by the German scholar Albrecht Ritschl. It is Tergel who has described Danell's participation in the academic theological battles that took place in Uppsala in the early years of the century. While the conflict originally evolved around the new historical-critical method in biblical research, it soon spread to other disciplines and developed into a general conflict between conservatives and liberals. Mindful of his previous critique of the theological liberalism, it goes without saying that Danell joined the conservative camp. Tergel claimed that Danell emerged as the leading representative of the older, traditional school. But even if Danell remained critical of German theological liberalism, he combined his stand with a broad-mindedness in the application of historical methods, and tolerance in the choice of required reading in his own field of dogmatics. Also in regard to social and political issues Danell belonged to the conservative camp. In his 1903 lectures on social ethics Danell advocated a conservative view of society, in keeping with the social order, described in Luther's catechism and put into practice in the spirit of the old patriarchal society. Also in this respect Tergel finds a remarkable width in Danell's arrangement of the students' courses which came to include not only social-economic, human rights and franchise issues, but also studies in the origins of Socialism as well as the works of Marx, Lasalle and others. In 1905 Danell left Uppsala, due to his having been appointed Bishop of the Diocese of Skara, Although Danell remained a member of the CSM Board, his influence in the day-to-day work in CSM declined.
In 1897 Hogner became Danell's successor. In his youth also Hogner entertained an interest in becoming a missionary and during his Uppsala years he was also a leading member of the Student Missionary Association. Having been influenced by pietistic revivalism and initially more familiar with the Swedish Evangelical Mission, his friendship with - and influenced by - Tottie and Danell, brought him closer to the CSM. By the end of the century Hogner's theological stance came to be coupled to his role in church politics in which he increasingly moved towards the conservative camp which then was led by Bishop Billing of Lund. With Hogner's entry on the stage, the character of the secretarial post of the CSM was changed. Due to Hogner's lower academic competence, his authority among the Board members became less significant. But his influence on the leadership of CSM must not be underestimated. Furberg, in passing, acknowledges his influence as secretary and draws attention to the fact that from the outset of Hogner's period in office in 1897, he became a full-time employed. Bärfverfeldt adds to our insights when stating that until 1906 when a treasurer was employed, the role of the CSM secretary was most important. All matters were handled by the secretary who at Board meetings was responsible for reporting on all issues and the only person to put into effect decisions taken by the Board. The day-to-day leadership of the entire mission enterprise was virtually in the hands of the secretary. The secretary was furthermore the principal representative of the CSM Board in relation to the various institutions, contained in the Church of Sweden, and the person who upheld contacts with the many groups of mission-supporters in the country. In addition to this he was also the editor of CSM periodical Svenska Kyrkans Missions Tidning (SKMT) and publisher of CSM-related literature. Due to his involvement in the production of the SKMT, the secretary was responsible for information channelled from the missionaries in the mission fields to Sweden. This task was of crucial importance when opinions on social and political issues on the mission field diverged between missionaries and secretary. It is evident that the role of the secretary was of great importance. With the arrival of a less involved chairman, with Tottie's departure to Kalmar and with Danell increasingly being caught up in academic work at the University, it is more than likely that the position of the secretary was strengthened. However, Hogner's theological stand in relation to current mission issues is difficult to assess. Furberg's assumption that Hogner's attitudes towards issues raised, often appeared to be of a more practical nature than of principal, seems valid.

With the arrival of the new secretary there was a change at least in CSM policy. In regard to the missionaries in Southern Africa Hogner's authority was not as unconditional as Tottie's and Danell's previously had been. Among the missionaries, fears were raised that Hogner's arrival in CSM was to the disadvantage of the mission in Africa and that the missionaries now were without the particular support they previously had enjoyed with Danell. When Danell in 1905 left Uppsala for Skara, these fears were expressed again. The missionaries were not without reason in
their notions. In his letters to the missionaries in Natal and Zululand Hogner was rather candid in his judgement of the two CSM mission fields India and South Africa. His warm sympathies were voiced for those mission supporters in Sweden who, "for obvious reasons... definitively preferred India to South Africa". Apart from the more established organisational situation in India, with the favourable link to the "reliable" German Lutheran Leipzig Mission, the two mission fields were not really comparable at all, he said.126 Hogner seems to have been influenced by the contemporary evolutionist opinions that prevailed in Sweden at the time.127 Fundamental to his understanding of the two fields, was his view of the peoples concerned. To him the Tamil Indians and the Zulu peoples were radically disparate in evolutionary standards. While the Tamil people represented an old, advanced culture, the Zulu were "...descendants of an absolutely uncivilised people." Accordingly, in discussions on "maturity" and the goal of self-rule for a Zulu church, the Zulu were not held in high esteem by Hogner. Judged by evolutionary standards, they were, according to Hogner, very far behind the Tamil Indians.128

The Swedish historian Åke Holmberg in his pioneering study of 1988, Världen bortom västerlandet. Svensk syn på fjärran länder och folk från 1700-talet till första världskriget, claims that also in Sweden evolutionary thinking was relevant. It had become conventional to range different races in accordance with a development process from lower to higher stages. Around the turn of the century, popular ethnological publications, embracing evolutionist opinions on the development of human races, were increasingly gaining ground.129 An obvious example of these contemporary influences and a clear indication of such evolutionist ideas was Anton Karlsgren’s volume on the CSM work in South Africa, Svenska Kyrkans Mission i Sydafrika.130 His book was at the time of publication not only the most comprehensive but probably also the most distributed standard work on the CSM mission field in Southern Africa, accepted as a standard work for many years to come. Although the book was not published until 1909, it drew on articles previously published by missionaries in the CSM periodical and written explicitly at the request of the CSM Board by a prominent CSM-affiliated clergyman of the Church of Sweden.131

**Concluding Remarks**

What has been described above is the formation and development of what Myklebust would define as a distinct example of a church mission of a state church. Moreover, following Furberg and Hallencreutz it can be claimed that this church mission emerged as a result of a revitalised Lutheran confessionalism in the struggle between evangelical revival (and free churches) on the one hand and the Lutheran state church on the other. In line with assumptions presented by Anderson and Jansson, the formation of CSM may thus be seen as a "counter-project", launched by the state church in response to and in an attempt to regain its influence in the face of the popular mobilisation of the
evangelical revival in the first half of the nineteenth century. In contrast to the mission enterprises that derived their origin from the evangelical revival and (later) the free churches, CSM is to be viewed as a project initiated from "above", i.e. as a part of an essentially conservative program of the state church. The formation of a church mission is to be seen as conforming to the larger project of an "official nationalism", launching of a confessional Lutheranism and the revitalising of the inclusively defined territorial church, as a response to the radical social changes which followed the industrial breakthrough of the 1850s.

Tottie's contribution of 1892 is to be seen as an early example of what Gellner has defined as an assignment entrusted an intellectual élite, such as it appeared after the turn of the century and subsequently was taken over by the more well-known Young Church Movement. It is in this light we are to assess the background to Tottie's use of the concept of folk Christianisation, in part deriving its origin from the Nordic folk churches. The Danish environment, however, with the peasant mobilisation of the 1840s - inspirational to Grundtvig's formulation of this concept as well as the idea of the "folkkirke" and the "folkhøyskole" - was essentially different from Tottie's Sweden of the late 1880s and early 1890s. Tottie's version of folk Christianisation is formulated in the context of, and as a response to, the Swedish social changes of the post 1850s although intended for the situation on the mission field. His thinking, both his analysis of indigenous cultures being uprooted in the face of colonialism, advancing civilisation and social change, appears as a typical example not only of the theories presented by Gellner and Anderson, but also of the remedies he ascribes, such as the role of Christianity in offering a new consolidating "cement" for the perseverance of these cultures. But also his concept of the folk Church may be understood in this context. The role of the church mission is thus to create a lowest common denominator or a standardised unit in which a nation with its many diverse manifestations, in need of meaning or belonging, inclusively could be conformed. The assignment of the church mission could thus be seen as the fomenting of an "imagined community" which, according to Anderson, was defined by the style in which it is imagined. But while the church mission, parallel to this, was to implement its own agenda on the local African community, a certain correction of this thought pattern was necessarily implied in the program. For this reason a more relevant parallel to the project, envisaged by Tottie, may be drawn to Hobsbom's more consciously elaborated "invention of tradition", even if the question of this invention of tradition "being a manipulation of class in the interest of the dominant élite", i. e. in the interest of social and political stability, remains to be answered.

2Magnusson 1996.
5 Hallencreutz 1968: 10.
10 Foremost among German pietists, influenced by the European Enlightenment and its religious individualism, a differentiation had been introduced in the spiritual concept of the church, where the ecclesiola was seen as the smaller church of true believers in union with Christ as distinct from the ecclesia, or the territorial state church. Cf. Christensen-Göransson 1976: 248.
11 Hallencreutz 1985: 118.
12 Hallencreutz 1985: 118-119.
17 Cf. Furberg 1962: 120.
21 While not within the framework of the present work, it may be noted that a more general study of how various missions have contemplated their own efforts over time, or "a historiography of Christian missions", appears to be an underdeveloped field within the academic study of missions.
22 Brundin 1924. With similar approaches, but more recent and less extensive, are the contributions by Gunnar Dahlquist of 1935 and Arvid Bäverfeldt of 1949. Cf. Dahlquist 1935, Bäverfeldt 1949. At the centennial of the establishment of the CSM in 1974, the then Mission director, Furberg presented a brief overview of the CSM history, Furberg 1974.
24 In his pioneering work of 1937, Svenska Missionssällskapet 1835-1876. Missionstankens genombrrott och tidigare historia i Sverige, particularly focusing on the Swedish Missionary Society, Sundklær describes the heretofore breakthrough of the mission interest in Sweden. Sundklær 1937.
25 On Tottie's theology, see below.
26 On Furberg's assessment of CSM developments on the mission field in South Africa, cf. below, Chapter five.
27 Among them were also the South German Neuendettelsauer Mission but also the British-based Society for the Propagation of the Gospel and the Methodist Missionary Society. Myklebust in K.Ä. 62 1962: 316-317. The most evident parallel to the CSM, Myklebust claims, is the mission of the Church of Scotland, which not only was a church mission but, as a mission of the state church, also shared several of the CSM features. Myklebust in K.Ä. 62 1962: 318, 332. For a brief outline of the mission work of the Church of Scotland in South Africa, cf. above, Chapter three.
30 Hallencreutz 1985: 120-127.
31 Hallencreutz 1985: 117-120.
32 Hallencreutz 1985: 120.
33 Hallencreutz 1985: 120-122.
35 Hallencreutz 1985: 123.
36 Hallencreutz 1985: 124.
38 Ahlstrand 1996: 115.
39 In the English language however the term “folk church” is specifically used to define the Nordic folk churches, Ahlstrand says, while their English equivalent, i.e. the Church of England, is not defined as a “folk church” but rather as “the established church”. Ahlstrand 1996: 112.
41 Ahlstrand 1996: 114.
43 On Schreuder, cf. Chapter three, above.
48 Cf. Asplund 1991: 64, 73, 75.
50 In association to this discussion, Asplund refers to Tönnie’s supplement of 1912. Asplund 1991: 65.
52 Gellner 1983: 24, 27.
54 Gellner 1983: 29-34, 52, 60-61.
58 Anderson 1983: 66 and Anderson 1991: 67. With reference to the Nordic context Anderson exemplifies with the emerging Finnish nationalism that, beginning in the 1820s, increasingly was manifested in folklore and the vernacular against Russian dominance. In Norway, which had shared a written language with the Danes, it was with a different pronunciation that a Norwegian nationalism was accentuated with Ivar Asen’s new Norwegian grammar in 1848 and a dictionary in 1850, texts which responded to and stimulated demands for a specifically Norwegian print-language, he says. Anderson 1991: 74-75.
61 Broberg 1993: 171.
63 Broberg 1993: 194.
64 Broberg 1993: 88 and 95. Terge11969.
70 Østerud 1997: 46.
72 Österud 1997: 47.
73 Österud 1997: 46.
74 Repstad 1981: 57.
76 Repstad 1981: 74-75.
77 Repstad 1981: 85-86.
78 Repstad 1981: 75, 84, 87.
79 Simensen with Gynnild 1986: 15, 22.
80 Simensen with Gynnild 1986: 23.
82 Simensen with Gynnild 1986: 40-41.
84 Norenius 1924: 116-118.
89 Beginning in 1893, when Tottie became Professor of Practical Theology until he was appointed Bishop of Calmar in 1901, he was thus able to present his missiological general view of Practical Theology to his students at the University. Hallencreutz 1976: 89. Furberg 1962: 182.
92 See above, Chapter three.
93 Apart from Schreuder also Grundtvig and the Danish mission influenced by his ideas in South India, the Danish-Norwegian mission to the Santals and, in Namibia, the Finnish mission to the Ovambo- and Kavango peoples. Cf. Hallencreutz 1985: 121-122.
94 Hallencreutz 1985: 123.
95 Cf. Tottie 1892: 174, Myklebust 1962: 328, Furberg 1962: 192, Hallencreutz 1985: 123. A more forthright application of such an evolutionistic scheme was later pursued by J. E. Norenius, one of Tottie’s former students and a leading CSM missionary in South Africa. For an analysis of his major work of 1924-25, see below, Chapter five.
96 Tottie 1982: 181.
102 This was the influence by scholars such as K. A. G. von Zeutschwits and the South-German Löheteradition. Hallencreutz 1985: 122.
104 Brundin 1924: 42-43, 112.
112 Deriving his origin from a peasant family in Småland, his father, as the first generation clergy, took the name of Danell after their ancestral homestead. Following in his father’s footsteps, Danell was a student at Uppsala and, in 1891, he was ordained a priest in the diocese of Linköping. Berglund, E., in SBL vol. 10, page 178-9. Stockholm 1931. On Danell, see also the sympathetic biography written by his son, Sven Danell, Danell 1967.
113 Danell 1976: 44, 94.
114 Furberg 1962: 304.
115 Furberg 1962: 305.
118 Tergel 1969: 32.
121 Furberg 1962: 306-7
126 Hogner till Hellén 1.2.01, Missionsdirektorns koncept Hogner, 1900-1901, B II: 2, SKMA
128 Hogner to Ljungquist, 23.1.01, Missionsdirektorns koncept Hogner, 1900-1901, B II: 2, SKMA.
130 Particularly The living races of mankind/Jordens folk, was one of the major sources of Karlgren’s book. Karlgren 1909: x; cf. 21, 38 and 99-100.
CHAPTER FIVE: THE CHURCH
OF SWEDEN MISSION IN SOUTH AFRICA

This chapter concerns the development of CSM as a missionary organisation in South Africa in the years around the turn of the century. One issue I wish to raise is to determine to what extent leading CSM missionaries related to the points of departure in mission, as envisaged by Tottie and the Home Board. A second issue concerns a general positioning of the local CSM among other missionary societies in regard to the crucial issues of land, polygyny and lobolo, relation to educational objects and stance in the South African War and towards the Natal settler government.

The most comprehensive work on the history of CSM in South Africa is that of Johan Erik Norenius, published in 1924 and 1925. He was a leading personality in the second generation of missionaries. In 1912 he became the director of the entire mission field. Because of his experience of missionary work during the period concerned and his often sharp-sighted and comprehensive observations, his contribution remains the most authoritative account of the local CSM history to 1924, and may thus be seen as a valuable reference also for this present study. His books can furthermore be compared to Stavem’s 1915 history of NMS which provided a reference to the scholars of the Simensen-edited Norwegian Missions in South Africa (above, Chapter three). In recognising the significance of Norenius’ work which, unlike Stavem’s NMS history, not previously has been critically examined, his contribution deserves an extensive presentation and analysis. As conveyed by one of the leading CSM missionaries and written in the immediate sequel of the period covered by the present study, his book can presumably shed some light also on how a CSM missionary saw CSM’s role within the larger developments of South African history.

In analysing the relationship between the Home Board and its missionaries in South Africa before 1901, Furberg’s study of 1962 remains of greatest importance. The issue in my study is to determine how the Home Board and missionary policy on the field are to be characterised in the years around the turn of the century and to what extent the Home Board’s changed direction in the years after Tottie’s departure from Uppsala can be identified in regard to local CSM developments. This includes a portrayal of the missionaries-in-charge of the larger and - mindful of the approaching 1906 Bambatha uprising - more important CSM mission stations and regions. The second part of the chapter concerns the relationships between CSM on the one hand, and its ideology and missionaries and African society on the other. The CSM position will be evaluated against the background of the African pre-capitalist features: land, polygyny and lobolo as described in Chapter two above.
State of Research with Particular Reference to the CSM in South Africa

The Missionary Contributions

In an innumerable number of articles and in a great number of booklets several of the local CSM missionaries have described both contemporary and historical developments of CSM in South Africa. Among the major CSM missionary auto-biographies covering the present period are Frans Fristedt's *Tjugofem år i Sydafrika, minnen och erfarenheter* of 1905 and Tora Hellgren's *Efter 40 år*, published in 1919. Some missionary biographies of importance for the present study are Carl-Axel Hallström's two works, one on Jonas Fredrik Ljungquist, the 1902-1912 CSM local leader and the missionary-in-charge of the large Appelsbosch mission station, and another on Anders Reinhold Kempe, a prominent CSM missionary in Zululand and later in Dundee in Natal. Erik Sundgren has portrayed the above mentioned J. E. Norenius and, in addition to these, Herbert Hallendorff wrote about his father, Knut Hallendorff, the missionary-in-charge at the oldest of the CSM mission stations, Oscarsberg, in Natal.

The most outstanding of the earlier missionary contributions are J. E. Norenius' two-volumes history of the CSM in South Africa, *Bland zuluer och karanger. Femtio års missionshistoria på svenska kyrkans fält i Sydafrika* of 1924 and 1925, published as a tribute to the fiftieth anniversary of the CSM establishment. By focusing on the developments at the various mission stations and by drawing on the many reports and articles written by Swedish missionaries including his own observations, his work remains the hitherto most comprehensive description of the local CSM mission history. While most attention is given to the CSM enterprise in Natal and Zululand with emphasis on the first decade of the twentieth century, he also includes an account of the CSM mission work that was being established in Johannesburg and southern Zimbabwe.

Norenius divides the local CSM history into four periods. The first begins with the arrival of the first missionaries in 1876 and stretches to 1888 when CSM reported to the Church of Sweden General Assembly. This period is by and large characterised by a series of failures, mostly due to lacking leadership and the futile attempts at reaching into Zululand which, in turn, hindered a potentially flourishing development in Natal. The second period terminates with 1897 when mission stations presented their five-year reports to the Home Board. The natural disasters of the late nineteenth century and the internal disagreements between the missionaries, leading to the exit of Otto Witt, the first CSM missionary, were setbacks in CSM labours. Nevertheless, an extensive amount of farmland was bought, mission stations and mission work was established, the number of missionaries and converts were increased and by the end of the period the future seemed promising. Also the third period 1898-1911 which
constitutes the major part of his work, is defined as a period of expansion, but also of distress. CSM extended its mission work both to Johannesburg and to southern Zimbabwe. The enterprise in Johannesburg, with an object of reaching the Zulu migrant labourers, proved difficult. Gathering the many scattered groups of Zulu men implied new missionary methods, different from those previously employed. The evangelistic enterprise of the mission was furthermore hampered by the apparent need to attend to the rather large resident Scandinavian population. The mission to Zimbabwe resulted in a series of failures. But in 1911, after the tragic death of pioneering missionary Axel Liljestrand in 1908, measures were taken for a new start on this field. In regard to Natal and Zululand the South African War which mostly affected the CSM northern regions, and its end in 1902, brought about new and beneficial conditions. In spite of recurring natural calamities and the Bambatha uprising, CSM experienced a growth in mission work expressed in the number of converts. Also the fourth period, Norenius says, is marked by an expansion in all sectors. The last of his periods, reaching from the 1912 formation of a CSM Missionary Council to the 1924 establishment of a constitution for the CSM congregations and a CSM Lutheran Zulu Church, is characterised as a time of organisation and church-formation. Instrumental in this respect was the intensification of the Lutheran co-operation, resulting in the 1912 establishment of joint-Lutheran seminaries for evangelists, teachers and ministers as well as the ordination of nine African clergy in 1915. In these years the mission enterprise was further expanded in Zululand and, increasingly so, in Zimbabwe. In Johannesburg however, CSM missionary work was still restricted by other obligations taken on by the local missionary (i.e. Norenius himself) such as, from 1914, the congregation of Swedish expatriates and from 1912 the various assignments in regard to CSM leadership.

Norenius’ Church History

Naturally, Norenius’ contribution is a product of his time and life. In trying to define the overall theme that rules his narrative, the evolutionist perspective appears at first sight to be particularly pervading although when examined more closely, it is not consistently enforced and at times seemingly ambiguous. As other contemporary observers he distinguishes the Zulu as the most prominent among the peoples of Africa. Already in their strong and harmoniously developed physical features, he says, they are by nature determined to hold a prominent position among other African peoples. He claims the Zulu to be "the Teutons" of southern Africa and, as such, born to rule. Because of their glorious heritage they are proud nationalists whose most ardent desire is to be liberated from white rule. Closely related to this image is his description of the Zulu as polite and hospitable, having been granted not only a sensitive conscience but also a deeply rooted conception of justice. However, their "long wandering through a thousand years of heathenism" has left "deformed marks in their
general character". Materialism, egoism, falsehood, suspicion and an unjustified "wish to play the gentlemen", as well as keeping their women under slave-like conditions, Norenius says, are only natural consequences of their inherent lack of moral qualifications.¹⁴

In the light of these assumptions it follows that Norenius is favourably disposed towards Western civilisation. With the arrival of white rule, he claims, continuous warfare between various African peoples were interrupted, and new, advantageous and more stable conditions were introduced.¹⁵ But in the encounter between a high standing civilisation and the low standing Zulu, or in the inevitable development-process from a well-ordered past to a dynamic present, the Zulu as a people are about to disintegrate. From his Johannesburg-influence assessment of the people, Norenius describes how Zulu are tempted by such drawbacks, embedded in Western civilisation, as materialism, spiritual apathy, crime, drunkenness and immorality.¹⁶ For this reason the Zulu are in a crucial period of transition. Due to their pride and harshness, they have during most of the nineteenth century remained among the least receptive to Christianity. As Norenius puts it, "their time of vocation" was not yet ripe. The defeat of the Zulu in the war of 1879 as well as the natural disasters which occurred in the latter part of the century, were however most instrumental. With the advent of Western civilisation and the following drastic social changes, "the axe was laid to the root of the old tree", and (what Norenius calls) "Zuluism" was now crumbling which was most beneficial to the work of the Christian missions.¹⁷ But while Norenius rejects "Zuluism" as such, the people are still to be seen as the potentially most powerful of all Southern African peoples. Although weakened and degenerated, they are still to be feared. To him the issue at stake is whether the power and the talents inherent in the people are to "break out as with Shaka, ravaging and demolishing, or be tamed and claimed for higher purposes, leading to the spiritual and material advance of the black race."¹⁸ In this context we are to understand Norenius' previous emphasis of the mighty Zulu. If the Zulu can be led to conversion, and the time be ripe for a conversion en masse, other African people would, in their turn, follow suit.¹⁹

Whether or not Norenius was more influenced by evolutionist assumptions than other missionaries of his generation, is difficult to assess. Such evolitional ideas were indeed not unusual in his time. It is useful to compare his work to a similar mission history produced in a Scandinavian Lutheran environment, namely that of Stavem's history of the NMS, Et bantufolk og kristendommen. Det Norske Missionsselskaps syttiaarige Zulumission.²⁰ Both contributions were published as anniversary issues in 1915 and 1924-25 respectively, and addressed to supporters of the mission in their home countries. Essentially the two works are similarly narrated and outlined. Both describe the Zulu, the general historical background, the impact of colonial rule and the history of their respective missions. Both Norenius and Stavem pursue their narratives in a
comprehensive and well-informed way, both of them being long-standing missionaries and local leaders. Although Stavem’s work includes some of the pejorative clichés popularly ascribed to the Zulu, he is to no extent near neither the generalised descriptions furthered by Norenius, nor the evolutionary framework employed by him. Several plausible explanations for this difference may be suggested. One is that Norenius’ career as a missionary in the urban, industrialised Johannesburg where the contrast between the Western capitalist forces and the essentially rural-based Zulu migrant labourers, was particularly evident. Another is that much of his time was preoccupied either with the work of the central joint committees of the missionary organisations, or the ministry to resident Scandinavian diaspora, which may have distanced him from and affected his general view of the Zulu. Stavem on the other hand spent virtually all his life-long service as a missionary in Zululand proper. It could also be argued that while the majority of the Swedish missionaries were familiar with black and white Natal, and thus may have been exposed to the attitudes of white settlers, the historically close affiliation between the Norwegian missionaries and Zululand in particular may have led Stavem and other Norwegian missionaries to hold a different, less generalised attitude towards the Zulu. But general distinctions between Swedish and Norwegian missionaries ought not be drawn too far. Similarly, as will be seen in the below, neither missionaries Axel Liljestrand nor Knut Hallendorff, Norenius’ contemporary CSM colleagues, come close to the theoretical assumptions employed by Norenius. (Neither of them attempt a similarly extensive explanation of the long-term interaction between their mission, the Zulu and the colonial power).

For Norenius, the heritage from Tottie played a role. During his Uppsala-years Norenius was one of the leading spokesmen for the church mission cause as it was presented in Tottie’s and Danell’s academic lectures. As seen in the chapter above, Myklebust emphasises how together with Lutheran theological influences it was the Hegelian assumption of a spirit-history which dominated Tottie’s thinking. Several of Norenius’ generalised assumptions about the Zulu can be traced to Tottie’s similarly generalised definition of ethnically defined “peoples”, with the “people” seen as a “social organism” which was to be addressed by the mission. Tottie had argued that it was conditional that the general character of the people had not yet been dissolved but remained intact. Otherwise the mission was to be aimed at individuals. As far as the situation in Africa is concerned, an additional dimension to Tottie’s theory has to be considered, namely that “people”, being a “social organism”, only was to be seen as a “raw material” that was to be moulded and formed into a civilisation, a state or a “nation”. The Hegelian assumption on the development of “nations” comes to the fore. Gellner has shown that Hegel believed “peoples” or “nations” (as a God-given way to classify men), to have had a long history before finally reaching their destination — that of forming themselves or, in this case, being formed into states. To Hegel the pre-state period is to be seen as pre-historical while the history of a nation begins
only when it acquires its own state. In Norenius’ writings this corresponds to his depicting the Zulu as ethnologically still intact, but yet as a "raw material" with which missionaries could bring about much progress and eventually develop them, if not into a state, at least into a folk church. Tottie’s influence is seen particularly in Norenius’ assumption of an ethnically defined people, becoming "mature" for its particular "time of vocation". The belief, shared by Tottie and Norenius, in "a history of salvation", was common among most Christian thinkers. They also shared the assumption of a people moving from one stage of development to another and how major historical events, such as the advent of colonialism, provided a particularly advantageous time for divine intervention and hence missionary action. One may rightly claim that not only an evolutionary concept prevailed, but also the need to define a people’s critical or transitory stage in its development from one stage to another. The pattern of thought was common with Tottie’s assumptions and may, in Norenius’ case, to a certain extent explain his ambiguous view on the Zulu and the advancing civilisation. Suggestions such as these may certainly not be used as a justification for Norenius’ evolutionist thinking. His ideas may equally have been influenced and reinforced by general opinion among white South Africans from whom CSM missionaries were not secluded. They are also to be seen as indications of what Myklebust has underlined, i.e. signs of the influence Tottie’s theory had among his former Uppsala-students.

Furberg on the CSM in South Africa

The emphasis in Furberg’s study is placed chiefly on CSM developments in Sweden. He also attempts to integrate these with missionaries’ achievements and goals on the two mission fields. With his “triangular perspective”, including the widely disparate fields of action in Sweden, South India and South Africa, it is inevitable that the wider context of the mission in a field can only be briefly attended to. For this reason “the missionary factor” becomes the common denominator and the Home Board in Uppsala the focal point of his study. The value in his study lies in accounting for the change in relationships between Home Board and local missionaries changed over a period of time. An example of an issue he raises is whether and to what extent decisions and actions taken by Tottie and the Home Board or by the local missionaries can be seen as determining CSM’s general course.

Furberg qualifies Norenius’ essentially expansionist perspective. Tottie’s guiding principles were still decisive for CSM operations in South Africa during most of the 1890s. But by the end of the century, Furberg claims, new aspects came to influence local developments. One of these was the introduction of a medical mission: the donation of a hospital in South Africa by the wealthy aristocrat Hedvig Posse, a CSM woman missionary. Although a medical mission was theologically alien to both the Lutheran ideal of the two kingdoms and Tottie’s thinking, the Board was bound to
accept the generous offer. The second aspect was the pressure exercised by the local missionaries for the outreach to the migrant labourers in Johannesburg. Difficulties implied had already been described by Norenius. But Furberg points out that the outreach also involved methods adversary to a stationary evangelisation process which Tottie had envisaged as a long-term interaction with the people of a particular stationary society. The third was the need for an expansion of the mission field, partly due to the density of already established missions in Natal. A continuous expansion was naturally also a condition inherent in the very idea of mission which included its structural dependence on maintaining the enthusiasm of home-supporters and ensuring a continuous stream of pecuniary aid to the mission field. The late nineteenth century growing interest in mission had encouraged the Home Board to make known an increased need on the mission field, particularly in South Africa.

The expansion could be pursued in two ways: either along the original intentions of working among the Zulu, i.e. as an extension of the mission work which only recently had been established at Ekutuleni in Zululand, or as an outreach to the Matabele in southern Zimbabwe, a people whom some of the missionaries believed to be Zulu-speaking. In South Africa, however, there was not only a surplus of recently arrived missionaries who demanded own centres from which to work. Among some with an evangelical leaning rather than a Lutheran disposal there were also strong appeals for the northward drive, in keeping with Cecil Rhodes' imperialist "Frontier Tradition" Among these were the influential Hedvig Posse and her ally, the recently arrived Axel Herman Liljestrand. In due course rather than opting for an expansion of the work in Zululand, the Home Board came to favour the assumingly more attractive Zimbabwe project.

Apart from these new aspects, Furberg demonstrates how Tottie's object of a Zulu church also was obstructed by the missionaries. With the already lacking co-operation between the different Lutheran missions, the increase in nationalistic sentiments among the Swedes led to a distinctly Swedish-centred perspective. While co-operation was conditional for the establishment of a joint-Lutheran seminary for African evangelists and teachers, joint-co-operation became an increasingly distant goal. Secondly, the missionaries' little enthusiasm for the "three selves" formula, similarly conditional for the viability of an indigenous church, was likewise adverse to what Tottie had envisaged. With a single exception - Ljungquist - these objects were hardly encouraged at all. Thirdly, an ambition to unify the scattered CSM congregations was lacking. The most serious intent in this direction although not emphasised by Furberg, was raised by the African evangelists for a joint CSM evangelists' conference. Fourthly, the missionaries resisted any significant steps taken towards the formation of an indigenous church by way of the ordination of Josef Zulu in 1901 whereby he became the first black priest of the CSM (Chapter six). Josef Zulu's ordination which was adamantly against the will of the missionaries, took place only after the intervention of Uppsala. With the admi-
nistration and the decision-making process still underdeveloped among the missionaries, with serious disagreements among them and strained relations between them and the Home Board, the issue of the local leadership remained largely unsolved by 1902.37

A question raised in this study is whether it is at all possible to understand the intentions, goals and actions of the missionaries without a thorough understanding of the wider political, economic and social environment in which they were placed. Myklebust has remarked, in commenting to Furberg's account of the establishment of the CSM in South Africa, that early CSM relationship to Schreuder and the CNM can hardly be fully appreciated by merely focusing on the Swedish missionaries. Their strained relationships to their Norwegian colleagues had implications also for their relations to the Home Board and eventually for the development of the CSM as such.38 It could similarly be argued that the role of the Swedish missionaries in the Natal and Zululand environment neither could be fully comprehended without referring to the position they as Europeans and missionaries assumed in this conflict-ridden, settler- and capitalist-dominated colonial and African society. It is clear that the missionaries' ambitions and actions can hardly be detached from those of their African Christian co-workers and the parishioners in the congregations with whom they interacted. The only serious initiative that was taken towards the realisation of Tottie's and the Home Board's envisaged unification of the CSM congregations was the proposal made by the CSM African evangelists (Chapter six) which is to be seen in the relations between the Uppsala Home Board and the missionaries, as well as within the wider South African framework.

The CSM in Southern Africa, its Local Leadership and the Relationship to the Home Board

When the CSM began its mission in South Africa, the intention was to place its missionaries under the local leadership of Schreuder. But because that joint venture failed, the Board was troubled by the question of a local leadership of its mission in Natal. Already in 1877 the pioneering missionaries suggested the establishment of a Missionary Conference with a vague and rather far-fetched authority of the conference chairman. Discouraged by internal conflicts among the missionaries and fearing the introduction of a Presbyterian order, this was refuted by the Home Board. While the local missionaries were permitted to confer among themselves, all decisions were for the time being to be made by the Board itself. Because of distance and a lack in experience of mission work among the members of the Board who adopted an intra-Swedish perspective, the arrangement was difficult to maintain. In practice Witt, the local treasurer, also became the acting manager, while the formal problem of how to regulate authority between missionaries and Board remained.39 During Tottie's 1886 visit to the mission field, the necessity of establishing an annual Missionary Conference where all ordained missionaries with a year of experience in the field were eligible to
vote, was recognised. But before gaining legal force, all propositions made by the Conference were to be confirmed by the Board. The appointment of a local manager was ignored by Tottie, chiefly because no missionaries were regarded to have adequate qualifications. Among them Ljungquist had been mentioned, but was finally refused, as assumed by Furberg, largely because of his small enthusiasm for Tottie’s planned expansion into Zululand.40

After the turbulence surrounding Witt’s controversy with the CSM and his resignation in 1890,41 it was nonetheless Ljungquist, since 1884 the new local treasurer, who emerged as the unofficial leader.42 Chiefly because of his firm confessional Lutheranism and his clear dissociation from Reformed Christianity, both Tottie and the Board now considered him to be the most reliable successor to Witt. From the time of his new status, Ljungquist was increasingly being influenced by Tottie and his theology. By way of the close co-operation between them, Furberg states, Tottie’s mission theology was gradually put into practice. This was particularly obvious in the increase of the number of evangelists. While CSM only had two evangelists employed in 1888, by 1893 they were nine.43 Most clearly Ljungquist’s influence by Tottie’s principles came into view when he on furlough in Sweden in 1897 met with the Home Board. Resolutely underlining the superiority of African co-workers and their indispensability in the mission, he first and foremost argued for the need of their further education.44 Although still not appointed the formal leader of the mission field, he held an informally recognised position, a fact made clear also by the local missionaries. In re he was the first among them, as expressed by missionary Hallendorff.45 When the Board eventually in 1902 came to the conclusion that a chairman of the Mission Conference had to be appointed, Ljungquist was just their choice.46

The Missionaries-in-charge of the Major Mission Stations

By early 1902 there were nine male and eight female CSM missionaries in Natal and Zululand. Of the missionaries in charge of the larger mission stations, Frans Fristedt, Jonas Fredrik Ljungquist, Lars Petter Norenius (a senior brother to J. E. Norenius) and Erik Gustaf Wahlberg belonged to an older generation who already before the turn of the century had become experienced missionaries. All of them had received their first religious impulses from the nineteenth century low-church revivalism of the Swedish Evangelical Mission.47 Furthermore they all originated from the Swedish countryside and in this sense they all represented the rural, agrarian-capitalist and pre-industrialised nineteenth century Sweden of the past where the Church of Sweden to a great extent still maintained its position in of the rural population. Only Fristedt, the son of a vicar in Västergötland, was from an academically-educated home while all the others came from rather modest social conditions, Ljungquist from a periodically impoverished carpenter’s home in Småland, Norenius and Wahlberg from simple homesteads, in
Angermanland and Dalarna respectively.\textsuperscript{48} In this respect they differed little from other contemporary emigrants from Sweden. Both Ljungquist and L. P. Norenius had brought with them their nearest family members and also other relatives. The mission came to provide an opportunity for them to build up a new life in South Africa that was far above the living conditions they could have expected at home. Both Ljungquist and Fristedt became landlords on the farms purchased by the CSM at Appelsbosch and Ekutuleni respectively. Ljungquist and his son were successful in the production of wattle bark and, beginning in 1899, this had become a flourishing industry on the Appelsbosch farm. At Dundee L. P. Norenius ventured into different business activities where his most successful enterprise was the Ebenezer Press, a printing house established in 1901 by donations from mission supporters at home and eventually transferred from the CSM to become his own private property.\textsuperscript{49}

After Witt, Fristedt was the second CSM missionary to enter the mission field when he arrived in Natal in 1876. His most important contribution was the pioneering venture into Zululand and the establishing of Ekutuleni, the first CSM mission station in Zululand proper. Among the missionaries of the older generation, Fristedt was the most candid in his sharp criticism of what he labelled the British "Negrophilism" which, as remarked by Holmberg, illustratively can be contrasted to his sincere admiration of Boer's stalwart treatment of Africans. By and large Holmberg finds Fristedt's appreciation of the Zulu, including those converted to Christianity, remarkably low. With Fristedt, Holmberg assumes, his attitude may have been the result of a merger between a Swedish patriarchal-conservative outlook and white South African mentality of a master race. Perhaps, Holmberg claims, Fristedt's attitude towards the Zulu was not far from many a vicar's towards his parish-members in a Swedish country congregation.\textsuperscript{50} From the early years of the century Fristedt was gradually removed from missionary work because of a worsening mental defect.\textsuperscript{51}

L. P. Norenius(1862-1917) who for several years was the only male lay worker within CSM, arrived in 1888. By 1900 he had been ordained and was in charge of the third largest CSM mission station, Dundee, in northern Natal. While more of a practical man and heavily involved in several private enterprises with varying success, his position and status among the missionaries appear to have been rather weak which also may have been due to his previous siding with Witt and his only recent ordination.\textsuperscript{52} After Witt in 1890 broke with the CSM, Wahlberg(1859-1915) who arrived in 1891, was in the unfortunate position to almost immediately after his entry take over the responsibility of the large and mismanaged Oscarsberg mission, and, assumingly due to his limited capacity to effect change, he was transferred to the less important and remote Emtulwa in the Umvoti.\textsuperscript{53} Among the missionaries, Wahlberg with his modesty and unobtrusive manners played a rather insignificant role. His often scantily worded
reports contribute to this impression. At times, as in a roundabout way expressed by J.
E. Norenjus, one could have wished to see more activity and energy on his part.54

Jonas Fredrik Ljungquist at Appelsbosch in the Natal Midlands

The most important of the missionaries of the older generation was Ljungquist (1847-
1926). The son of a carpenter, he was raised under simple, at times even rather poor
conditions in rural northern Småland.55 His father’s involvement in the local revival,
characterised by deep reverence for the Lutheran teachings and a loyalty to the Church
of Sweden, was in this respect important for his own religious formation in his early
years.56 Because of a number of wealthy benefactors in his neighbourhood, Ljungquist
was able to study and eventually reach the goal to be ordained. This took place in
1877.57 Having shown interest for mission work of the Swedish Evangelical Mis-

Unlike his contemporary colleagues within CSM, Ljungquist was most indefatigable
in propagating and establishing self-supporting congregations. In this respect he was a
pioneer within the CSM. All tendencies of giving converts gifts, as previously
entertained by CSM missionaries, not least at the CSM Oscarsberg mission station as
a means of attracting further converts, were condemned by him. Instead he argued that
fees to boarding homes and schools, as well as teachers’ salaries and the building of
churches or schools, were to be paid by the parish members, either in cash or in labour.
To accomplish this he organised the congregations in squads under headmen of which
each was not only responsible for the payment of teachers’ salaries etc. but who also
had a say in the parish council which already in 1897 was established at Appelsbosch.62
Apparently, Ljungquist was most successful in realising self-support among the parish
members in the region. The most significant result of this was the building of the
rather impressive stone church at Appelsbosch which was completed in 1905, largely
accomplished by the work and donations of the local congregation.63
In his biography of 1937, Hallström describes Ljungquist as "thoroughly Swedish", a representative of the old-fashioned Sweden, with a manfully temperament, demanding respect for good old values, particularly for those of a religious or patriotic kind. But indeed, Ljungquist's Sweden belonged to the past and when he in 1897 returned on furlough, much of what he encountered in his increasingly industrialised, urbanised and secularised native country evoked his criticism. Conversely, he was far more at home in South Africa. Towards his converts Ljungquist appeared in an authoritarian manner and in the neighbourhood he was generally known as Mjele or "the Stone", resembling the image of weight and firmness. Both Hallendorff and Hallström describe Ljungquist as somewhat having assumed the role of a local chief, at times most severe but also caring for those in need. In his sermons which occasional European listeners often found peculiar or strange, Hallendorff says, he often repeated himself, using metaphors merely understood by his African hearers. All in all, Ljungquist emerges as an impressive character. Already during his lifetime he became a legend and his memory is still today very much kept alive in this part of the country. The stories of his heroic and often super-natural deeds are readily told by those who still remember him as well as by their children and grandchildren.

The Missionaries of the Younger Generation

While the older missionaries generally had found their religious inspiration in a more evangelical environment, i.e. the Swedish Evangelical Mission, this was not so with those who were recruited by the end of the century. The second generation of CSM missionaries can be characterised by different standards. As the Home Board maintained its demand of only accepting ordained clergy, all seven candidates of the 1890s had university degrees. Of these all but one had studied in Uppsala and with only one exception they were all appointed for the field in Southern Africa. Because of their Uppsala academic background and the influence of Tottie and Danell at Uppsala university, the CSM ideology was thoroughly implanted among them. By the last decade of the century also the Student Missionary Movement there became consciously church-oriented. Among the future missionaries there was therefore a clear concern for the church. The vitalised interest for the church was paralleled with a particular concern for the notion of a National church. This was mainly due to the increased Swedish-nationalist sentiments, rife among the students at Uppsala. For this reason, Furberg claims, younger missionaries were also inclined to promote Swedish-Lutheran interests on the mission field.

Of the missionaries of the younger generation, Knut Hallendorff and Anders Reinhold Kempe were the leaders of the larger and more important CSM mission stations at Oscarsberg in northern Natal and Ekutuleni in southern-central Zululand respectively. Together with J. E. Norenius, the missionary-in-charge of the Johannesburg-outreach,
the three became the most influential men in the new generation of missionaries. After his graduation at Uppsala University and his ordination to the Church of Sweden ministry, in 1897 J. E. Norenius began his missionary career in South Africa where he at a time was stationed at the Oscarsberg mission station until he in 1902 became the CSM missionary pioneer to Johannesburg. Already during the first decade of the twentieth century he was one of the influential clergy of the CSM missionaries of the younger generation. By the Home Board he was considered to be the obvious successor to Ljungquist, the hitherto local CSM leader.

**Hallendorff at Oscarsberg in the North of Natal**

Beginning in 1902 and for many years to come Hallendorff (1871-1943) was the missionary-in-charge of the oldest and for many years the second largest mission station at Oscarsberg in northern Natal. From a cultivated and intellectually spirited vicar’s home in the rich province of Östergötland, Hallendorff received a solid Church of Sweden upbringing which already from his youth determined him for priesthood. Tottie’s and Danell’s academic lectures at Uppsala inspired him to become a missionary and from his time in Uppsala he was among the most enthusiastic followers of Tottie’s theological programme. Ever since his arrival in Natal in 1897 and at several occasions in the encounter with CSM colleagues of other Swedish traditions, he had felt obliged to declare his adherence to the Uppsala-school. In this respect he defined himself as a pronounced Uppsala-theologian.

His theological convictions were influenced by the fact that he spent his very first period in the mission field with linguistic studies at the home of evangelist Josef Zulu, later the first ordained black minister of CSM with whom Hallendorff retained close relations and held in high esteem. Inspired by Josef Zulu explains Hallendorff’s understanding and role on issues that were highly controversial among several of the missionaries. Differences in attitudes are particularly evident in the Home Board sources. In a considerate report to Hogner and the Home Board he explained the nature of the so-called Ethiopian movement which he claimed had emerged as a result of white racism rather than of theological differences. Among the Swedish missionaries, Hallendorff was in this respect close to the view of Harriette Colenso who “unlike her fellow missionaries”, Pillay states, primarily did not “interpret ‘Ethiopian’ to imply African political resistance as was the custom of the time.” In a report to Danell some years later, he strongly refuted the frequently negative missionary attitudes against traditional “beer” which he described as a natural and necessary ingredient of African diet. In a report from his first mission station at Emtulwa, adjacent to the Umvoti reserve in the Natal Midlands, he furthermore expressed remarkably well-informed views on the general conditions for and the crucial role of women in homestead agriculture and society.
When Hallendorff in 1902 was assigned the rather ungrateful task of taking over the responsibility of the Oscarsberg mission station, he encountered an environment which was quite different from that of the African reserves. The congregation there was since long accustomed to the system of free-offer. His immediate predecessor, Liljestrand, had become very popular with the local parishioners before he left for Zimbabwe. From the time Hallendorff took over as missionary-in-charge and throughout most of his long period at Oscarsberg, his struggle against the free-offer system, first implemented by Witt, was of paramount importance to him. According to Siri Dahlquist who many years later wrote a short biography on him, it was the self-support of the local congregation which had become his guiding star. Another major challenge was related to the particular socio-economic nature of this part of the country, located as it was in the midst of an area, totally dominated by mainly Boer farmers. The general opinion among them was most hostile against the mission and its converts, probably mirroring the regionally raised racial tensions in the aftermath of the South African War (Chapter two, above). In his harsh critique of their insatiable claims for African labour he attacked their clichés about Africans as lazy and indolent, and rather emphasised the severe conditions under which they lived on white-owned farms or as ever-absent migrant labourers. Hallendorff’s early period at Oscarsberg was to a great extent characterised by his candid criticism of the local settlers. His condemnations included also the Natal settlers of British descent and, in particular, their government.

Kempe at Ekutuleni in southern-central Zululand

After Fristedt’s pioneering work and founding of the CSM mission station Ekutuleni at the turn of the century, Kempe (1869-1941) gradually took over as the missionary-in-charge. In contrast to the other missionaries with their more rural and agricultural background, Kempe can be portrayed as a grandchild of the first industrial breakthrough along the Swedish north coast. For generations his forefathers had been blacksmiths. But his father had broken with the tradition and become a craftsman in the expanding saw mill industry in the wooded province of Angermanland. Born in a seriously religious home, a concern for the mission cause was been imbibed with his mother’s milk. His pious background and early determination for total abstinence also resulted in a lonely childhood and youth. In his autobiography of 1896 he describes himself as a solitary. A natural outcome of this background was his decision to move to Uppsala. In 1890 he commenced his studies for the priesthood. Through his friendship with J. E. Norenius, who already had decided to follow his older brother to South Africa, Kempe was drawn to the Student Missionary Association and eventually to CSM. In Uppsala, as he himself emphasises, it was foremost through Tottie’s lecturing that his own theological understanding, i.e. that of the close connection between the church and the mission, was crystallised. In 1896 he was ordained. But unlike his colleagues of the
CSM, he had been certified as an elementary school teacher before being appointed by the Board and sent as missionary to Zululand.83

In trying to define Kempe's position among the CSM missionaries in the early years of the century, two features stand out clearly. One is his close identification particularly with the mission in Zululand, the other his adherence to several themes underlined in Tottie's theology. The two features are intertwined. But Tottie had also emphasised the cause for Zululand as a major mission area. With his integrity and outspokenness on several of the current CSM issues, Kempe's position illustrates crucial divergences among the CSM missionaries. While comparatively little has been written on this CSM missionary, the definition of Kempe's position deserves some additional elaboration.84

When Kempe arrived at Ekutuleni in 1897 he inherited not only a recently established mission station and a rather small congregation of some 60 first-generation African Christians, but also the long standing conflict between the old missionary Fristedt and chief Sitheku.85 But although missionaries such as Fristedt and Norenius were keen to emphasise this as a conflict between Christians and "heathen",86 there are reasons to believe that, beginning with Kempe's taking over in 1901, a new kind of modus vivendi was established. In his correspondence from Ekutuleni, Kempe himself relates an attitude of understanding towards the royalties of the old kingdom, a stance which was noticed by outsiders.87 Together with Ljungquist he was the most clear-sighted and determined among the CSM missionaries in entrusting evangelistic work to his African co-workers. Shortly after having succeeded Fristedt, the number of evangelists at Ekutuleni rose from four to ten.88 His appreciation of their importance was stated in his 1903-05 report, "Only through the evangelists can we get in touch with the people and through them get to know the people, their thoughts and their needs."89 Among the many duties entrusted a missionary-in-charge, the supervision of the evangelists was the most rewarding, he said. With his background as an educated elementary school teacher he was persistent in arguing for the need of their further education.90 His commitment to the formation of a future Zulu church was particularly evident. As a regional embryo of this goal he was the first among the CSM missionaries to establish an annual conference for those CSM evangelists who operated in Zululand.91

Among his CSM colleagues Kempe was the spokesman of Zululand par préférence. Both towards his colleagues in Natal, the Home Board secretary and before the Swedish mission supporters he was indefatigable in propagating the Zululand-cause.92 His outlook was perhaps coloured by his own labours and experiences in Zululand. But while the Zululand-cause was certainly not endorsed by all, he encountered opposition by some of his colleagues in Natal. In this respect he could relate to Tottie who already in 1886 had emphasised the need for a reinforced effort in the lands, originally yearned for. It may also be recalled that one of the reasons for Tottie's hesitancy in
appointing Ljungquist was his assumed lack of enthusiasm regarding to Zululand. But this missionary outreach was pursued by Fristedt. In due course many of the missionaries, including the Home Board, were caught by the "Frontier Tradition", leading to the planned outreach to Southern Zimbabwe. After the turn of the century when Ljungquist at last became the local leader and the doubtful Zimbabwe-outreach was being established, the conflicting interests between the two mission fields became apparent. Already in 1900 in anticipation of these developments Kempe wrote, "The Archbishop is dead. In more than one respect. I fear that our mission will undergo a crisis." With the similar decline of Tottie's influence, the changing policy of the Home Board and with Fristedt's increasing illness, Kempe had every reason to feel left alone with the enterprise in Zululand. At least in regard to his own mission field, Kempe was proven to be a true prophet. It did not take long before he found reasons to claim that his field in several ways was discriminated by the new local leader and treated in a condescending way by several of his Natal colleagues. When he furthermore ventured to criticise the popularly endorsed Zimbabwe-project which he contrasted against the already established work in Zululand, he encountered massive critique by several of his colleagues. His stand was seen not only as a violation of the "political correctness", but was obviously also challenging vis-a-vis other interests of the time. Already in 1901 his outspokenness on the issue brought about several reprimands by Hogner. One reason for Hogner's reaction was probably that behind him was, through her informal contacts with him, the still influential Hedvig Posse, the baroness and missionary at Oscarsberg who in the case of the medical mission at Dundee, already had been able to use her personal wealth to change Home Board priorities. Now she was not only an enthusiastic advocate of the Zimbabwe-project, being related to its assigned missionary Liljestrand, but also most critical of Kempe. The immediate consequences of Kempe's stand was that his articles on Zululand were censored, shortened or in other ways treated in condescending manners by Hogner, the only editor of the CSM periodical. Gravely humiliated, Kempe in his letters to Hogner complained about being stigmatised as an oppositional and a rabid radical. In 1904 Danell of the Home Board visited the mission field. He met with the missionaries at the extraordinary missionary conference and improvements in attitudes towards Kempe were made on the Zululand issue, and the incorporation of the already established African Christian congregation at Ceza was confirmed. When Danell in 1905 left Uppsala for the bishopric of the Skara diocese, Kempe was most downhearted: "It was a rather sad appointment," he said.

But Kempe's close identification with Zululand had also other implications. With the rather limited number of missionaries who still by 1901 were operating in Zululand, it was natural for him to associate with neighbouring colleagues of other mission societies. Being located in the southern part of Zululand, Ekutuleni was furthermore placed at the cross-roads of missionary trails, leading into the heartland of the country, and
missionaries of different denominations frequently stayed as guests at Kempe's mission station. "I have met them all", he wrote in one of his letters. Through his many acquaintances Kempe achieved a formidable network of relationships among missionaries and societies and by the end of 1901 virtually all mission stations in Zululand had been visited by him. In the search for new fields in the still rather virgin country he co-operated closely with them and travelled with both missionary Sivert Dahle of the NMS with whom he made several expeditions, and with Hans Astrup of the CNM. Together with them Kempe gained entry into remote parts of the country, such as to the district surrounding the NMS Mahalabatini station and to the above mentioned, Ceza congregation in the far north of Zululand, already independently established by HMS evangelist Stefan Mavundhla.

With his clear concern for the future Zulu Church and with his lively interaction with other missions, Kempe was frustrated about the lack of co-operation between the Lutheran missions. He criticised them for their little concern for a common undertaking in Durban where the NMS already had established itself, not only among Norwegian seamen but also among African migrant workers. Co-operation, he claimed, "is an absolute necessity if one wants a Lutheran folk church or if one wants to prevent Lutheranism from degenerating into a Swedish, a Norwegian or a German species of this." The 1902 discontinued negotiations with the Herrmansburg mission on a common seminary for evangelists and the CSM decision to publish a Luther's catechism of its own, evoked his criticism. With fears for future disruption among Lutherans he equally questioned the 1902 consecration of Nils Astrup (CNM) to Episcopal dignity. While the CSM during this period had not yet endeavoured to organise an evangelists' seminary of its own, it was only in the period after 1906 that Kempe again was to find himself being "stigmatised as an opponent and a rabid radical". By then it was not only the issue of a separate Swedish seminary, financially backed by the influential Göteborg diocese that was going to render him this epithet, but his uncompromising stance in the 1906-1908 Bambatha uprising.

Kempe's theological outlook was taken up in a lecture delivered at the CSM Missionary conference of 1905. In his address he criticised the tendency among missionaries to lay much stress on the material aspects of mission work. The main object for missionary work, he said, was not to cater for material or social needs but rather for spiritual needs, "Much good work is being done by missionaries in education and health-care etc. but they seem to forget that all this is subordinate to the salvation of the souls." Apart from an obvious association to the Lutheran concept of the two kingdoms, his declaration is to be placed in context which expresses itself in his close relations to NMS missionaries and their emphasis on spreading the "Word" alone. But it was as a champion of Tottie's theology that Kempe most clearly emerged. The missionary, he said, "should not appear as a social reformer or trying to abolish all
anomalies and introduce new regulations in accordance to his own way of thinking, but rather concentrate on preaching the gospel and awaken the faith in the hearts of the heathen.” The social benefits were to come, not as the Europeans might have planned, but rather ”according to God’s plans with the heathen peoples.”

He cautioned against the young, inexperienced missionaries who were inclined, ”to condemn the heathen customs before they had understood their real origin and meaning.”

His attitude was remarkably respectful of African culture:

It is not at all likely or not even plausible that it is in accordance with His plan that these peoples should be totally changed in accordance with the pattern of European civilisation. To the contrary it is probable that when they convert, [they] will mould our civilisation and some of our forms of Christianity, independently in coherence with their individual talents.

Kempe’s lecture of 1905 must be seen as clearly inspired by Tottie’s principles, close to his ideas of a national and ethnic folk church as propagated in his Evangelistik which had been taught in the practical-theological discipline when Kempe was a student in Uppsala. But it is also to be seen as an admonition directed at one of the recently arrived missionaries, Josef Sandström, who not only had quite definite ideas about relations between Zulu and Europeans but whom Kempe also had entrusted with the most recently co-opted African Christian congregation at Ceza, yet under the able leadership of its founder, evangelist Stefan Mavundhla (Chapter six).

The CSM and the Land-Issue

In comparison to the older mission organisations, such as the American, the NMS and the HMS, which in their agreements with the colonial government had been granted vast tracts of land on the mission reserves, CSM is to be compared to the later arrived Trappists who for their establishment depended on purchased land. But in comparison to the Trappists with their network of financial supporters throughout German-speaking central Europe, CSM was less fortunate in having to rely on supporters in an only recently industrialising and comparatively still rather poor Sweden. Hence, while both NMS and HMS had either similarly poor constituencies and nit highly developed mission-supporting circles on which to draw resources in their home countries, they had been early enough to achieve land for settlement through other means. Among the Lutherans this was a most important material divergence, disadvantageous to the late coming CSM.

It was in the north of Natal, close to Rorke’s Drift along the Mzinyathi river, in the southern part of the Dundee division where the CSM, having been advised by Schreuder,
gained its first foothold. In 1878 CSM purchased the farm "Mchjeane", previously owned by the Irish trader, store keeper and "border agent" James Rorke. Among Africans, the whole region is commonly known as eShiane (the Little Eyebrow) after the mountain which marks a characteristic silhouette on the Natal side of the river. The Swedish missionaries named their mission station Oscarsberg, in honour of the Swedish king and in memory of the first apostle to Sweden, St. Ansgar. Having returned after the turbulence of the 1879 Anglo-Zulu War, the CSM missionaries extended their land holding in the region when they in 1881 purchased the nearby Amoibie tobacco farm, owned by the local police captain, and in 1883 the neighbouring Salebo estate. All in all the farmland held by the CSM in the region totalled some 5,000 acres. The area must be considered a substantial acreage when compared to an average size European-owned farms in the first decade of the twentieth century which amounted to between 2,000 and 3,000 acres. Also in comparison with the neighbouring mission farm the HMS Elandskraal farm at the Nazareth mission station with its some 2,000 acres, the CSM Oscarsberg farmland was more than twice that size. The CSM-owned farm land in the Oscarsberg region was in this respect more equivalent to some of the smaller mission reserves which amounted to some 5,000 acres, but not as large as the Methodist-owned property at Edendale farm land with its 6,000 acres. The Edendale property was not only considered to be a very large farm, but it was also looked upon as consisting of some of the best and fertile soils and, most important, it was located in the close vicinity to the Pietermaritzburg market. Conversely, the lands on which the Oscarsberg farms were located were not only considered to be comparatively poor, mainly consisting of grass veld, by whites used for stock farming, but they were also far away from major markets. However, seen in the light of the particular region in which they were located, the importance of the CSM-owned lands must not be underestimated. It was in a region in which the black inhabitants were particularly hard pressed to obtain grazing lands as there were no African reserves in the neighbourhood and virtually all fertile land had been turned into white farms, largely owned by Boer or German settlers. Consequently, most people were labour tenants, obliged to resort to unfavourable and less independent living conditions. Without any competition from people on African reserves, white landlords imposed particularly high demands on their tenants who had to supply labour in lieu of rent, often at very short notice. This implied, as illustrated (Chapter two), that they by their landowners were bound to the land most of the year and to a great extent were unable to do part-time work elsewhere. The CSM lands did, however, provide one of the few alternatives available in the region. But the value of the CSM lands is also to be seen in regard to the close location to the border to Zululand, adjacent to the wade at Rorke's Drift, and in regard to the many refugees who during the Zululand civil war crossed the Mzinyathi to find shelter in Natal. Instead of men and boys among the refugees, being forced to live on various white-owned farms, the CSM mission land provided
one of the few opportunities available to prevent families from being scattered.\textsuperscript{118} It is in this context the attraction of the CSM farm lands is to be valued.

In 1886 CSM purchased its second farm, Appelsbosch, at the foot of the Great Noodsberg in the fertile region commonly referred to as the Natal Midlands. In the 1890s an additional, smaller farm, Ecameni, and a piece of Crown land, Ifaye, were included, altogether amounting to some 2,600 acres.\textsuperscript{119} To Ljungquist, hoping to reach into the large and densely populated Inanda and Umvoti reserves, the location of the Appelsbosch farm was strategically excellent, edging the reserves along three sides. When he first arrived on the farm, he was surprised by the enthusiastic reception he encountered by the local population. The desire for education was apparent but as he soon was to discover, their hunger for land was more profound. The people who greeted him thought that he like other missionaries wished to be surrounded with as many people as possible. They hoped that they like the residents at a neighbouring American Zulu Mission could settle as tenants on the mission farm.\textsuperscript{120}

Certainly the Appelsbosch farm lands were more fertile than those in the neighbouring reserves and in comparison to conditions in the Oscarsberg region the situation was quite the opposite. On the European-owned farms to the west of the Appelsbosch farm labour tenant conditions were similar to those further north.\textsuperscript{121} There was however one important exception: the close vicinity of the reserves to the east with a number of independent African producers was different. Also in other respects the people living on the reserves seem to have been far more independent than those living in the Oscarsberg region. Many of them, when looking for wages to overcome poverty, apparently refused to become labour tenants on the nearby white-owned farms. Magistrates’ reports gave voice to the white landowners’ constant complaints over the lack of agricultural labour, in spite of the nearness of the large reserves to the east. "Farmers with no tenants can get no labour to work for them,” one magistrate said. During the war some Africans chose to work for the police or the military in Johannesburg. Others migrated to find work elsewhere, e.g. in nearby towns.\textsuperscript{122} But people on the reserves remained independent also of the missionaries. In terms of religion and culture the chiefs seem to have controlled their people while conversions to Christianity were still rare in the reserves.\textsuperscript{123} Etherington’s statement on the situation in the reserves "where land was free and there were no material incentives to tempt outsiders, were the last place to look for converts."\textsuperscript{124} seems valid also for the Appelsbosch region in the early twentieth century although there were differences between the southern Inanda area and the northern Umvoti. The general competitiveness of the reserves was also mirrored in the CSM land-buying strategy. At Appelsbosch where Africans did not need to settle on mission land, the CSM farm was considerably smaller than at Oscarsberg. A substantial amount of the Appelsbosch acreage was furthermore planted with wattle trees\textsuperscript{125} of little use to aspirant converts and indicating the limited use of land as a means of effecting conversion.\textsuperscript{126}
By the last decades of the nineteenth century, all attempts by CSM to settle in Zululand proper had failed, while the consent of local chiefs was required for the establishment of new mission stations. But after the civil war in 1879-1884 and the partition of the country between the British and Boers, Zulu history took a new turn. The colonial authorities in Natal and armed Boers in the north demanded radical changes in the Zulu way of life. The unity and self-sufficiency which had existed before 1879 was now gone, the people became materially weak, social chaos and political fragmentation developed. This is the context in which the CSM eventually reached its original goal to enter into Zululand. But it was only possible after the purchase of a farm in the "Proviso B" intersection of the Emtonjaneni district in which Boers had been given property rights when British Zululand was established in 1887. At the close of that year, the CSM missionaries purchased a farm which was named Ekutuleni. The area was regarded as most promising, mainly because of its close proximity to the populous Mhlatuze river valley in the south. The farm amounted to 3,400 acres, and later an additional 180 acres of land were bought at nearby Empini. Among the Lutherans CSM was a latecomer in Zululand. Its only foothold in this southern-central part of the country can by no means be compared to the many and widely spread mission stations long earlier established by the NMS and the HMS. Although the CSM farm was located in one of the most fertile regions of Zululand, during the 1890s it does not seem to have been of major importance in attracting converts in any large numbers. Its only significance was that among the few who converted to the Christian faith, an unusual proportion were males. In the years before the Zululand delimitation when most of the country yet was made up of Crown land, people remained in the homestead mode of production, and to many of them there were few reasons for change in financial or religious terms. The comparatively little attraction of the CSM farm was also due to particularly local conditions. Of the older generation of CSM missionaries, Fristedt was a most candid admirer of the Boers as well as of their treatment of the Zulu. To the people living in the region the white landlord at Ekutuleni probably differed very little from the other farmers in the "Proviso B". Seen in the light of long-standing Boer and Zulu tensions, as described by missionary Nils Astrup of the neighbouring CNM, Fristedt's attitudes were in this respect hardly advantageous. The limited CSM success was furthermore, as claimed by CSM narrators, due to the harsh and determined resistance against Christianity on the part of the most respected chief in the region, Sitheku. Only in one respect was the CSM in a decidedly advantageous position. In the early years of the new century when the Norwegian missionaries with increased concern watched the Natal government's far reaching ambitions for Zululand, the Swedes were from a comfortably safeguarded position able to observe and even appreciate the new prospects. Already in 1901, by reaching out either from Oscarsberg across the Mzinyathi or from Ekutuleni northwards, CSM had begun an energetic search for new mission fields in Zululand. The government's plans to open up more land for white settlement was in this respect most
appreciated and they had great expectations in establishing mission stations in regions which were populous and where land was much cheaper than in Natal.¹³⁸

Among the missions in Natal and Zululand, the CSM was thus, with its total amount of some 11,000 acres among the smaller landholders. In comparison with the early established or wealthier churches and missions it had largely been confined to purchase land where this could be afforded and available. Nevertheless, in similarity to the other missions and churches also the CSM agents became landlords and like most western missionaries none of the Swedes seem to have considered in any detail what their landowning implied as far as Africans were implied. As the availability of fertile lands in the years around the turn of the century radically diminished in Natal, the value as well as the attraction of mission lands increased, particularly among the rapidly growing, gradually impoverished and increasingly landless African population. As far as CSM owned land was concerned this was most evident in the white-dominated Oscarsberg region. In 1902 Hallendorff had every reason to express his great satisfaction over the CSM land-purchasing policy which had resulted in ownership "of quite substantial proportions". In the future, he said, this would prove beneficial.¹³⁹

Access to land was consciously used by CSM for evangelistic purposes. When CSM in 1881 bought the Amoibie farm, affiliated to Oscarsberg, about 30 tenants lived there of whom all were non-Christians. Initially, conversion seems not to have been required to remain on the land, and five years after the acquisition all tenants apparently remained indifferent to Christianity. By the missionaries Amoibie was considered a particularly stony ground.¹⁴⁰ However, as the years went by, missionary tolerance decreased. Relevant source material is scarce but by the turn of the century a large number of the resisters had been evicted and replaced by others, more alert to the new religion. Not surprisingly, the group of those who had managed to endure were reported to be as hostile as ever.¹⁴¹ In subsequent years there was a further constriction of religious tolerance and by 1908 although no explicit regulations had been made, polygynous men were not allowed to remain on the CSM mission farm. In that year three families were evicted because their homestead-heads had taken a second wife, and a fourth had to leave because one widow had followed the custom of marrying her deceased husband’s brother.¹⁴² By 1913 when still no explicit rules had been made, it was understood that no African man was allowed to take a second wife. Also no beer gatherings were permitted and all children who resided on the farm were expected to attend the school at Oscarsberg.¹⁴³ In the Oscarsberg region where there were few alternatives but labour tenancy or migration to Zululand, such regulations were particularly demanding. There was, however, one exception in the region. There was some land at nearby kwaJobe which by the turn of the century was owned by absent landowners, and where people who lived as rent tenants still remained comparatively independent from both landlords and missionaries. Some of the so-called "squatters"
at kwaJobe, as reported by missionary Liljestrand, were quite prosperous as they owned "rich and large" homesteads, "closely built with numerous family members" in each homestead. For many years, he said, they had successfully resisted all attempts to introduce Christianity among them.\(^{144}\)

The hierarchy created at each mission station, with subordinate servants and tenants living on the farm, was also taken for granted. The missionary was in charge of the mission station, a microcosm. As the head of the mission station's focal point, the church, he assumed a role similar to that of "father" or, as in Ljungquist's case, a position comparable to that of a chief. He decided who was to be admitted on the farm and as the ultimate interpreter of the moral codex he was also the judge. Because of their land holdings the missionaries also assumed a large secular authority, and on each mission farm the missionary-in-charge was obliged to collect rents from the tenants. Because the government required him also to collect the annual hut taxes, he came to assume the role of a local government representative, in equivalence to that of a chief in the reserves. On the large Oscarsberg farm where Hallendorff was the collector, the obligations were explained in a letter to Hogner. Essentially, he said, the rents and the taxes were a blessing to the people living on the farm, because "to obtain the money for the taxes they are forced to work and they are less taxed than before when they lived under their own kings who could confiscate their land, themselves and their belongings."\(^{145}\)

Hence, in spite of limited source material, some patterns in current conditions are visible. Independence in the economic domain as well as in the cultural and religious fields seem to have been obstacles to the missionaries in winning converts. First and foremost land was instrumental in drawing landless people to the stations. Where other land was available to them, their interest in mission stations was weak. Tenant conditions contributed to this pattern, as labour tenants with less independence were more inclined to come to the mission or to call themselves Christians. But people who still lived on land as rent tenants and enjoyed greater freedom were less inclined to conversion. The more established and unshakeable pre-capitalist society was, the more difficult was it for missionaries to win converts. Therefore the assumption made by Kistner seems valid, namely that missionaries could establish themselves only where tribal loyalties were undermined by warfare, or where land was occupied by white settlers through subjugation of blacks and their employment as wage labourers through annexation and labour legislation.\(^{146}\) It is in this context the unreasonable attacks on chiefs by missionaries residing near the reserves — such as Ljungquist's — is to be understood (below, Chapter six). This is also the context in which missionary Hallendorff's comment is to be understood when — after years of severe droughts and other catastrophes — an unusually rich harvest in 1901, by him, disillusioned and fatigue by the little success in the Umvoti reserve, was seen as problematic. Instead of people drawing closer to
Christianity, he said, the people turned to drinking, fighting and a great deal of criticism and hostility against Christianity.\textsuperscript{147}

**The CSM and the Issues of Polygyny and *Lobolo***

As recalled from the chapters above, the institution of polygyny was an indispensable component of the women-cattle-labour power cycle in Nguni-Zulu pre-capitalist society. During a large part of the nineteenth century as it equally may be recalled, polygyny (and thereby the viability of the homestead mode of production) was constantly attacked by Natal settlers because it withheld the black labour they believed they were entitled to have. As a result of the alienation of land, taxation and legislation the number of polygynous marriages gradually declined. By the turn of the century merely some twenty per cent of the men had more than one wife. Parallel to this, all Natal and Zululand churches and missions, with the exception of Colenso, had unanimously condemned the custom and, with the exception of the Anglican SPG, outlawed it among their converts. In this respect Lutherans such as Schreuder and the Herrmansburg missionaries hardly differed. In spite of their reliance on Luther’s teachings, spelled out in the concept of the two kingdoms, in spite of their respect for the vernacular and "natural" society and their belief in the "Word" alone to suffice for conversion and their developed objective of folk Christianisation - theological and ideological motivations had proven to be light weighted.

Apart from racial and sexual prejudices involved, the missionary onslaught on polygyny included two aspects: in regard to the already converted, and to pre-capitalist society at large where it was seen as an obstacle to conversion. It is probable that most missions experienced few problems with polygyny in the early days when their male adherents were few, young or not wealthy enough to take a second wife. The Americans' Umzinduzi rules of 1879 are thus to be related to the maturing of its first generation converts while the hardened attitudes of NMS missionaries after 1879, and the turn of the century reinforced attempts by the Natal Missionary Conference to have polygyny outlawed, is a tightening up of Christian demands.

When the issue in 1899 was given attention to the local CSM, it was regarded as the result of a similar "maturing" of its congregations, only beginning to be established in the early 1880s,\textsuperscript{148} or as inspired by the intensified campaign by the Natal Missionary Conference. This was, however, not the case. The general impression is rather that there were comparatively few incidents when polygynists were expelled from CSM congregations,\textsuperscript{149} basically due to one simple reason: as was the case among Anglicans the CSM raised no objections to receiving wives of polygynists into the church. And we note that the overwhelming majority of its church members were women while the number of men seem to have been very small, indeed, in certain regions
Similarly, in line with CSM missionaries reliance on the Lutheran concepts of the two kingdoms, an active support for state intervention on the issue of polygyni is less plausible. In this respect there were two major reasons why the issue of polygyni in 1899 was brought up on the CSM agenda. One was the experience of missionaries who resided close to the African reserves in the Natal Midlands where women began to show an interest in Christianity while polygynous husbands and aspirant young men seemed unreachable. To missionaries such as Ljungquist and Hallendorff, there was a pressing need for some solution on the issue. In keeping with missionary colleagues of other societies, with Stavem of the NMS as an example, they probably believed that if only polygyny was accepted, the number of converts would increase substantially. Also other CSM missionaries recognised the problem and in accordance with this was the proposed outreach to male migrant labourers at Johannesburg. The second was a dependence on Luther’s teachings, the heritage in the Swedish territorial folk church and Tottie’s idea of an inclusively defined folk church on the mission field.

The prohibition against admitting polygynists into the congregations was first challenged and thoroughly discussed at the 1899 CSM Missionary Conference at Dundee. The issue was placed on the agenda as a result of missionary experiences in the field and, Furberg claims, because of the discrepancy perceived between Tottie’s mission theology and the dominant missionary practice in South Africa. Three missionaries, Ljungquist, Liljestrand and Hallendorff, argued for a renewed approach towards polygynists who, they claimed, under certain circumstances could be included in the congregations. Parallels were drawn to cases in the early church concerning slavery with a particular reference to St. Paul’s letter to Timothy. The three also referred to the teachings of Luther, “The Lutheran Church has always maintained the free principles of Paul during such stages of development; in contrast to the Reformed [churches] it has always claimed that one should not banish everything without considering prevailing traditions [even though they] may be of a most complicated… nature.” The German Leipzig mission in South India was referred to in regard to its stance in the caste-issue which, they claimed, was the relevant example for Lutheran missions to follow. They also draw attention to Bishop Colenso as well as the Moravian mission which was regarded as exemplary. Admitting the generally different practice among missions in South Africa, they claimed that this should not prevent CSM from following its own heritage and principles. In addition they also brought forward the dilemmas commonly encountered on the mission field, particularly the severe social consequences that the divorced wives and their children were exposed to.

The three missionaries were met with counter arguments from the other missionaries present, i.e. Fristedt, Wahlberg, Kempe and the two brothers Norrenius. Their argument was that polygyni could not be compared to caste. Polygyni was a more crucial
violation of central doctrines in Christianity and was adverse to teaching, commonly held to be included in the Christian faith. Indeed, God himself was referred to as He who had created only one man and one woman. It was asserted that also from God’s point of view polygynia was to be denounced. Even a limited acceptance of polygynia would narrow the gap between the old, heathen life and the new life. This, they said, would endanger the whole idea of the Christian Home while it, echoing Schreuder’s argument, would lead the converts back to polygynia and heathenism. The most powerful of their arguments was their assertion that even a limited acceptance of polygynia would severely endanger relations to the mission’s financial supporters in Sweden. The discussion was obviously both intense and emotional. At the end of the day a consensus was reached in so far as it was considered necessary to first solicit advice from other Lutheran missions before any further steps were taken. But it was agreed that the common Lutheran position would be weakened in a region already dominated by Reformed churches. Later that year also the Home Board emphasised the joint Lutheran aspect and authorised the standpoint held by the missionary majority. Among the Board members Danell urged the missionaries to further elaborate on the issue with the purpose of finding a solution where polygynists in certain cases could be admitted as church members.

It is evident that the great strains involved among the missionaries were not solved in the course of the 1899 Conference; Within five years the issue was raised again when the missionaries in 1904 met at a conference in association to the visit by Danell. Due to his academic standing and his experience as the former secretary of the Home Board, Danell was not only a most prominent Home Board member, but also the evident link to the Tottie-tradition. Obviously, the dissidents expected much from his presence. Again the Lutheran standpoint was forwarded, as was the negative social consequences for both polygynists and their families. Apparently missionary attitudes were still divergent. Hallendorff’s dissenting attitude came through when he gave a summary of the conference proceedings in an article in the CSM periodical. In a lengthy report of the arguments against the established practice, he refuted the need for polygynists to divorce all but one wife, thereby bringing about a situation in which children and wives would live without support. Polygynists were to be admitted into the congregations but be informed that they were members of a lower standing. Certainly, he assured his readers, polygyny would remain a stigma also in the future. But in due time, he said, and in keeping with Tottie’s reasoning, the Christian spirit would transform the minds of its followers and polygyny would naturally fade away.

In his comments to the minutes of the 1904 Conference, Danell expressed his own position on the issue. For his own part, he said, he had increasingly become convinced of the violation of the Lutheran teachings when polygynists were refused admittance into the congregations. This had become painfully evident when he during his visit
had been asked to baptise two wives while their equally willing husband had to remain a spectator. While the general practice in South Africa was Reformed and not Lutheran, he noted, and while a CSM deviation from practice would cause tensions with other missions, not least with the other Lutherans, the CSM position was to be advanced carefully. The CSM missionaries were to raise the issue at conferences with other missions so that the problem could be considered against the background of local conditions of the Zulu people and new practices be introduced in due time.160

It was probably Danell’s strategy of festina lente which came to influence the ultimate decision at the conference. In spite of their arguments based on principle and the presence of Danell, the three dissenters were again voted down by the missionary majority who decided to adhere to conventional practice. Only if other missions first changed their policies, would the CSM reconsider its position. Hence, after the major conflict of 1904, in spite of the arguments of the dissenting minority, Lutheran heritage and Tottian principles, also the CSM accepted procedures in line with other South African missions.161 With the determined stance of the CSM missionary majority and the character of their arguments against polygyny, the issue removed from the agenda for long.

Lobolo was far less controversial. The pioneering CSM missionary Witt had joined forces with the Reformed churches in trying to abolish lobolo among the Oscarsberg converts. But due to their stiff resistance his efforts were not at all successful. "Their daughters were ‘their food’," they argued, and "why should they for each and every daughter of marriageable age give up the ten or eleven head of cattle that they were entitled to according to Natal legislation and traditional custom?" To this argument Witt had to yield.162 Individual missionaries continued to speak against lobolo and tried to have it abolished among their converts. Among them was Fristedt at Eku茶en who in 1901 complained that there still were parents who not yet had ceased practising the custom.163 As was the case with many of their contemporary colleagues, there are few indications that CSM missionaries had come to understand the full ramifications of the lobolo-system and to what extent it actually was valued by all segments of Nguni-Zulu society.164 Also in the missionaries’ reports the lobolo may be described as "the selling and buying of girls". Such ignorance as well as a determined self-consciousness on the part of young converts is revealed in a report by the female missionary-teacher Beda Wennerquist. When confronting one of her pupils about this "horrible custom", the girl quite aptly replied, "Why would that be difficult? Why would they have us for nothing? We Christians are not of less value than the heathen girls." But as she assured the mission supporters at home, some of her older pupils had at least begun to question the custom.165 At large, statements such as those of Fristedt and Wennerquist were however not common among CSM missionaries. Lobolo was far less controversial than polygyny and generally it seem to have been tolerated within the CSM. In 1906, in a reply to the questions posed in a circular issued by the Missionary
Conference of South Africa Commission on Church Discipline, J. E. Norenius stated the CSM official position in this and other issues. In regard to polygyny, he said, CSM was not prepared to advocate a departure from the way commonly practised among most missions. But with lobolo, he spelled out, it was first a matter of distinguishing between abuse and custom. CSM was only concerned about countering the abuses. And, he added in a Tottian manner, then let the custom disappear gradually under the influences of Christian instruction. In similar fashion it would be a mistake to try to make total abstinence of "kaffir beer" and "swell drinks" a condition for membership.166

In concluding this section it may be noted that, in spite of nearly unanimous condemnation by other missionary societies, there were opinions in CSM for allowing polygynists into its congregations. In contrast to Schreuder and the HMS missionaries with whom they shared major themes of Lutheran theology, the essential theological impetus in the reformers' teachings initiative may only with difficulty be understood without referring to the influence of Tottie's theology. The standardised or culturally inclusive territorial folk church, an imagined Gemeinschaft within Gesellschaft, could hardly be envisaged as long as the males were excluded from membership. This understanding is most plausible in regard to Hallendorff, Tottie's former student in Uppsala and one of his more enthusiastic adherents in South Africa. Although Ljungquist belonged to the older generation of missionaries who had entered the field in the pre-Tottie years, both his staunch Lutheranism which led him to view other denominations with great scepticism,167 and his later influence by Tottie, had probably reinforced his stance in the polygyny debate. Similarly Liljestrand's appreciative understanding of African life and customs, makes his position intelligible. J. E. Norenius' emphasised distinctions between western civilisation and African "heathen" customs accounts for his stance on the issue and may as well point at his assumptions later to be expressed in his 1924-25 history of the CSM.168 Kempe's position is more difficult to understand in the light of his otherwise seemingly general adherence to Tottie's teachings. To some extent it may be seen in his affinity to the NMS missionaries in Zululand and Fristedt's continuous influence, his predecessor and resident former superior at Ekutuleni, and who was one of his few allies in the Zululand-cause.169

In regard to the final decision at the 1904 Conference it may be assumed that the pressure, arising from Western moral precepts and economic forces, was too strong for the majority of the CSM missionaries to dare implement their principles (i.e. foremost the two Tottie-educated missionaries Kempe and J. E. Norenius). Hence Etherington's conclusion, albeit referring to an earlier period of Natal and Zululand mission history, seems valid also for the CSM, "The wonder was that the diversity of national origin and theological opinion represented among the missionaries made so small an impact on the pattern of mission station life."170 In the case of the CSM this assertion needs
to be qualified. Unlike the churches and missions with a double mandate, ministering to whites and for their economic strength dependent on their white congregations in South Africa, this was not so with the CSM which in economic terms was entirely dependent on its mission supporters at home. Therefore it was probably an issue of known or expected racial prejudices among its home-supporters and of a potential endangering of the economic grants from Sweden. Several of the CSM missionaries had more or less migrated to South Africa where most of them (and their children) came to live their lives and die of old age and as citizens of their new mother country. It was inevitable that they increasingly began to feel at home also among whites. In this respect Etherington may be referred to. Over the years, he states, denominational distinctions were gradually blurred because of local conditions and "the subtle chemistry of racial prejudice worked noticeable changes upon missionary attitudes. The colour line became a nearly universal characteristic of Christianity in Natal. In the long run the similarities among missionary operations heavily outweighed the differences."  

Mindful of the underlying and fundamental link between social institutions and material conditions in pre-capitalist society, the question one may ask is whether the missionaries were able to understand the implications of their assault on polygyny and lobolo. Some of them at times made sincere efforts to reach a broader understanding of African society beyond merely demonstrating the ever-present need for conversion. Among these were contributions foremost from Hallendorf and Liljestrand. Such narratives were however quite rare and it may be equally true that they were not expected to have been appreciated, either by Hogner or the mission supporters at home. In addition most of them were occupied with their daily duties at the mission station which did not allow any further elaboration. Ljungquist restricted himself to saying that polygyny was fundamentally implanted in African society and family life. In his history of the CSM in South Africa Norenius writes a lengthy paragraph on polygyny in which he affirms that marriage among Africans chiefly was a practical arrangement. The esteem and reputation of the homestead-head was augmented by having many wives, he claimed. Any comments on more profound economic implications on polygyny in society are absent. In one respect he was fully convinced: Christianity and civilisation were on the winning side. Polygyny was declining and the main reason for this was "foremost the growing influence of Christianity that undermines and prepares its fall." But as he also noted, the development was definitively aided by the changed economic realities and the advance of civilisation.  

The CSM education  

In the early years of the century the CSM had some 1,500 students at its various schools, i.e. station schools and outstation schools. The curriculum for their primary education was not very different from other the missions, like the German or the American. Also
the CSM struggled to keep Zulu the language of instruction despite the government's demands for more English. But the changed regulations of 1904, demanding more stringent qualifications for head teachers proved a challenge. The new demands resulted in a drop of forty schools and nearly 2,000 pupils. The CSM response to the new regulations proved that the Swedish women teachers were rather poor in mastering the foreign English language, but it also indicated how closely the missionary vocation was focused on the Zulu. "By no means" missionary Wennerquist said, "have I left my fatherland and all my dear ones to instruct the Zulu children in the reading and writing of English." Hallendorff went even further when he questioned whether the mission at all was to accept the government's grant-in-aid, thereby contributing in the suppression of the Zulu language.

Whether the CSM teachers after all came to consider the government's grant as indispensable or not, they successively began to use English in their schools and the new standard of examination was finally accepted by the CSM. From January 1904 the new language of instruction was used. In areas near the large reserves of Natal and in Zululand parents still preferred to keep their children at home or at work, contributing to the family's subsistence. Kempe wrote: "they often think they do the missionary a great service if they let their children attend, even Christian parents. They often find various excuses to avoid sending their children. One has to foster the parents so that they realise the usefulness of having their children at school." But in Natal most parents seem to have appreciated the new rules already from the beginning, probably for the same reasons as in the neighbouring American mission where it was noted that: "if English is shut out of our central school, it will in the estimation of the natives lose its chief attraction and occupy a subordinate position." The missionaries were well aware of those parents' judging schools in relation to the reports that were presented by the government's inspectors and knew, as it was stated by the CSM conference of 1904, that if the standard of secular subjects was lowered, the schools would lose their reputation. These attitudes mirror a steep rise in educational wants by African Christians at the turn of the century. Nothing distinguished the African Christians so clearly from the heathen as their hunger for education. This had been noted also among CSM missionaries and this drive for education among African Christian parents began already on the level of the out-station school. They were eager to send their children further to the station school or to the boarding homes at the mission stations. Many Africans were beginning to realise that the education and knowledge, offered by the missionaries, also was the key to advance as it gave an easier access to the market and a place in the new industrial society. Education also became a key element in the self identification of an aspirant petty bourgeoisie and the principle means to breach the citadel of white privilege. As education resulted in better paid jobs it later also became one of the major demands in the African Nationalist agitation.
To a certain extent the CSM missionaries tried to preserve African customs amongst their converts. In contrast to what commonly was the case among other missions, both at Appelsbosch and at Oscarsberg the missionaries in charge tried to persuade their baptismal candidates to keep their Zulu personal names. In the more important issue of Western clothing, which required a certain amount of cash, the CSM hardly differed from most others. It normally did not take long from the time when people attended their first Christian lesson until they began to wear a Western dress, which similarly was mandatory before entering the CSM church. The most apparent difference between the NMS and the CSM was however the Swedish missionaries’ determined emphasis on the dignity of labour. In this issue, the demarcation line between Tottie’s station strategy and the NMS reliance on the "Word" alone was most clear.

The CSM, the South African War and the Attitudes Towards the Natal Settler Government

Taking issue with the assumption that also Swedish missionaries generally sided with the Boers during the South African War, Furberg has shown that at least among the missionaries at Oscarsberg, targeted by the Boer invasion, there was a clear pro-British stance. Because of the information they conveyed to Swedish daily papers there were able to provide different views than those held by the Swedish general opinion. In the light of a generally more determined pro-British among Norwegian missionaries, however, this was not as evident within the CSM where several of the missionaries expressed their admiration of the Boers.

In relation to the Natal government and its settler constituency the most frequent CSM missionary attitudes voiced in the years before 1906 were those which concerned their and the evangelists’ at times rather tense relationships to the chiefs in the reserves. Among them Ljungquist was particularly harsh in his attacks on local chiefs whom he claimed to be the major enemies to his and his evangelists’ evangelisation efforts. Indirectly and sometimes directly this was naturally a criticism of those whom he considered to support the chiefs, the local officials of the Natal government and ultimately the members of the government with their seemingly reinforced policy of indirect rule.

When the governor at a public meeting, according to Ljungquist, was said to have told the people to be faithful to Zulu law and traditions and not do anything that could offend the power and authority of the chiefs, this was, he claimed, a clear stance against Christian missions and particularly against Protestant mission societies with their zeal for literacy. For him conversion was necessarily linked to literacy, and literacy with the mission’s aims for the African peoples. Both he and other CSM missionaries reacted angrily to colonists’ frequent accusations that they were ”spoiling” Africans. To him the missionary was to be a mediator between Europeans and Africans. But
when the prime minister of Natal declared that it was not necessary for the Africans to learn reading and writing and when several deputies had stated that the salvation of the colony was in keeping the Africans "uncivilised", Ljungquist critically responded, "Their view will lead to slavery. If they say that the Zulu shall know their place and not act as masters, then we agree. But if they say that we shall support the government in keeping the Zulu ignorant, then there will be conflict with the mission." But when the missionaries spoke of civilisation it was with divergent interests. What they judged to be negative aspects of the civilisation process, particularly as forwarded by J. E. Norenius in Johannesburg, were condemned. At the same time they knew that the process could be utilised in the interest of the mission, particularly when it was aimed at chiefs. In this they found comfort in general economic and political developments. It was a good thing, Ljungquist claimed, that Africans who lived on white farms were under the control of a white farmer and that the chief's authority over those living in the locations was in decline, "These are the conditions of the time. The young men spend most time labouring in the cities or on the countryside, and then the chiefs have very little or no authority at all over them." Norenius registered the consequences of white political penetration of Natal thus, "In Natal, contact with whites and settled conditions under white rule have at least begun to demolish the power of heathenism."

Immediately before 1906 the results of the Lagden commission (1903-05) stimulated a discussion among white Natalians about admitting blacks to their society and their political system. Among the debaters was the Inspector of Native schools, Robert Plant, who in 1905 published The Zulu in Three Tenses. In his book he criticised the absence of a "sympathetic relationship of father to child" which, as he put it, had resulted in an impression that white settlers' relations to Africans mostly was based upon self-interest. The commission's favourable recognition of missionary work was of course well received in missionary circles in general. But it was Plant's book which become a source of inspiration also to some of the CSM missionaries at Oscarsberg, foremost Hallendorff and Posse. His chapter "Bad example", in which Plant criticised settler attitudes, was greeted by Hallendorff, who also translated large sections of it into Swedish for the LMT. Both Posse and Hallendorff sent the book to members of the Home Board. To Posse it was clear that both individual whites and their government needed to adapt to Plant's suggestions although few of them were by her expected to take reason. Already before 1906, the leading missionaries at Oscarsberg had thus politically sided with the more liberal whites, which probably too came too was of importance in the years to come.

But it is equally important to note that the Oscarsberg missionaries' disagreement with dominant settler opinions only was on the level of the white political debate, not implying any radical questioning of white supremacy. For the sustenance of their continued work, because of the large tracts of land they had attained, and in line with
their objects for the African population, they were far too involved in, and dependent on, the Western civilisation guaranteed by the colonial framework. This was most evident in the issue of taxation. Already the hut tax, which worked as an instrument to force Africans into the labour market and to counteract polygyny, CSM missionaries faced either with silence or, when it happened to gain their objectives of promoting Western civilisation, even with approval. But even if the CSM missionaries mostly refrained from directly criticising the government, their condemnation of white society at large and that society’s arrogance towards the African population was hard. From his Johannesburg outlook, J. E. Norenius denounced the negative effects of industrialisation on Africans. Among them it was however Kempe who was most frank in his attitudes towards white society and severely he criticised the exploitative character of the white settler community. By and large, however, most CSM missionaries seem to have comprehended their position in colonial society as intermediates between whites and blacks.

1The major missionary periodicals furthering articles by the CSM missionaries were the CSM periodical Svenska Kyrkans Missions Tidning(SKMT) and that of the Lund Missionary Society, Lunds Missionstidning(LMT). The missionaries also contributed in other CSM publications, among them the series of volumes Från Svenska Kyrkans Missionsfält and, beginning in 1906, the CSM yearbook Tillkomme Ditt Riket(TDR). Among the more enthusiastic authors was the missionary Josef Sandström. Beside a great number of articles in the SKMT and the LMT, between 1908 and 1944, at least ten monographs were published by him, occasionally in co-operation with his wife, Elisabeth Sandström(née Ahlman).

2Fristedt 1905, Hellgren 1919.
4Norenius 1924: 120-121.
5Norenius 1924: 182-183.
6Norenius 1925: 120, 125, 129-130.
7Norenius 1925: 151, 155-156.
8Norenius 1925: 3.
10Norenius 1925: 181-190, 252. Again, beginning in 1914, it was actually not until 1925 that the CSM missionary to Johannesburg was freed from the obligations associated with the Swedish diaspora congregation. Cf. Sundgren 1936: 106.
13Norenius 1924: 27 and 45.
14Norenius 1924: 28-30, 34, 44, 57.
15Norenius 1924: 17, Norenius 1925: 169.
16Norenius 1924: 18, 34, Norenius 1925: 121.
17Norenius 1924: 57, 120, 122, 124-125, 183.
18Norenius 1924: 58. Cf. similar attitudes voiced by him in an early article in SKMT 26 1900 11/12: 178-188.
20Stavem 1915.
22 On the comparatively few examples of generalised, pejorative descriptions of the Zulu and their religion, cf. Stavem 1915: 42 and 64.
23 A difference in personalities may of course too have played a role. While Norenius foremost was distinguished by his administrative and organisational skills, Stavem, apart from being an able leader of his mission, seems in comparison to Norenius to have been more of a learned academic intellectual, mastering a number of classic as well as contemporary languages. On Norenius cf. Sundgren 1936: 137, 142, 144 and 148 and for Stavem, cf. Myklebust 1949: 121-122.
27 Tottie 1892: 181.
30 Most clearly expressed by Irenaeus, Bishop of Lyons, in the late second century.
32 A question that may be raised by future scholars is of course if and to what extent Kent's Hegelian theology also included such evolutionist themes and how this related to the CNM, in contrast to the more pietistic or low-church NMS.
34 The termination of his periodisation is consequently marked by major decisions or agreements before 1901 reached between the Home Board and the missionaries. For South India 1901 makes the obvious bench mark when an deal was reached with the Leipzig mission. For South Africa he assumes "the years around the turn of the century" to be an "important transitional stage" although the end of the South African War had brought about politically more advantageous circumstances for a CSM expansion. Before this, two decisions were made concerning the development of a evangelists- and teachers-training school and a CSM expansion to Johannesburg and Zimbabwe. Cf. Furberg 1962: 406.
42 Hallström 1937: 158.
45 Hallendorff to Hogner 14.3.02, Md Korr. SA., 1901-1902, E 1 c: 2, SKMA.
46 Hallström 1937: 158.
48 On Fristedt(1846-1929), his upbringing and background in Västergötland cf. his autobiography, Fristedt 1905: 9.
51 On Fristedt's increasingly declining health cf. Kempe to Hogner 14.11.05, Md Korr. SA, E 1 c: 4, SKMA.
God's introduction of a spirit of weak mawkishness, which leaves very little, or nothing at all, to the fear of God, to discipline and admonition.” Ljungquist said: “False belief, disbelief and spiritual shattering has left deformed marks upon our people. In homes, schools and prisons 'the false liberalism' has come to stay. In 1920, Rev. Mrs. Mangcobo Ndlovu, Mrs. Hanna Ndlovu, Appelsbosch, MD. kgp., semi-fictitious and more popularly written narrative of his life and work, cf. Hallendorff 1983.

for a rather brief biography of his life cf. Oahlquist 1949: 179. For Hallendorff's autobiography of 1896, see Bi!. C, Staff, War Office, 1906, A 355. 4768 WAR, C.A.D.
78 Dahlquist 1949: 141.
79 Åmbetsberättelse för Oscarsbergs station med utstationer och predikoplatser avgiven i juli 1904 av K. Hallendorff, stationsföreståndare, in Inspektion av missionsfälten 1904: A II: 11 b, SKMA.
80 Hallendorff in SKMT 1902: 27: 8: 131-139 and Hallendorff to Hogner 24.5.04, Md. korr., SA., 1903-1904, E I c: 3, SKMA. Cf. Hallendorff to Hogner 6.5.03, Md. korr., SA., 1903-1904, E I c: 3, SKMA.
81 On the Kempe family cf. SBL vol. 21: 44.
82 Kempe’s autobiography in MS Prot. bil. 1894-1897, A II: 6, SKMA.
83 Hallström 1942: 154.
84 The more comprehensive of these is Hallström’s short contribution of 1942 while Hellgren’s of 1941 is more impressionistic in its character. The brief article by Dahlquist of 1949 is to a great extent based on Hallström’s work.
85 On Sithetu, see Chapter two, above, and on Fristedt’s encounter with him, cf. Chapter six, below.
88 Kempe to Hogner 30.12.03, Md. korr., SA., 1903-1904, E I c: 3, SKMA.
90 Hallström 1942: 160.
91 Kempe to Hogner 2.4.02, Md Korr. SA., 1901-1902, E I c: 2, SKMA and Kempe in SKMT 1905: 30 9-10: 143-150.
94 Liljestrand to Hogner 13.8.01, Md Korr. SA., 1901-1902, E I c: 2, L. P. Norenius to Hogner 31.7.01, Md Korr. SA., 1901-1902, E I c: 2, SKMA. See also Ljungquist to Ihrrnark, 4.7.07, Md Korr. SA., 1907-1908, E I c: 5, SKMA. For the long standing conflict of interests between the two mission fields and Kempe’s frustration and claim that the CSM was about to abandon its older obligation in Zululand in favour of the Zimbabwe-project, cf. Kempe to Ihrrnark, 6.2.08, Md korr. SA., 1907-1908, E I c: 5, SKMA.
95 Kempe to Hogner 12.1.01 and 20.11.01, Md Korr. SA., 1901-1902, E I c: 2, SKMA.
96 Because of her informal correspondence with Hogner’s wife, it happened that Posse received inside information on matters that were to be discussed at Home Board meetings which, in a case that concerned Hallendorff, he found extremely annoying. Cf. Hallendorff to Hogner 14.1.02, Md Korr. SA., 1901-1902, E I c: 2, SKMA.
99 On Posse’s enthusiasm for and willingness to fund an outreach to Zimbabwe already in the late 1890s, cf. Furberg 1962: 390. For her continued support of this project, cf. Posse to her sister Anna, 23.6.05, 4.7.05, and 31.7.08, Hedvig Posse’s samling, B, Brev till Anna Posse 1904-1912, /Brev till vitnen, Resespre­pondens, J. Tryck material, SKMA. On Liljestrand making common cause with Posse before Hogner and the Home Board in the propagation of the Zimbabwe outreach, cf. Liljestrand to Hogner 5.12.04, Md. korr., SA., 1903-1904, E I c: 3, SKMA.


101 Inspektion av missionsfältten 1904: A II: 11 b, SKMA
102 Kempe to Hogner 10.8.05, Md Korr. SA., 1905-1906, E I c: 4, SKMA.
103 Kempe to Hogner 12.1.01, Md Korr. SA., 1901-1902, E I c: 2, SKMA.
104 Kempe to Hogner 22.10.01, 20.11.01, Md Korr. SA., 1901-1902, E I c: 2, SKMA and the most informative Sivert Dahle, Diary for SA’spondens, J. Tryckt material, SKMT, 1949: 109, 170.

105 Kempe to Hogner 4.8.02. Md Korr. SA., 1901-1902, E I c: 2, SKMA.

106 Already since the late 1890s Kempe had been one of the most enthusiastic advocates of an extended cooperation with the Herrmansburg mission in this regard, cf. Furberg 1962: 400. Kempe to Hogner 4.8.02, 22.10.02, Md Korr. SA., 1901-1902, E I c: 2 and Kempe to Hogner 26.5.03, 24.10.03, Md. korr., SA., 1903-1904, E I c: 3, SKMA.

107 In the report from the 1905 Missionary conference in the CSM periodical SKMT, Kempe’s lecture was only mentioned in passing. Cf. Sandström in SKMT 30 1905 19: 303. While missionary lectures frequently were presented in the SKMT, it is probably significant of the strained relations to Hogner that Kempe’s article, when it eventually reached a wider audience, not appeared in the SKMT but rather in the more Lutheran-orthodox LMT, published in Lund, Uppsala’s southern “antipole”. LMT 60 1906: 2: 20-28.

108 Kempe in LMT 60 1906: 2: 22.
109 Kempe in LMT 60 1906: 2: 27.
110 Kempe in LMT 60 1906: 2: 22.
111 Furberg 1962: 382.
112 On the HMS, cf. Hasselhorn 1988: 49, see above, Chapter three.

113 According to Morris, James Rorke was typical of the early settlers. Born in 1827 in the Cape Colony he arrived to Natal as a civilian attached to the commissariat in what Morris calls the “Seventh Kaffir War” of 1846. Then he drifted upcountry and settled on the Natal side of the Mzinyathi. It was Rorke’s initiative the river banks were knocked down to make a proper ford, hence the name Rorke’s Drift. While Africans had difficulties to pronounce the name “Rorke”, the ford was commonly referred to as kwalimu. Morris 1989: 167-168.

114 Although, as reminded by Marks, farms of 4,000 to 5,000 acres were not exceptional. Marks 1970: 120. On the CSM ownership of land, cf. Norenius 1924: 74, 84, 104, Fristedt in SKMT 33 1908: 15-16: 256-259, Visitation Oscarsberg 1913 in Sydafrika. (Fältarkivet) Konferensöfränders visitationer, Protokoll, A II: 1 a-f, SKMA.

117 Maynard Matthews, Page A32, Natal Blue Book on Native Affairs, 1902.
118 Magwaza in SKMT 24 1899 13-14: 227. Cf. Chapter six and seven, below.
119 The name “Appelsbosch”, the Dutch word for Applewood, was not the name used by the Nguni living in the region. To them the area and the congregations that grew up around the mission station instead became known as eSwidi (after amaSwidi, the Swedish people), by which it is still commonly known today. Visitation Appelsbosch 1912 in Sydafrika. (Fältarkivet) Konferensöfränders visitationer, Protokoll, A II: 1 a-f, SKMA. Cf. Norenius 1924: 110 and Ljungquist in TDR 4 1909: 60.
111 Norenius 1924: 111.
121 Thomas Maxwell, Magistrate. New Hanover division, page 54, Blue Book on Native Affairs, 1904.

123 Concerning the northern part of the mission field in the Umvoti reserve: see Hallendorff in LMT 56 1902: 4: 63. On the same reserve but further south, Karlsgren 1909: 160, and on the background of the congregation at Appelsbosch cf. Ljungquist in SKMT 29 1904: 3-7, and others on difficulties for missionary work in the reserves east of Appelsbosch, see below: "The CSM and African authorities"

124 Etherington 1978: 37

125 For a statistics of the collection of wattle bark at Appelsbosch, begun in 1899, cf. Ljungquist to Ihrmark 16.5.07, in Md Korr SA 1907-1908, E I c: 5, SKMA.

126 Although it did happen that converts moved in from the reserves to avoid the isibalo, the forced labour system, cf. Ljungquist in SKMT 30 1905: 20: 314-320 and Ljungquist to Hogner 24.3.04, Md Korr., SA., 1903-1904, E I c: 3, SKMA.

127 Norenius 1924: 106


129 The farm was located in the "Proviso B" district, by the British excluded from the Boer New Republic, where whites had been given property rights. Guy 1982: 235. These rights were later confirmed as open to white settlement by the Zululand Delimitation commission in 1902-04, Marks 1970: 411.


131 Norenius 1924: 107, 167.

132 For a history of developments at Ekutuleni up to and including 1916, see Visitation Ekutuleni och Bivela 1916, in Sydafrika. (Fältarkivet) Konferensordförandens visitationer, Protokoll, A II: 1, SKMA.


134 Above, Chapter three.

135 Cf. above, Chapter two and, below, Chapter six.

136 Above, Chapter three.

137 Kempe to Hogner, 20.11.01, 5.5.02, Md Korr. SA., 1901-1902, E I c: 2 and Liljestrand to Hogner, 3.8.01, Md Korr. SA., 1901-1902, E I c: 2, SKMA.

138 Hallendorff to Hogner, 12.9.02, Md Korr. SA. 1901-1902, E I c: 2, SKMA and Par 21, Protokoll hållet vid Konrérenssammansnämde med SKM i Sydafrika den 4-12.7.03, Protokoll. Bok II: 1898-1906, A I a: 2, (Fältarkivet), SKMA.

139 Hallendorff to Hogner, 22.10.02, Md Korr. SA., 1901-1902, E I c: 2, SKMA.


141 Hallendorff in Ambetsberättelse för Oscarsbergs station med utstationer och predikoplateser avgiven i juli 1904 in Visitationen av missionsfälten 1904, A II: 11b, SKMA.

142 Hallendorff to Ihrmark 17.9.08, MD Korr., S. A., 1907-1908, E I c: 5, SKMA.

143 Hallendorff: Information on farm bought and held by CSM at Rorke's Drift, Natal, in J E Norenius to The Secretary for Native affairs, Pretoria. 22.11.13 in CNC Minute papers, Nos: 1976-2040, 1913, Ref. 2021/1913, NAD.

144 Liljestrand in SKMT 27 1902: 13/14: 210-221.


146 Kister 1979: 59

147 Hallendorff, Emtulwa, to Hogner 19.3.01, Md Korr. SA., 1901-1902, E I c: 2, SKMA. According to the same missionary, Hallendorff, some years later at Oscarsberg in 1904, it was also possible to establish a decline in church attendance when there had been a rich harvest in the area. Hallendorff in SKMT 30 1905 17/18: 267-276.

Although it did happen that male converts of the CSM tradition, instead of marrying according to the government-defined standard set for Christians, married in accordance to the regulations for those who adhered to African Traditional Religion, else the bride's father would have withheld the *lobolo* cattle. Cf. Ljungquist to Hogner 16.1.01, Md Korr SA, 1901-1902, E I c: 2, SKMA.

50Par. below, Chapter six.

51Cf. Simensen with Barhaug, Hernæs and Sønstabo 1956: 236.

52Furberg 1962: 396

53Par. 4, Protokoll hållet vid extra konferens... med Svenska kyrkans missionärer i Sydafrika i Dundee den 22-27.3.1899, Missionsstyrelsens protokollsbiilagor 1898-1899, A II: 7, SKMA.

54On the Moravian early enterprise in the Cape and on Colenso, cf. above, Chapter three.

55Par. 4, Protokoll hållet vid extra konferens... med Svenska kyrkans missionärer i Sydafrika i Dundee den 22-27.3.1899, Missionsstyrelsens protokollsbiilagor 1898-1899, A II: 7, SKMA.

56Furberg 1962: 397

57Danell's comments to the minutes of the 1904 Mission Conference (Par. 22), in Inspektion av missionsfältet 1904: A II: 11 b, SKMA.

58Par. 22, Protokoll fört vid vis konf i Dundee 3-22.9.04, Inspektion av missionsfältet 1904: A II: 11 b, SKMA

59Hallendorff was not clear on the issue of polygynists in the congregation as he rejected the SPG position of denying baptism to polygynists but still argued for polygynists as second grade members. Hallendorff in SKMT 29 1904 24: 390-396

60Danell's comments to the minutes of the 1904 Mission Conference (Par. 22), in Inspektion av missionsfältet 1904: A II: 11 b, SKMA.


63 Etherington in Ljungquist to Ihrmark, 14.11.07, Md Korr., SA., 1907-1908, E I c: 5, SKMA.

64On Ljungquist's criticism of Reformed and Roman Catholic missionaries' limited understanding of the Lutheran teachings, see Ljungquist in SKMT 28 1903: 340-346.


66On Kempe's "inappropriate" company at Ekutuleni and that he ought to have been transferred to Oscarsberg and the more sound influence by Hallendorff, cf. Liljestrand to Hogner 13.8.01, Md Korr. SA., 1901-1902, E I c: 2. On Kempe's unreasonably strong feelings for Zululand, Ljungquist to Hogner 31.1.01, Md Korr SA, 1901-1902, E I c: 2. On Kempe's relationship to Fristedt, see Alfild Fristedt to Hogner 26.5.03 and on his own evaluation of Fristedt's achievements, Kempe to Hogner 30.12.03, Md. korr., SA., 1903-1904, E I c: 3, SKMA.

67Etherington 1978: 24

68Etherington 1978: 45-46

69Ljungquist to Ihrmark, 14.11.07, Md Korr., SA., 1907-1908, E I c: 5, SKMA

70Norenius 1924. 31-32, cf. Etherington 1978: 116

71Par. 6, Protokoll hållet vid Konferens sammanträde med SKM i Sydafrika den 4-12.7.03, Protokoll. Bok II: 1898-1906, A I a: 2, (Fältarkivet), SKMA.
Marks 1970: 54-55

Wennerquist to Hogner 15.7.03, Kempe to Hogner 26.5.03, 24.10.03, Md Korr., S. A., 1903-1904, E I c: 3, SKMA. Which led to a recommendation by the mission conference to allow for the lady missionaries one year’s studies in England before entering the mission field. Par. 6, Protokoll hållet vid Konferens sammanträde med SKM i Sydafrika den 4-12.7.03, Protokoll. Bok II: 1898-1906, A I a: 2, (Fältarkivet), SKMA.

Hallendorff to Hogner 6.5.03, 24.5.04, Md Korr., S. A., 1903-1904, E I c: 3, SKMA.

Wennerquist to Hogner 29.1.04, Md Korr., S. A., 1903-1904, E I c: 3, SKMA.

Kempe: Ambetsberättelse avgiven vid Professor Danells inspektion 1904 in Inspektionen av missionsfält 1904, A II: 11b, SKMA and Hallendorff in SKMT 27 1902 8: 131-139 and Wahlberg in SKMT 30 1905 15/16: 233-239.


Par. 17, Protokoll vid visitationskonferensen i Dundee 3-22.9.04. Inspektion av missionsfält 1904: A II: 11 b, SKMA.


Chapter three and nine.

Ljungquist to Hogner, 16.1.02 and 18.3.02, Md Korr. S. A., 1901-1902, E I c: 2, SKMA. Unfortunately, due to lacking source material this can not be verified. Among his four evangelists in 1903, only two had Zulu names but there were as well Samuel Mayeza and Rufus Anderson(!) although he also was known by the name of Eleofase Nene. Ljungquist: Protokoll. Bok II: 1898-1906, A I a: 2, (Fältarkivet), SKMA. At Hallendorff’s Oscarsberg it seems that most of the converts from 1903 and onwards either kept their old Zulu names or changed them to new names but also in Zulu. Baptismal roll for the Oscarsberg congregation 1903-1909, kept by Hallendorff (Födelse och dopbok för Oscarsberg församling åren 1903-1909), deposited in the local vicarage. A visit to Oscarsberg, Natal, 3.4.1994.

A Christian mother with three baptised children, married to a non-Christian Zulu, was refused to attend the service but was refrainned to enter the church because her non-Christian husband refused to buy clothes for their children. Beda Wennequist to Signe Holmström, 26.2.06, Samling(brevsamling), Holmström, O. och S., LUB.


Cf. Chapter three and nine.

Ljungquist in SKMT 27 1902: 11/12: 178-187. In the years 1901-1907 Sir Henry McCallum was the governor of Natal.


Norenius 1925: 47.

In the CSM especially Liljestrand, formerly at Oscarsberg, conveyed the commission’s suggestions in this respect. Liljestrand in LMT 61 1907 4: 56.


A common feature in several CSM missionary productions at the turn of the century is that of an African Christian community by and large detached from its surrounding society. Through conversion, the narratives relate, Christians were regarded as having risen from a lower to a higher standing class of people. To the missionaries there were several reasons for such portrayals. When describing the different African living conditions to their mission supporters in Sweden, many missionaries opted for more or less single-track generalisations. Their descriptions of the converts’ pious, "civilised" and "uplifted" new lives filled an undefined need to demonstrate achievements in the mission field as a means of encouraging faith and continued financial support among home supporters. In some cases it was also a matter of their own assumptions of a sharp distinction between Christianity, not seldom paralleled with "civilisation", on the one hand, and "heathenism" and primitiveness on the other. Although such perspectives dominated the contemporary CSM-related literature and the CSM periodical – to no little extent probably due to the evolutionist views held by Home Board Secretary Hogner – assumptions of that kind were by no means shared by all CSM missionaries. Through careful examinations of articles, written also by e.g. Ljungquist, Hallendorff, Kempe and Liljestrand, as well as detailed study of their correspondence, a more realistic description emerges.

Among academic scholars who have dealt with missions and African Christians of Natal and Zululand, similar portrayals of the converts’ "separateness" from their black neighbours have been emphasised. But in their cases this has mainly concerned the nineteenth century early pioneers. While most studies of missions are confined to the nineteenth century developments, this image seems largely to have prevailed. One exception is Dinnerstein’s study of the American mission to and including 1900 in which she describes a changing course among its second and third generation Christians in the latter part of the century. With economic independence followed a new sense of black fellowship not only with Christians of other denominations but also with African life and society outside the church walls. Similarly, Marks recognises but does not emphasise late nineteenth century contacts established between members of the Natal African Christian intelligentsia and representatives of the Zulu royal house. Such perspectives have, however, almost solely been related to the very small African Christian middle class of the older and more established churches and missions. Emphasis given the middle class and its political élite becomes increasingly evident in studies which take up African Christian developments after the turn of the century. Authors such as Marks and Cope have proposed the major
turning point in African Christian and non-Christian relations to either the aftermath of the Bambatha uprising (Marks, 1970) or to the 1913 arrival of the new Zulu king Solomon (Cope, 1993) or to John Dube’s leaving the National Congress in 1917 and the formation of the Zulu nationalist Inkatha organisation in the early 1920s (Marks, 1986a, and Cope, 1993).

The vast majority of the about ten percent of the African population who by the turn of the century were Christians, did however not belong to an African Christian middle class. A small group of them may have been better off in earlier years and only in the 1890s been drawn into the proletariat. The overwhelming majority were first generation converts and, indeed, even recent converts, since most of them probably were baptised only in the years at the turn of the century. This is also the situation described in the CSM material. In comparison to the older missions CSM congregations were established later, implying that the bulk of its church members were first generation Christians who only had converted in the late 1890s or early twentieth century. Certainly they too were pioneers in their respective regions, but at a different time in history when access to land was less and when conditions for the emergence of an African middle class were far more difficult. This is the context in which CSM African Christians are to be seen and in which the image of their alleged "detachment" from surrounding society is to be analysed.

The obvious point of departure in this chapter is therefore to discover where and how people lived and to determine the general features in the major regions in which CSM congregations in rural Natal and Zululand were located. This includes an analysis of and a definition of differences between regional natural, social and political conditions with reference to local peoples, chiefs and white settlers. An account of other neighbouring missions in the respective regions seems necessary in suggesting to what extent CSM may have appeared an attractive alternative to presumptive converts. The origins of the first CSM church members and congregations, their continued developments and, in so far as possible, a distribution of men and women and an estimated number of Christian monogamous families will also shed light on the particularities of each region as well as on differences within a region. In the light of the 1906 crisis which particularly affected the Appelsbosch and Oscarsberg areas, it is also vital to determine the character of local tensions and potential reasons for conflicts in which CSM church members may have been involved. Finally the CSM congregations will be examined in the light of the badly deteriorating conditions to which African society at large was exposed to in the years before 1906. It is important to estimate to what extent the hitherto dominant image of the African Christians "separateness" from surrounding society remains valid or whether the CSM Christian community shared in the general process of impoverishment which by the end of 1905 had become particularly serious.
The Appelsbosch Region in the Natal Midlands

The largest, most well-organised and efficiently managed of the CSM communities was that which from 1886 developed around the Appelsbosch mission station. What here is referred to as the "Appelsbosch region", includes the whole area in which CSM was involved in the Natal Midlands as well as the Umvoti and Inanda reserves. As to the number of adherents, the Appelsbosch region had the largest number in the CSM working areas. By 1902 there were no less than 626 baptised members of which 396 after confirmation had qualified as "communicants". More than 75 per cent of the members lived in the older and more established congregations to the south, in the Inanda. With its almost 500 members the community at Appelsbosch-south could very well be compared to its nearest and largest African Christian congregation to the north which in 1854 had been founded by the HMS at Herrmansburg and was reported to have some 500 members (below). The Appelsbosch region may also in other ways be singled out as the most important among the CSM regions. In the years prior to 1906 it experienced a steep and remarkable growth among the people in neighbouring reserves, it had the largest number of scholars in its various schools, a fairly large number of experienced and able evangelists and, at the Ifaye outstation, Josef Zulu who was the only black ordained minister within the CSM. Because of its neighbouring large and populous reserves where Christianity undoubtedly was beginning to gain a foothold, it was there that the interaction between CSM workers and followers on the one hand and, on the other, adherents of African traditional religion was most dynamic. As will be described below and in contrast to what has been assumed in most previous studies of missions and African Christianity, this interaction was by no means simply a matter of contrasts between "converts" and "heathen" or an African Christian middle class versus homestead producers.

The Noodsberg area is a part of the Natal Midlands mist belt, characterised by occasional, cold and heavy fog. In regard to soil and fertility there is a sharp dividing line between the rich and fertile farmlands in the west and the poorer, hilly landscape to the east. Not unexpectedly, the white-dominated, largely German-speaking New Hanover Division is located to the west and, to the east the large and densely populated Umvoti and Inanda reserves, their borders coinciding with the Mapumulo and Ndwedwe Magisterial divisions respectively. The New Hanover Division was at the time regarded as one of the most thriving agricultural centres in Natal. Its dairy farming was prominent, as was its extensive grazing of cattle and sheep. From the early 1880s parts of the landscape was drastically altered when wattle was successfully grown on a large scale, the trunks used for fuel or as pitpoles in gold- and coal mines and the bark in the production of tannin. An important feature of wattle plantation is that space does not readily allow for tenants and for this reason wattle farmers relied almost wholly on recruited cash labourers. To the east the coastal inland is marked by its great number of
hills and valleys, mostly poor and stony and with a general vegetation of sour grass. Among the Nguni population, Amabele, or millet, was grown for the production of traditional "beer" while maize, grown in the river valleys, was used to make the popular uPutu, a soft, thick paste or porridge.

The Peoples and Missions of the Region

The Appelsbosch mission station and farm was situated in the intersection of the three Magisterial Divisions, located on the border between the white farmlands and the African reserves. In this region of Natal, due to the government's strategy of "divide and rule", the fragmentation of African chiefdoms had gone far, and CSM was in its immediate neighbourhood bounded by a large number of smaller and larger chiefdoms. To the near south was the largest of the CSM outstations, Nhlungakazi, located among the Nthuli who lived on the slopes of the impressive Nhlungakazi mountain. By the turn of the century it was the smallest chiefdom in the region, ruled by Mdiya kaNdlela. While the CSM interaction already during this period was lively and local political implications came to play a crucial role in the years prior to the Bambatha uprising, some of Ljungquist's observations on people's particular situation are of interest. Mdiya's grandfather, Funwayo kaMpopoma, had in the 1860s been a prominent chief in the region (Chapter two). At the time of his death most of his wealth had vanished. His family became heavily indebted to a number of white money-monglers. By the turn of the century this group of the Nthuli had lost most of their former prestige. The present chief Mdiya was baptised by the Presbyterians in his youth and for some time been a most respected evangelist of this mission. He had also married according to Christian rites and was one of the fortunate few who were exempted from Native Law. When his father died suddenly, the situation became complicated. Was he, a monogamous Christian, the most able successor? To begin with he transferred the leadership to his younger brother. But when also he died, Mdiya was obliged to shoulder the chieftainship. Some years later Mdiya married a second wife, contrary to Christian principles. He subsequently lost his chiefdom and by 1903 the Nthuli people were incorporated into the neighbouring and much larger Nyuswa under chief Sotobe. The Nyuswa lived to the east of Nhlungakazi, towards the Ozwatini mountain and the Mona valley and in the following years relationships between Nthuli and Nyuswa were very tense, bringing the two clans to the brink of war. An additional number of Sotobe's followers lived further to the north, in the neighbourhood of the CSM Ifaye outstation. To CSM missionaries Sotobe was known for his particular hostility to the Christian faith which by the missionaries was regarded as the main obstacle to the spreading of the Gospel in the region. Further to the east, in the thickly populated Umvoti African reserve, lived a second and much larger group of Nthuli, ruled by chief Ngobizembe. In the north-east was another large group of Nyuswa with chief Swaimana whose chiefdom was nearly twice the size of Sotobe's.
In the further east lived the largest group in the region, the Qwabe, under chief Meseni with half of his people in the Mapumulo and Ndwedwe divisions. To the north, in the Umvoti, lived the Mbomvu under chief Sobuza who during the Anglo-Zulu War of 1879 had given his loyalty to the British and fought against Cethswayo. Further north lived a rather small group of people under chief Mdingi who had his main homestead very close to the Emtulwa mission station in the Umvoti.

The situation in the Appelsbosch region was complicated also because of an overcrowding of missions. To the east, at a distance of ten kilometres, was the American Esidumbeni mission station, established in 1850. One of its outstations, Newspaper, was only six kilometres from Appelsbosch. The history of Newspaper is particularly interesting because it was the result of an independent, African-initiated project. In 1870 it had been the second station to be established by Mbiyana Ngidi, the first missionary of the African-led Home Missionary Society, ten years earlier founded by American Zulu Mission converts. Known for his evangelistic fervor and itinerant preaching, Mbiyana had been more successful in winning converts than his neighbouring white missionary. Newspaper was established without first consulting the white missionaries, a detail that led to much irritation. In 1876, after some delay probably due to his independent initiative, Mbiyana was the sixth to be ordained among the Americans. Later he left for Zululand and disassociated himself from the American missionaries. In 1890 he returned to Newspaper where he managed to split the congregation and lead the American mission’s first breakaway church.

In the north the CSM region was demarcated by the Umvoti river and the HMS congregation at Herrmansburg. At the turn of the century Herrmansburg had some 500 African parish members and about 100 German settlers living in the vicinity. In the region there were also some less important Anglican and Methodist outstations. In 1912 when Ljungquist in retrospect evaluated his relations to neighbouring missions, he noted how friendly they had remained over the years. But he had obviously not included his main rival among the Nthuli. Only five kilometres to the south, at Nhlangakazi mountain, was the Roman Catholic St. Peter’s mission station (Montebello), an outreach from the Durban-based St. Francis Xavier mission of the Oblates of Mary Immaculate. Its leading personality was the well-known Fr. Louis Mathieu, by Brain claimed to be an Oblate equivalent to the legendary Anglican missionary Charles Johnson of Zululand. As in many similar cases the establishment of St. Peter’s was the result of pioneering work, carried out by African forerunners and evangelists, in this case three African women from the boarding school at the Oakford Dominican convent, probably in 1898. To Ljungquist the Roman Catholic outreach was particularly thorny, not only because of its close vicinity to his own mission station and his staunch Lutheran anti-Catholic conviction, but also because the Catholics had gained their foothold in the region while Ljungquist was on furlough in Sweden.
Even if St. Peter’s was established rather late, it rapidly became an important mission centre in this part of Natal. The St. Peter’s schools were, as Ljungquist admitted in 1913, generally regarded excellent with both theoretical and vocational training. Its reputation was widely recognised among white Natalians.28

The Appelsbosch Congregations

The congregation at Appelsbosch proper consisted probably of African Christians who already lived on the farm at the time of Ljungquist’s arrival in 1886. The previous owner of the farm, Mr. Walter Jee, was a devout Methodist layman who frequently held services with his tenants. Service participants were four African Christian families and an equal number of non-Christian families, all in all 62 individuals.29 The earliest members of the Christian community were most likely converts from other neighbouring missions. Among Ljungquist’s first evangelists three of the four came from the neighbouring American mission. Norenius claims they had joined the CSM because they had migrated into the area.30 But other sources suggest that CSM practically “took over” the members from one of the Americans’ congregations at its former Noodsberg outstation while the two women missionaries-in-charge were on furlough.31 This implied that the congregation at Appelsbosch proper from its very first year consisted of a number of already confessing Christians. Not less than 150 people participated in Ljungquist’s first Christmas celebration.32 In the early years a major reason for the new mission station’s attraction among people in the region was the hope of achieving land on which to settle. In the following years such aspirations declined due to Ljungquist’s decision to plant wattle on the farm.33

Among the first baptismal candidates were school children at the Appelsbosch boarding school.34 It was only during the very last years of the nineteenth century that there was a significant growth in the number of converts.35 In early 1898 the congregations in the Appelsbosch region consisted of about 300 members. But within five years it had been doubled,36 most likely because of a Christian religious breakthrough in the Inanda reserve to the south. To the north where the impact of African traditional religion was strong in the Umvoti reserve, conversions took place, not in the reserve but among families of tenants on farmlands to the west.37 In 1913 Ljungquist still considered mission work in the north, from Ifaye reaching eastwards into the Umvoti, as having been fruitless. He ascribed the failure in mission to the staunch resistance of the local chief, Sobuza.38 Apart from this common missionary explanation the CSM sources are of little use for a further analysis.

Etherington claims that the reserves offered very few converts.39 At the turn of the century, conditions in the Appelsbosch region thus contained divergences between the Inanda to the south and the less responsive Umvoti to the north. Two factors account
for this. It was from central Natal, i.e. Pietermaritzburg and Durban, that the impact of trade and cash had spread northwards.\(^{40}\) And by the turn of the century, people living in the Inanda to the south, to a greater extent than those of the more isolated northern Umvoti, had been reached and influenced by the new economy, and hence were more inclined to accept the new religion which went with it. The regional differences also explain why Ljungquist had been far more successful in introducing the system of parish fees and donations among the Christians in the south while this in 1903 had been only partly achieved at Ifaye to the north, and not at all at the northernmost Emtulwa. There were also differences in peoples’ abilities to contribute to the common cause. At Emtulwa contributions were in the form of labour rather than in cash which was a scarcity in the region.\(^{41}\) But the evictions which occurred in the white-dominated New Hanover Division also played a role. As a rule evicted tenants had to overcome their reluctance to chiefly authority. Regardless of an overcrowded reserve it was difficult for a chief to refuse land to homestead-heads who could claim kinship with his people.\(^{42}\) Many of the Nthuli who formerly had lived in the more fertile lands to the west, were now settled in the vicinity of Nhlangakazi within the borders of the Inanda reserve. While CSM generally appears to have been more successful among tenants on the white-owned farms to the west, it is not unlikely that several of the new converts, gained in the south and now living on reserve land, were among such evicted tenants.

The issue of available land on the Appelsbosch mission farm, smaller than that at Oscarsberg and with much of the land consisting of wattle plantations, was of less importance to the local Christian community. With more than 75 per cent of church members living in the south of the region (and with the white-dominated New Hanover to the west), the bulk of Christians lived in the large and increasingly overcrowded Inanda reserve.\(^{43}\) As small scale agricultural producers dependent on the poor and ill-watered soils with a supplementary income from labour migration, their living conditions were probably not very different from those of their neighbours. This appears to have been the case with the majority of the CSM evangelists. With the exception of Samuel Nene who once had begun his career in the American mission and purchased a small farm of his own, the majority of them were probably more on par with Moya Kuzwayo who owned only some oxen, or Socolile Camane who had no animals.\(^{44}\) CSM Christians also took part in the labour migration from the reserves to the white areas. Already before the turn of the century, the local missionary reported that the majority of males in the congregation spent most of their time labouring in the cities (see below).\(^{45}\)

**Mostly Women**

In CSM’s as well as in other missions’ pioneering years the dominant number of converts were women. Most studies on missions in South Africa have focused on the nineteenth century history and a few have dealt with early twentieth century African Christianity.
Generally, studies have more taken up the emerging African Christian middle class with few references made to the distribution between men and women. As far as CSM is concerned, and particularly so in the Appelsbosch region, it may be assumed that from the early days and throughout the period, covered by the present study, the overwhelming majority of converts were women: unmarried girls or wives with their children. Husbands, fathers and brothers remained outside the church. Some of the males were Polygynists albeit that these were a minority. It was about twenty per cent of African men, who by the turn of the century had more than one wife. While the figure must have varied between different regions in Natal, the ideal of polygyny still seem to have been strong in the reserves. Ljungquist’s statement that men and youth “entirely being impregnated with thoughts of polygamy” seems plausible, as well as his assumption that polygyny was a major obstacle to conversion. Missionary complaints over male resistance, on the other hand, and their enthusiastic reports of conversions and baptisms, on the other, have little to say on the dominance of women in their congregations. As in the case within NMS and HMS, CSM statistical sources do not account for the distribution of men and women among the converts. And, as noted by Deborah Gaitskell in her 1990 article on African women’s Christianity in South Africa, gender breakdown of census figures and missionary statistics is a difficult task. An analysis of gender distribution in the Appelsbosch region therefore deserves attention.

As late as in 1895 there were only seven monogamous families within the congregations. Three of these were evangelists’ families, the remaining four probably the families who were among the first residents on the Appelsbosch farm. The rest were wives or children of non-Christians. With the increase in conversions occurring after the turn of the century, the uneven pattern of gender distribution appears to have been even more accentuated. At Pentecost in 1906 no less than 70 women were baptised at Appelsbosch proper, and one (elderly) man. For the whole of the southern Appelsbosch region in that year, at least 93 of 115 baptismal candidates were women. Although 1906 had an exceptional peak in the number of adult baptisms, there is very little reason to believe in an equal distribution between men and women for the year. The substantial increase in women’s interest in Christianity in the period immediately preceding 1906, i.e. when their fathers, husbands and brothers increasingly were becoming impatient with white domination, is in itself a remarkable phenomenon and has to be related to the general and rapidly deteriorating social conditions in the early years of the new century. When homesteads became increasingly dependent on labour-intensive sorghum crops and men in numbers were away on wage labour, the maintenance burden of the homestead economy rested heavily on those who remained at home: the women and the girls. But as conditions became more strained and women increasingly were needed at home, homestead heads and husbands allowed their wives and daughters less time for Christian education. Between 1904 and 1906 this development was clearly seen in the statistics for the Appelsbosch outstation schools.
where particularly girls’ and young women’s attendance declined by not less than 42 per cent.\textsuperscript{53}

**Evangelists and Chiefs**

With the majority of Christians living in the reserves, CSM congregations there were to a greater extent than those who lived on white-owned farms – as was the case with Oscarsberg – subordinate to and dependent on the chiefs. CSM source material on the Appelsbosch region is rich and describes to a great extent a continuous power struggle between CSM evangelists, seconded by Ljungquist, and local chiefs and homestead-heads. According to Ljungquist the chiefs were the mission’s major enemies. But he also made it clear that the Natal government and its reinforced adherence to the principles of indirect rule, supported the chiefs. Recognising the biased nature of his reports the general impression remains that it was in the reserves where the struggle between the ”old” and the ”new” was most clearly seen. At the same time the struggle between chiefs, homestead-heads and evangelists has to be placed into the context of the turn of the century impoverishment and deteriorating conditions for homestead society. Among crucial factors were the restricted access to land, coupled to evictions and an overcrowding in the reserves, government’s legislation and ”natural” disasters. To chiefs this implied that their wards became increasingly fragmented, leading to their inability to allocate fertile land to their subjects and ultimately their loss of prestige and authority in the eyes of their followers. It was also a question of fathers’ inability to grant lobolo cattle to their sons, a radically increased need for labour migration and, following in its wake, a questioning of social norms which implied growing tensions between elders and the young, men and women, and hostility against African Christians.\textsuperscript{54} It is in this context the evangelists’ and missionaries’ work in the reserves is to be seen. From their many mission stations, encircling the area like a string of beads,\textsuperscript{55} they tried to penetrate and establish outstations among the chiefs’ subjects.

The majority of chiefs regarded the evangelists as unwanted intruders. A chief in Inanda claimed that the CSM evangelist had come to deprive him of his power and that his people and his land was to be taken from him. Chief Sotobe referred to the local evangelist as \textit{Inkosi yamakolwa}, the Lord of the believers.\textsuperscript{56} In Umvoti to the north where CSM had a particularly difficult task, both chiefs Mdingi and Sobuza saw the intruders as undermining their power base.\textsuperscript{57} Mdingi was persistent in preventing his people from being taught by the evangelists. His stand was supported by his elders, ”Like one man his amadoda [homestead heads] stand up against us.”, the local missionary said.\textsuperscript{58} Umvoti chiefs claimed that the evangelist was leading the people astray. His mere presence among people was regarded as disastrous. About evangelist Jabulani Ngcobo the local chief said, ”He ruins the land of the chief. He brings down the sun upon us and our food is burned by its rays. Those who listen to him shall be chased away from
the land. Jabulani shall not worship with the children of the people and the wives of the people." With the CSM increasingly gaining foothold among wives and children in the southern Appelsbosch region, the anxiety of chiefs and homestead-heads can certainly be understood, particularly in the light of the potential violation against the "obedience" associated with marriage, it may have led to.

The government legislation did, however, bring some solace to chiefs' diminishing power base. Supported by the system of indirect rule, hostile chiefs often used their authority to suppress converts. On this particular score the complaints among Christians in general were frequent and bitter. Christian women faced a number of problems in relations to homestead-heads and chiefs. Some husbands refused to buy western clothing for their wives, thereby excluding them from entering church buildings. If they managed to obtain an accepted clothing, these were sometimes stolen, hidden or even burnt by their disagreeing husbands. As CSM with other missions accepted women married to polygynist husbands, it can be assumed that many wives none-theless managed to establish some kind of modus vivendi between demands placed on them by husbands, co-wives and other family members on the one hand and, on the other, requirements put on them by the mission.

The few adult men belonging to CSM, and particularly the evangelists, faced a different situation. In their communities the evangelists were destined to become important leaders. Living with the people they shared their everyday cares and concerns and did so even more intimately than the missionary could ever have hoped to do. The evangelists were the "ever present eyes of the church and its mouth too for they corrected, reproved and taught where the missionary could not have had contact." According to Vilakazi, the evangelists were so respected and trusted that they generally became not only the leaders of the Christians but also equivalent to chiefs. It is therefore not surprising that evangelists were particularly exposed to chiefs' anger. The chiefs' harassment could even make outstations impossible to maintain. The evangelist Tomu Ngcobo at Ecameni did not want to remain at his outstation after his wife had been threatened with bewitching. When he had moved out, he described the situation so bad, that no other evangelists dared to succeed him in the Umvoti, chief Sobuza and his headmen threatened to beat up the evangelist Jabulani Ngcobo if he dared to preach in their ward.

Among CSM converts there was resentment against isibalo, the forced labour system. Conflicts between CSM males and chiefs were often related to the isibalo and at the road works Christian males were particularly exposed to the rudeness of malevolent foremen and the hostility of fellow workers. The antipathy against the inescapable road works was so great that, according to Ljungquist, several Christian families left their homes in the reserves and settled on the mission farm. The isibalo
was of course also a popular way for a chief to repeatedly get rid of an annoying evangelist. Although an evangelist could appeal to the local magistrate, magistrates seldom overruled chiefs in favour of Christians and when it occasionally did happen, as once in the Umvoti, the local missionary triumphantly exclaimed, "Victory for the mission, the chief's authority is declining."\(^{69}\) Due to the fear for "Ethiopianism" which led the Natal government to view mission work with increasing disapproval, the handling of *isibalo* was in 1904 transferred from magistrates to the Secretary of Native Affairs, "who never exempted anyone".\(^{70}\) In the Inanda reserve there was special reason for the government to keep an eye on religious activities despite the distance to the CSM areas in the north. In 1904 a local magistrate reported that, "the Ethiopians, or Zulu Congregationalists, appear to make headway in that part of the division which is nearest Table Mountain, their headquarters; the movement is popular because they have cast off the control of the white man" and, "Ethiopians preach social equality as well."\(^{71}\) Before 1906 there is however no evidence of African Independent Churches making inroads among CSM converts. The government's harsher attitudes towards the converts in the reserves did cause strains not only between government officials and evangelists, but also in relation to the missionaries who accused the government of supporting the chiefs not only against the interests of Christianity but also against their own rulings in regard to African population.\(^{72}\)

**The Oscarsberg Region in the North of Natal**

The congregation at Oscarsberg was after Appelsbosch the second largest. In 1902 the CSM community consisted of 400 converts of which half the number were communicants. The "Oscarsberg region" was centred around the mission station with its church and farm, today commonly referred to as Rorke's Drift or kwaJimu, with the congregation at Amoibie in the south and, to the north, some congregations located on white-owned farms.\(^{73}\) In comparison to the Appelsbosch region, this region was determined by a different set of factors. Firstly, there was an old dominance of Boer farmers who after the British annexation of Natal remained in this northernmost region. Secondly, the impact of cash economy was practised and widespread among Africans because of rent tenancies on absentee-owned farms. Thirdly, after most absentee-owned farms were purchased by white farmers, the vast majority of Africans became dependent on their white landlords. Fourthly, because of the large number of white farmers, chieftainship power structures were undermined. A fifth important factor in this border area neighbouring Zululand was the largely heterogeneous character of the local African population.\(^{74}\) Finally, large tracts of CSM-owned land, now being available as mission farm land, was an important and vital factor for development of an African Christian community in the Oscarsberg region.
The vegetation in the Dundee division, a part of the Klip River County, is chiefly grass veld. Winters are cold because of elevations varying from 1200 to 1500 metres. White farming was mainly confined to cattle, sheep and maize.\textsuperscript{75} Maize was less popular because of frequent hailstorms. Among Africans the favoured crop was \textit{Amabele}, millet,\textsuperscript{76} but crops were small because of successive droughts. At the turn of the century Africans kept goats and cattle, but the cattle suffocated under the rinderpest and lung sickness ravages. During the South African War herds were further decimated by looting by white troops.\textsuperscript{77} The Dundee division was essentially composed of white farmland\textsuperscript{78} with no mission or African reserves. Most Africans lived as labour tenants who were very poor and whose living conditions on farms was insecure.\textsuperscript{79} Liljestrand described the area as populous with the people living scattered over the country-side and belonging to different groups.\textsuperscript{80} By the turn of the century, African independent agriculture was still being maintained on some of the remnants of absentee-owned land. One such farm was kwajobe. But this type of land ownership was rapidly becoming scarce.\textsuperscript{81} The majority of independent cultivators were found outside the Dundee division, either to the south in the Klip River reserve in the Umsinga, or towards the north-east in Zululand.

\textbf{The Peoples and the Missions of the Region}

The relationship between chiefs and CSM converts was different. While a chief’s authority certainly was weakened in the Umvoti and Inanda reserves near Appelsbosch, at least on the surface, the power structures, including African traditional religion, culture and customs, appear to have remained more intact. This is strikingly obvious when the situation in reserves is compared to that of the southern part of the Dundee division. Here the lack of African acreage meant that a chief had lost his ability to control the distribution of land and through the loss also the productive and reproductive resources of his chiefdom. When his people lived scattered on white farmland, on mission farms or as migrant labourers in cities, his people were free of chief’s jurisdiction and hence difficult to control.\textsuperscript{82} Beside the already accomplished removal of land from Africans and Africans’ dependence on white farmers, the weakening of the chiefs’ authority was furthered by two additional factors: the general heterogeneity of the population, and, as noted both by local magistrate and CSM missionaries, Christianity gradually becoming influential in the region\textsuperscript{83} while African traditional religion correspondingly was weakened.

A general weakening of a chief’s authority in the southern Dundee division is also reflected in missionary reports in which, at least in the period before the Bambatha uprising, references to African chiefs and peoples are rarely found. In the immediate neighbourhood of the Oscarsberg mission station lived the Nxumalo people. Distinguished as taller and leaner than other people in the area\textsuperscript{84} they lived with their hereditary
chief Nondubela who had his main homestead on the mission farm but who also ruled over Nxumalo who lived to the south in the Klip River reserve in the Umsinga.85 But as the Oscarsberg region, located in the southern part of the Dundee division, bordered both to Zululand (across the Mzinyathi to the north-east), and to the African reserve in the Umsinga (to the south), there were neighbouring peoples with competent chiefs in the vicinity. Among them were the Qungebe in Zululand who were ruled by hereditary chief Mehlokazulu.86 To the south, in the southern vicinity of the Amoibie mission farm, lived a group of the Quamu under their district headman, Mtele.87 They belonged to an amalgam of ”tribal fragments” that Shepstone formed into a ”new tribe”, the Quamu. The majority of them lived in the densely populated Umsinga which chiefly consisted of reserve land in which they were the largest group under the government-appointed chief Kula. Even if the Quamu eventually became the largest chiefdom in the colony, it was still highly fragmented. This was particularly evident in the region around Rorke’s Drift among the otherwise heterogeneous group of people who, partly because of the Zululand civil wars, had migrated from various parts of Zululand and settled on the Natal side of the border. During previous wars the Quamu had boasted about loyalty to the British. But on the local level their behaviour brought about enmity between them and neighbouring peoples with whom they were caught in several conflicts, as well as with Boer farmers who not had forgotten Kula’s services to the British during the South African War. In 1905 the reports on faction fighting among the many chiefdoms in the Umsinga, on arming of young men and slaughtering of white-owned animals had created fear among the whites. From October of that year white settlers in the Umsinga feared being wiped out by Africans.88

For missionaries, driven by a zeal to convert ”genuine heathen”, the most favourable positions were found either in the vicinity of the large reserve in the Umsinga to the south or to the north-east in Zululand. However, to CSM the access to such areas was cut off by the presence of other missions. To the south-west was the Presbyterian Gordon Memorial mission station. Founded in 1870 it had rapidly developed under missionary Dalzell who was one of Natal’s prominent Presbyterian missionary. In 1902 the Gordon Memorial mission station was managed by Keith Murray and reported to have no less than 600 converts.89 But thereafter the previously flourishing developments was checked.90 In 1889 there had been a schism at Lovedale, resulting in the formation of Pambani J. Mzimba’s African Presbyterian Church. At Gordon Memorial converts joined the new church, resulting in severe tensions between the local missionaries and congregation. In general terms the Gordon Memorial turmoil may, as suggested by Marks, have been a reflection of the greatly increased European economic activity in the newly opened Dundee coal-fields further to the north,91 But to the turmoil may be added Dalzell’s difficulties in coming to terms with Zulu customs, recognised by his converts. One such was lobolo. He was claimed to have expelled all church members who received cattle for their daughters. In the lobolo debate in the
Natal Missionary Conference he was known to be one of the leading prohibitionist. In 1905 several black teachers at Gordon Memorial were inclined to join the CSM. Posse, with her Reformed leanings and long-standing friendship with the Dalzell family, stated that the teachers referred to their loyalty to the old missionary Dalzell and their antipathy against his successor Keith Murray. But Hallendorff's far more tolerant view on lobolo may not have been unknown among the people in the region.

To the immediate south, between Oscarsberg and the reserve, the HMS had a mission station, Nazareth. Adjacent to the station in the area around Elandskraal were a number of German settlers living on own farms. By 1905, when the Oscarsberg congregation had about 550 baptised church members and 229 school children, the HMS Nazareth congregation was considerably smaller with its 190 church members and 16 school children. To the immediate north the drift across the Mzinyathi was strategically important for communications and trade with Zululand. But CSM was cut off in this direction. Anglicans on the Zululand side of the river had two of their most important mission centres in Zululand. The nearest was the large St. Augustine's mission station which was founded in the years after the 1879 Anglo-Zulu War. Further away, at Islandhwana, was the Anglican Diocesan centre and mission headquarters for Zululand. The region surrounding Oscarsberg with many Christian missions was rather typical of the Natal situation. The old turn of the century-dream of "reaching into Zululand" was nurtured by the理想istically inclined missionary Liljestrand. But hope was not realistic as there was hardly room for further expansion into Zululand. Inspired by the drive for the northward "hinterland", Liljestrand left for the more promising mission field in Zimbabwe. There, he wrote, the CSM would have the essential advantage of being the first on the field and thus be freed from the rather delicate task of negotiating with other missions.

The Oscarsberg Congregations

The people living on the Oscarsberg in the late 1870s were exposed to CSM missionary efforts. These followed the example of American NMS and HMS missions who drew most of their initial converts from farm inhabitants. The farm converts settled on the large Oscarsberg mission farm where each family received their own lot to cultivate. In return they paid either in cash, goods or with the labour of family members. The number of converts and adherents to African traditional religion among tenants is difficult to assess. Initially conversion seems not to have been a requirement for occupation. Pressure brought upon non-Christian tenants was not demanding, implying at least in the first decade of mission work that Christian growth was slow. But as the mission expanded its work and new converts poured in from surrounding areas, the distribution of land changed. It was only in the last years of the nineteenth century that there was a substantial increase in the number of converts. In 1888, after a decade of
mission work at Oscarsberg, there were 41 converts. By 1898 the number had risen to 202. In 1902 the figure had doubled. Towards the south, closer to the reserve at Umsinga where land was free, CSM prospects were discouraging. A small congregation eventually came into being at Amoibie. But although mission land was available, during the first decade of the twentieth century the area had shown bad results. In the north where land was dominated by white farmers, most people had by 1901 at least heard of Christianity, "Like in the rest of South Africa you seldom meet a complete heathen, they know of Jesus and of the sacraments" Liljestrand noted, not without a sense of disappointment. His assessment was shared by the local magistrate who in a report in 1902 stated, "The disposition to wear European clothing is more manifest and most of those so attired speak of themselves as Amakolwas [believers]" Many of them seem however not to have been affiliated with any of the missions operating in the region. "On enquiry", he said, "it is generally found they are not under the control of any missionary nor do they live on Mission Stations." The magistrate's comment needs to be read with caution as it may have been biased by whites' widespread fears for uncontrolled converts and "Ethiopians". While CSM experienced little success in the south and had HMS and Presbyterians in the south-west with Anglicans in the north-east, it was among non-affiliated and nominal Christians in north - living in an environment entirely dominated by white farmers - that CSM was obliged to exercise its missionary obligation.

Many Women but also Monogamous Families

In 1905 about 60 per cent of the CSM Christians in the Oscarsberg region lived and depended on the mission farms Oscarsberg and Amoibie for their living. The remaining 40 per cent belonged to congregations at the various outstations which without exceptions were located on privately owned white farm land. Most of them were labour tenants, spending half the year working for their white landlords, and the remaining half on their assigned private lots. During the drought years which began in 1903, the returns from the mission farms and the small assigned lots on the white-owned farms were not sufficient to support the families. Almost all the young converts left the region to seek work elsewhere.

The general heterogeneity of the local population was maintained also in the CSM congregation. A major part of the people was made up of former refugees from Zululand. Others had converted in other missions, predominantly Scottish and German, in different parts of Natal and subsequently moved to settle the Oscarsberg and Amoibie farms. The fact that 60 per cent of the CSM converts resided on CSM farms did not necessarily imply that they were secluded from their non-Christian neighbours. But in 1904 there was a number of tenants on the mission farms who had not converted. It is not impossible that there were a number of women who were
married to polygynous men. But the general impression is that the number of women among the converts at Oscarsberg were far less apparent than in the Appelsbosch region. At Oscarsberg there were also a larger number of monogamous African Christian families living on the mission farms.  

**White Settlers Burning Bibles**

While the basic conflict in the Appelsbosch region was the continuous tension between chiefs, elders and homestead-heads on the one hand, and CSM evangelists and missionaries on the other, the major issue in the Oscarsberg region was relationships to dominant white settlers among whom there was a constant demand for more African labour. It is significant that the most hostile relations between Africans and white landlords, mostly Germans, were those towards the south and the Umsinga where the Klip River reserve enabled homestead dwellers a certain amount of freedom in the choice of labour. To the north, however, where there were no reserves, white farmers faced the challenge of better paid employment at the Dundee coal fields. Further, the large mission farms at Oscarsberg and Amoibie with their rather independent African tenants must have been yet another challenge to local farmers in need of labour. In the years before the 1906 Bambatha uprising, farmers’ problems in obtaining required labour had not yet been candidly expressed. It was rather converts living on surrounding white farms who faced settlers’ hostility. It was not unusual that labourers who wished to become Christians were threatened by eviction. Particularly to the north of Oscarsberg where all land was solidly dominated by white farmers and where converts lived as labour tenants, farmers energetically worked to prevent "kaffir-churches" on their lands. On one farm in the neighbourhood the white landlord burned any hymnbooks or Bibles found among the labourers. It was Hallendorff at Oscarsberg who made known the common saying among local settlers that the three national scourges were "poisonous snakes, locusts—and missionaries." Such terminology which obviously included also converts were in 1906 to become more than attitudes an hateful expression.

**The Ekutuleni Congregation at Emtonjaneni**

Located between the Mhlatuze river in the south and the White Umfolozi in the north in southern-central Zululand, Ekutuleni was the most recently established of CSM congregations. While CSM had purchased the farm in 1887, it was only at the turn of the century that the earlier rather modest growth developed into more substantial progress. In 1898 the congregation consisted of 65 members of whom 45 were communicants. In 1902 the figure had grown to 196 and 136 respectively. With an overwhelming majority of its members recently baptised, the Christian presence at Ekutuleni represented an expanding missionary enterprise.
In this part of the country the climate is mild to hot and the rainfall, of which 75 per cent falls in the summer, is plentiful. The vegetation consists chiefly of sour grassland and scrub. The land is fertile, a fact made use of by Boers who settled in the "Proviso B" section to the west. The eastern parts where the very hilly character of the terrain made large scale white farming impossible, was not of interest to the Boers and after the Zululand lands delimitation was designed as African reserve land. Africans grew maize and Amabele chiefly for own consumption. Goats and cattle were kept, but because of the Rinderpest ravages cattle were scarce.

Zululand was increasingly drawing closer to a situation prevailing in Natal. The first successful implementation of the hut tax in 1889 introduced a dependence on cash and led from the 1890s to an increased wage labour migrancy to the regions outside Zululand. It was in the south where social change was clearly noticeable due to the vicinity to Natal, to a longer presence of traders, an earlier British demarcation of southern Zululand as the Zululand Reserve and settlers’ occupation of the "Proviso B" intersection. In 1901 the local magistrate reported that although the supply of labour for local farmers was satisfactory, an increasing number of Zulu were migrating southward to the better wages paid in Natal.

The Prince, the Missionary - and the Missionary’s Wife

The highest ranking chief in the area between the Mhlatuze and White Mfolozi rivers was Sitheku, one of the princes of the Zulu kingdom. He was son of King Mpande and brother to Cetshwayo, the last king of independent Zululand, and continued to play an important role in Zulu politics also after 1879. After the partitioning of Zululand between Boers and British in 1887, the chief’s main homestead fell under the "Proviso B" section to which Boers farmers had been granted property rights.

From the time when the CSM in 1887 purchased the farm on which Sitheku’s main homestead still was located, there was constant friction between the chief and CSM, represented by missionary Fristedt. The initial reason for this friction was CSM’s decision to build its new mission station on the very ground on which Sitheku’s large homestead had been for several years, forcing him off not only the farm but also the particular piece of ground, now earmarked for the mission station. It was only after the intervention of both the local magistrate and the governor that Sitheku and his people in 1889 were evicted from Ekutuleni. CSM regarded the eviction as its first victory on the new land. Norenius states, "The powers of Sitheku and his equals belonged to the yesterday." The chief must have taken the missionaries’ name Ekutuleni, "In peace", as an insult. His forced removal from an old and established homestead, in a sense a royal residence, became the beginning of a long and lasting struggle of resistance with the new intruders. For a long period of time the consequences of the dispute with Sitheku came to hamper mission work in the region. At the neighbouring Entumeni
mission station Norwegian missionaries with their longer experience and greater understanding of Zulu political realities, followed the awkward developments at Ekutuleni. Fristedt's uncompromising eviction of Sitheku and alliance with British authorities brought him into endless difficulties with the local Zulu population. During Dinuzulu's 1888 uprising when the British military forces were engaged elsewhere and their hold over Zululand weakened, Zulu deep hatred against CSM was particularly apparent. When Sitheku's men, armed with spears, threatened the missionaries, the Fristedt family was forced to flee and for long periods of time seek shelter at Entumeni. On other occasions when tension was intensified, the situation was saved by the intervention of Alfild Fristedt, the missionary's gifted wife. She was not only remarkably well acquainted with the Zulu language but also more conciliatory towards her neighbours. For several years the CSM missionary lived under constant threat by Sitheku and his people.118

At the turn of the century Sitheku was still regarded as a great hindrance. With wide reputation and many wives he was convinced that all the land between the White Mfolozi and Mhlatuze rivers belonged to his people. His new homestead at Entembeni, located two kilometres to the south of the mission station, resembled a village, with at least 60 huts.119 Because of his royal rank and the traditionally accepted inferiority of neighbouring peoples, Sitheku used his influence to obstruct CSM work in the region as a whole. This became particularly evident when CSM sought to reach out to the neighbouring Biyela people who lived in the densely populated area east of Ekutuleni, and with the Mpungose in the west, spread out on both sides of the Mhlatuze.120 Sitheku's influence had an important impact on the neighbouring chief Dumizweni of the Biyela, where CSM only with difficulty eventually was able establish an outstation.121

The Ekutuleni Congregation

A common feature of Natal and Zulu church history, shared by American missionaries, Schreuder and others, was the fact that nearly all first converts were women. The first baptisms at Ekutuleni in 1892 were, however, of three males. Both the second and the third group of baptismal candidates, in 1894 and 1895 respectively, included families of both husband and wife. Although the number of adult converts before 1895 hardly exceeded twenty, it is interesting to note that baptisms which involved men were normally followed by settlements on the mission farm. To some extent this was due to the fertile soil on the mission farm and Fristedt's determined policy to grant land to families, i.e. wife and husband who arrived at Ekutuleni with the intention of becoming Christians.122

A most significant happening at Ekutuleni in the last decade of the century was undoubtedly the conversion of Umzingeli kaDabulamanzi in 1895. His conversion was largely the result of influence of one of his relatives, Josef Zulu, who recently had returned from own baptism and education in Sweden.123 Umzingeli was the eldest son of
Dabulamanzi kaMpande, a son of Mpande and a brother to Cethswayo and Sitheku, and thus Dinuzulu's cousin. To the missionaries his conversion was of immense importance, seen as a forebode of a folk Christianisation, initiated from above in the society. Having divorced his second wife and been baptised together with his first wife and their children, Umzingeli, now Abraham Ndabezita Zulu, became a CSM evangelist and was in 1901 granted settlement at the recently purchased Empini with its 180 acres.

Two features stand out in Kempe's early twentieth century reports from the Ekutuleni congregation: an increasing need for wage labour and, in contrast to the situation in the Natal congregations, a widespread lack of money. In contrast to CSM converts in Natal, the people at Ekutuleni were badly impoverished, resulting in their inability to afford costly clothing. Developing the CSM school at Ekutuleni was difficult. As was the experience in most of Zululand, the parents showed little concern in sending their children to the mission school. The government’s Inspector of schools claimed that the lack of interest in the school was due to the less "civilised" conditions in Zululand. As was the case in other CSM schools in Natal, the Ekutuleni school had twice as many girls as boys. Kempe claimed that the limited number of boys attending school was due to their being sent away to work. A lack of cash was evident among the Ekutuleni converts and Kempe therefore hesitated to introduce collections among the parish members. A first try was made in 1903. Although the congregation responded positively to the new measure, collections were soon abandoned because of the severe famine poverty among the converts which led to an increased and widespread impoverishment among the converts. In 1905 it was not considered possible to introduce a system of parish fees and donations, similar to practise in Natal congregations.

**Neighbouring Missions**

Having established the Ekutuleni mission station in this part of Zululand, the station was surrounded by other missions. Among the neighbouring missions were HMS at kwaNdlangubu, NMS at Eshowe and at Mfule further to the north and, further to the east, at Empangeni. Anglicans were established at kwaMagwaza. South of the Mhlatuze was the CNM Entumeni mission station. Founded by Schreuder in 1852 and occupied by him as his residence to his death in 1882, it was the centre of a vast area of CNM mission work. The Zulu Christian community gathered around Entumeni had grown from some 50-60 homesteads in the early 1880s to almost 200 in the early twentieth century. A striking feature was the fact that so many of the converts were males and that nearly half the number of homesteads were monogamous families. Settlements of African Christians were not limited to the CNM areas only. Both towards the north-east, along the Mhlatuze river valley, and towards the south Zulu Christians lived intermingled with adherents to African traditional religion. It was also evident that not all Christians were as poor as the recently converted members of the
Ekutuleni congregation. H. J. S. Astrup who in 1905 travelled through the southern parts of Zululand, noted that African Christians frequently built square-shaped houses and that flourishing gardens were not uncommon. Many belonged to immigrant members of the since long established American congregations in Natal.\textsuperscript{132}

In the southern parts of Zululand there was a large number of missionaries and African Christian communities. This is the context in which Kempe's far-reaching travelling and his intensified search for new mission areas is are to be seen, i. e. his travelling with NMS missionary Sivert Dahle to north-western Mahlabatini, with Hans Astrup of the CNM to northern kwaHlabisa and his visit to the Anglicans at Nongoma.\textsuperscript{133} But most decisive for future CSM developments in Zululand was his encounter with an already existing African Christian congregation at Ceza and its founder and charismatic church leader Stefan Mavundhla (Chapter seven).

**Reasons for a Particular Distress by 1905**

It was in the years after the South African War that conditions for Africans rapidly deteriorated. The post-war economic boom was followed by a depression. This implied that several changes to which African society had been exposed in the 1890s, now began to be felt seriously. Several factors contributed to the decline of the 1890s: increased settler presence, new financial charges imposed by their government, the extensive sale of Crown lands which resulted in widespread fencing of the countryside, increased evictions and an overcrowding of already populous reserves. There was furthermore a steep rise in the African population and severe natural disasters, not least the rinderpest epidemic which wiped out some 85 per cent of Africans' herds. After the war when Africans to some extent had been able to restore their herds, there occurred further natural calamities. The widespread and severe drought of 1903 was followed by swarms of locust and in 1904 the east coast fever, a tick-born cattle disease. The situation was so serious that Africans for their sustenance more than ever depended on white farmers and migrant wage labour.\textsuperscript{134}

The deteriorated agricultural production is described in the CSM reports from Natal congregations and missionaries operating in southern Zululand. To avoid starvation and find money to pay taxes and rents, particularly the young men turned increasingly to labour migration. The pattern was similar in CSM regions in both Natal and Zululand.\textsuperscript{135} At Oscarsberg deterioration consequences were indeed severe. Immediately after the South African War, the number of young men leaving for migrant wage labour had increased rapidly. By 1904, not only almost all young men but also young women were away at work. In July of that year Hallendorff stated that not many attended church services because virtually all the young people had become migrant labourers.\textsuperscript{136}
The drought did not have less frightening consequences in the reserves around Appelsbosch, in the densely populated and overcrowded Umvoti reserve where the rinderpest in previous years had been very severe, wiping out no less than 97 per cent of Africans' cattle.\textsuperscript{137} In early 1903 Ljungquist reported that several families had nothing to eat and that there was no maize to buy.\textsuperscript{138} In October he wrote, "There is no rain in South Africa and Natal this year either and, due to shortage of water and pasture, the cattle die in several areas." October was the season for ploughing, but because of the drought, the soil was too hard to plough. Moreover, "Because of a little rain earlier in the season, people were led to sow, but now fields have been burnt by the sun. Even before this there were families in our congregation who hungered."\textsuperscript{139} Families in the reserves, whether Christians or not, responded differently from people in the white-dominated Oscarsberg region. The need for cash was probably not less in the reserves. But while young men in larger numbers had left homesteads in search for labour, girls remained at home, probably due to a strong impact of law and social sanction. It is difficult to know to what extent girls not seeking work was due to parents’ refusal to send their daughters to towns and cities, thereby endangering their chastity and a future lobolo negotiations. Or was it to maintain social control which would prevent girls’ and young womens’ widespread desire to go to towns and cities?\textsuperscript{140} It may suffice to claim that there were considerable differences between the regions of concern in this study. In the Appelsbosch region, children, or boys even under the age of ten, were sent away by their parents to work in the cities, and families with few children or relatives found themselves in a most difficult position.\textsuperscript{141} In 1903 the number of Natal Africans, seeking work in the Transvaal, exceeded the number in any pre-war year and in the same year J. E. Norenius reported of a considerable increase of CSM Christians in the Johannesburg area.\textsuperscript{142} Also in Durban where responsibility for CSM Christians was entrusted the missionaries of the NMS, the church building was, in 1903, reported to be overcrowded because of a new influx of migrant Lutheran converts from the rural areas.\textsuperscript{143}

In white-owned farmland to the west of the Appelsbosch mission station where farmers’ profits from wattle-plantations and dairy-farming had enabled them to purchase much of the surrounding land, a wave of evictions of African tenants occurred in 1905-6. From the New Hanover division the local magistrate reported in early 1906 that there was a "Removal of a considerable number of natives" from the division. When compared to the population figures for 1904 it is clear, that more than 8,000 individuals, or almost 35 per cent of the African population, must have been evicted, ”principally from private lands for various reasons”.\textsuperscript{144} It is not known whether all those evicted moved into the nearby and already overcrowded reserves, but a great many of them probably did. Recalling that the magistrate in the same division earlier had complained about a scarcity of labour, the evictions may appear peculiar, had it not been that Natal
landlords were known to pay the lowest wages in the colony and that farmers in 1902 had engaged a great number of indentured Indians. 145

**Concluding remarks**

The increased and general impoverishment among Africans due to natural disasters and increased taxation, described by Lambert, Marks and others above and to a large extent confirmed in the CSM sources, removes every reason to believe that CSM Christians were less victimised than others. But as CSM statistical figures indicate, there were important differences between the various CSM regions. The considerable difference between the two rural regions in Natal has been described above. Figures for CSM Christians who took to migrant labour are unfortunately not available. But it is evident that among them a majority of the men were forced into wage labour in Natal and Zululand alike. The CSM material also describes vividly rural African Christians’ living conditions before the uprising. Documentation underlines the marked decline in girls’ and young women’s’ attendance, particularly at outstation schools in the reserves. Knowing that also African Christians in these areas were influenced by the traditional values, disallowing their women to seek wage labour away from home, 146 this probably indicates an increase in the women’s share in the maintenance burden and by that a more important role for them for the survival of the homestead economy. But if this resulted in an increased binding to their homes (and their possibly would-be polygynous husbands) or in a more independent standing due to their increasingly crucial position, is difficult to assess as the uprising came in between. Still, the CSM statistics point at the latter alternative, illustrated by the situation in the Appelsbosch region where adult catechumens’ baptisms between 1904 and 1906 not only increased by remarkably 70 per cent but also where, in the southern part of that region, all but one of the 92 baptismal candidates were women. 147 While the men thus were prevented from conversion not only by being more involved in the traditional ritual and ceremonial, but foremost because of the strictures against polygyny imposed by the missionaries, the women’s relative powerlessness, as said by Deborah Gaitskell, made them more open to conversion. 148 In this respect it may be assumed that to African women, as forwarded by Cherryl Walker, the church structures provided an outlet for their organisational talents and energies that were otherwise frustrated by racial, patriarchal and class mechanisms of suppression and control. Immersion in Christian ritual and doctrine, she claims, "provided adherents with spiritual comfort and sustenance, a psycho-spiritual shield against the onslaughts of rapid and disturbing social change." Equally important, at a time when familiar structures of emotional and material support were coming under pressure, such membership placed women "within a network or structures of peer support - one that could be seen to draw on, yet transform, an older legacy of female-centred sociability." 149
In the southern part of the Dundee division in northern Natal where all land was owned by whites, the most characteristic feature of the CSM African Christian community was the fact that almost 60 per cent of them enjoyed the privilege of being tenants on the CSM mission farms. The remaining 40 per cent did however live under difficult conditions as labour tenants on the white farms and, in the years before 1906, the decline in student numbers particularly at outstation schools may indicate their increased impoverishment. But in spite of the supposedly more favourable tenure on the mission farms, the CSM African Christians in this region seem to have been worse off than the more independent producers in the reserves. This is, albeit with certain reservations, seen in the CSM statistical material when comparing the average per capita payment of parish fees and donations among CSM communicants in the two regions. In 1904 and 1905 the African Christians in the north did not even reach half the per capita amount paid by those in the reserves. Also in this region a majority of young people had been forced into labour migration, but here the migratory pattern was different as the young women too had left their homes for work. Most likely this was due to poorer living conditions and to weaker influences by social custom in this more westernised region.

CSM missionaries residing in the nearness of the reserves often emphasised the religious conflicts between hostile heathen chiefs and vulnerable African Christians. But this picture can certainly be qualified. Of course the weakened authority for homestead heads and chiefs and the mounting crisis in the homestead economy, following the drought of 1903 and resulting in traditional family patterns being disturbed increased tensions between threatened chiefs and aspirant evangelists. But when this power struggle is seen in the light of a struggle over the African women, and taking into consideration how increasingly crucial they had become for the survival of the traditional family, the evangelists’ obvious advancements in winning them as catechumens must seriously have added also to these tensions. The chiefs used different means to get rid of the evangelists as also of the few Christian young men and family men - the latter probably most resented as they, with their western-style nuclear families, rectangular houses etc., by their mere presence within the chief’s domains, most openly symbolised the fragmentation of the clan. But in so far as hostilities between converts and non-Christianins in the Appelsbosch region before 1906 is described as a religious conflict, this conflict seem mostly to have involved the males of the Christian community. Furthermore, as the vast majority of African Christians in the reserves were women of which a great number were married to polygynist husbands, one may perhaps also in this case caution against an overestimation of the purely religious “heathen” - Christian contrast. The African Christian womens’ relationship to church and home society can rather be characterised as a modus vivendi between the two worlds and one probable reason for this coexistence may have been the fact that the CSM, unlike some of the other missions not required divorces as a prerequisite for baptising wives in polygynous marriages.
In the white farming areas of northern Natal where local chiefs were deprived of all land and most of their power, the relationships between African Christians and traditionalists were less problematic. There predicaments were rather related to an almost total dependency on white landlords (whether settlers or missionaries). The least favourable conditions had those African Christians who resided on the settlers’ farms and most often they also had difficulties in practising their religion. In that area their reasons for distress were probably not less than in the reserves but with a forthcoming resistance mostly organised on traditional grounds, such an impetus would rather have been externally initiated, i.e. in neighbouring areas in Umsinga or Zululand where more potent traditional powers were to be found.

Thus the CSM source material can shed new light on the different living conditions that the African Christians were exposed to, depending on whether they lived as more independent producers in African reserves or as labour tenants on white farms. But it can also give new insights into the issue of how African Christians on different social levels were differently related to traditional society and to why there were increased tensions between sections of the African Christian community and African chiefs, particularly in areas dominated by the latter. And the source material can also explain why there were less such tensions or almost no tensions at all in other sections of that same community. Through a study of the varied living conditions the material also indicates different incitements for uprising in different areas.

Being the formal leaders, supposedly in control of each of the CSM regions, also the missionaries were involved in this complexity of the different regions. At least before the uprising there was a considerable difference between the missionaries’ quite moderate critique voiced against the white settlers and their harsh attacks launched against the African chiefs. But in both cases it had implications for their relations to the Natal government who not only represented the settler electorate but also, because of the system for indirect rule, the African chiefs. Before the uprising it was the relation to the chiefs which foremost brought the missionaries into a conflict with the government. But when the government in its campaign against independent African Christian leadership tried to limit the Christian enterprise in the reserves and strengthen the authority of its local government servants, this brought several Christian missions, in the CSM foremost represented by its leading missionary Ljungquist, into a direct conflict with the government. But these increasing tensions between the missions and the Natal government, and their possible consequences, were not yet to be worked out: the uprising came in between.
This is most apparent in Karlgren's book of 1909 which thus is based on a great number of articles previously produced by the missionaries in the CSM periodical, cf. Karlgren 1909: 99-100.


4 The "Appelsbosch region" is understood to stretch from Egweni in the south to Emgaka in the north, to north of the Umvoti river, and from Fawn Leas in the west to Ensuzi in the east. This includes not only its southern parts with Appelsbosch proper, i.e. the mission station, the farm and its congregation. It also includes the large congregations adjacent to the surrounding outstations, like Inhlangakazi, Mona and Ozwatini, as well as the northern parts with the congregation at the Ifaye outstation and that of the Emulwa mission station in the further north.

5 According to the 1902 statistics, Appelsbosch proper with outstations counted 487 baptised members, Ifaye 65 and Emulwa 74. The number of communicants was 297, 51 and 48, respectively. See Statistik öfversikt af Svenska Kyrkans missionsarbete i Sydafrika 1902, in Missionsstatistik 1900-1939 H:i: 2, SKMA.

6 According to the 1902 statistics, Appelsbosch proper with outstations counted 487 baptised members, Ifaye 65 and Emulwa 74. The number of communicants was 297, 51 and 48, respectively. See Statistik öfversikt af Svenska Kyrkans missionsarbete i Sydafrika 1902, in Missionsstatistik 1900-1939 H:i: 2, SKMA.


9 du Plessis 1913: 386.

10 Ljungquist in SKMT 26 1901 13/14: 208. Ljungquist in TDR 5 1910: 27. In 1901 Mdiya was the chief of 59 homesteads in the Inanda reserve. Blue Book on Native Affairs 1901, Page A 30, (Section A., List of tribes and sections of tribes in each Magisterial division with summary). According to Bryant, the clan-name Ntuli, or amaTuli, means "the Dustmen". emaTulini means "They-in-the-dust" (the name Lutuli means "the people of Mr. Dust"). Bryant 1929: 501.

11 Mdiya was the eldest son of chief Ndlela who in his turn was the son of Funwayo. Ljungquist in TDR 16 1921: 31-32. Interestingly the fate of Funwayo and his people is also elaborated on by Fuze and, while he finds this so important to him, he actually makes a separate chapter of it. By him Funwayo and his people are described as "wicked ruffians" while they, being on the British side against the Boers, in the 1840s had committed a most infamous deed against a peaceful Boer family. Funwayo was a ruffian all his life, Fuze says, and for this reason his area was eventually cut up and abolished. His son, Ndlela "... was also a person of no worth, being a scoundrel just like his father, and greatly addicted to liquor. He deprived his brothers of everything by his acts of robbery." Fuze says. Cf. Fuze 1979: 86.

12 Ljungquist in SKMT 27 1902 11/12: 178-187. Ljungquist in SKMT 28 1903 21: 340-346. Cf. Ljungquist in TDR 16 1921: 32-33. Fuze, who regards this as consistent to his previous description of the "wicked ruffians" of Funwayo's Luthuli, concludes by saying: "Ndlela's son committed an act against the law, as a result of which his chieftainship came to an end and he was placed under the control of others." Fuze 1979: 86-87.


14 Hellgren 1919: 73
246

16In 1901 Ngobizembe’s chieftdom included not less than 558 homesteads. Blue Book on Native Affairs 1901, Page A 23, (Section A., List of tribes and sections of tribes in each Magisterial division with summary). The mission reserves belonged to the American Zulu Mission (Mapumulo and Esidumbeni) and the Norwegian Missionary Society (Umpumulo). Blue Book on Native Affairs, 1904. Page 6-10.

17Swaimana ruled over nearly 250 homesteads. Blue Book on Native Affairs 1901, Page A 23, Page A 29, (Section A., List of tribes and sections of tribes in each Magisterial division with summary).

18Meseni ruled over 850 homesteads. Blue Book on Native Affairs, 1901, Page A 28, Page A 23, Page A 30, (Section A., List of tribes and sections of tribes in each Magisterial division with summary).


20Protokoll hållet vid av missionär JE Norenius företaget visitation å Appelsbosch och Ifaye missionsstationer november 20—december 1 år 1912. Visitation Appelbosch 1912 i Sydafrika. (Fältarkivet) Konferensordförandens visitationer, Protokoll, A II: 1 a-f, SKMA.


23Visitation Appelbosch 1912 i Sydafrika. (Fältarkivet) Konferensordförandens visitationer, Protokoll, A II: 1 a-f, SKMA.

24Ljungquist in Ämbetsberättelse omfattande åren 1905-1911 och en del av 1912 för visitation i november 1912 in Visitation Appelbosch 1912 i Sydafrika. (Fältarkivet) Konferensordförandens visitationer, Protokoll, A II: 1 a-f, SKMA. The friendly relationship to the American Zulu Mission confirmed by J. E. Norenius, J. E. Norenius to Hogner 2.5.02, Md Korr SA, 1901-1902, E I c: 2, SKMA.


27Ljungquist 1920: 56-57.

28Ljungquist in Redogörelse för missionsarbetet å Appelsbosch med Ifaye år 1913. The Archives, Lutheran Church Centre, South Eastern Diocese, Umpumulo.

29Hallsström 1937: 73.

30Norenius 1924: 144.

31L. M. Mellen and G. K. Hauer to Ljungquist 24.11.98 and 19.12.98, Missionsstyrelsens protokolls bilagor 1898-1899, A II: 7, SKMA.

32Norenius 1924: 112.


34Norenius 1924: 114, 144.


37Wahlberg, Emtulwa, till Hogner 3.11.03, Missionsdirektorns korrespondens, Sydafrika, 1903-1904, E I c: 3, SKMA. The weak evangelistic progress at Ifaye due to the uncompromising situation in the location during the period, cf. Norenius 1925: 38 and the comparison between farmland and location land at Emtulwa and lack of success during the period, cf. Norenius 1925: 107, 117.

This is not to deny that Ljungquist’s energetic promotion of the self-support ideal also may have played an important role. On Appelsbosch, Ifaye and Emtulwa, cf. Berättelse angående missionsarbetet 1898-1902 in MS Protokollsbläg, 1903, A II: 10, SKMA.

Generally the CSM statistics do not include the number of adherents for the various outstations. An exception is the figure mentioned in Hallström for the Inhlangakazi outstation in the reserve. In 1903 there were 76 communicants at this outstation, he says. When related to the 1903 statistics, this would mean that this outstation solely accounted for a quarter of the total number of communicants in the southern part of the Appelsbosch region (i.e. Appelsbosch proper, excluding Ifaye and Emtulwa). Cf. Hallström 1937: 93 and Statistisk översikt af Svenska Kyrkans missionsarbete i Sydafrika 1903, in Missionsstatistik 1900-1939, H I: 2, SKMA. Further evidence for this is the fact that all the CSM mission districts faced east. Of the out stations all but one were located in the reserves. The outstations under Appelsbosch: Ozratini, Emena, Enhlangakazi and Egwene, were all located within African reserve land. But also from Ecameni, which itself was located on private mission-owned land bordering the Umvoti valley, evangelisation was aimed towards the reserves. Also the Ifaye outstation was located on private land but edged the reserve and most of its work was aimed towards the neighbouring areas in the Umvoti valley. Ljungquist: Missionärens i Appelsbosch och Ifaye årets uppmärksamhet, in Inspektion av missionsfälten 1904: A II: 11 b, SKMA, Cf. Norenius 1925: 32-35. In the northern parts of the Umvoti reserve however, to the east of the Emtulwa mission station, the situation was different as traditional resistance against Christianity obviously was more potent. In this area the CSM had experienced great difficulties in winning converts in the reserves. Even as late as 1909, most conversions had instead taken place among the labourers on the white farms to the west.


Ljungquist to Ihrmark 8.4.08, Md Korr SA, 1907-1908, E I c: 5, SKMA. With a particular reference to Ljungquist’s complaints over mens’ resistance to conversion, these can as well be seen towards the background of his struggle for a qualified acceptance of polygynists as church members, cf. above, Chapter five.

On Appelsbosch at pentecost 1906: Ljungquist to Ihrmark 15.5.06, Md Korr SA, 1903-1904, E I c: 3, SKMA. In that same year at the nearby Ifaye out station the situation was similar with 22 baptized converts, of which all were women. Ljungquist in SKMT 31 1906 18: 299, Josef Zulu in SKMT 31 1906 18: 301. A similar picture emerges both before and after 1906. See Ljungquist in SKMT 29 1904 1: 3-7, Ljungquist to Ihrmark 2.5.07 in Md Korr SA, 1907-1908, E I c: 5, SKMA and Ljungquist in SKMT 33 1908 22: 390-393. The same picture is confirmed in Ljungquist: Missionärens i Appelsbosch och Ifaye årets uppmärksamhet, in Inspektion av missionsfälten 1904: A II: 11 b, SKMA. On the predominance of women also among CSM
African Christians around the outstations in the northern part of the Appelsbosch region (Emtulwa mission station), cf. Hallendorff in LMT 56 1902: 6: 94.

52 Hallendorff, Femårssrapport från Emtulwa 1898-1902, Missionstyrelsens Protokollsblagor 1903, A I: 10, SKMA.

53 During the same period, boys’ attendance remained lower but largely on the same level. Statistical survey 1904 and 1906 in Statistik (even Rhodesia) 1900-1927, H: 1 (Fältarkivet), SKMA.

54 See Chapter two, above.

55 Apart from Anglicans’ and Methodists’ less important outstations, the missions surrounding the Umvoti and the northern part of the Inanda reserves were, clockwise, the Americans who operated from the east and the further south, the Roman Catholic Oblates from the south-west, the CSM from the west, the HMS from the north-west, the CNM from the further north and the NMS and the Americans, from the north-east, at Umquunulo and Mapumulo respectively.

56 For chief Sotobe see Ljungquist in SKMT 27 1902: 11/12: 178-187.


59 Norenius 1925: 36

60 Cf. above, Chapter two.


62 Wennerquist to Hogner, 4.11.03, Md Korr SA, 1903-1904, E I c: 3, SKMA. Wahlberg in SKMT 30 1905 15-16: 233-239

63 Vilakazi 1962: 98.

64 Ljungquist in SKMT 27 1902: 11/12: 178-187 and Ljungquist to Hogner 25.4.02, Md Korr SA, 1901-1902, E I c: 2, SKMA

65 Norenius 1925: 36

66 Hallendorff to Hogner 10.5.02, Md Korr SA, 1901-1902, E I c: 2, Wahlberg, to Hogner 15.3.04, Md Korr SA, 1903-1904, E I c: 3, SKMA. Unless their parents lived in the reserve the Christians living on the mission farms or on white farms were not forced to do the isibalo. Wahlberg to Hogner 15.3.04, Md Korr SA, 1903-1904, E I c: 3, SKMA. The forced labour system remained until 1910, when Natal was incorporated in the South African Union.

67 Ljungquist in SKMT 29 1904: 15-16: 244-247 and Ljungquist to Hogner 17.6.04, Md Korr SA, 1903-1904, E I c: 3, SKMA.

68 Ljungquist in SKMT 30 1905: 20: 314-320 and Ljungquist to Hogner 24.3.04, Md Korr SA, 1903-1904, E I c: 3, SKMA. But, as Welsh has pointed out, together with the weakened power of the chiefs also the isibalo system was in decline and many Africans, not only Christians, found various reasons to avoid the forced labour. Welsh 1971: 276.

69 Hallendorff to Hogner, 10.5.02, Md Korr SA, 1901-1902, E I c: 2, SKMA. To the south, also evangelist Moya Kuzwayo had been successful in appealing to the local magistrate of Ndwedwe. Norenius 1925: 35, Ljungquist in SKMT 27 1902: 11/12: 178-187.


72 See Chapters three and five in the above.

73 The “Oscarsberg region” is assumed to stretch from Emakonde in the south to kwaJobe in the north and from Nkolekole in the west to Amoibie in the east.

74 See Chapter two, above.


Maynard Matthews, Magistrate, Dundee Division, Dundee, Blue Book on Native Affairs, 1902, Page A32.

Maynard Matthews, Magistrate, Dundee division. Blue Book on Native Affairs 1902 Page A 32 and Blue Book on Native Affairs 1903, Page 45.

Liljestrand, något om förhållandena på Oscarsberg 1901 in SKMT 27 1902: 13/14: 210-221.

Liljestrand in SKMT 27 1902: 13/14: 210-221. In the 1890s, as seen in the above, the trial over Africans living on private lands had been removed to the magisterial courts whereas chiefs had no criminal or civil jurisdiction at all over their people living on private lands. Cf. Chapter two, above.


Interview with Dr. Axel-Ivar Berglund, Uppsala, 21.9.95.


Maxwell, T., Umsinga Division magistrate, Blue Book on Native Affairs 1902: A 6. On the Scottish Presbyterian mission in Natal, see Chapter thee, above.

Norenius 1924: 67-08, du Plessis 1911: 364

Marks 1970: 64.

Welsh 1971: 261, 263 and Chapter three, above.

Posse to Beloved Anna 19.5.05. On Posse's relationship to the Drizell family ever since her first arrival to Natal, cf. Posse to Beloved Anna 8.11.12, Hedvig Posses samling, B, Brev till Anna Posse 1904-1912, /Brev till vänner, Resebrev, Korrespondens, J. Tryckt material, SKMA.

Cf. above, Chapter three and five. On Nazareth of 1905, see Statistical tables in HM 53 1906 4: 102 and on Oscarsberg and Amoibie in the same year, CSM Statistical tables for 1905 in Missionsstatistik 1900-1939, H I: 2, SKMA.

Liljestrand to Hogner, 3.8.01, Md Korr SA, 1901-1902, E I c: 2, SKMA and Suxdker 1975: 97 and 106. Chapter five.
101 For a detailed account of the number of Christians at the various out stations around Oscarsberg by Hallendorff, see Ämbetsberättelse för Oscarsbergs station med utstationer och predikoplatser avgiven i juli 1904 av K. Hallendorff, stationsföreståndare, in Inspektion av missionsfälten 1904: A II: 11 b, SKMA.

102 Ämbetsberättelse för Oscarsbergs station med utstationer och predikoplatser avgiven i juli 1904 av K. Hallendorff, stationsföreståndare, in Inspektion av missionsfälten 1904: A II: 11 b, SKMA.

103 Ämbetsberättelse för Oscarsbergs station med utstationer och predikoplatser avgiven i juli 1904 av K. Hallendorff, stationsföreståndare, in Inspektion av missionsfälten 1904: A II: 11 b, SKMA.

104 Reseberättelse 1905 av Hj. Danell in Inspektion av missionsfälten 1904: A II: 11 b, SKMA.

105 Compared to the many and frequent reports in this respect by missionaries in the Appelsbosch region similar reports from the Oscarsberg region were Jess. Cf. Hallendorff in Ämbetsberättelse för Oscarsbergs station med utstationer och predikoplatser avgiven i juli 1904 av K. Hallendorff, stationsföreståndare, in Inspektion av missionsfälten 1904: A II: 11 b, SKMA and Hallendorff in SKMT 29 1904: 13-14: 209-214.

106 On the number of children baptised where both parents were Christians or where both parents were baptised together with their children in the period 1898-1902, cf. Liljestrand, Berättelse om min verksamhet under åren 1898-1902, Missionsstyrelsens Protokollsbilagor 1903, A II: 10, SKMA.


109 The Zulu word Emtonjaneni, also referred to as Mtonjaneni, means "at the place of the little spring". The CSM "Ekutuleni region" is assumed to stretch from Empini and Mhlatuze (to the north of the Mhlatuze river), in the south to Esiquomaneni in the north-east.

110 Cf. Norenius 1924: 168 and Statistik öfversikt af Svenska kyrkans missionsarbete i Sydafrika 1902 in Missionsstatistik 1900-1939, H I: 2, SKMA.

111 Cf. Chapter two, above.

112 Blue Book on Native Affairs 1901: C 22.

113 Guy 1982: 38

114 Cf. above, Chapter two.


116 Norenius 1924: 107, 158-160.

117 Norenius 1924: 160-161, 163, 168.


119 Kempe in SKMT 27 1902: 7: 113-120.

120 Guy 1982: 22, 32-34, 75

121 Kempe in SKMT 30 1905 11-12: 170-186


124 His father had played an important role in the Zulu kingdom and been the commander at the Battle of Rorke’s Drift during the 1879 Anglo-Zulu War. After the war he had lost his authority when his ward and homestead at Ezulwini, near Schreuder’s Entumeni, fell under John Dunn, the white trader whom the British assigned the largest chiefdom, covering most of southern Zululand. During the civil war he had been among the leaders of the royalist party. In 1886, however, he and Umzingeli had come into conflict with some Boers which, before the eyes of his son, resulted in his cold blooded murder. This, Binns says, was among the many grievances among Dinuzulu’s followers before the 1888 royalist uprising. Cf. Guy 1994: 16, 38, 73, 140, 196, 199 and 248, Laband and Thompson 1989: 197-198, Binns 1968: 86-88, 110. On Umzingeli’s account of his father’s murder, see Binns 1968: 87-88.
125Kempe to Hogner 4.2.02, in Md Korr SA, 1901-1902, E 1 c: 2, SKMA.
126Kempe in SKMT 30 1905 9-10: 147.
127Kempe in SKMT 30 1905 11-12: 185.
131N. Astrup in ZMB 28 1904 2: 23.
132H. J. S. Astrup in ZMB 29 1905 5: 64.
133Kempe to Hogner 22.10.01, 20.11.01, Md Korr SA, 1901-1902, E 1 c: 2, SKMA
134er. above, Chapter two.
135For Ekutuleni, see Kempe in his report of 1904: Ambetsberättelse avgiven vid Professor Danells inspektion 1904, in Inspektion av missionsfälten 1904: A II: 11 b, SKMA. See also Kempe in the report for 1903-04 in SKMT 30 1905 9-10: 143-150 and SKMT 30 1905 11-12: 170-186. For the Umvoti, see Hallendorff in SKMT 27 1902 8: 131-139. The reports of 1904 were similar from Umvoti and from Oscarsberg in northern Natal. Cf. Wahlberg: Missionens betraktningsrapporter, 1904: Ambetsberättelse för Oscarsbergs station med utstationer och predikoplatser avgiven i juli 1904 af K. Hallendorff, stationsföreståndare, in Inspektion av missionsfälten 1904: A II: 11 b, SKMA.
136Ambetsberättelse för Oscarsbergs station med utstationer och predikoplatser avgiven i juli 1904 af K. Hallendorff, stationsföreståndare, in Inspektion av missionsfälten 1904: A II: 11 b, SKMA. Previously there had been reports of the young men leaving for work, cf. Liljestrand, Berättelse om min verksamhet under åren 1898-1902. Missionsstyrelsens Protokollsbilagor 1903, A II: 10, SKMA.
137Cf. above, Chapter two.
138Ljungquist to Hogner 31.1.03 and 23.4.03, Md Korr SA, 1903-1904, E 1 c: 3, SKMA.
139Ljungquist to Hogner 16.10.03, Md Korr SA, 1903-1904, E 1 c: 3, SKMA. Cf. Guy V. Essery, Acting Magistrate, Mapumulo Division, Mapumulo 1904 (page 10) and J Y Gibson, Mag., Umvoti Division, Jan. 1904, (Page 31) in Blue Book on Native Affairs, 1903.
143Dahle 1904: 5.
144H. W. Boast, magistrate, New Hannover Division, Blue Book on Native affairs 1905, New Hannover page 55 compared to T. Maxwell, Magistrate, New Hannover Division, Blue Book on native affairs 1904, page 54.
146Ljungquist to Hogner 26.2.04, Md korr SA, 1903-1904, E 1 c: 3, SKMA.
147As a matter of fact, this peak in the number of adult baptisms in 1906 was the highest not only for the current period but also for the whole epoch reaching between 1904 and 1915 when all the regions of the CSM are compared. The number of adult catechumene baptisms in the Appelsbosch region were: 66 in 1904, (57 in 1905) and 112 in 1906. Statistik(även Rhodesia) 1900-1927, ff: 1, (Fältarkivet) SKMA.
149Walker 1990: 16.
150While the number of students at the station school on the mission farm remained the same between 1904 and 1905, there was a decline at the outstation schools from 34 to 25 students.
In some newly established congregations in Zululand and in the northern parts of the Appelsbosch region, this system was only partly employed by 1903 and probably for some years to come. Poverty or a limited access to cash in these areas allowed some people to instead pay their fees and donations in labour. It also has to be remembered that willingness to pay the fees may have varied between different regions. Cf. Hallendorff, Emtulwa, April 1903 and Kempe, Ekutuleni, March 1903 in their respective five-year reports 1898-1902 in MS Prot. Bil. 1903, A II: 10, SKMA.

Those who were qualified as communicants were not only the more established church members but they were also, to their ability, obliged to pay the annual fee to the congregation. Men would normally pay 10/ and women 5/. In some years these fees were exchanged for special donations for particular purposes.
CHAPTER SEVEN: THE LEADERSHIP OF THE EVOLVING ZULU CHURCH

The Evangelists as Forerunners and Pioneers of African Christianity

A special feature of the western missionary enterprise was that the Christian message was carried further from the mission stations into the surrounding regions by African co-workers, mostly men who were employed or voluntarily workers and who served as catechists or evangelists and were useful as guides and interpreters. The importance of the evangelist as a forerunner and a pioneer of Christianity can hardly be exaggerated, and most missionaries recognised his great usefulness. Without the evangelists the missionaries would have been alien to the life and thought patterns of those they sought to convert. Within the CSM this was pointed out by Tottie, and among his followers in South Africa both Ljungquist and Kempe were particularly aware of this fact. Similarly Liljestrand stated that the aim of the mission was actually not the Christianization of the whole people, but rather "to find the best among the Zulu who can bring up their own race."

When the mission planned an extension, the evangelists were the first to face the new area and to spread the Gospel. Only when they "had paved the way for the white missionary", as Kempe put it, the missionary could continue in their footsteps. Sometimes this was done even in the footsteps of evangelists of other missions and both at Appelsbosch and Dundee as well as at Emtulwa, CSM took over and established itself where the groundwork already had been done by others. For reasons such as these, for a more comprehensive understanding of how the movement towards Christianity proceeded and how the spreading of the Gospel occurred within African society in particular, Sundkler’s call of 1975 for more attention being paid to the significance of the African initiative, still appears valid.

Most evangelists were in charge of their own district, with its outstation and local school. Their work was sometimes very difficult as they often were surrounded by either hostile settlers or antagonistic chiefs, or both. When farmers threatened to expel any labourer who wanted to become a Christian or burned all hymnbooks or Bibles that came in their way, it was the evangelist who was seen as the major instigator. A hostile chief in Zululand even burned down the house of evangelist Daniel Buthelezi as a means to get rid of him. Some of the evangelists’ districts, as that in the Umvoti reserve, were very "hard to mould". Generally, however, hostility ceased in most places when people gradually became acquainted with the regular visits by the itinerant preacher. Gradually even unfriendly chiefs listened to the evangelists’ message, particularly in times of distress and sickness. Under difficult circumstances the evangelist could at times be compared with an izinyanga, a diviner and/or herbalist. Like the
izinyanga, the evangelist was known to be a qualified healer of both physical and spiritual ill-health. At times the evangelist would even be called upon rather than the izinyanga.8

Evangelists were seen as the missionaries’ most loyal and closest co-workers. Many of them were firmly established within the organisation, already from early childhood having been brought up at CSM mission schools or boarding homes. Others were educated at larger and more established institutions of neighbouring missions, but had for various reasons come to opt for a new employer. They were rewarded with wages and at times with opportunities to reside on small lots of private land, or with building sites which at various outstations were owned or rented by CSM. For some of them such material incentives were probably important for becoming an evangelist but, as with conversion, personal motives were certainly manifold. But strangely, apart from openly declared religious motives, the individuals’ conversions are seldom discerned in CSM sources.

Apart from wages and the possibility of achieving a piece of land there were also other rewards. One was the possibility of receiving further education. But as admitted by CSM missionaries, beside the elementary schooling the evangelists once had passed and the weekly instruction conveyed by the local missionary, their educational standards were generally poor.9 Their salaries were also poor and it did occur that evangelists left the mission for other employment elsewhere, e.g. in Johannesburg or Dundee.10 The monthly salary of a CSM evangelist was only £1.5 while labourers in Johannesburg could earn up to £2.0. Because loyal and experienced evangelists were not easily replaced, Ljungquist demanded higher wages which eventually were granted.11

By the end of 1902 31 evangelists were employed by CSM as leaders and representatives of their local communities. Because congregations varied in size, the number of Christians in congregations was most uneven. In the larger and more established regions, such as Appelsbosch and Oscarsberg, an evangelist was the leader of rather large outstation-congregations with an average of some 70-80 baptised members per evangelist. The most important outstations were found in the southern part of the Appelsbosch region, at Ozwatini, Mona and Nhlangakazi. In 1903 the Nhlangakazi congregation numbered at least 76 communicants, but adding to the figure also not yet qualified for communion, e.g. children and newly baptised adults, the total number in a congregation may very well have amounted to more than 100 adherents.12 In later established regions, as at Dundee and in Zululand, where pioneering work was the main task, the Christian communities were considerably smaller. The numbers of their followers would amount to an average of some 30 baptised members.13
Eleofase Nene: the First Black Clergyman of the American Zulu Mission

Some evangelists were well on their way to become part of a rural African middle class. Eleofase Nene (1838-1919) at the Ozwatini outstation in the eastern part of the Appelsbosch region, was a clear case. In his childhood he and his family had left the home in Zululand to settle at Inanda in Natal. There he had been baptised and educated by the Americans' at their Amanzimtoti mission station. Known as Rufus Anderson, he was in 1854 among the first to be admitted at the teachers training seminary at Amanzimtoti under the leadership of missionary David Rood. For several years he worked as a school teacher and was together with James Dube, Benjamin Hawes and John Hlonono among the leading men of the early church. In May 1870 he was ordained at Umzumbe, in the far south of Natal, thus becoming the first black minister of the American mission. The accounts on why he came to separate from the American mission vary. In 1876, Dinnenstein claims, he was accused of scandalous conduct in an affair that rocked the congregations. Anderson was accused by his wife of having an affair with another church member of the Umzumbe congregation. The case was examined by missionary Bridgman of the Umzumbe church who in 1877 called an Ecclesiastical Council consisting of members from other congregations and missionaries. Although Anderson admitted that he and the woman had written letters to one another and loved each other, he denied that he had committed adultery. The Council recommended that Anderson be deposed as minister and moved to Inanda. Ljungquist's and presumably Nene's version was that he had been accused of intending to marry his deceased brother's wife whereas he in the eyes of the American missionaries thus would have become a polygynist. To Ljungquist, with his more liberal views on polygyny and general scepticism of Reformed stands, Nene was presumably seen as a case deserving counselling and support rather than rigid application of church legislation. Before Ljungquist's arrival to the region, Anderson had settled on Jee's farm as a labour tenant. In 1890, after the farm had been purchased by Ljungquist, Anderson was appointed a CSM evangelist. By the turn of the century, when he was a comparatively old man and the work at Ozwatini was growing without remark, he was probably the most wealthy among CSM evangelists. He lived on his unencumbered privately owned farm which, bordering the Appelsbosch estate, amounted to no less than about 200 acres of land.

The European Mode of Living at Mona: Moya Kuzwayo

Moya Kuzwayo (1869-1924) was born and bred in the Appelsbosch area. In his early twenties he was on migrant work in Pietermaritzburg where he learnt to read and write at a Presbyterian evening school. When he and his family, whilst on an occasional visit to his home in 1891, miraculously escaped a thunderbolt, he decided to call on the local missionary. After attending the Appelsbosch school for two years he was appointed...
evangelist and became the CSM pioneer in the densely populated area of chief Sotobe's Nyuswa in the southern parts of Appelsbosch. He settled at Mona, in the midst of the Inanda reserve, which from that time became a CSM foothold in the area. In trying to describe his personality, Kempe said of him that he was a "a simple man of a sound character and a talented preacher who readily was listened to." A more vivid description of Kuzwayo was presented by missionary Helldén who several years later got to know him closely during the three years Kuzwayo studied at the Oscarsberg theological seminary. Helldén described him as stern, almost repellent, quick in flaring up and with something continuously "boiling" within him. His eyes flashed, piercing the very marrow of people. His looking at people brought about respect among those whom he taught, and his gaze filled evildoers with terror. But his sermons were, claimed Helldén, the most edifying he ever had heard among evangelists. Helldén regarded Kuzwayo to be a staunch Lutheran. Among the Nyuswa he steadily propagated the European model as a means of social improvement, "the whites work all day but you are lazybones; you don’t plough and therefore you don’t have anything to sell; you merely want to drink beer." He practised what he preached. Around his house he planted a small but flourishing orchard which, apart from his salary from the CSM, gave him an additional income. In regard to cattle, he was better off than some of his colleagues: in 1903 he owned at least eight oxen. Although Ljungquist appreciated his tireless preaching among the Nyuswa, Kuzwayo's personal ambitions were not fully appreciated. In private financial matters, Ljungquist claimed, Kuzwayo was far too keen to raise his own personality above that of other evangelists. In the pre-1906 period, Kuzwayo's relationship to chief Sotobe was most tense, and in various ways Sotobe tried to get rid of him. He levied him for several months to the compulsory isibalo and tried through the local magistrate to have him removed from the reserve. Although the attempts eventually failed, Kuzwayo's position in the reserve was far from safe, and on several occasions Ljungquist considered to withdraw him from the area. In his attempts to remedy Kuzwayo's difficult situation Ljungquist repeatedly requested the government for the purchase of the small piece of land at Mona. Because of the Natal government's policy on safeguarding chiefly authorities in the reserves, Ljungquist said, all these requests had flatly been denied.

Socolile Camane: the Teacher at Nhlangakazi

The CSM evangelist at Nhlangakazi, in the south-western part of Appelsbosch, was Socolile Camane. Already as a young boy he arrived in the area and enrolled at the Appelsbosch mission school which he attended for a year and a half. In 1896 he was assigned the task of a CSM evangelist among chief Mdiya's Ntuli folk. Here he succeeded the previous evangelist and pioneer in the area Tonise Ngcobo who in 1885, as an evangelist of the Americans, had begun the work there. When both the congregation and its evangelist in 1889 was taken over by CSM, and when Ngcobo
who furthermore was an educated mason, in 1896 left for a more promising secular career, Socolile was sent to Nhlangakazi. While Ljungquist was rather critical of both Kuzwayo and Ngcobo because of their personal economic ambitions, Camane was less well off financially and owned no cattle at all. Camane, like the first black minister, Josef Zulu, appears to have been an intellectual. He was a most able writer and in the Zulu language regarded as a master. He laid a great emphasis on his work as a teacher at the Nhlangakazi outstation-school and, in spite of competition from the advanced school at the next-door Roman Catholic mission which had European nuns on its staff, Camane was able not only to maintain standards, but increase the number of scholars at his own rather modest outstation-school. When his son Filemone in 1911 became the first second generation CSM convert to be admitted as a student at the Umpumulo teachers training school, this must have been a development of great pride to him.

During the first years Camane and chief Mdiya, the former Presbyterian evangelist, coped well together. Indeed, they seem to have been good friends. Mdiya’s wife was a member of the CSM congregation and the two regularly attended services. But when Mdiya took a second wife which occurred immediately before the turn of the century, his relations with CSM became strained. For two obvious reasons Mdiya began to draw near the Roman Catholics. Firstly they, unlike the CSM proceeding, did not refuse to baptise Mdiya’s children. Secondly, a great many of his relatives and a large part of the Ntuli clan as a whole belonged already to the Roman Catholic Church. Mdiya’s conversion is to be seen as an attempt to conform with the majority of converts among his people, and possibly as a means of thereby reinforcing his chiefly position. It is also interesting to note that his conversion appears to have coincided with an additional wave of Ntuli, moving from African traditional religion to Roman Catholicism. And for the first time since the establishment of St. Peter’s, the Catholics became numerically stronger in the area.

From an initially unchallenged premier position among the Nhuli, CSM now had to play the second fiddle. But when the government later dismissed Mdiya, the local power balance was bound to change, not only between local political authorities but also between the competing denominations, Catholics and Lutherans. If the Ntuli people had been allowed to determine their own future by electing a new chief, they would probably have chosen Mdiya’s brother who also was a Roman Catholic. The choice would have implied a rather sombre future for Camane and CSM. But when the government instead decided to bring the Ntuli under neighbouring chief Sotobe of the Nyuswa, this was — sharply contrasted to Ljungquist’s hitherto harsh attacks against Sotobe — now hailed with a great satisfaction by Ljungquist who hoped for a change in uneven odds. Those hopes were however soon to be dashed.
While the Ntuli were in continuous hostilities with the neighbouring Nyuswa, conditions for the local CSM community went from bad to worse. Mdiya, in spite of his move from the Lutherans to the Catholics, maintained fair neutrality between the two. Both Catholics and Lutherans were in 1901 allowed to erect chapels at Nhlangakazi, as was the case in other CSM congregations in Appelsbosch southern areas. Camane’s congregation now came under Sotobe’s mission- and convert-hostile rule. Sotobe’s takeover was decidedly to the disadvantage of CSM. The Catholics also after 1902 continued to enjoy privileges in the area which Ljungquist claims was due to the support they received from the local magistrate and the Undersecretary for Native Affairs. Camane and his congregation found themselves in a most exposed position. In 1904 Sotobe not only sent Kuzwayo off to isibalo, but also threatened to do the same with Camane. An uneasiness about Sotobe’s takeover seems, however, to have been felt among Catholics and Lutherans alike, and in 1904 both missions attempted to purchase land at Nhlangakazi as a means of providing a safety valve for their congregations. But this remained, at least to CSM, impossible for several years onwards.

**Daniel Magwaza at Oscarsberg: At the Crossroads Between Natal and Zululand**

In the Oscarsberg region, on the border to Zululand in Northern Natal, the leading and most able of the CSM African assistants was the school teacher and evangelist Daniel Magwaza. He was born in Zululand about 1875, i. e. some years before the 1879 Anglo-Zulu War. The dramatic and traumatic experiences of his early childhood and youth as well as his obvious link to Zululand, were probably important also for his continued career and general outlook as an evangelist. His detailed autobiography of 1899 begins,

> An intelligent man may never say, 'This is where I will live when I grow up.' But I, Daniel, thought so. I believed I would grow up to build a large homestead of my own, finding many wives. This was also what my contemporaries regarded as normal and what we talked about when tending cattle, goats and sheep. [But] a human being does not end up where he expects. ...I come from Zululand which is different from Natal. The Zulu people were conquered by the whites while I still was in Zululand. When the army had gone to fight against the whites, we greatly rejoiced at the prospect of the whites being defeated. Then our king, Cethswayo, would be celebrated.

In his close vicinity he experienced the humiliating defeat of the Zulu kingdom. His father was killed in action. Describing these experiences of his youth he said, "Our land had been ruined; it had been ruined by the whites. My father was no more, neither my uncle. Their wives married other men. My mother left too". During the following
civil war Magwaza tried to survive as a fugitive, surviving starvation and violent fighting until he, with some of his relatives finally was able to cross the Mzinyathi river and find shelter on the Natal side. While the Natal legislation required that all men and boys among the refugees were to be scattered and distributed among white farmers in the region, Magwaza’s uncle, to avoid this and to keep the family united, decided to settle on the Oscarsberg mission farm. There he attended the mission school and because he was considered a particularly bright student, he was among the few to be admitted at the HMS teachers training school at Ehlanzeni which he attended for three and a half years. From 1895 he was employed as a teacher at Oscarsberg and as an evangelist at outstations Umsinyatshana and Engudumeni.

In the Oscarsberg area he was widely known, not only because of his musical ear and the cornet he used to play, but also because of his talented and vivid sermons. Also the Swedish missionaries appreciated the sermons, delivered by their both imaginative and pious evangelist. Some of his sermons were translated and communicated to the home supporters through the CSM periodical. Among CSM evangelists, Magwaza was considered to be an unusually gifted Church worker, probably as a result of his thorough Biblical studies, pursued while at Ehlanzeni. It was to Hallendorff who from 1902 was his immediate superior at Oscarsberg that Magwaza’s background and insights became most important. Through him, Hallendorff claimed, he was intimately provided with African views, beliefs and opinions prevailing among converts, insights which otherwise would have been unknown by most whites, including missionaries.

Magwaza’s contacts were not only confined to the mission station and the outstations around Oscarsberg. His heritage in Zululand seems to have provided him with a continuous concern for the world beyond. Rorke’s Drift was a crucial wade across the Mzinyathi and an important cross-road where people travelled back and forth into Zululand. Through his wife, Elin Magwaza, he was related to the large and important Qungebe people under the hereditary chief Mehlokazulu who lived on the opposite side of the river. While her relatives were close followers of Mehlokazulu who was one of the most prominent leaders the Zulu royalist party, it is not unlikely that Magwaza may have been well-informed on political developments also in Zululand. Obviously quite familiar with and at ease both with his Zulu heritage and with his life at the mission station, it was in the latter world of new thought patterns and modes of life that he was most successful. Like several school teachers, clergy and artisans in other missions, he belonged to an emerging African Christian middle class. In 1906 he was well on his way to become quite prosperous, a remarkable achievement for a once orphaned child from Zululand.
Josef Zulu, the First African Ordained Minister of CSM

The Heritage of Tottie and the Pride of CSM

Through own means and not dependent on the missionaries in South Africa, CSM had in 1901 negotiated the ordination of Josef kaMataka Zulu (c.1862-1927). Born near Ngwibi in north-western Zululand as Umkwelantaba (the mountaineer), he was the son of Mataka Zulu and related to the Zulu royal family. In his youth he was converted by local HMS missionaries. Because of his Christian faith he was forced to cross the Mzinyathi and take refuge in Natal. There he met the pioneering CSM missionary Otto Witt and became his disciple. After the 1879 battle of Rorke’s Drift when the mission station was demolished, Witt left for Sweden and took his disciple with him. Josef Zulu was baptised in the town of Helsingborg and for five years educated at the Johan­nelund Mission Institute in Stockholm. As an educated evangelist he returned to South Africa in 1885. In the schism between Witt and CSM, Zulu did not follow Witt’s course. Tottie states, "...he was a man of fine character and sound spirituality." After 1890 Zulu came to work for the confessionally reliable Ljungquist at Appelsbosch. His loyalty to CSM was duly awarded. Because of an earlier promise by the powerful Swedish Archbishop Sundberg, Zulu returned to Sweden in early 1900 and underwent further training for ordination. In the following year he was ordained in the Uppsala Cathedral by J. A. Ekman, the new Archbishop and Sundberg’s successor. With a shorter education than normally required for ordination he was not to serve in Sweden, but on CSM mission field. In South Africa no distinctions in status were spelled out between him and the white ordained missionaries. As a matter of fact L. P. Norenius who first arrived to Natal as a CSM lay worker, had only one year earlier been ordained on the very same premises.

Social Darwinism and Missionary Discrimination

"With happiness and gratitude we witness the coming of an indigenous clergy," Hogner announced in the CSM periodical. But the official reports on the ordination do not describe its controversial nature. On grounds of principle it was not considered correct to ordain Zulu as was done with other fully trained ordinands and missionaries. Both Home Board and missionaries agreed that the ordination should have taken place in South Africa. But as the late Archbishop himself had promised Zulu an ordination in Sweden, it was difficult to object officially. Furberg points out that even if one generously could interpret the missionaries’ wish to ordain Zulu in South Africa as an important symbolic step towards a future Zulu church, their real aim was rather to emphasise the distinction between his lower, and their higher rank, ordained as they were by Swedish bishops. They feared that his ordination would become an excuse for him and other converts to claim an independent standing for which Africans were not
yet mature. It was evident, Furberg concludes that Zulu also in the future was to be under the guidance of a white missionary.\textsuperscript{55}

Already before Zulu’s ordination, Ljungquist asked Hogner to make it clear to him that his ordination would be given "by grace" and hence not equalled to that of the missionaries. Otherwise Zulu could be tempted to think too highly of himself.\textsuperscript{56} Ljungquist wanted the Home Board to inform Zulu that "his degree is not as high as ours and that he belongs to a lower class and therefore has no right to regard himself as skilled as the whites and demand an equal salary."\textsuperscript{57} L. P. Norenius asked Hogner to make clear to Zulu that he was to be under the guidance of Ljungquist.\textsuperscript{58} When Hogner had fulfilled the missionary request, he was not convinced that Zulu had understood their point, "Although he really got this impressed upon him. I don’t think Josef fully understands the difference in education etc. between himself and our missionaries."\textsuperscript{59} In spite of the ordination at the Cathedral, missionaries found it necessary to demonstrate his minor position in different ways.\textsuperscript{60} On his return to South Africa, Zulu immediately encountered the country’s white racist reality, and after disembarking in Durban, Helldén noticed, "it was difficult to find lodging for him as the whites do not wish to accommodate a black, although he be an ordained."\textsuperscript{61} Zulu was reinstalled at his old outstation Ifaye, subordinate to Ljungquist.

While the officially declared equality caused great anxiety among Swedish missionaries both before and after his arrival to South Africa, Zulu himself was conscious of his new status as an ordained minister. He expected his salary to be equivalent to that of the missionaries and he was not at all pleased to be placed in a junior position to Ljungquist and that his annual report to the Home Board was to be subordinated that of Ljungquist’s.\textsuperscript{62} A circumstance that also created much distress was that he, while in Sweden and according to custom among students of theology, was reported to have greeted his Swedish (white) colleagues "Young Brother."\textsuperscript{63} Among the missionaries was added the fear that converts entertained high expectations about his return. The saying among them, Ljungquist reported, was that Zulu after his ordination in Sweden now was an equal to the white missionary.\textsuperscript{64}

Hence the arrival of the newly ordained black minister was bound to cause tensions, particularly with Ljungquist, his immediate superior. Naturally Zulu also had supporters: beside his church members at Ifaye, people at the immediately neighbouring Emtulwa congregation and Hallendorff, his friend and former pupil in the Zulu language. When Zulu in 1902 was transferred to the distant Oscarsberg mission station and replaced at Emtulwa by the timid Wahlberg, Zulu was directly in the hands of Ljungquist. Among Home Board members he was supported and encouraged by Danell who remained faithful to the course, set out by Sundberg, its previous chairman. During his 1904 tour of the mission field Danell paid a visit to Zulu and the Ifaye congregation. Danell
262

expressed his great satisfaction over the work and underlined that Zulu indeed was
worthy ofCSMjoy. 65 But Hogner who had been disturbed by Zulu's fratemal greetings,
compared the converts in South Africa to the Tamil converts on the other CSM mission field in South India, "The temptation to be self-content and presurnptuous is greater
among the descendants of an absolutely uncivilised people than among a people
representing an old advanced culture".66 L. P. Norenius whose own recent ordination
was of the same status as Zulu's, maintained, "the indigenous want to be looked after,
even our dear Josef."67 But evolutionist attitudes were not the only decisive factors.
Swedish missionaries' attitudes were very much in line with the Natal govemment's
and settlers' contemporary opinions and the widespread hostility against the so-called
"Ethiopians". But it remains important to be mindful of the fact that it was the American mission which was in the forefront when ordaining black ministers. By the tum of
the century severa! of their congregations were managed by them. Partly for this reason they were antagonised by the govemment in its campaign against the "Ethiopians".
The Lands commission stated in 1902 that it was a mistake by the American missionaries
to let their African clergy be 1eft to control themselves, " ...the true interests of missionary
work can only be properly served by a qualified white missionary being the resident at
and controlling each station".68 Such comments were, however, voiced not only by
govemment representatives and settlers. When the American missionaries, neighbours
to Appelsbosch, in 1901 were about to band over the management of their mission
stations to their black clergy, also J. E. Norenius voiced his disbelief in an African
clergy, "One may fear that they still have not attained that inner stability and upbringing
that will make them mature enough for such a task", he claimed, while "it is generally
di ffi cult for the indigenous minister to keep himself and the parish afloat [so that they
can] carry on in the struggle against heathenism."69

Government Obstructions
The great expectations voiced among CSM converts on the retum of the first black
minister were hardly fulfilled. Measures were taken by the govemment which also
contributed to the undermining of Zulu's position. While evangelists of different
missions, including CSM, were exposed to the govemment's stricter attitude against
African preachers, the attitudes were to a greater extent experienced by black clergy.
They clearly represented the danger of a self-reliant, local African Christian leadership.
Particularly the black ministers of the older and larger American mission were subject
to the govemment's growing suspicions as an increasing nurnber of them from the tum
of the century were entrusted with own mission stations and congregations. 70 But
also the CSM minister while stationed at Ifaye outstation which boarded the Umvoti
reserves and therefore was close to Americans' mission stations further to the east,
became increasingly aware of the govemment's firmer line of action.


The Ifaye farm had originally been classified as Crown land and by the government designated for white settlement only. A special stipulation was added to the 1890 contract which implied that permission was required for Zulu and his family to live there. After 1890 the government’s Inspector of Crown lands regularly examined conditions at Ifaye although objections to Zulu’s living there hitherto not had been voiced. But in 1903, in accordance with the government’s increased antagonism against African preachers in the reserves, Zulu and his family were unexpectedly threatened with eviction from Ifaye. In negotiating with the Surveyor General in Pietermaritzburg, Ljungquist pointed out that Zulu had been ordained in Sweden, was exempted from Native Law, was "in every respect living a civilised life" and that he had a good reputation among the white farmers in the neighbourhood. For the time being this obviously sufficed; Zulu and his family could remain at Ifaye. It did however not take long before new attempts were made to obstruct the work of the black ministers in Natal. One such measure taken by the government was its refusal to issue them marriage licences. Also in this matter it was foremost the clergy of the American mission who were antagonised, largely on the rounds that the African Congregational Church was seen as an "Ethiopian Church". In 1904 Zulu was granted a license, but in the following year it was refused. Throughout 1905 and during the first months of 1906, Ljungquist states, extensive correspondence took place with the local magistrate, without the issue being solved. After having answered a manifold of questions about his baptism, upbringing, ordination and an alleged visit to Dinuzulu who was his relative, the obstacles raised against him were removed. In spite of the magistrate’s many questions having satisfactorily been answered, Ljungquist stated, Zulu was called to the Under Secretary for Native affairs in Pietermaritzburg. As was the case with Zulu’s colleagues in the American mission, also he was ultimately refused the license, on grounds of insufficient fluency in the English language.

Interesting parallels to the events in the CSM can be seen when comparing to earlier developments in the older missions in the area. Also the Methodists slowly surrendered to the colour line. Actually they could to have been among the first to allow African pastors as they demanded piety and oratory rather than formal education in their clergy but, according to Etherington, there is no doubt that the question of colour now delayed also their ordinations as most of their missionaries feared that the blacks would change the balance of power at District meetings. About the American missionaries Etherington says that due to lack of success in converting Africans, the more knowledge they achieved about customs and attitudes of the Zulu the more they became supporters of British imperialism as a means of overcoming the Zulu opposition to Christianity. So, this conversion to imperialism was accompanied by a steady weakening of faith in African potential and when the ordination of black pastors did begin it was only undertaken on explicit orders from home; without such orders, the missionaries might have waited decades before acting.
Parish Founder and Zulu Nationalist: Stefan Mavundhla of Ceza and his "Spiritual Children"

Unlike the communities established by the CSM in rural Natal and Zululand, i.e. Oscarsberg, Appelsbosch and Ekutuleni, the Zulu Christian congregation at Ceza, on the southern slopes of the Ceza mountain in the fork between the Black Mfolozi and the Isikwebezi rivers of north-western Zululand, was neither brought about by CSM agents, nor was its growth to any extent the result of private land first having been purchased for mission purposes. Instead the establishment of Ceza congregation and its flourishing development was the result of an independent African initiative and dynamic Zulu Christian leadership. After first having sought the assistance of Kempe and after thereafter having received a Swedish missionary in 1905, its continued developments were bound to be closely intertwined with CSM. The interaction between the Ceza congregation, its founder and leader on the one hand and, on the other, the local CSM, provides in this respect a useful reference for a further understanding of how the CSM positioned itself in an environment that was different from what it previously had experienced in regions where its dominance essentially was based on the ownership of land. For this reason, pre-1906 developments in the Ceza region deserves particular attention.

"I Believe I am in Heaven!"

Stefan Mavundhla was the founding father of the congregation which was centred around the Ceza mountain. Born in the early 1870s, he left his childhood home on the southern slopes of the Ceza mountain to be educated and baptised at the HMS Ekuhlengeni mission station, situated to the north-west of Ceza mountain. For some years Mavundhla worked as an itinerant evangelist in the border region between British Zululand and the Transvaal. During the South African War when Dinuzulu organised his intelligence service throughout the north-western parts of the country, Mavundhla was probably useful in that the area was well known to him. When both Boer and British settlers suspected him for being a spy, he returned to his family home at Ceza, then on British territory. With an influx of some Zulu Christians belonging to the neighbouring NMS Mahlabatini congregation, he established a small congregation. While the Ekuhlengeni mission station in the course of the war was abandoned and its missionary-in-charge returned to Germany, Mavundhla in 1901 called on Kempe for the baptism of his catechumens.

Why he turned to Kempe at far away Ekutuleni instead of seeking assistance by neighbouring NMS missionaries at Mahlabatini, is difficult to assess. According to Kempe, this was due to a recommendation by one of Mavundhla's brothers who was familiar with Ekutuleni conditions, his previously having attended school at
Ekutuleni. But also other factors may have played a role. CSM attempts to advance its positions through Kempe’s energetic search for new footholds in the north-west were probably not unknown at Ceza. At a time when land conditions in Zululand were bound to be changed after the expiration of the five-year moratorium, imposed by the British, CSM was in a more favourable position than other missions. Its expansionist ambitions were coupled with its apparent economic capacity as clearly demonstrated first in its purchase of the farm in the fertile and Boer-dominated “Proviso B” and in its readiness to provide its evangelists with land, demonstrated in the recent purchase of Empini in 1901. Conversely, reasons for an affiliation with the NMS were less favourable. In regard to the landholding conditions, Norwegian missionaries were rather defensive, awaiting a doubtless post-war Natal settler invasion which possibly might include their domains as well. Envisaged developments at both Mahlabatini and the neighbouring Inhlasatshe belonged to a bleak past. With a part of Mavundhla’s congregation having left the NMS at Mahlabatini, an affiliation with the NMS would probably have implied a shadowy existence as a mere outstation under the supervision of nearby NMS missionaries. The distance to Ekutuleni enabled an autonomous development. At the same time the acquaintance with Ekutuleni conditions may have provided information on Kempe’s marked concern for his evangelists’ further education and possibly his enthusiasm for the object of a distinctly Zulu Lutheran folk church. Such missionary qualities would in the particular Ceza environment, in the heartland of royal Zululand and neighbouring Dinuzulu’s Nongoma, have proved particularly encouraging.

In 1903 an agreement was reached between CSM and the missionaries of HMS whereby Mavundhla and his congregation were officially transferred to CSM. Whether or not NMS missionaries at all were consulted, remains uncertain. Nevertheless, when Mavundhla with his company of baptismal candidates on Christmas Day in 1903, after a three day long march from Ceza, finally arrived at the Ekutuleni church, it became an important event in the history of CSM and a manifest sign of the new covenant. Entering the church doorway and dazzled by the light of the Christmas-decorated church, the group from Ceza stopped halfway, and Mavundhla exclaimed: “I believe I am in Heaven.”

To the other CSM missionaries who from a distance witnessed this steady and most promising growth in converts, developments at Ceza appeared exceptional. By the end of 1904 there were some 40 congregants and an equal number of baptismal candidates of whom the majority were adults. In 1905 these were 54 and 80 respectively and the following year they were 69 and 37, with an overwhelming majority being adults. The main reason for this progress was by Kempe ascribed to Mavundhla’s personal achievement and energetic leadership. Contributing was also Mavundhla’s particular gift of inspiring the local congregation with enthusiasm and enrolling a number of loyal and zealous voluntary co-workers. With Kempe’s determined aim in encouraging
Zulu evangelists, coupled to Mavundhla's enthusiasm, an additional four of Mavundhla's assistants were by 1905 employed as evangelists.\textsuperscript{88} Mavundhla was clearly a born leader, and because of his charismatic personality and strong leadership abilities, the four evangelists and a large additional number of unsalaried co-workers were all, as recorded by Josef Sandström, not only dependent on and obedient to Mavundhla, but also to "his spiritual children".\textsuperscript{89}

Among his co-workers were Tituse Mtshali and Andreas Madide who, as in the case of Mavundhla, were educated by the HMS. Mtshali soon established his own congregation in the district at kwaNkandumba and Madide, with his gentle and dignified manners and highborn chiefly heritage, was said to exercise a tremendous influence on the people in his district near Weltvrede.\textsuperscript{90} A particular feature which distinguished the work, carried out at the Ceza, were opportunities provided for women to evangelize. This was not the case in other CSM congregations. Many of the female evangelists were favourably received by the people among whom they preached. One of them was a young girl who used to preach in areas to the west of the Ceza mountain. When she suddenly became seriously ill and on her deathbed delivered a testimony about her faith, many people were moved to hear her speak so strongly about her conviction that many converted to the faith, and it led to rapid spread of Christianity in the region.\textsuperscript{91}

To the north of Ceza, towards the Umkuzi and Emkuzi rivers at Isipandmane, another woman, Melika Dhlamini, initiated a remarkable revival. First educated by Kempe at Ekutuleni, she became one of Mavundhla's devoted disciples and with "unusual talents and a deep knowledge of the Christian teachings" she worked as an itinerant voluntary evangelist, preaching in a region which missionaries claimed to be "unbroken heathen grounds". Her influence was said to be widely felt and by 1905 a small congregation was established on the Boer-owned farm where she lived.\textsuperscript{92} But shortly thereafter the encouraging development suddenly was challenged when she gave birth to an illegitimate child which CSM missionaries feared would lead to the disintegration of her entire congregation. The missionary fears were overcome by Melika Dhlamini's humility. Because of her humble repentance and penance she instead became as were she a living saint, recognised both among her own folk and among other people in that part of the country. Thus the Christian faith was spread in the region.\textsuperscript{93} Many years later when the local CSM missionary in his annual report wrote on the most successful development that had taken place in the CSM Umkuzi-Ngwibi region, conversion of the people and the influence of CSM missionary labours in that part of the country was entirely ascribed to Dhlamini's extraordinary influence. Appropriately he referred to her as "Mother of the congregation."\textsuperscript{94}
The Ceza Congregation Within Zulu Society

Apart from Mavundhla’s talent in finding and engaging a number of zealous and devoted evangelists, the successful establishment of the Ceza congregation should also be seen against the background of the particular historical and political situation in that part of Zululand. The region surrounding the Ceza mountain was the very heartland of the old Zulu kingdom, dominated by groups of people who formerly had maintained prominent positions in Zulu history. Among them were foremost the Usuthu, traditionally the direct followers of the king and the people among whom Dinuzulu since 1898 had lived as their chief at Nongoma, not far from Ceza. But the Ceza region was not only located in a most significant part of the country. It was also severely conflict-ridden. It had been the scene of much fighting in wars between the Zulu kingdom and intruding Boers, British and Mandlakazi, the arch enemies of the Usuthu. To the south, on the Mahlabatini plains, was oNdimi or Ulundi, which once was Cethswayo’s grand homestead before it was destroyed, first in the last battle of the 1879 Anglo-Zulu War and subsequently in the war against the British usurper Zibhebhu and his Mandlakazi in 1883. The Ceza mountain also formed the border to the Transvaal Boers who, in search of grazing, for decades had infiltrated western Zululand. After 1884 the Boers had captured almost one-third of the north-western parts of the land, including a large part of the Usuthu area and much of the best grazing lands. As a result of the South African War, this part of Zululand was annexed by Natal in 1902, although the defeated Boer farmers still remained on the vast tracts of land they once had conquered from the Zulu. In the eastern part of Zululand the resistance against British rule and the war against Zibhebhu’s Mandlakazi continued. In 1888 the Ceza region again became the epicentre of a conflict, and remained thus until Dinuzulu and the Usuthu were defeated in the battle of Ceza mountain. The defeat led to Dinuzulu’s trial, imprisonment and exile to St. Helena in 1889.

By 1902 Dinuzulu had not only re-established his main homestead at Nongoma but also reinforced his position during the South African War in which the most apparent tensions were those between the Zulu and the Boers. Feelings of animosity were heightened in the course of the South African War. Zulu were angered by the Boers who, when requisitioning their horses and cattle, failed to give the Zulu receipts. Sometimes entire herds were thus acquired. Zulu were furthermore said to have been shot without trial for trivial offences, sometimes merely on suspicion that they were spies for the British. On 6 of May 1902 these tensions reached a climax in the so-called Holkranz incident when fifty-six of seventy Boer men were killed by the Qulusi. Memories of old battles with the Zulu left deep scars in Natal and among the Boers a desire for revenge for “the massacre at Holkrans”. According to the British investigation of the incident,
Every Boer expresses the most bitter hatred of the Zulus. They all express a wish that the Zulus would rise now while the British troops are in the country so that they may be practically wiped out. The Boers all say that in the event of a rising, every one of them would join the British troops in order to have a chance of paying off old scores against the Zulu...

Among the Zulu the fear for and the hatred of Boer settlers was widespread and profound. Concern over the lost vast area of fertile land in the Vryheid District was the overriding issue. Settler mentality and the harsh treatment of African labourers in this "frontier region" where several of the farmers had taken one or several African wives, added to the bitter feelings. In enmity against the Boers, Christians and non-Christians alike stood united. This was clearly stated in reports of NMS missionaries Berge and Borgen from the Mahlabatini and Inhlasatshe regions respectively. In the light of the "tyrannical" circumstances which converts at Mahlabatini were exposed to, and Borgen's assertions, Zulu Christians' sympathies entirely being on the side of the British against the Boers. Such feelings were widespread further south in the NMS Imfule region where, as claimed by missionary Dahle, Boers regarded Christians as particular enemies, because they during the South African War were said generally to have prayed for the eradication of Boer dominance. Also bitterness over lost lands died hard. The Anglican missionary Charles Johnson of St. Augustine's who once at close quarters witnessed a Boer raiding, many years later revisited his converts in the border area, described their situation thus, "the natives who were the former owners of the land are now mere 'squatters', or serfs, at the will of their white masters. The majority of the natives have to work without any wages just for the privilege of squatting on the land that... belonged to them." On his encounter with parish members he said, "They were full of woe and with sore hearts on account of what they considered hard treatment by the (now) Boer owners of the land that formerly belonged to their fathers."

The Many Missionaries Around Dinuzulu

Zulu Christians and non-Christians alike were united in their common enmity against the dominance of Boer settlers to the west. There were seemingly peaceful relations between followers of Christianity and African traditional religion, at least on the surface. Ceza conditions, as featured in CSM sources, differ sharply to the continuously latent hostilities between chiefs and CSM agents in the Appelsbosch region of Natal. The social and political situation among the people in the arid and overcrowded Natal reserves, and their experiences of white settler, government and missionary presence, was of course different from conditions that prevailed among people who lived to the east of Ceza where access to land yet was unrestricted. It may also be true that the close vicinity of Dinuzulu, the royal family and the royal homestead at Nongoma, may
have played a role towards a conciliatory atmosphere between followers of the two
religions.

At least two interwoven factors are of importance in assessing the emerging consensus
between the Zulu royal house and representatives of Natal and Zulu Christianity. One
is the rapprochement between Dinuzulu and the Natal African Christian élite which,
as claimed by Marks, was beginning to take shape in the early years of the century. The
other is the influence on Dinuzulu and his family, exercised by the Anglican clergy
while in exile on St. Helena, as described by Cope. A third factor emerges as a result of
careful study of missionary sources which describe the particular conditions that
prevailed in the Nongoma region, and stimulated a movement towards Christianity on
the part of several of the female members of the royal house. And because of royal
authorisation, an independent and self-conscious African Christianity was developed
in the region around Nongoma.

It was to missionaries of the Anglican SPG that the effect of the new policy was seen
in Zululand. Pascoe who claims that Dinuzulu actually was turned in favour of the
church, draws attention to Dinuzulu’s letter to his mother and to the Anglican Bishop
Carter of Zululand in which he asked for a teacher for his people to teach all, ”those
who do not wish to learn and those who do since there are many of the Zulu people
who do not desire to learn because of their regard for the amadhlozi (ancestral spirits)
– a thing which helps not at all – which is nothing.” One result of his request was that
Anglican mission work was begun at Nongoma in 1894. While Dinuzulu was said to
entertain an undoubted loyalty to his people, the Anglicans had great expectations for
the future, ”he has the opportunity of exercising a real influence for good amongst
them.” 103 In 1898 an outstation was established in the Isikwebezi valley, between
Nongoma and Ceza, under the Revd. F. W. Walters. The first Anglican venture to
Nongoma was, according to Cope, not very successful. Walters found himself, because
of Dinuzulu’s negative attitude, ”up against a stone wall”. Walters’ statement is also
used by Cope as a justification for his own generalised understanding of Dinuzulu’s
attitude towards Christianity which he contrasts with the more easily defined positive
stance of Solomon (Dinuzulu’s son and successor in 1913, and the subject in Cope’s
study).104 More research appears to be required on the Anglican presence at Nongoma.
There are sources which convey a diametrically opposed picture, indicating that
Anglican foothold at Nongoma, Dinuzulu’s main homestead, soon developed into a
rather important mission centre. In 1900, as narrated by CSM missionary Fristedt, this
enterprise, run by two of its Zulu catechists, was centred around the local chapel, a
rather large hut of grass where services were held twice a week.105 Only ten years
after the establishment of the first mission enterprise, during a visit to Dinuzulu in
1904, Bishop Nils Astrup of the CNM wrote that the whole country appeared to be
under Anglican influence.106 Astrup who claimed he always had been Dinuzulu’s
friend and readily visited and consulted him, similarly noticed the prominent position that was entrusted to the local African priest, Dinuzulu's private teacher and court chaplain who also appears to have functioned as an advisor on ecclesiastical affairs. Together with the information, conveyed by Marks on issues at the turn of the century on relationships between Dinuzulu and the Natal African Christian élite, non-British missionary reports convey information which can be described as a new religious policy, developed by Dinuzulu after his arrival at Nongoma. One example of the new course is illustrated in the correspondence by CSM missionary Fristedt who certainly was not one of Dinuzulu's friends. In 1898 one of his former pupils at Ekutuleni, Princess UnTonyana, one of King Mpande's daughters and the sister of Sitheku, moved and settled with Dinuzulu at Emahasheni, Nongoma. In one of her letters of July 21 1898 she wrote, "We now live in peace and quietness. We greatly rejoice the return of the Prince. We may now be taught undisturbed. No one prevents us from praying and reading the word of God." Apart from Boer dominance to the west of the Cezamuntau, the presence of other whites was still rather limited in the eastern part of Zululand, particularly so in the Mahlabatini and Nongoma Districts. Missionary activities were by and large restricted to the agents of the few societies which were established prior to Cetshwayo's accession to the throne in 1873. The Norwegians under Schreuder established themselves early in Zululand proper. Already in 1860 Schreuder founded the Mahlabatini mission station in what then was the heartland of the Zulu kingdom, i.e. in the midst of the large and important homesteads of royalties and higher nobility around oNdini or Unodwengu (Ulundi). In spite of its early establishment and the great expectations tied to its location in the nearness of kings Mpande and then Cetshwayo, progress remained limited. After the devastating battles of 1879 and 1883 which by and large had depopulated the region as a whole, prospects were even more disheartening. Passing through the region in 1903, missionary Leisegang noted the considerable contrast to the 1860s when he had been a missionary there,: "Instead of the large royal homesteads with partially over 1,000 huts there were now large, deserted grassy plains instead of a bustling throng of thousands of the king's soldiers, we hardly met a single human being." In addition to this the nucleus of the royal family had by this time moved from Mahlabatini, further north, to Dinuzulu's Nongoma. The lack of missionary success at Mahlabatini must be seen in the light of remaining influences of the old regime. As late as in 1892, the Mahlabatini congregation was still the smallest within the NMS, which, according to Myklebust, was due to the remaining strong impact of traditionalism at the former headquarters of Cetshwayo.

The new religious policy developed at Nongoma was felt by the string of HMS mission stations further to the north-west, e.g. Ekuhlenen, Bethel and Hlomohlomo.
These came into an advantageous position. Through the activities of their Zulu co-workers and missionaries they came to be linked to the Ceza and Nongoma regions.\textsuperscript{116} The HMS missionary Stallbom at the Bethel mission station\textsuperscript{117} had worked in the region for over thirty years and was known for his close identification with his Zulu Christian congregation and deep understanding of Zulu life. Already during the reigns of the former kings, he maintained friendly relations both with Mpande and Cethswayo.\textsuperscript{118} But it was with Dinuzulu, after his return from St. Helena, that he best made his influence felt. With Dinuzulu’s permission, German missionaries placed one of their African evangelists at the nearby Emahaslini. At this place where they also built a chapel and a school, Dinuzulu occasionally attended Stallbom’s sermons and listen to his advice in various matters. Stallbom also played an important role as consultant to Dinuzulu in his difficult political role during the South African War.\textsuperscript{119} This may explain why Dinuzulu, as Marks claims but leaves unexplained, showed particular concern for the protection of the neighbouring Herrmansburg missionaries.\textsuperscript{120}

The Women of the Zulu Royal Family

Apart from the activities of the different missionary organisations there were also other indications of changed relationships between the Zulu royal house and the new religion. Fristedt reports that in early 1898, immediately after his return from St Helena, Dinuzulu began a tour of the country with the purpose of finding additional wives among his people.\textsuperscript{121} The king’s wives were normally chosen on grounds that they represented the important productive and reproductive units of the kingdom. This was an urgent matter in the mind of the recently returned Dinuzulu who needed to re-establish his strategic and political power base in a war torn country. Marks claims that it was only after, and as a result of, the Bambatha uprising that Christianity finally gained a footing in the royal family.\textsuperscript{122} It is important to note that among the women whom Dinuzulu chose to become his wives, there were also African Christian women who before being married to him had been baptised.\textsuperscript{123} Fristedt who accompanied Nils Astrup on a visit to Dinuzulu’s Nongoma in 1900, claims that among his twenty wives of that year, at least three were Christians. Of the three, one had been baptised by the HMS at Hlomohlomo and another in a local Anglican mission. The third, Elisabet or Baqapile, was well-known by Fristedt as she formerly had been a scholar at the CSM Ekutuleni boarding school and at which mission station she had been baptised. Referred to as one of Dinuzulu’s sisters-in-law, she also belonged to one of the important families in the kingdom.\textsuperscript{124} The influence that these women may have had on the royal family and Dinuzulu himself is difficult to estimate. But to local missionaries they were regarded as important. It was through them that the missionaries gained access to Dinuzulu and his court. In 1904 when Nils Astrup of the CNM reported that one of Dinuzulu’s Christian wives had died, he was convinced that he still would have access to the royal house through the wife baptised by the CSM.\textsuperscript{125}
The composition of royal wives reflected a gradually changing religious scene among the people of Zululand. With Zulu authority being moved from Ulundi to Nongoma, and a modified religious policy which came with the new head of the royal family, led to further Christian tolerance which had already been started by baptised women members of the royal house. Already when the Anglican mission at Nongoma was established in 1894, not less than six of Dinuzulu’s sisters were said to have been enrolled among its first catechumens. When the Anglican missionary Johnson of St. Augustine’s in audience met with the prominent Queen mother okaMsweli in 1900, it was evident that when Dinuzulu’s previous request for the education of his people was mentioned, the Queen herself showed a particular interest in the issue.

Similar reports were given by other missionaries. In 1902 missionary S. Dahle of the NMS station at Mahlabatini reported that king Mpande’s youngest daughter, formerly known as Mtonjana but now by the Christian name of Nikolina, and her daughter, after first having received Dinuzulu’s approval, had been baptised. It is clear that Christianity was being spread among the women in the royal family. In 1903 another princess was baptised, and yet another was about to join the NMS Mahlabatini congregation.

**Zulu Christians and Chiefs in the Ceza Region**

The good relations between the Zulu royal house and the various local Christians are also documented in CSM records. Sandström reported that Dinuzulu’s people frequently attended the services at the Ceza church. Also minor chiefs seem to have entertained a cordial and friendly relationship with the Ceza congregation. Such was the case with the local chief, the government-appointed Tshibilika of the local Ndebele, as recorded by Sandström in the course of his first visit to the area in 1905. At the time, the chief and his headmen demonstrated their cordial attitudes and, as a token of friendship, greeted the visiting missionaries with traditional beer. Surprised by the way in which chief and headmen attentively listened to the sermon and took part in the service, Sandström notes not without emotion that the chief with the congregation went down on his knees in prayer. before the confession of sins. The natural Christian behaviour was a general move towards the Christian faith among the Ndebele. Later, after having become more familiar with local conditions, Sandström noted that several of the chief’s children as well as one of his prominent headmen were among the regular churchgoers. The cordial relations between the chief and the Ceza congregation remained. A result of this was the chief’s ruling that all converts among his people were to be exempted from the *isibalo* because absence from home would hinder the childrens’ continued schooling. Also the chief himself was attracted to the Christian faith, but he was by way of his position in society, forced to take traditional religiosity among his people into account. Encouraged by the local magistrate, Tshibilika eventually discontinued his church attendance.
Chief Stefan Xulu lived among his people in the area of the Mkoposi river. Like Mavundhla he had been exposed to the HMS at Ekulengeni where he once was baptised and educated. For several years he lived as the only convert in the region. At the time of his promotion to the chieftainship, he was persuaded by leading members of his people to take a second wife. The first wife was normally considered to be the "love-wife". But as was the case with Dinuzulu, additional wives were regarded by the elders of the people to bring about a balance of power and resources within the chiefdom. The relationship between chief Xulu and Mavundhla was most cordial, and the latter was a frequent guest in the chiefly homestead. In this respect their common background in the Herrmansburg mission may have played a role. But it was equally true that chief Xulu, in spite of his several wives which among missionaries disqualified him as a true believer, at heart regarded himself as being Christian. Xulu was eager to have Mavundhla conduct prayers, singing and worship at his homestead and he keenly wanted one of the Ceza evangelists to be placed among his people.

Swedish Missionary Josef Sandström Arrives at Ceza

To the CSM the rapid progress at Ceza brought about a growing concern regarding clerical leadership which, in the first years, was undertaken by Kempe's occasional visits. But the distance between Ceza and Ekutuleni was a problem. Kempe wanted an ordained man, black or white, to be placed at Ceza. Otherwise, he feared, the achieved encouraging position would be endangered. With the lack of experienced missionaries or black clergy on the one hand, and only a young missionary available who recently had arrived from Sweden on the other, coupled to Ljungquist's little regard for the work in Zululand, it was suggested that the twenty-five year old Josef Sandström be placed at Mavundhla's Ceza, beginning in August 1905. His first assignment was to practice speaking Zulu and secondly be Kempe's assistant.

During his first year at Ceza Sandström was very much the personal guest of Mavundhla and his family, living in their homestead, sharing all their meals and being totally dependent on them in his communication with the local population. This first period of their acquaintance is delightfully described by Sandström. Also Mavundhla appears to have been enthusiastic about his tutoring the newcomer and, Sandström writes, the two of them often had long conversations in which Mavundhla always was a most willing and entertaining teacher, not only in the Zulu language but also in Zulu traditional religion, manners and customs, "Through him I learned much of what else is hidden to all whites and not seldom did he give me advice on how to act in various situations." Sandström wrote. On their joint preaching tours, Sandström spelt his way through the Bible texts while Mavundhla preached. "Sometimes when he preached he became a true actor" Sandström said and, "falling asleep during Stefan's sermons was utterly out of the question." In a letter to Hogner of 6th September 1905 and in an
article in the CSM periodical, Sandström affirmed, "So far, I have met almost nothing but sheer friendliness and accommodating manners." 

Nevertheless, it did not take long until the favourable situation changed. In an early article Sandström writes from Ceza about his view on "the heathen Zulu" who spent their time in the valley of darkness. His subsequent letters and articles complain about a dreadful, nervous worry and isolation in the wilderness, being alone among the heathen etc. From time to time he became ill and occasionally spent time recovering at other mission stations. It was also at this time that Sandström began his detours in the region where he frequently stayed with and became friendly with several of the local Boer farmers, a friendship which he maintained throughout his years at Ceza. 

While his main task was to get in touch with potential converts among Boer Zulu labourers, his admiration of the god-fearing and patriarchal Boers was immense. Also their treatment of Africans was exemplary, Sandström said, "a whipping, much of whipping is sometimes needed, the blacks understand this even if it hurts when they have been up to mischief. The Boer is born to rule." 

At the same time there were growing fractions between the two friends, Sandström and Mavundhla. Emphasising his position as a white missionary, Sandström tried to get the upper hand. Although he still was Mavundhla's guest at Ceza, he did not refrain from finding faults with him and rebuking him in various matters. Nevertheless, for a long time Sandström had to accept the fact that Mavundhla was his superior and that the evangelist remained the natural leader of the congregation. Forced to accept Mavundhla's powerful personality and leading qualities, Sandström remarked that Mavundhla's rule resembled the role of an old, despotic Zulu chief. It is probable that Mavundhla also in other ways was more than a match for Sandström. A portrayal of Mavundhla by Rickard Eriksson (Rickland) who later became Sandström's successor at Ceza, is most revealing. Eriksson admitted that it was difficult to grasp Mavundhla's complex personality. But he also admitted other details in Mavundhla's character which made him so admirable: his bright intelligence and remarkable power of apprehension, "While others still reflect, he swiftly detects the answer and responds correctly," Eriksson writes. It also seems to have been difficult to convince him of any inadequacy in his knowledge in details of the Christian faith. In contrast to the missionaries' descriptions of many of the other evangelists, Mavundhla with his decidedly Christ-centred approach seems to have been well versed in Biblical knowledge, and knowledgeable in Christian theology. Among the evangelists at Ceza, Eriksson claimed, he was the most orthodox in Lutheranism (which possibly was the result of his background in the staunchly Lutheran HMS). In his sermons he often referred to the sacrificial death of Christ and because of his great faith in this Christology, he was in his own spiritual life seldom afraid to confess his own personal sins.
"Jesus Showed His Love to All"

It was thus from an assured position, with a personal integrity and an obvious self-reliance that Mavundhla attempted to handle the increasingly ambitious missionary Josef Sandström. It was also during this period that the topics discussed between Mavundhla and Sandström increasingly were focused on the role of missionary. Already in early October 1905, in a long discussion on the African Independent Churches, Sandström relates Mavundhla’s view, how in contrast to the "Ethiopians", "The white missionaries mostly sit on the veranda having coffee... and not wandering in the land without homes or fine houses, as Jesus taught." Somewhat later, in what Sandström described as a long and most rewarding conversation on why Sandström’s kitchenmaid not had returned in due time, Mavundhla replied:

Oh, she had gone to one of the whites. If a black brings a letter to a white, the black has to wait. The white man talks with his own people and forgets that the black man’s heart soon wants to leave. You don’t deal as quickly with us as you do with each other. When the missionaries first arrive here they are nice and kind but soon the older [missionaries] teach them the opposite. Some of the missionaries are rather like the Boers in their manners and treatment of us.

Similar statements were increasingly expressed not only by Mavundhla but obviously too by others in the congregation and, as political tensions gradually grew in the first half of 1906, the critique became increasingly apparent. By May 1906 Sandström noted the common saying about German missionaries that although they were credited by being the most eloquent teachers, "as soon as they leave the church or the school, they merely remain white men." In the face of such attitudes towards Western missionary Christianity among the people at Ceza, Mavundhla’s countermove was to increasingly focus on the very image of Christ. He often referred to Christ himself, Sandström wrote, and, in contrast to what he claimed often was perceived of white missionaries, Mavundhla insisted that, "Jesus showed his love to all."

As time passed it became apparent that the Swedish missionary was about to settle permanently. In the long run he would not be satisfied with his present competitive role with Mavundhla and his trying to outmanoeuvre him from his leading position in the congregation. The prospects of a mission station being established were also becoming evident, particularly when Sandström began to plan for an own house. Mavundhla and the congregation had arranged for the building of a separate hut for the missionary at Mavundhla’s homestead. Sandström, on the other hand, found the deteriorating relations between Mavundhla and himself leading to insecurity and dependency. At the same time Kempe, trying to lead CSM enthusiasm from the
Zimbabwe project, needed to demonstrate progress in and consolidation of the Zululand expansion. By early 1906 he approached the Natal government with an application for a site in the Ceza region, a regard which immediately was granted on condition that missionary work was to be carried out on the site.\textsuperscript{158} By 1907 CSM could thus safeguard its position at Ceza on the ten acres that were granted by the government within what was now the Mahlabatini African reserve.\textsuperscript{159}

But while the government’s grant occurred in the wake of the drastic changes recommended by the 1902-5 Zululand Lands Delimitation Commission, implying that up to 40 per cent of Africans’ land was about to be given to white settlers, the issue of the yet small and insignificant site at Ceza proved to be complicated. Among the people of Zululand the Commission’s results created a great deal of anxiety and suspicion. Tensions over the land issue were furthermore intensified by the Natal settlers’ agitation to overrule the Commission’s recommendations as a means to extend the white proportion. Beside the Boer 1884 annexation and Boer invasions during the South African War, there were also, as far as the British were concerned, already so many breaches of faith over land in Zululand that Africans could hardly be blamed for taking threats of land-grabbing seriously.\textsuperscript{160} In the light of these developments it is clear that the CSM ambitions in the Ceza region added to prevailing turmoil. To Mavundhla himself, beside the obstruction of his own personal ambitions, the CSM initiative was questionable. Already at the time of the white missionary’s first arrival, Sandström wrote, the people at Ceza questioned Mavundhla’s strategy because of his bringing a white man who, they feared, not only would build a house but also take their land and turn the people into his subjects. "In their eyes", Sandström wrote, "I became most dreadful."\textsuperscript{161} This is the context in which Mavundhla’s statement of the exemplary "Ethiopians": "who wander about without homes or fine houses" is to be seen.\textsuperscript{162} When a white builder arrived to build "the first white house" in that part of the country, as Sandström triumphantly exclaimed, this was seen as a most unacceptable threat to Africans who hitherto had available unrestricted land to the east of the Boer-dominated territory. As the building of Sandström’s house progressed, opposition grew among the Zulu workers who voiced their resistance by delaying construction work. The symbolic significance of the erection of "the first white house" in the heart of royal Zululand as well as the resentment and bitterness it caused, should not be underestimated. When Sandström one morning found all his turkeys with their throats cut,\textsuperscript{163} it was a clear expression of the humiliation and frustration that was felt by many.
The CSM Evangelists’ First Conference: an Embryo of a Zulu Church

Are They Mature Enough?

Already at the turn of the century CSM evangelists voiced their demands for a special evangelists’ conference for the purpose of sharing and discussing the various experiences and difficulties, normally encountered at their often remote and isolated outstations. When the issue was brought to the 1901 Missionary Conference, it was supported by CSM missionaries. The attitude of Home Board Secretary Hogner in Uppsala was, however, most disappointing. In an anxious letter to Ljungquist, he inquired whether the evangelists really were ”mature enough for an institution that could give them an air of at least a certain amount of self-rule.” It could be hazardous, he said, if such an institution got out of hand. It could become difficult to halt and even develop into a movement that demanded equal rights and equal wages for the black man, as were experiences in similar movements among Anglicans or Methodists. Faithful to his Social-Darwinist assumptions Hogner concluded, ”for descendants of an entirely uncivilised people as in South Africa, the allurement to be presumptuous or arrogant is always a temptation.” Ljungquist assured Hogner that such a conference would certainly not cause any problems if the evangelists ”from the beginning were told their right position”. But Ljungquist’s assurances did not suffice to convince Hogner and, in 1901, the issue was postponed by the Home Board. It was not until 1904 that the topic again was raised, on this occasion by the missionaries at the Missionary Conference held in connection with Danell’s visit to South Africa. Danell had been authorised to act on behalf of the Board and sincerely supported the proposal.

A CSM evangelists’ conference had no constitutional standing within CSM, comparable to that of the Missionary Conference. It merely provided for mutual consultation and encouragement among the evangelists. But it is to be seen as an important embryo of an organised leadership in the evolving Church, being the only forum for African leaders from the various CSM regions in Natal and Zululand in which ideas and consultations could take place. Hence, as envisaged by Tottie, the first evangelists’ conference held at Appelsbosch 24-25 July 1905 was an important occasion towards the development of a Zulu folk Church. Ljungquist arranged the conference to be a part of and a follow up of the great celebration of one of his own life’s undertakings, the completion of the large and impressive Gothic-styled stone church building at Appelsbosch proper. Also the inaugural ritual was done in style, with a procession of no less than forty baptismal candidates in dazzlingly white robes, and another seemingly endless row led by local evangelists, church members and boarding home- and school children who not only represented the largest and most flourishing of the CSM stations but who also, through their offerings and hard work, had contributed with more than half the cost of the church’s building. To the visiting evangelists from the other
CSM congregations, the Appelsbosch celebrations were an impressive example and a lesson in the art of self-support.

The conference was chaired by Ljungquist himself and most of the leading missionaries. Present was also Josef Zulu, the first black ordained minister. CSM information on the conference is limited to a brief article written by L. P. Norenius in the CSM periodical, but it may correctly assumed that it was attended by the majority of CSM evangelists from Appelsbosch, Ekutuleni, Dundee and Oscarsberg. Among them, Daniel Magwaza of Oscarsberg most possibly was the most outstanding. From the recently incorporated Ceza congregation, however, one of the evangelists seems not to have been present, Stefan Mavundhla.

To a great extent the conference agenda was shaped by Hogner's fears and Ljungquist's affirmations as demonstrated in the two main subjects for discussion chosen by the missionaries. The first issue, "the worker earns his keep" (Matthew 10:10), was introduced by L. P. Norenius and seems to have been chosen with the deliberate purpose of hindering any possible demands for "equal rights for the black man" as far as wages were concerned. Hence Norenius maintained that "our service should not make us importunate and exacting in regard to wages" whilst "the prime mover should rather be the love of Christ." To furthermore avoid any claims for higher wages being addressed to the mission, he carefully spelt out that wage responsibilities ought to be shouldered by the congregations. But they had failed in this respect and ought to be awakened to take on the responsibility. In the course of the subsequent "rather lively discussion", attention was given the lack of self-support in CSM congregations which, as claimed by some of the evangelists, could be contrasted to the far better conditions among the Reformed Churches.

Also the second topic is to be seen in the light of Ljungquist's determination not to allow the evangelists to get out of hand, the uncertainty with which missionaries seem to have seen their evangelists and the careful precautions taken before this hitherto unthreaded path. Introduced by Hallendorff it was titled "stewards are expected to show themselves trustworthy." (I Cor. 4:2) Trust, he said, was demanded of those who were appointed by God to administer His Word and distribute His Sacraments. This, Hallendorff claimed, did not only require personal care, such as continuous reading of the Bible and prayer, but included the care of others, particularly such who struggle against sin. In this sense the evangelists were to be like soldiers who remained at their post even facing the enemy. Also in this respect the response of the evangelists was, L. P. Norenius says, most rewarding.

According to Norenius, the first evangelists' conference seems to have proceeded entirely in accordance with the missionaries' intentions. Contrary to the worst
expectations, or perhaps as a result of the restrained agenda and Ljungquist's firm chairmanship, the evangelists did not utilise the opportunity to raise any daring claims for "equal rights for the black man". If any such claims had been made and L. P. Norenius would have mentioned anything that would have encouraged any claims, he would have turned them down in his article, knowing of Hogner's negative attitude in this respect and his already demonstrated inclination of censoring L. P. Norenius' articles. 172 Such daring claims may, however, not at all have been expected by the CSM evangelists. Even if some of them were about to improve their social and economic living conditions – which could be compared to their more articulate colleagues in the older and larger mission societies, such as the American Zulu Mission – to the vast majority of them, living among their followers in the impoverished rural areas of Natal and Zululand, there was still an almost total dependence on CSM in regard to land on which to live on and means of subsistence. For this reason Norenius' conclusion of the evangelists' gratefulness for the opportunity to hold the conference and expressing their hopes for similar occasions in the future, seem plausible. 173

Magwaza's Proposal: A Zulu History

In the light of the entirely white missionary-dominated agenda, the question may be posed, if there were any African voices raised at all. As a matter of fact, and as indicated under the item "other issues", at the end of L. P. Norenius' article one independent black contribution was indeed made. It was the request of the school teacher and evangelist Daniel Magwaza who sought assistance to publish a history book, the purpose of which was to spread further knowledge about olden times under Zulu kings. A substantial amount of fieldwork had already been done by way of his own collection and compilation of a great deal of oral tradition of Zulu life and customs in his own part of the country.174 Magwaza's contribution was the only African initiative, mentioned by Norenius (and passed by Hogner). His proposal could hardly have been disregarded. Rather his call for a revival of Zulu history and culture is to be seen as being very much in line with Tottie's envisaged fostering of a distinctive ethnic character, and a national unity required for the building of a folk church on the mission field. It was probably not a coincidence that it was Magwaza who raised this particular issue, with his close association to the Oscarsberg mission station where several sources of inspiration were available. Already in the editing of the 1895 CSM hymn book, *Isthabela lo samabandla ne sesikole*, he was the valuable assistant to his former school teacher at Oscarsberg, the woman missionary Hedvig Posse. Although that CSM hymn book with most of its tunes taken from well-known Swedish and German hymns, it differed very little from its contemporary equivalents. It did not take long before the idea of a new hymn book, more considerate to traditional Zulu melodies, was raised. Again Magwaza, with his
musical talent and great interest in and knowledge of the songs of his people, was enthusiastic when Posse, already in the first years of the new century, begun her search for and collection of Zulu war songs from the days of Shaka, Mpande, Cethswayo and Dinuzulu. Her ambitions were, as she several years later admitted, to find melodies that, "would appeal far more to the blacks than our European melodies usually do."177

If any of Tottie's "invented traditions" taught at Uppsala trickled out to the mission field, it was, apart from Kempe’s Ekutuleni, at Oscarsberg that his teachings were most likely to land. Both its missionaries-in-charge, first Liljestrand and then Hallendorff, had studied in Uppsala and were well-aquainted with Tottie's ideas. Beginning in 1902 and almost to his death in 1943, Hallendorff is one of the missionaries who foremost goes down in history as associated with Oscarsberg. Among congregants, not only his dependence on but also his adherence to, Tottie’s teaching, is most clearly expressed in the highly controversial issue of polygyny. With a heated debate having occurred only in the previous year and with Hallendorff as one of the leading dissenters, it is unlikely that Magwaza, his leading evangelist at Oscarsberg, neither was consulted in the polygyny-issue, nor, in his proposal to the 1905 conference, was supported by Hallendorff. The two issues were related and at least to many of Hallendorff's and Magwaza's colleagues among the Christian missions, both an, albeit limited, acceptance of polygyny as well as a non-pejorative account of the glorious but "heathen" days of Shaka, Dingane and Mpande would have appeared equally revolting.

But also Liljestrand, Magwaza's former superior at Oscarsberg, ought to have been inspirational and also he was among the dissenters in the polygyny conflict. His contribution is, however, less identifiable. With his great interest in and leadership of the CSM version of Cecil Rhodes’ "frontier tradition", he came to personify the introduction of the new and from Tottie's intended focus on the Zulu -- deviating trend within the CSM. In the official CSM history works he is foremost remembered because of his pioneering venture into Zimbabwe, endorsed and, due to his death in 1908, glorified by the Home Board.178 But while the Zimbabwe project was a failure, it can be claimed that one of his more important but largely overshadowed contributions was that which he pursued at Oscarsberg between 1899 and 1902.179 During these years he presented his historical studies of Zulu history and culture, first presented in a series of articles for the CSM periodical, and then in a number of articles and essays, published in various other periodicals.180 Although such narratives, intended for the mission supporters at home were commonplace, what really distinguishes Liljestrand's contribution, apart from its presumably well-informed character, is his exceptionally appreciative portrayal of the Zulu people, its history and culture. The last of these works, Zulufolket och Zumissionen of 1907, based on his previous studies in Natal and published together with an article by Hallendorff,181 is also recognised by Holmberg in his 1988 study of Swedish attitudes towards African and Asian peoples.
Liljestrand's wider references and varied portrayals of Africans are, Holmberg writes, remarkably different from the clichés generally presented by whites. Instead of depicting Africans as lazy and indolent, he ascribes contemporary South African achievements, such as the building of harbours, railroads, towns and the working of mines, to the sweat and toil of the indigenous people. In a similar manner he sharply refutes the common caricature of Africans as "grown up children". In proving the contrary, he refers to intelligent proverbs, talented humour and a wise legislation. Both Liljestrand's and Hallendorff's contributions are distinguished from other works of this kind, within the CSM most clearly deviating from Fristedt's of 1905 and Norenius' of 1924-25. And even if Liljestrand's term at Oscarsberg was both short and aggravated by the South African War, as recognised by Danell in 1904 he still seems to have been able to considerably reorganise and improve the conditions at the previously rather rundown mission station. His period in office seems moreover to have made a lasting impression on the local Christian community and among them most of all Magwaza who not only was his leading evangelist but also appears to have been particularly close to him.

The encouragement of ethnographically and historically interested missionaries at Oscarsberg was important for the furthering of Magwaza's own interest in the old war songs of his people and in the Zulu history that these songs contained. It is not unlikely that his zeal for insights into Zulu history was his personal life and history. His life story was highly dependent on dashed hopes and the painful experiences of the Anglo-Zulu War, the subsequent civil war and defeat of his native Zululand and his forced flight to Natal. His early experiences were inevitable points of departure when he, in the last years of the nineteenth century, started to write his autobiography. His living in Oscarsberg and its close vicinity to Zululand coupled to his family relations to the nearby people of the Zulu-royalist chief Mehlokazulu, also played a role.

Magwaza's various inputs must also be seen within the wider framework of developments at the turn of the century and the emerging "independent spirit" among the Natal African Christian élite. Marks claims that a political key event which contributed substantially to this spirit, was the 1879 subjugation of Zululand. One background factor was the early contact which already after the Anglo-Zulu War had been established between some of the members of the Natal African Christian intelligentsia, such as Martin Luthuli and Magema Fuze on the one hand, and Dinuzulu, on the other. There are also reasons to believe that these contacts were part of friendly relations between several female members of the Zulu royal house and various Christians in Zululand. As argued by Marks, it was foremost after the 1899-1902 South African War that a wider stratum of educated and politically conscious Natal African Christians began to look up to Dinuzulu for leadership, and to see him as a symbol for a new Natal and Zulu unity. An essential part of this development was an emerging renaissance
for Zulu history. In this process Marks ascribes a key role to the efforts of Harriette Colenso. Marks does unfortunately not elaborate further on a possible role played by Fuze although she still suggests that even without Harriette Colenso "it is likely that the nationalist leaders would have turned to the Zulu past for their inspiration."187

Fuze’s Zulu History

But one person that hardly can be dispensed with, was Fuze, the Zulu historian. A thorough study on Fuze’s contribution is A. T. Cope’s preface to the 1979 edition of Fuze’s pioneering historical work *Abantu Abamnyama: Lapa Bavela Ngakona (The Black People: Whence They Came)*. Written about 1902 and privately published in 1922, *Abantu*, Cope claims, was the first major work written in Zulu by a native speaker of the language.188 The bulk of *Abantu* describes achievements of the Zulu people under their royal leaders. But the book is important also in that it illuminates the way in which Fuze lived as Christian elite representative and simultaneously retained insights into Zulu traditional life and religiosity. As a convert to Christianity in the nineteenth century colonial situation, he stood in the very forefront clash of cultures, values and interests. The carefulness and accuracy of his descriptions of Zulu rural life, A. T. Cope says, "suggest not only that he was still in sympathy with it, but that he was still in constant touch with it, even at the mission." At the same time, he adds, there is no doubt about the sincerity of Fuze’s conversion and devotion to the world of education and enlightenment as well as to the Christian God. His wide and detailed insights can be ascribed to his encounter with and life at the mission station. Through the Colenso household he became acquainted with the Zulu royal family and with the issues borne by emissaries back and forth across the Thukela. Because of this, A. T. Cope claims, Fuze gained a wider view than he could have achieved in his original circumscribed background. But even if "It is clear that it was the wider world of the mission that fostered a wider sense of identity and nationality, beyond the local community" these wider contacts also reached beyond the Zulu nation. While his major concern was focused on Zululand, he also articulates the stirrings of a sense of nationalism that was wider than Zulu nationalism.189 All these varied inputs are woven together in Fuze’s life and work, "the traditional and the Christian, the local and the national, Zulu nationalism and African identity; he sees the value of both local custom and national unity".190

Rabusana’s Xosa History

It is difficult to evaluate to what extent Fuze’s particular concern for Zulu history was shared in wider circles among his contemporaries in Natal. What is known is that there was an emerging renaissance for African history also elsewhere in South Africa. One parallel case was that of the well-known Congregationalist minister, Walter Benson Rubusana, a most prominent leader in the South African Native Congress (established
in 1891 in King William’s Town). It was he who in 1906 translated and wrote Xhosa history in *Zemk’ Inkomo Magwalandini* (Preserve your heritage).\(^{191}\) In the case of Natal, it is important to note that an integral part of developments at the turn of the century was emerging nationalism which began to regard Dinuzulu as a unifying national symbol. Nationalism was a new phenomenon which originated after the 1879 defeat of the Zulu kingdom and only gained widespread support in the years after the South African War, as did its renaissance for Zulu history. Zulu history became a concern at a particular time and with a particular purpose.\(^{192}\)

In Natal the history-inspired nationalism with its search for change took its point of departure in the recently defeated Zulu kingdom because it was only there that a potent ideal could be found. Conversely, a similar emphasizing of African history in Natal would rather, in the light of the government’s new adherence to Shepstone’s policy implying a perseverance of status quo,\(^{193}\) have been adversary to its objects. The task of awakening interest for the Zulu past was in this respect, by referring to Gellner, an assignment entrusted the intellectual élite. It is probably in the light of this wider trend among African intellectuals such as Fuze and Rubusana, that also Magwaza’s interest and proposal to the 1905 Evangelists’ Conference is to be seen. From this point of view it is not incidental that it was Magwaza who, among the evangelists with a career in the CSM, raised the issue. With his three and a half years supplementary education at the HMS Ehlanzeni teachers training institution and with his profession and independent standing as a school teacher, he was the most likely among them to have achieved the intellectual horizons required. He had also been exposed to a broader stratum of African Christian professionals than normally would have been available within the CSM. With his “old” background in Zululand and conscious reference to the 1879 Anglo-Zulu War, with his standing as a school teacher coupled to encouragement given to him by the Oscarsberg missionaries, he, like Fuze, made use of inspiration from his sources. And living near the wade at Rorke’s Drift, in several senses a cross road between Natal and Zululand, he was like Fuze at the very forefront in the clash of cultures, values and interests. With his concern for the Zulu past, the Oscarsberg region with its many former refugees from various parts of Zululand, was undoubtedly rich in historical resources. As 1905 drew at its close, the past history paved the way for a different and new historical chapter.

**The Conference’s Answer to Magwaza’s Proposal**

Although even a causal relation between Tottie, the Uppsala-educated missionaries and Magwaza hardly can be claimed, there were at least coinciding parallels between their respective goals. Among Tottie’s requirements in establishing a folk church was his claim that an evangelist was to relate to non-Christians, not as individuals but as members of a people, thereby considering the “organs of a people’s life such as it is
manifest in prevalent law and custom, in social institutions and culture." Against the background of political developments in Natal and Zululand in the years after the defeat of the Zulu kingdom, it can indeed be claimed that if any of Tottie's views were exposed to the mission field, it would have been in an increasingly conscious African Christian leadership. One cannot other than note that among the evangelists present at the 1905 evangelists' conference, Magwaza's initiative was overwhelmingly appreciated and unanimously endorsed. Neither Ljungquist nor Hogner appear to have regarded Magwaza's proposal as the dangerously seditious agitation which at least Hogner had anticipated. But it remains uncertain whether the two really grasped the subtle nature of the matter and its far-reaching political implications at a time when the epithet "Zulu" was beginning to acquire a pan-Natal and nationalistic connotation. Possibly Ljungquist and some of the other missionaries did. As a measure to disarm any potential explosives attached to the Zulu-cause, it was decided that not only Magwaza but also the other evangelists were to assist in the project. It was furthermore not only to be limited to the history of Zululand but also to include that of Natal. It was, to avoid all risks, to be arranged and rewritten by one of the missionaries before it was published by CSM. But if or not, or in what form it eventually was published, is unfortunately not known.

1 Welsh cites a statement by a Natal missionary at the NMC in 1884: "Whatever may be said against the native preacher, however little he may know of theology, he has the power of dealing with the heathen which we have not". Welsh 1971: 259.
3 Liljestrand, något om förhållanden på Oscarsberg 1901 in SKMT 27 1902: 13/14: 210-221. Cf. Liljestrand, Berättelse om min verksamhet under åren 1898-1902. Missionsstyrelsens Protokollsbilagor 1903, A II: 10, SKMA.
4 Kempe to Hogner, 20.11.01, 5.5.02, Md Korr. S. A., 1901-1902, E I c: 2, SKMA.
5 LP Norelius: Missionären i Dundee åmbetsberättelse(1904) in Inspektion av missionsfälten 1904: A II: 11 b, SKMA and Hallendorff to Sandström 1.2.24, CSM file, Lutheran theological College(Umpumulo, Mapumulo), Library Archives. This phenomenon which was labelled "sheep stealing" was by no means unusual among most of the mission societies in Natal and Zululand, although it was condemned by almost all. Also the CSM was exposed to this kind of competition. Near Apelbosch, at Nhlangakazi, Catholic (Dominican) evangelists and priests tried to displace the CSM outstation and, in the period after 1906, when many missions tried to move into Zululand, the area of Biyela claimed by the CSM, became a virtual battlefield for several mission societies and their evangelists.
7 Ljungquist in SKMT 29 1904 1: 3-7, Hellgren in SKMT 30 1905 24: 279.
8 Hallendorff, Femårssrapport från Emtulwa 1898-1902, Missionsstyrelsens Protokollsbilagor 1903, A II: 10, SKMA. Cf. Hallendorff to Hogner 12.4.02 in Md Korr., S. A., 1901-1902, E I c: 2, SKMA.


11 In 1902 the ratio of communicants to baptised members was 6 to 4 in the southern part of the Appelsbosch region (i. e. Appelsbosch mission station, outstations Ozwetini, Mona, Nhlangakazi, Egweni and Ecameni). In the northern parts of the same region (Ifaye and Emtulwa) the proportion was 7 to 3. Statistisk Översikt af Svenska Kyrkans missionsarbete i Sydafrika 1903, in Missionsstatistik 1900-1939, H I: 2, SKMA. Cf. Hallström 1937: 93, Norenius 1925: 34.

12 The name he had received when once baptised by the Americans was "Rufus Anderson", after the famous American missiologist. But the name was most difficult to pronounce in Zulu, Ljungquist writes. "Rufus" became "Lufase" which in turn was changed to "Eleofase". The name Nene derives from the name of the people he belonged to and was obviously resumed when he joined the CSM. Ljungquist in SKMT 37 1912 3: 34-40. Cf. F. Ljungquists Redogörelse för missionsarbetet & Appelsbosch med Ifaye år 1913. The Archives, Lutheran Church Centre, South Eastern Diocese, Umpumulo. For an obituary on Nene cf. Ljungquist in TDR 14 1919: 18-22.

13 It was the Nguni-Zulu custom that a man should inherit his deceased brother's wife and property, that was claimed to have caused the conflict with the Americans. While Nene was said to have left the mission for this reason, he still remained a monogamist. Ljungquist in SKMT 37 1912 3: 34-40. cf. Karlgren 1909: 298, Norenius 1924: 144-145.

14 It was the Nguni-Zulu custom that a man should inherit his deceased brother's wife and property, that was claimed to have caused the conflict with the Americans. While Nene was said to have left the mission for this reason, he still remained a monogamist. Ljungquist in SKMT 37 1912 3: 34-40. cf. Karlgren 1909: 298, Norenius 1924: 144-145.


16 Ljungquist claims that Nene was among the first three candidates to having been ordained by the American missionary David Rood. Ljungquist in SKMT 37 1912 3: 34-40. Founded in 1853 by David Rood in spite of the other missionaries' limited interest, the seminary eventually developed into one of the finest educational centres in Natal. Strong writes that: "... it trained some of the best native pastors the mission has had." Strong 1910: 284. Dinnerstein 1971: 138, 182 and 183.

17 It was the Nguni-Zulu custom that a man should inherit his deceased brother's wife and property, that was claimed to have caused the conflict with the Americans. While Nene was said to have left the mission for this reason, he still remained a monogamist. Ljungquist in SKMT 37 1912 3: 34-40. cf. Karlgren 1909: 298, Norenius 1924: 144-145.

18 It was the Nguni-Zulu custom that a man should inherit his deceased brother's wife and property, that was claimed to have caused the conflict with the Americans. While Nene was said to have left the mission for this reason, he still remained a monogamist. Ljungquist in SKMT 37 1912 3: 34-40. cf. Karlgren 1909: 298, Norenius 1924: 144-145.

27. The first chapel at Mona was consecrated as late as in the early 1920s, by the then visiting Home Board Secretary, Gunnar Brundin. F. Ljungquists Redogörelse för missionsarbetet å Appelsbosch är 1920. The Archives, Lutheran Church Centre, South Eastern Diocese, Umpumulo. Cf. Ljungquist to the Magistrate of Ndwedwe, 12.9.16, in Sydafrika(Fältarkivet), Korrespondens, Stationsföreståndaren i Appelsbosch. 1908-1956, E VI: 1, SKMA.

28. On Kuzwayo, cf. above, and on Ngcobo and his secular ambitions Karlgren quotes Ljungquist who said about him that: "He wants to become a white man, but this he can never be. He could have been a real Zulu, but he puts this off as being too simple." Karlgren 1909: 301-302.

29. Ljungquist to Hogner 5.6.03, Md. kor., SA., 1903-1904, E I c: 3, SKMA.


31. Ljungquist to Hogner 19.2.04, Md Korr., SA., 1903-1904, E I c: 3, SKMA.

32. F. Ljungquists Redogörelse för missionsarbetet å Appelsbosch med Ifaye år 1911 och några extra anmärkningar. The Archives, Lutheran Church Centre, South Eastern Diocese, Umpumulo.


34. Ljungquist in SKMT 26 1901 13/14: 208.

35. Apparently this move towards the Roman Catholics did also include a number of CSM African Christians who belonged to the AmaNtuli. Ljungquist in SKMT 27 1902 11/12: 178-187 and 28 1903 21: 340-346. On the difficulties involved in spreading the Lutheran teachings, such as Izindatschana (A Book on Luther) among the AmaNtuli in particular and the Roman Catholic advantage over the CSM in this area cf. Camane in SKMT 31 1906 9: 148-150. On the most flourishing developments at St. Peter’s after 1902 cf. F. Ljungquists Redogörelse för missionsarbetet å Appelsbosch med Ifaye år 1913. The Archives, Lutheran Church Centre, South Eastern Diocese, Umpumulo.


38. Cf. Chapter two and six, in the above.


40. On the magistrate’s favourable attitude towards St. Peter’s, cf. Brain 1982: 251. On Ljungquist’s affirmation of this relationship in subsequent years, cf. F. Ljungquists Redogörelse för missionsarbetet å Appelsbosch med Ifaye år 1911 och några extra anmärkningar. The Archives, Lutheran Church Centre, South Eastern Diocese, Umpumulo. Ljungquist in SKMT 27 1902 11/12: 178-187. Brain’s view may be compared to Ljungquist’s claims that the Catholics among the Ntuli were better treated than CSM converts. At the time when the Ntuli were brought under Sotobe’s Nyuswa, S. O. Samuelson, the Undersecretary for Native Affairs, Ljungquist says, explicitly ordered Sotobe to not offend the Catholics at Nhlangakazi. Ljungquist in SKMT 1903: 28: 21: 340-346. Apart from a possible concern for a smooth transition of chiefly authority, the Undersecretary’s particular reference to the Catholic converts may of course also have been due to their probably greater numbers among the Ntuli.


42. Daniel Magwaza’s autobiography (translated into Swedish by Hedvig Posse), in Posse 1899 and in SKMT 24 1899 13-14: 223-234.

43. Daniel Magwaza in SKMT 24 1899 13-14: 226.

44. Daniel Magwaza in SKMT 24 1899 13-14: 227.


47Hallendorff in SKMT 29 1904 2: 22. Educated by Tottie and having received his first training by Josef Zulu, such insights ought to have been particularly valued by him. Cf. Chapter five, above.

48Posse to Anna Posse 15.6.06, Hedvig Posses samling, B, Brev till Anna Posse 1904-1912, /Brev till vänner, Resebrev, Korrespondens, J. Tryckt material, SKMA

49Magwaza was probably married sometimes before the turn of the century and by 1904 his wife Elin had given birth to three sons: Meshake, Tituse and Zefani. Cf. Posse to Âlskade Anna, 9.12.9.12, Hedvig Posses samling, B, Brev till Anna Posse 1904-1912, /Brev till vänner, Resebrev, Korrespondens, J. Tryckt material, SKMA and Hallendorff in SKMT 29 1904 2: 22.

50Norenius 1925: 37.

51Furberg 1962: 285

5226.5.01, Ordinationsmatriklar 1856-1908, D XI: 2, UDA, In the decree from the Royal Ministry of Education and Ecclesiastical Affairs of 24.5.1901 it was stated that Josef Zulu, as he was ordained on dispensation from Par. 4 of the Law of 18.4.1884, only was to be ordained for ministry in the mission field and not for service in Sweden. This was precisely on the same grounds as missionary L. P. Norenius, who first had arrived to South Africa as a lay missionary, in 1900 was ordained. According to a decree of24.11.1899, also his ordination was restricted to ministry in South Africa. Cf. Kong!. bref och Departemensskrifvelser 11.9.1874 - 17.6.1903 angående Svenska Kyrkans Missionsstyrelse och dess verksamhet, Uppsala 1903, SKMA. Norenius 1933: 1-14, Schlyter 1954 46: 134-148, cf. Schroeder 1991.

53Hogner in SKMT 26 1901: 11-12: 204.

54Norenius 1925: 37.

55Furberg 1962: 404-405,

56Ljungquist to Hogner, 31.1.01, Md Korr. S. A., 1901-1902, E I c: 2, SKMA.

57Ljungquist to Hogner, 21.2.01, Md Korr. S. A., 1901-1902, E I c: 2, SKMA.

58L. P. Norenius to Hogner, 7.2.01, Md Korr. S. A., 1901-1902, E I c: 2, SKMA.

59Hogner to Ljungquist, 9.4.02, Missionsdirektorns koncept Hogner, 1900-1901, B II: 2, SKMA.

60According to Magnus Danell, son of Hjalmar Danell, who recalls his father's memory of the event, Zulu was the only one among the newly ordained priests not to be invited to attend the traditional dinner at the Archbishop's palace. Hjalmar Danell and his wife felt sorry for Zulu not being invited and for this reason they arranged a family dinner for him in their home in Geijersgatan in Uppsala. Interview with Magnus Danell, Uppsala, 20.11.90.

61Heldén to Hogner, 19.8.01, Md. Korr., S. A., 1901-1902, E I c: 2, SKMA.

62Ljungquist to Hogner, 31.1.01, Md Korr. S. A., 1901-1902, E I c: 2, SKMA. Also the church bell Zulu had raised money for in Sweden was considered to be too big in comparison to the smaller bells at mission stations like Dundee, Emtulwa and Appelsbosch, Ljungquist to Hogner, 9.5.02 and 1.8.02, Md Korr. S. A., 1901-1902, E I c: 2, and Hogner to Ljungquist 9.4.02, Missionsdirektorns koncept Hogner, 1900-1901, B II: 2, SKMA.

63Hogner to Ljungquist, 23.1.01, Missionsdirektorns koncept Hogner, 1900-1901, B II: 2, SKMA.

64Ljungquist to Hogner, 31.1.01, Md Korr. S. A., 1901-1902, E I c: 2, SKMA.

65Danell, in his travel book 1905, on Ifaye in Inspektion av missionsfälten 1904: A II: 11 b, SKMA.

66Hogner to Ljungquist, 23.1.01, Missionsdirektorns koncept Hogner, 1900-1901, B II: 2, SKMA.
After the secession of 1897, when African pastors of the American Zulu mission in Johannesburg and at Table Mountain had formed the Zulu Congregational Church, in January 1900 there was an agreement between the missionaries and the African pastors that the churches were to be governed according to congregational principles. Thereafter the white missionaries became supervisors as the actual direction of the individual churches had been bestowed the African pastors and their congregations. Keto 1976: 613-614. Cf. Marks 1970: 77-79.

Ljungquist to Ihrmark 5.9.06. Md Korr. SA. 1905-1906, E I c: 4, SKMA.

According to the information furthered by CSM missionary Axel Berglund (who arrived in 1921) Mavundhla ought to have been born in the early 1870's, cf. Berglund in TDR 23 1928: 25.


See Chapter five, above.

Thos employed in 1905 were: Solomono Masonde Sibiya (to the north of Ceza), Mateu Xumalo (at the Ceza school, then at kwaXulu, adjacent to the HMS Ekuhlengeni), Johannes Ngubo (kwalshanibeze, then at Ekubení) and Benjamine Dhlamini (Emkuze). Statistical tables for 1907 and 1908, in Missionsstatistik 1900-1939, H I : 2, SKMA.

When, because of the church discipline Dhlamini was excluded from the congregation and obliged to resort to the seat by the door she, as said by missionary Sandström, became "...a living example of the severe lecture." Sandström 1926: 42. Sandström 1944: 25.

Immediately to the south were the lands of the Zungu and the Mbatla and, towards the north-west, the homes of the Buthelezi and, further to the north, the staunchly royalist Qulusi. Cf. Laband and Thompson 1989: 220.

Sandström 1944: 27.

Immediately to the south were the lands of the Zungu and the Mbatla and, towards the north-west, the homes of the Buthelezi and, further to the north, the staunchly royalist Qulusi. Cf. Laband and Thompson 1989: 220.

Sandström 1944: 27.

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Cf. Chapter two, above.

Quotation from Marks 1970: 158.

Lee 1930: 97-98.

Stavem in Trearrsberetning for 1898-1900: 75, in NM 56 1901, Borgen in NM 56 1901 9-10: 165-170.


Cf. Chapter two, above.

Quotation from Marks 1970: 158.

Lee 1930: 97-98.

Stavem in Trearrsberetning for 1898-1900: 75, in NM 56 1901, Borgen in NM 56 1901 9-10: 165-170.


Laband and Thompson 1989: 220.

Stavem in Trearrsberetning for 1898-1900: 75, in NM 56 1901, Borgen in NM 56 1901 9-10: 165-170.


Cf. Chapter two, above.

Cf. Chapter two, above.

Quotation from Marks 1970: 158.

Lee 1930: 97-98.

Cf. Chapter two, above.

Quotation from Marks 1970: 158.


To Schreuder this establishment had been of utmost importance while the king himself was to be able to follow his missionary work close at hand: Few enterprises had been initiated under such promising conditions, Schreuder said. Myklebust 1980: 242. On the seat of the king, oNdini or Unodwengu/Nodwengu (Ulundi), Laband and Thompson 1989: 194, 200 and 212.


On the Ekuhleneni, Bethel and Hlomohlomo mission stations in this part of the country cf. HMB 54 1907 9: 275-280. In 1904, Bethel was the largest with its almost 700 church members, Ekuhleneni had almost 600 and Hlomohlomo around 100. HMB 53 4: 102-103.

On Stallbom and his work at Bethel cf. HMB 54 1907 9: 280.

ZMB 30 1906 11: 169.

ZMB 30 1906 11: 159, 161. On Fristedt's visit to the royal homestead, the Herrmansburg outstation Emahaslini and his encounter with Stallbom's evangelist, cf. Fristedt in SKMT 26 1901 2: 26.

Marks 1970: 111. Whether this to any extent may be linked to the fact that chief Bambatha, in the aftermath of the South African War, is said to have called on the Herrmansburg Missionary Society to send him a missionary to teach his people, although they apparently failed to answer his request, seems to be a challenging issue for future researchers who, more concerned with the African environment, wish to follow Hasselhom's example. Cf. Marks 1970: 313.

Fristedt in SKMT 23 1898 8: 118.


Pascoe 1901: 341f.

Lee 1930: 147.


Leisegang in NM 58 1903 16: 317.

Sandström in SKMT 33 1908: 8: 140-142

There was obviously some uncertainty about the spelling of the chief's name: Sandström called him Utshibilika while one of the more recent missionaries to Ceza, Axel Berglund, called him Tjibilika or ljibilika. On the chief, being a government-appointed chief of the Ndebele, cf. Berglund in SKMT 53 1928 10: 170-172 and in SKMT 54 1929 1: 7-9.


Sandström in SKMT 31 1906 22: 363-364. Many years later, in 1928, the then missionary-in-charge, Axel Berglund, could report that one of Tshibilika's younger sons, Absalom Ndebele had become an evangelist at Ceza. Berglund in SKMT 53 1928 10: 170-172.
In 1929 the chief himself was baptised and brought into the congregation. Berglund in SKMT 54 1929 1: 7-9. Already in 1921 however, Rickard Eriksson(Rickland) reported of the first chief at Ceza being baptised although neither the name of the chief nor his people was mentioned. Eriksson in SKMT 46 1921 10: 186-170.

Interview with Axel-Ivar Berglund, Uppsala, 21.5.98.


Par. 18, Protokoll hâllet vid ordinarie årskonferenssamtantrâde å Ekutulemi med Svenska Kyrkans missionärer i Natal och Transvaal 9-17 juli 1905 in MS protokollsblagor 1905, A II: 12, SKMA. Cf. Sandström 1944: 10. On Ljungquist’s view of the Ceza congregation as “a proper placement for a newcomer”, cf. Ljungquist to Ihrrnark, 25.3.07, Md. korr., SA 1907-1908, E I c: 5, SKMA and, on the traditionally high regard among Swedish missionaries for the Zulu being spoken at Ceza, cf. J. E. Noreniius, to Ihrrnark, 4.3.12, in Md korr., SA 1911-1913, E I c: 7 SKMA. On Sandström being sent to Ceza, confidentially speaking, Kempe said to Hogner, that it was equally important that he: “...as much as possible got away from his association with the whites to more get in touch with the blacks.” Kempe to Hogner 10.8.05 in Md Korr SA, 1905-1906, E I c: 4, SKMA.

Sandström to Hogner 6.9.05 in Md. korr., SA 1905-1906, E I c: 4, SKMA. Sandström 1944: 18, 42.


Sandström in SKMT 30 1905 23: 364, To Sandström, this “nervousness” was partly explained by his lacking knowledge of the Zulu language, hampering his communication with the local population, and his longing for his fiancee in Sweden. Sandström to Hogner 13.12.05 in Md. korr., SA 1905-1906, SKMA, Sandström in SKMT 31 1906 4: 54-57. On his loneliness among the Africans etc. cf. Sandström 1935: 25.


Sandström in LMT 61 1907 3: 42-43.

In the printed (and perhaps modified) fragments of his diary, Sandström relates the first conflict to have occurred already by mid September 1905(12.9.05). Sandström 1935: 36. Interestingly, this was only some days after he in the SKMT had written about encountering nothing but friendliness. Cf. the article by Sandström above (dated 6.9.05) in SKMT 30 1905 23: 365.

As Sandström later admitted though, as a zealous but young and inexperienced missionary, occasionally he went too far in his reprimands and demands for drastic changes. Cf. Sandström 1944: 23.

Sandström 1944: 18.

Sandström 1926: 42, Sandström 1944: 21, 23.


Many years later, Axel Berglund, one of Sandström’s and Eriksson’s successors at Ceza said of him that he more than most other African Christians had “...drawn away from the belief in magic and superstition.” Berglund in TDR 23 1928: 27, cf. Sandström 1944: 21.

Eriksson(Rickland) in SKMT 44 1919 24: 383-385.

Extract from Sandström’s diary (1.10.05) printed in Sandström 1926: 22. On his general scepticism of whites and white missionaries(probably derived from his experiences in the HMS), cf. Sandström 1944: 20.

Extract from Sandström’s diary (4.12.05) printed in Sandström 1935: 40.

Extract from Sandström’s diary (5.5.06) printed in Sandström 1926: 26.

Extract from Sandström’s diary (August 1906) printed in Sandström 1926: 27.

Cf. Sandström 1944: 23.

Sandström 1944: 42.

Kempe to Hogner 24.1.05, Md Korr SA E I c: 4, SKMA.
Eriksson (Rickland) i åmbetsberättelse till visitation Å Ceza den 21.5-11.6.16 in Visitation Ceza 1916 in Sydafrika, Konferensordförands visitationer, Protokoll, A II: 1, (Fältarkivet) SKMA.

Marks 1970: 211.


Cf. above, Extract from Sandström’s diary (1.10.05) printed in Sandström 1926: 22.

Sandström 1944: 43.

Par. 14. in Protokoll vid visitationskonferensen i Dundee 3-22.9.04 in Inspektion av missionsfälten 1904: A II: 11 b, SKMA.

Hogner to Ljunquist 23.1.01, Md Konc. Hogner, 1900-1901, B II: 2, SKMA.

Hogner to Ljunquist, 21.2.01, Md Korr. S. A., 1901-1902, E I c: 2, SKMA.

Par. 14. in Protokoll vid visitationskonferensen i Dundee 3-22.9.04 in Inspektion av missionsfälten 1904: A II: 11 b, SKMA.

Par. 14, Protokoll vid visitationskonferensen i Dundee 3-22.9.04 in Inspektion av missionsfälten 1904: A II: 11 b, SKMA.


Ljunquist to Hogner, 21.2.02, Md Korr. S. A., 1901-1902, E I c: 2, SKMA.

Ljunquist to Hogner, 23.1.01, Missionsdirektoms koncept Hogner, 1900-1901, B II: 2, SKMA.

Hogner to Ljunquist, 23.1.01, Missionsdirektoms koncept Hogner, 1900-1901, B II: 2, SKMA.


Sandström 1926: 22.

Sandström 1944: 43.

Par. 14. in Protokoll vid visitationskonferensen i Dundee 3-22.9.04 in Inspektion av missionsfälten 1904: A II: 11 b, SKMA.

Hogner to Ljunquist 23.1.01, Md Konc. Hogner, 1900-1901, B II: 2, SKMA.

Hogner to Ljunquist, 21.2.01, Md Korr. S. A., 1901-1902, E I c: 2, SKMA.

Par. 14. in Protokoll vid visitationskonferensen i Dundee 3-22.9.04 in Inspektion av missionsfälten 1904: A II: 11 b, SKMA.
In this respect it may be noted that far more research seems to be needed with regards not only to Fuze's role in the developing African Nationalist movement in the early twentieth century but also with regards to the continued close contacts between Fuze, Dube and Harriette Colenso which, according to Marks, appear to have persisted until as late as the second decade of the twentieth century. Cf. Marks letter to A. T. Cope in Fuze 1979: xvi.

As claimed by its translator H. C. Lugg in 1972, most of the book had been written or partially written when he met with Fuze in 1902, cf. Lugg's preface in Fuze 1979: xviii.


A. T. Cope in Fuze 1979: xii.

Switzer 1997: 63 and 64.

With reference to the nationalisms developed in Sweden and Norway (including their respective concerns for history), it is more to be compared to the Norwegian national mobilisation where an awakening of Norwegian history and culture was used for change, rather than its Swedish essentially preservative version. Cf. above, Chapter four.

Cf. Chapter one, above.

Tottie 1892: 183.

PART THREE: THE BAMBATHA UPRISING 1906 AND ITS AFTERMATH

CHAPTER EIGHT: THE HISTORIOGRAPHY OF THE BAMBATHA UPRISING

It was the government’s introduction of the Poll Tax in late 1905 which became the major catalyst for the increasingly hostile opinion that soon was widespread in several areas in Natal and in parts of Zululand, with heated rumours of uprising, killing of white animals and destruction of Western utensils. In January 1906 the first signs of unrest appeared in the Umvoti reserve, i.e. north-east of the CSM Appelsbosch region, when three important local chiefs and their followers refused to pay the new tax. When two white policemen were killed in an incident near Richmond in the southern Natal, a tremor of panic took hold of the small settler community and led the government to take drastic punitive actions against the dissidents. Largely provoked by these measures, some chiefs openly rose against the government. Among them was Bambatha who stood out as the leader of the uprising. After a few clashes with smaller government forces, he and his followers retreated to the rugged Nkandhla forest in Zululand where he began to mobilise a resistance force. In early May in northern of Natal, in the borderland between the Klip River reserve at Umsinga and the southern parts of the Dundee division (close to the south of the CSM Oscarsberg region), Quamu headman Mtele, Nxumalo chief Nondubela and their people went into armed resistance. A week later they were defeated by the local settler militia and escaped into Zululand, where they joined Bambatha in the Nkandhla forest. On 10th June, Bambatha’s army was defeated in what has been labelled a virtual slaughter.

Contrary to the government’s expectations a new uprising occurred again in the Umvoti. By mid June the followers of the previously dissenting chiefs rose against the government in the very neighbourhood of the CSM Appelsbosch region. But with scattered forces in an area not suitable for guerrilla warfare, the Nyuswa and Ntuli men were easily defeated, and by early July also the Umvoti uprising was brought to an end. During a large part of 1907 there was still a continued unrest, by whites generally ascribed to the influence of Dinuzulu. In late 1907, convinced of his innocence, Dinuzulu surrendered himself to the white authorities. After a controversial trial he was in early March 1909 found guilty on three of the twenty-three charges for high treason and sentenced to four years imprisonment. In 1913 Dinuzulu died in exile. All in all twenty-four white soldiers had been killed. Africans had lost between 3,500 and 4,000 of their men, while an additional 7,000 were in gaol. For those who lived in war-
ravaged parts of the country, such as in the CSM Oscarsberg and Appelsbosch regions, the majority of peoples' breadwinners had been taken away and a great number of them were homeless. Troops had extensively burnt huts and crops, which resulted in hunger and famine, followed by cattle plague and pestilence.

The earliest, most complete account of the events of the uprising is James Stuart's *History of the Zulu Rebellion*. As an experienced civil servant, fluent in the Zulu language and with a great knowledge of the Zulu people, Stuart acted as an Intelligence officer during the war. Thereafter he held high official positions in the Colony’s Native Administration. Thus, as a most well-informed participant and an eye-witness, his study is a semi-official, primary source. Stuart, defending the Shepstonian system of Native administration, claims that the root-cause of the war was: "the attempt to impose the European character and civilisation on the Native races". According to him — as was the case with many contemporary Natalians, confident in their "almost perfect" segregationist system of Native administration — the reasons for the revolt were mainly to be traced to external influences. Among them were the African Christians, and in particular, the so-called "Ethiopians." On the African Christians and their responsibility for the uprising he writes: "The part taken by Christian Natives in the Insurrection was a large and prominent one."

Authors of more recent works, David Welsh in *The Roots of Segregation: Native Policy in Colonial Natal, 1845-1910*, William Manning Marable's "African Nationalist: The Life of John Langalibalele Dube" and John Lambert's: *Betrayed trust, Africans and the State in Colonial Natal*, have considered the position of African Christians during the uprising, in relation to their subject-matter. A comprehensive study of the Bambatha uprising which also considers the role of African Christians is Shula Marks' pioneering work of 1970, *Reluctant rebellion: The 1906-8 Disturbances in Natal*. In recognising and drawing on Stuart's accounts, in relating to G. A. Shepperson's and T. Price's *Independent African* of 1958 and, specifically so, claiming inspiration from Ranger's *Revolts in Southern Rhodesia 1896-7*, Marks places her study in the context of African resistance historiography. Marks thus contributes with a broad perspective, not only with a penetrating analysis of black and white societies, their structures and interaction over time, but also with a study on the colonial setting in which land and labour were basic components in a society characterised by racial supremacy and cultural domination. This enables her to break new ground by uncovering the role of rumours before the uprising and explaining the pattern of participation between the many concerned groups among Africans. She argues that the aggressive actions of the government's troops provoked Natal Africans into violent uprising, claiming that: "it was the Natal government itself... which must be regarded as the greatest unifying factor." Her conclusion is useful in not only explaining the "reluctant" character of the uprising. It adds clarity on the crucial point in which the Natal and Zululand situations
differ from other areas studied in African resistance historiography. In keeping with Ranger, Marks answers the questions: "about the nature of traditional society which gets carried over and transmuted in the colonial situation, and which also provides the precedents for organisation in the face of a new challenge." But critics such as Thompson and Legassic have pointed out that it is only with difficulty that the Natal uprising can be placed in the context of African resistance history. The Bambatha uprising was not analogous to the situation in Ranger’s Zimbabwe, particularly when comparing the roles played by African authorities, the extent of mobilisation and the nature of actions taken by the rebels. Marks nevertheless demonstrates that African politics was not incompatible with the more Western-type political claims of the African Christian élite, and that the activities of the African independent churches were reinforced by failure in the uprising.

In regard to Stuart’s conclusions, Marks has two important observations. Besides claiming that Dinuzulu was not responsible for the uprising, she shows that African Christians, notably the “Ethiopians”, were not major participants. Marks claims that the war was basically tribal, both in origin and organisation: "In so far as there was a real rebellion, it was predominantly a tribal one, run as far as possible on traditional lines." Maintaining that it only was smaller minorities of African Christians who actively took part in the war, she demonstrates that the vast majority of them, e.g. the bulk of their non-Christian countrymen, remained indifferent in the actual warfare. In those areas where Christians actively sided with the rebels, Marks claims that almost every Christian denomination was represented, consequently modifying the previously established view of the "Ethiopians” leading role in the uprising. Although she recognises prominent roles played by individual preachers and groups of members of some independent churches at various stages in the war, she cautions against an uncritical acceptance of this view, bearing in mind the background of contemporary white Natalians’ exaggerated fear of the “Ethiopian menace”. The different degrees of participation between the two groups of Christians, Marks explains as a difference in kind between the "Ethiopians” who broke away from the Western dominated church, and the aspirations of the majority of the politically conscious African Christians, who sought acceptance in white society and integration into it.

The uprising and its consequences can be seen from different points of view. To many whites the Natal politicians’ headstrong reactions and insufficient leadership became obvious, and a factor supporting growing movements towards the unification of the four colonies, eventually achieved in the 1910 formation of the South African Union. It can also be seen on the basis of altered and conflicting social relations between blacks and whites in early twentieth century Natal and Zululand. Marks emphasises that "Christianity and education were probably the most important factors making for constructive change in African society." Settlers’ general antagonism and the
government's various measures, taken against the Christian missions and their converts, was primarily due to endeavours for change, which came to threaten the status quo of white minority dominance. The "new independent spirit", experienced among African Christians at the turn of the century, was, she claims, essentially the result of missionary teachings. This spirit was seen both in the emerging Western-type political organisations and in African independent churches. Among Africans in general the defeat in the uprising, by then regarded as a fundamentally "tribal" uprising, resulted both in a rising interest in traditional Christianity and education, but also in a greater attraction to the African independent churches. Among African Christians the uprising brought about closer contacts with their non-Christian fellow Zulus, and aroused feelings of a common race. But, as Marks claims, the uprising also became a spur to political action, which caused leading politically conscious African Christians to think in wider terms, with political claims embracing all of South Africa. This eventually contributed to the 1912 formation of the South African Native National Congress, later renamed the African National Congress (ANC).

In a recent analysis Marks revises her theoretical assumptions and relates intentionally the uprising to the turn of the century expansion of capitalism in Natal and South Africa as a whole. She clearly emphasises the uprising as an African peasants' resistance to proletarianization, although affirming that the basis for such an interpretation is available in her study of 1970. Her reinterpretation is most evident in her 1986 article "Class, ideology and the Bambatha rebellion" in which she elaborates on white Natalians' motives for provoking the conflict as a: "precondition for the expansion of capitalist relations in Natal" and articulates her view on Africans' response as a resistance to these efforts. Maintaining that the character of the uprising essentially was a peasants' revolt, Marks maintains that the conflict could not have developed into a large scale revolution. This, she claims, was mostly due to the lack of support from external factors, i.e. outside forces, such as the emerging African Christian middle class or a revolutionary ideology. In avoiding to describe the uprising as a class struggle and "the revolutionary masses" as a leading force, Marks claims, that the uprising, aimed at restoring the past rather than being revolutionary: "they desired to recreate the past rather than capture the future." When presenting the uprising foremost as a reaction against the injustices of the time, Lambert writes: "Ultimately, it would appear that most Africans, who rose against white domination in 1906, were driven to rebel by a sense of desperation and frustration. "Faced with discriminatory legislation, overcrowding, insecurity of tenure on private lands, poor wages, debts, and with increasing demands for taxes and rents, many Africans in the reserves and on private lands alike were driven into rebellion, in a desperate attempt to save themselves."
settlers, regards it as an "inevitable" climax, following the 1890s deteriorating conditions in African homestead economy. Carton's conclusion is quite different. To his point of view, it was the young men, who through their migrant wage labour emancipated from the hold of chiefs and elders. They sought to throw off the last bonds of rural society, when rising against both white and black authorities, the latter seen as collaborating with the government, magistrates and settlers. He claims that the government's clampdown in 1906 and 1907, in order to solve rural tensions between elders and youth, resulted in a resumed and increased labour migration. "During the rise in labour migrancy, the domestic tensions and conflicts, which had grown so intense over the previous ten years, dwindled to a few recorded incidents." His focusing on the pre-1906 generational tensions may be seen as a further elaboration on what Lambert deals with in his 1995 study. One of the problems with Carton's work is however its limited concern for and reference to the achievements of previous research. He does not take issue with Marks' assessment of comparatively few migrant labourers having joined in the uprising. Similarly, in spite of the bulk of his sources, derived from government representatives and magistrates, he is not concerned about Marks' cautioning against an uncritical acceptance of whites' popular notions, blaming "external forces" like the semi-urbanised "wild young bloods" or members of the African Independent churches to have caused the uprising. But he certainly has a point in emphasising that the Poll Tax, which contrary to previous "collectively" levied taxes, was levied on a per capita basis, and therefore may have contributed to a new individualism and reinforced a loosening of the ties that bound the young men to their seniors. With the imposition of the new tax in late 1905 and the outbreak of the uprising in early 1906, however, the effects of these changes appear too prematurely assumed.

In recent studies, and in contrast to assessments made in Reluctant Rebellion, Marks has abandoned her previous assumption of a casual relationship between the outcome of the 1906 uprising and the formation of the union-wide Congress in 1912. One reason for the shift in emphasis may have been her acquaintance with William Manning Marable's more specific study on John Dube and the activities of the African Christian political élite. In the immediate post-Bambatha years, Marable argues, leading members of the Natal Congress came to distance themselves from the uprising, which they equated with and saw as a result of the despised system of indirect rule and segregation, which they since long had opposed.

In the various studies on local mission- and Church history, it is chiefly events of the uprising which have been related, in so far as these events came to affect the mission fields of the respective missions. Written by white missionaries and mainly intended for mission supporters in Western countries, the general tendency of such works is that they take up internal organisational developments or the expansion and numerical growth in mission fields and converts. The primary interest has not been the surrounding
social, economic or political environment. Converts are frequently seen as more or less separated from the non-Christian majority population. Analyses of African Christians’ attitudes and sentiments in relation to the uprising are most rare. The uprising is assessed as an external, temporal and concluded incident, without lasting effects. Representatives of this view are Stavem (1915) and Myklebust and his co-writers (1949) in the Norwegian Missionary Society, as is Brain on the local mission work of the Roman Catholic Church (1982). A different perspective, coloured by the particularly strained relationship between the Natal government and the American Zulu mission which reached a climax during the uprising, is presented by Strong (1910) who refutes the government’s accusations that American converts were supposed to be disloyal during the uprising. He sees the 1906 uprising to be followed by favourable working conditions due to the arrival of the new governor in 1908. Although many years later, in 1930, it is foremost Lee of the Anglican Church, who gives an account of African Christian opinions in regard to the uprising. Lee describes not only African frustration, due both to alienation of land and increasing proletarianization, but also sentiments among African Christians, as a reason to their “all but irresistible” temptation to join in the uprising: “They shared to the full the sense of injustice and outraged national feeling with their people.”

Besides occasional articles on local developments by contemporary CSM missionaries in different Swedish missionary publications - Ljungquist’s article on developments in the Appelsbosch region in the CSM yearbook 1906 is the most comprehensive - Karlsgren briefly refers to CSM missionaries’ reports on the uprising. The reports are limited to events in the uprising or its impact on the expansion of missionary efforts, and the unrest is chiefly seen as a limited and unfortunate incident. Norenius deals with the uprising in relation to his account of developments in CSM regions and to where unrest occurred. He suggests a number of reasons for pre-1906 dissatisfaction among Africans, referring to the contemporary popular view, held among settlers, that the South African War decreased respect for whites. He also mentions increased taxation, harsh treatment of the “Ethiopians” and the lack of opportunities for Africans to voice their grievances. In regard to the African Christians, Norenius very briefly deals with the social, political or economic factors that determined their living conditions. He conceived the uprising as an external intervention into the history of the CSM, resulting in brief notes on loyalty to the government, expressed by CSM converts. Norenius emphasises peril CSM converts were exposed to, and the fact that all but four of them remained loyal to the government. He underlined the importance of the missionaries remaining with their church members during crucial periods. He speaks favourably of the government’s “swift and forceful” combating of the rebels. The uprising and its effects on the CSM he sees as a temporary hindrance in missionary work, either as a caesura after which people returned to normal (as in the Oscarsberg
region), or as a reason for non-Christians to become increasingly hardened in their endurance against the Christian message (as in the Appelsbosch region). Marks takes up Western missionaries' attitudes to the uprising, only as far as they contribute to the fomenting of the "independent spirit" among Africans. She discusses missionaries who endorsed overt government-critical attitudes, emphasising opinions among American missionaries or individuals, such as Harriette Colenso. With her lively contacts with both politically conscious African Christian élite and the Zulu royal family, she not only became an important spokesperson of African opinion. She also exercised a considerable amount of influence in wider segments of African society. Outstanding and alone as she was, her attitudes are hardly representative of missionaries in general or for missionaries of the English-speaking (British) churches. Cochrane's study on white dominated, English-speaking (British) churches with a double mandate is rather a systematically-theological study than historical. In keeping with his analysis on churches' relationship to the political economy of the colony, he also deals with missionaries' attitudes towards the Bambatha uprising. His conclusion is, that the churches supported the firm and vigorous suppression of the uprising, and affirmed continued and undoubted loyalty of the Church members to the British throne. The churches, he says: "clearly saw only one possible response – loyalty to colonial authorities." The contradiction in the churches' expected option for the oppressed, while at the same time expressing antipathy towards resistance from them, comes to the fore in their dependency on "the political economy upon which they fed." Different to the English-speaking churches, characterised by a double mandate and to a large extent dominated by white church members, the Scandinavian-Lutheran missions, with congregations overwhelmingly made up of African converts, were similar to the American Zulu Mission. On the role of the Norwegian-Lutheran missionaries during the Bambatha uprising, Hernæs wrote a pioneering study, "Lydighet mot Øvrigheten - Norske Misjonærer i Syd Afrika under Bambatha-opstanden i 1906." He made use of CNM and NMS source material and describes events in the concerned mission districts, missionaries' attitudes towards the uprising and their relations to settlers and Africans in 1906 and the following years. His findings assert missionaries' clear-cut loyalty to the government. However, Hernæs points at theological, humanitarian, and ethnocentric reasons for their stand, rather than to loyalty to the government. He faces the missionaries' ambiguity in both supporting the government and defending Africans. Hernæs claims that it was missionary experiences of the uprising and its defeat, that gradually turned their sympathies in favour of Africans who were defended by Hans Astrup in an address at the CNM assembly in Bergen in 1912. The address was important because it expressed the legitimacy of Africans' protests and their right of participation in decision-making. Hernæs explained that African claims, influenced by the post-uprising debate among whites in Natal, brought the missionaries closer to
white liberals. Contrary to racist settler opinions which often regarded Africans as non-human labourers, the missionaries, with what Hernæs calls their paternalist assimilationist approach, saw Africans as "children" in need for a gradual development-process, raising them through education and civilisation. Because Hernæs also intended to describe local happenings in the Norwegian mission districts, his attention is also given to local African Christian communities in the course of the uprising. His reminder in passing of rural African Christians' more or less social integration with surrounding non-Christian society is most valuable in contrast to Marks's and Marable's focus on the African Christian middle class élite. By and large Hernæs claims that his findings only confirm what already is known through previous studies: the African Christians' difficult middle position, their general loyalty to the government and the white troops' terror. And he is probably correct in assuming that the missionaries more belonged to the white than to the African society. Two questions emerge from his study. The first one concerns his perspective. Does he not by separating the missionaries from their larger surrounding, tend to confirm the conventional picture of them (as furthered in missionary literature) as detached from developments in African and colonial society at large? Is it not more likely that they, whether they were aware of it or not, by their very presence were deeply involved in the transforming mechanisms at work in society at large? Would not a more inclusive analysis of their position in the society have proven useful also for a more comprehensive understanding of the missionaries' role? Would not a knowledge of the transforming mechanisms at work in that society have proven useful also for a more comprehensive understanding of the missionaries' role? If such an perspective had been employed, it had at least been possible to derive Hans Astrup's important address in 1912 not only to the post-uprising debate among whites, but also to the debate related to African political claims, which had been defined in the CNM and CSM jointly edited Lutheran periodical in 1906. The second question concerns the issue of representativity. To some extent Hernæs recognises variations in attitudes among missionaries, due to their different experiences in the course of the uprising: Johannes Astrup's (CNM) loyalty to the government and J. M. Tvedt's (NMS) critical stand. In his analysis, Hernæs combines their different attitudes, e.g. when ascribing Hans Astrup's (CNM) address in 1912 to changed attitudes and deeper insights among Norwegian missionaries as a group. In future research on the Norwegian missions questions could be asked to what extent this attitude was representative not only of the CNM as a whole under its bishop Nils Astrup, but also of NMS. At least Stavem shows in his 1915 account very little resemblance to Hans Astrup's more broad-minded analysis.

Turning to the CSM source material it may be remembered that the opinions of Africans, with only a very few exceptions, all have been obtained through the missionaries' sources. It is thus important to handle these sources with great caution. Furthermore, from areas where missionaries resided, reports on the uprising are unevenly distributed.
From some CSM regions only little information is obtainable, e.g. from Ekutuleni in Zululand and from Dundee in northern Natal. Ekutuleni is not far from the Nkandhla forest, where Bambatha's final battle was fought. One could have expected CSM sources to contain information on events, even if they were noted from a distance and it was in Natal, with its specific problems concerning land, labour and segregation, that the uprising originated, was locally mobilised and had its principal effects. The uprising was brought to Zululand only when Bambatha and his men retreated there in search of refuge. The lack of information could also be due to the fact that Sitheku, the most important chief in the Ekutuleni region, throughout the course of the uprising remained loyal to the government. The very little information conveyed in CSM sources from the coal mining town of Dundee is probably due its location's distance from the uprising which chiefly occurred in the reserves. It may also depend on the circumstance that Dundee was dominated by whites. Because of the oscillatory nature of the South African labour migration system, it is probable that many Africans in 1906 regarded Dundee as a temporary home, used only at times for the duration of migrant work, and when the men were not required either at their own homesteads or as labour tenants on white-owned farms. Nevertheless, as the bulk of migrant labourers oscillated between rural and urban areas, several of them ought to have been related also to the regions affected by the uprising. In the course of 1906, however, nothing of this is indicated in CSM source material.

On the other hand CSM source material contains much detail from the regions located in rural areas, where important chiefs in 1906 raised the banner of resistance, and where major clashes occurred. In contrast to Norwegian source material, which was included by Hernes and partly by Marks, CSM sources are more informative as Swedish missionaries stationed at their three most affected missions - by and large and contrary to their Norwegian colleagues - remained on their stations throughout the uprising. Roughly 60 per cent of the total number of CSM converts lived in two of three areas where resistance was locally mobilised, i.e. Appelsbosch and Oscarsberg. It was also in these two areas, and immediately adjacent to CSM congregations, that the important uprisings among converts belonging to other Western mission organisations occurred. The two outstations of the American Zulu mission, Newspaper and Dahlibo are only five kilometres to the east of Appelsbosch proper, in an area where Christians from the CSM and from the American Zulu mission lived together, belonging to the same peoples and ruled by the same chiefs. Similarly, in the north of Natal, the HMS Nazareth mission station is located only seven kilometres south of Oscarsberg and Amoibie. Any significant impact by African Independent Churches on CSM converts can, in the course of the 1906-8 period, hardly be traced in CSM source material. Although individual evangelists accompanied chief Meseni of the Quabe during one stage of the uprising near Appelsbosch, on the whole such influences seem not to have involved people living in CSM regions.
A second point of concern is the classification of sources, and the different interpretations given by CSM missionaries who faced the uprising. One category is represented in accounts given by Ljungquist. In charge of the largest mission station, and being the leading missionary of CSM with ideological and political support of CSM administration in Uppsala, his reports became increasingly coloured by his candid support of the government, very much in line with missionary attitudes described by Cochrane and Hernæs. A second category is represented by correspondence from Hallendorff and Kempe. Of a younger generation than Ljungquist, they were in charge of the third and fourth largest CSM mission districts. In their narratives they have taken a neutral position in regard to Bambatha's men, whilst they increasingly became critical of the government. Posse's correspondence is a third category of material. Due to her personal wealth, social position and influence on the local administration and Home Board in Uppsala, she maintained an independent standing in CSM. Although she from 1905 partly withdrew from regular missionary work, which reduced her contacts with both African Christians and non-Christians in the region, her keen observations, reflected in her private correspondence to her sister in Sweden, stand out as an independent source when compared to that of others.

In conclusion we have noted Marks's broad perspective of the uprising and its defeat. Her stand has been achieved by way of her analysis of the colonial and African societies and their interactions and contributes to a comprehensive understanding of the uprising, its implications and results. Her findings on African Christians' patterns of participation and attitudes, as well as her exposing the impact on their middle class élite, remain important in understanding of their role throughout the 1906-08 period.

Mindful of the present study, however, Marks needs to be qualified in at least four additional areas. First, it is important to widen the socially confined understanding of the African Christian community, as defined by Marks and Marable. Marks' assessment of the uprising and its defeat giving rise to a stimulated political awareness, is based on the activities of the politically conscious African Christian middle class élite. Also Marable's study contains similar views, albeit with conclusions highly diverging from those reached by Marks. Hernæs' note on NMS and CNM rural African Christians' social integration into African majority society, seems applicable to the situation in the CSM regions. With reference to 1902-6, and considering CSM conditions as described in available source material, there is more to be known about such attitudes and sentiments on the local, "grassroots" levels in the African Christian community. There may have been different responses and actions taken by evangelists, employed and particularly trusted by the mission, on the one hand, and rank-and-file church members on the other. The history of African Christianity is to a great extent a history of African women, although most of these women, who formed the majority of CSM congregations, are not mentioned in missionary records. Mindful of the women, it
would be of interest to assess their role as a majority among African Christians and who had been more or less unaffected by direct warfare. This seems particularly relevant in the Appelsbosch region, where the bulk of church members were Christian women with non-Christian husbands, fathers and brothers. With the exceptional increase in baptisms of women from non-Christian homesteads in the years immediately preceding the uprising, this aspect ought to be brought into an analysis on changing relations between adherents of Christianity and African traditional religion. Second, in contrast to other studies which have dealt with the uprising (e.g. Lambert’s and Carton’s) or the role of African Christians’ participation in it (e.g. Marks’ and Marable’s), it can be assumed that further detailed analysis ought to contribute with qualified evidence of variations in different regions. In CSM regions of Natal and Zululand there were considerable regional differences in social, economic, religious and political conditions. Both the white settler-dominated Oscarsberg region (with its alienated African labour tenant population) and the Appelsbosch region covering the overwhelmingly African populated reserves (with independent producers) were drawn into the spheres of the uprising, but conditions and developments may have been different, as was their impact different in the two CSM communities. Third, in recognising the social relationships between adherents of Christianity and African traditional religion in rural areas, it becomes apparent that Marks’ view on the role played by religion, both African traditional and Christian, in the conflict can be qualified further. By and large the demarcation line between politics and religion can not be easily drawn on this local level. Ranger’s contribution Revolt in Southern Rhodesia 1896-7, A Study in African Resistance is concerned with the involvement by spirit mediums in the mobilisation of local resistance. In regard to the role of converts on the other hand, parallels at grass root African Christian levels of similar participation, could be drawn to the Mau-Mau uprising in Kenya. The Christian community in Ranger’s Zimbabwe was considerably smaller than it was in Natal. Indeed, in his classical study of 1929 Bryant identified the parallels with the uprising in what then was German East Africa. It is a remarkable coincidence, he notices, that the same mind in Natal and 1500 miles away, should have been moved, almost at the same time, by precisely the same impulse to rebellion, to employ the same form of magic which would change the white man’s bullet into water, and to aim at the same object of driving the white men into the sea. Such indeed were the features characterizing the Bambáda rebellion in Natal in 1906, and equally so also the Majimaji rebellion in German East Africa in 1905.

In the fourth place, issues can also be raised regarding missionary attitudes. It is probably true that Christianity and education were among the important factors contributing to a change in African society. But while Marks in the first place has drawn attention to those missionary factors, which played a role within the scope of her study, it is when
Cochrane’s and Hernæs’s additional, observations are added to Marks, that the full range of missionaries’ alternative attitudes comes through. CSM source material can contribute to a more complete account of both motives for, and variations in, missionary attitudes. The theory in following chapters is that it is only after having gained a full as possible understanding of the uprising’s effects on the local African Christian’s conceptions, and when these are interrelated to those of white missionaries, that a clear understanding of their changing relationship is obtained and the uprising’s full impact on CSM becomes intelligible. The concern of the chapters is how the evolving Church, with its varied social, political, economic and geographical conditions at different levels, was affected by the Bambatha uprising, the Bambatha defeat and the consequences thereof.

1Stuart 1913: The uniqueness of Stuart’s work is emphasised by Hyam who claims that the Bambatha uprising actually was the only one of the earlier British African resistance movements to be written about effectively by an informed contemporary. Cf. Hyam, R., Are we any nearer an African History of South Africa? in The Historical Journal, XVI: 1973: 3: 624.
2Stuart 1913: 420-421, 513, 520, 536, 538.
4Marks 1970, cf. an earlier article, particularly on the role of the Christians, Marks 1965.
6Marks 1970: 337
8Thompson has emphasised vital differences between the two cases: In Zimbabwe traditional religious authorities were among the active instigators of the uprising while Dinuzulu was not, the degree of commitment between the African populations also differed as well as the rebels’ actions etc. Cf. Thompson, L., Reluctant Rebellion in Journal of African History, xii, 1971: 1: 155-156. Cf. Legassic’s discussion on her "fragmentary and scattered evidence" and on what he claims is the difficulty in inserting Bambatha’s quasi-guerrilla war into the history of protest in South Africa, Legassic, M., Reluctant Rebellion in African Historical Studies, 1971: 4: 162-163. To some extent Marks has however made the reservation that Ranger’s example of Zimbabwe not simply may be translated into that of Natal’s while the latter had a much larger white population. Cf. Marks 1970: 338.
9Marks 1970: 357, 358.
11Marks 1970: 328, 331. Of the nearly one million Africans in Natal and Zululand at the most 12.000 rebelled. Likewise there were approximately 100.000 African Christians in Natal but all in all only around 300 of them, of all denominations, took part as rebels. Marks 1970: 47, 52, 121, 335. Cf. Stuart 1913: 405.
12Marks 1970: 328, 334-335
13Marks 1970: 352.
14Marks 1970: 81-82. While not referring to him, it goes without saying that in this respect Marks is obviously inspired by the writings of Absolon Vilakazi. Cf. Vilakazi 1965: 136.
15Marks 1970: 56, 78-81
16Marks 1970: 59.
On Lambert's little concern for issues other than those related to pure economics, cf. Scott Swart 1996: 100. For a more appreciative assessment, see Edgecombe 1996.

On Lambert's somewhat "reluctant" recognition of his results in this respect but otherwise dismissal of his work as "the conventional wisdom that John Dube was the Booker T. Washington of South Africa", Marks 1986a: 60, cf. 45 and 69.

For a number of articles on CSM developments, see SKMT, LMT and TDR, the CSM yearbook, for 1906 and 1907 (particularly Ljungquist in TDR 1906: 15-29). Cf. Karlgren 1906: 31-32, 294-295.

The figures (end of 1905) show that 1,373 CSM Christians lived in the Appelsbosch (including Ifaye and Emtulwa) and Oscarsberg (including Amoibie) areas out of a total number of 2,332. In 1905, CSM Statistical tables in Statistik (även Rhodesia) 1900-1927, H: 1, (Fältarkivet) SKMA.
The Nazareth mission station, in 1906 headed by the German missionary Rev. Dedekind and by Marks erroneously located to the Mapumulo division is actually situated to the north, bordering today’s Umsinga and Dundee divisions. Marks 1970: 329, cf. Thomas Maxwell, Magistrate, Umsinga Division, January 1903, (page A6), Natal Blue Book on Native Affairs, 1902.

Cf. The Editor in SKMT 31 1906 5: 95

Ljungquist’s Appelsbosch mission station was the largest in the CSM until 1913 when it was surpassed by Dundee. Cf. CSM Statistics in Statistik (även Rhødésia) 1900-1927, H: 1, (Fältarkivet) SKMA.


Posse to Anna Posse 5.5.05, 2.6.05, 4.7.05, Hedvig Posses samling, B, Brev till Anna Posse 1904-1912, /Brev till vänner, Resebrev, Korrespondens, J. Tryckt material, SKMA.

Ranger 1967.

Bryant 1929: 201.
CHAPTER NINE: THE BAMBATHA UPRISING AND CSM AFRICAN CHRISTIANS - TWO CASE STUDIES

CSM mission staff and missionaries regarded the Bambatha uprising as an external disturbance which, although it temporarily interrupted mission work, did not imply any serious consequences either for church members or for continued CSM church history. Accounts emphasised threats and dangers African Christians were exposed to by "rebels" and the fact that the vast majority of them remained "loyal", implicitly loyal also to the Natal government. This chapter is concerned with the actual uprising. My concern is to determine if and how African Christians in the major CSM regions were affected by the uprising, what role they played before, during and after the events of 1906 and if there were any detectable variations among them in their attitudes towards the major participants.

My assumption is that the largely rural uprising which broke out in early 1906, chiefly was a reaction against alienation of land and proletarianization and that the radically deteriorating conditions and impoverishment in African society made the already difficult situation worse. I intend to focus on developments in Natal where the uprising was locally mobilised and where it mainly developed. It is difficult to discover to what extent CSM converts suffered from the general decline in African society. But there are reasons to believe that CSM church members generally differed very little from their non-Christian neighbours. One indication is the decline between 1904 and 1906 in the average per capita communicants' payment of fees and donations. In the Appelsbosch region the figure fell by 37 per cent and in the Oscarsberg region 42 per cent while in the Dundee region it fell only by 25 per cent. This chapter will pay attention to the two major regions in rural Natal: the Oscarsberg region in the north and the Appelsbosch region further south. Apart from the marked decline in contributions in the form of fees and donations in the two regions and a comparison between them, other points of view can be added. In recognising Marks' assessment of an uprising mainly run on "traditional" lines, developments in the Appelsbosch region and the large Umvoti and Inanda reserves appear to be of vital importance. From a comparative point of view a similar study of the Oscarsberg region with its weakened chieftaincy structures and correspondingly strengthened settler dominance seems equally vital. The different living conditions between the independent producers in the reserves and the labour tenants on the white-owned farms seem to include a representative range of alternative options available for most rural Africans in early century Natal. Both regions had furthermore been heavily drawn into a dependence on migratory wage labour, albeit on different reasons.
The Case of the Appelsbosch region

Unrest

Since the end of the South African War, the missionary at Appelsbosch noted, unrest and much bitterness against all whites was widespread in the reserves neighbouring the mission station. From across the Umvoti a similar report came from his Norwegian counterpart at Umpumulo in the north: The ground was well prepared for manifestations of discontent. In January 1906 the first signs of passive resistance against the Poll Tax occurred among chief Ngobizembe’s Ntuli, chief Meseni’s Qwabe and chief Swaimana’s Nyuswa in the Umvoti. It was soon felt also close to the CSM mission station with Swaimana and his Nyuswa living to the immediate east of the mission station. By the end of February, after the Richmond killings, reactions among the people became increasingly tense. In concerned wording from nearby Appelsbosch Ljungquist complained about a particularly “wicked spirit” that was far more violent now because of the government’s proclamation of martial law and its cruel punishment of both the offenders in the south and the chiefs in the Umvoti. Many Africans, he noticed, openly declared their willingness to take part in the killing of whites. According to Ljungquist, this resentment against the new tax was also accompanied by reinforced Zulu nationalism and widespread anti-Christian sentiments. But there was also unrest in the Christian community. A Christian brother to Ntuli chief Ngobizembe took actively part in the tax resistance at Mapumulo, a stand which was referred to in detail in the Lutheran periodical Isitunywa (The Messenger). Also among the tenants at Appelsbosch there were signs of frustration. They, too, complained of low wages and in a discussion with Ljungquist one of the male converts maintained that, “the whites deceive us and we are not properly paid for our labour.” But there were also open hostile sentiments. Another of the tenants, not a Christian himself but with a Christian wife and children, closed a heated dispute with Ljungquist by threatening that, “we shall kill [all] the white men”, which, according to Ljungquist, would never have been heard of in pre-war days. Although Axel Ihrmark, Hogner’s successor and the new editor of the CSM periodical, in March 1906 assured the Swedish readers that there were no reasons to expect CSM converts not to be trustworthy, Ljungquist was not convinced. In a private letter to Danell he voiced his fears at least about the converts who lived with old evangelist Nene around the Ozwatini outstation and who belonged to the two Nyuswa groups under chiefs Swaimana and Xegwana respectively. It was chiefly in their wards that resentment regarding the new tax was openly expressed. A spokesman for these feelings was young Nongai Mapumulo, a member of the Ozwatini congregation. When he declared that he was to pay only if the others did, it implied, according to Ljungquist, that if the young non-Christian men in the area went into armed resistance, also Nongai would join them.
Uprising

After the outbreak of violence in the Oscarsberg region in May and after Bambatha’s resistance force by early June finally was defeated in the battle of Morne Gorge - near Nkandhla in Zululand - unrest again broke out in the Appelsbosch region later in 1906. Chiefly in the Ozwatini area CSM converts openly demonstrated their sympathies with the rebels, probably strongly supported by their chiefs. "It was awfully bad and repulsive", Nene stated, "that some of the amakolwa [African Christians] associated themselves with the rebels." Some of his parish members had, after having been called to do as their chief, gone with their people to Qwabe chief Meseni’s ward in the Umvoti valley to be treated for war with intelezi which would make them "hard as rocks against the soldiers’ bullets." They later excused themselves by claiming that it was their chief who had forced them to join in the ceremony. But, by early July, there were only a handful of CSM converts who actually took part in the clashes, a pattern which seems to have been similar also at the neighbouring American mission. When denying government accusations of having fostered uprising among their converts, one of the American missionaries claimed that the part taken by their church members in the resistance, "as in the case of other societies near the rebellion centres has been insignificant." Ljungquist claimed that those of his converts who took part in the uprising were among his "least dedicated Christians", but reasons for participation can be traced also to the chiefs under whom they belonged. Those four or five CSM converts who participated in the battle of Insuzi belonged, like those who took part among the Christians at the nearby American outstation, to chief Xegwana’s Nyuswa chiefdom. One of them was killed, another was wounded and a third deserted from the black forces and returned to his home. But all had their houses burnt and cattle confiscated and those who survived were sentenced to 25 lashes and "two years of imprisonment under hard labour". The influence that the handful of CSM Christians may have had on the other church members seems not to have been significant, at least not during the actual uprising.

The temptation to join the resistance people was obviously widespread among many of the CSM young men, presumably sons of Christian mothers, although most of them in the last minute refrained from taking this step. It was not only at Ozwatini the temptation was strong. Among the Ntuli at Nhlangakazi who since 1902 when their chief Mdiya had been deposed by the government, had been incorporated with the Nyuswa under chief Sotobe, the hostile feelings against the Nyuswa and their allegedly government-collaborating chief Sotobe were heightened. Indeed, tensions between Ntuli and Nyuswa were already such that since 1904 the two clans were at the brink of war. It was also among the Ntuli that the bulk of African Christians together with their former chief belonged to the Roman Catholic St. Peter’s Parish, and only a minority, led by evangelist Camane, were affiliated to CSM. While Sotobe himself remained
loyal to the government in the course of the uprising, many of the youth among the recently incorporated Ntuli opted for resistance. In different ways CSM converts among the Ntuli tried to prevent their fellow church members from enrolling with the resistance forces. When faced with the final decision, it was often, according to Ljungquist, a matter of religious confession. When a group of young men, sons of a Christian mother who affiliated with the CSM, were about to join in the uprising at Nhlangakazi, they ultimately refrained from doing so only because of their mother's intervention, "Then let us all come together and thus you may openly bid farewell to God!"14 When young Mgibe who belonged to chief Xegwana's Nyuswa and who, according to Ljungquist, was the "son of a pious mother" went with the rest of Xegwana's men to Umvoti to be treated for war and thus crossed into Meseni's Qwabe chiefdom, he was suddenly caught by anxiety and fear, "Where are we going? he thought, I haven't asked Umfundisi (the teacher)". In fear for his life, Ljungquist claims, he deserted from Xegwana's force and was thereby saved while all his brothers continued towards Umvoti and were killed in the battle of Nsuze.15

Nowhere else in CSM areas did a missionary and his evangelists play a more active role against the uprising than at Appelsbosch. Ljungquist's message to his converts that they should be "steadfast in their trust in God and in their obedience to the authorities" and "like warriors of Jesus be steadfast against the rebels' temptations and allurement" was by the evangelists zealously furthered to the church members in their respective districts.16 Days and nights they continually moved in their wards, visiting all church members, furthering Ljungquist's words and cautions, quietening and comforting Christians and continuously reporting back to Ljungquist about conditions at their outstations.17 But when Ljungquist at the same time forwarded their information to the settler troops whom he actively supported, the mission station became a virtual intelligence centre providing the militia with most valuable local information which not only covered an extensive area of the reserves but also the major strongholds of the resistance forces. The evangelists' contributions were most appreciated by the white troops. But among those who joined in the uprising, as well as among the many who sympathised with them, the evangelists equally became the most despised.18

Some evangelists succeeded in restraining both chiefs and people from taking part in the uprising. One such case, mentioned by Marks, was the effort of an evangelist belonging to the neighbouring HMS who at Kranskop was able to persuade local chief Gayede to abstain from siding with the resistance forces.19 Also the CSM material give evidence of situations where chiefs remained loyal to the government while the bulk of their subjects appear to have opted for resistance. In such cases new and quite unexpected bonds of alliances were sometimes tied between evangelists and chiefs who previously had been most antagonising. It also happened that evangelists were able to play a most crucial role in times of decision. Among the people in the area east
of Ecameni in the Umvoti reserve who by CSM agents were known for their little enthusiasm for Christianity\textsuperscript{20} such an opportunity was made use of by evangelist Kibane Mkize. When local chief Mdungaswe proved unsuccessful in convincing his men to stay out of the uprising, Mkize spent the whole night walking from homestead to homestead eventually persuading the people to abstain from resistance.\textsuperscript{21} Another CSM evangelist, Samuel Mayeza at Egweni, to the south in the Inanda reserve, stood by his chief who remained loyal to the government while the bulk of his men took up arms and went to war.\textsuperscript{22} In the light of the previously long-standing, severe hostilities between chief and evangelist at Mona in the Inanda, the most remarkable alliance forged in the course of the uprising was that between Sotobe and Kuzwayo. Having been rewarded in 1902 when the less fortunate Ntuli were incorporated into his Nyuswa chiefdom, Sotobe throughout the uprising remained loyal to the government. When most of his men, Ljungquist reports, rose not only against the government and its troops but also against him, Kuzwayo was able to mobilise parts of his Mona congregation in defending Sotobe against his own subjects.\textsuperscript{23}

Naturally, also rank-and-file converts were affected by the uprising. Earlier in the year millennial-type of rumours were spread by so-called "messengers" of which some claimed to speak on behalf of Dinuzulu. Their prophesies largely aimed against whites and Western influences in African society, such as square-shaped houses, clothing and the usage of European tools called for a reinforced adherence to African customs.\textsuperscript{24} To no little extent such condemnations ought to have been felt by the African Christians as well. But it was not until much later in the year, in late June, and only after the white militia arrived in the region, that civilians, Christians and non-Christians alike began to feel threatened by members of the resistance. Church members abandoned their homes for fear and spent nights outdoors in the hills and valleys of the reserve.\textsuperscript{25} Further south, at Appels Bosch proper, Ljungquist played a most active role in not only furthering intelligence to the local militia but also in trying to obtain military protection for those who remained loyal to the government. He even telegraphed the government for military protection. The very next day, with the arrival of a rather small locally recruited settler militia, the already widespread and strained feelings against Ljungquist and his converts were aggravated to the point of open enmity. When the military, guided by the intelligence received from CSM evangelists, began searching for enemies and confiscating cattle in the Noodsberg hills, "The tiger was enraged", Ljungquist stated. Later that day, refugees with belongings and cattle began to pour down from the surrounding hills to seek protection on the Appels Bosch mission station.\textsuperscript{26} The next day, on the June 30, more than a thousand armed Zulu men gathered on the edge of Great Noodsberg threatening CSM converts and other refugees below, crying out, "Now we have come! Go away with your fathers, the whites, beyond the ocean!"\textsuperscript{27} After some of converts almost had been killed and the men had chased them away with the cry, "Hurry and tell the small white men that we are here", a European or a convert's
house in the reserve was demolished, its doors, windows, tables, and chairs broken. Several CSM Christians in the Appelsbosch region sought refuge at the mission station and during the most critical period they and the missionaries took shelter in the Appelsbosch church. There they reminded each other of the martyrs and, as claimed by one of the missionaries, "That night all were prepared to be murdered". They all pinned their faith on a soon arrival of white troops and when these eventually arrived at Appelsbosch on Sunday the second of July, they were warmly greeted by Ljungquist and the refugees. But as congregants left church, a young missionary, Nils Johansson, noticed that there were mixed feelings among them, "Many Christians here at Appelsbosch who have fathers or brothers among the heathen are grieved; they were probably not as happy to see [the coming of] the troops."

After the arrival of the Transvaal Mounted Rifles, reinforced with the locally recruited New Hanover reserves, developments followed in rapid succession. Among Xegwana's men were also converts of the American mission and clashes occurred both around the Esidumbeni mission station and at the Newspaper and Dahlibo outstations in the immediate vicinity of Appelsbosch proper. After the battles at Insuze and Ponjwana Hill by Monday 3rd July Xegwana's resistance was brought to an early end. What remained was "mopping up" operations, i.e. white forces marched through the area, searched for suspects and dissenting chiefs, confiscated cattle and burnt huts and homesteads. One of the eyewitnesses, a twelve year old schoolboy at the Appelsbosch school, wrote, "on Monday... the rebels were defeated. On Tuesday in the afternoon there was a great amount of wailing, indeed there was mourning the whole night. Some days later we saw how the huts were burnt, though not all; it was said they were to be burnt another day. That day came; then there was much being burnt. The women mourned and cried loudly. Another day they burnt homesteads all along till sundown."

In these operations two of the CSM evangelists, Camane and Kuzwayo, actively took part as assistants and informants.

**Aftermath**

But the enthusiastic involvement on behalf of the government and its troops by Ljungquist and evangelists, such as Kuzwayo and Camane, was noted by the general opinion, "The people ask why Socolile (Camane) and Moya (Kuzwayo) went with the soldiers while the Catholic evangelist did not", Ljungquist reported. He admitted that this had made a negative impression on most people in the reserves, a detail which also the neighbouring Roman Catholic evangelist made use of when asking Camane if it was true that Mtshele (Ljungquist) after the uprising had told his people that, "Now we do not have only one God. The gods we now shall worship are (also) the Governor and Sotobe." But, Ljungquist claimed, those who fought on the government's side
were now "stigmatised by the great majority of the indigenous (people)." He also feared that the two evangelists were resented by a large part of the population.\textsuperscript{35}

After the uprising and its defeat and particularly by the end of 1906, conditions for mission work among the people in the reserves clearly worsened not only for Camane and Kuzwayo, but for the majority of CSM evangelists. From all districts evangelists' reports were unquestionable: the spirit of resistance was increased. Even more damaging to CSM future prospects was the fact that also those who during the uprising had remained neutral now were antagonistic against both the government and CSM. This was particularly true of the African youth in the reserves. "For a while", Ljungquist explained, "the evil spirit among the indigenous (people) was paralysed but appears now to have been awakened again, not directly in a rebellion against the powers of the sword, but against God and the servants of His Word". When asking his evangelists whether the people had not become more submissive, they all replied, "No, harder!"\textsuperscript{36} Apparently the attitude, noticeable in local popular opinion, seems to have been of crucial importance in years to come. As late as 1933 missionary Sandström who by then was the missionary-in-charge at Appelsbosch, referred to the Bambatha uprising as a crucial watershed among the people in the region and the "deep-rooted, evil and hardly Christian spirit" that had followed and still prevailed particularly among the younger people in the region.\textsuperscript{37}

Ljungquist and his evangelists included their view of the uprising in their sermons, "We now have a bloodstained evidence to our exhortations. We point at the thousands of fallen and the 3,000 rebel prisoners", saying, "Those are the fruits of the rebellion. But an even more horrible destiny will strike those who, ever as loyal, in their life rebel against the King of kings and the Lord of lords".\textsuperscript{38} And when Ljungquist heard of the people who not humbled themselves, he prophesied,

\begin{quote}
But God will not be cheated. The cattle plague comes sneaking in everywhere in Zululand and Natal but ravages most... where rebel leader Meseni gathered his men. Entire herds die out. The locusts come in large quantities and they have already consumed the natives' crops. Without repentance, God will send pestilence among the people.\textsuperscript{39}
\end{quote}

Missionary sources do include information on how CSM converts responded to that kind of preaching. But reactions and sentiments among the converts at the neighbouring American mission may be applicable also on the African Christian community at large. When a white American missionary elaborated on his experiences in the course of the uprising, his sermon caused an uproar in the congregation and was followed by bitter correspondence in Dube's paper. From an African Christian perspective the missionary had failed to "correctly estimate the depth of feeling on the part of a people who,
though not in sympathy with the rebels, could not hear a recital of its events from the lips of a white man without feeling that he was gloating over the success of his own race." With Ljungquist's and the CSM evangelists' presumably even more candid support of the government and its troops, sentiments among CSM African Christians ought not to have been less upset. Among CSM converts one was, however, aware of the causes to the uprising. Almost a year later, in April 1908, when some of the CSM prisoners of war returned before they had completed their imprisonment period - due to a decree by the new governor Sir Matthew Nathan - the issue of their re-admission into the congregation was brought up on the Parish meeting agenda. Because they before the uprising had been treated with intelezi they had trespassed against the first Commandment. Contrary to Ljungquist's expectations they willingly confessed. "I am so glad", he exclaimed, "while I feared that they would not submit to church discipline. A strong opinion is partly siding with the rebels in so far as they claim that the government was responsible for causing the rebellion." But there were also other less apparent signs of an increasing ambiguity on the part of many church members and people, affiliated to CSM. While non-Christian men in the reserves now were more resistant then ever, also among the Christian men there were difficulties in motivating the monogamy. They increasingly drew attention at the examples, set by patriarchs and David of the Old Testament who also had several wives. And one of the many women, who previously used to attend the services regularly and who now like so many others in the reserves had become a widow, suddenly claimed that she had become ill and could no longer come and learn. And when Ljungquist asked her if it was not possible to only come and listen, she evasively answered: "I don't know". In conclusion: the sharp contrast previously noted between the agents of CSM and non-Christian men in the reserves dramatically increased during the uprising. Because of the earlier tensions when the uprising reached its climax, the rebellion was, to some extent, a war against the representatives of Western Christianity. This was evident to several of involved persons. To Ljungquist the government was identified with God and the resistance-leaders with evil. Rebellion itself was ultimately an uprising against God and, as they had not obeyed the Lord, the Devil now ravaged among them. Ljungquist’s efforts to draw white forces to the region and his supplying information to the white troops clearly indicate his firm stance in relation to the uprising, the white troops and their government. Also after the uprising was put down, the conclusion is confirmed both in his repudiation of the "false accusations against the troops' cruelties" and in his gratitude over the recognition of merit, granted by the Natal government. His interpretation of the uprising as a war between religions was probably shared by a great many of his church members and evangelists and perhaps also by some of those who had taken part in the uprising. As chief Soto be who, after the uprising, confessed
that "the Christians had been amagawe (heroes) but the heathen were amagwala (cowards)" and that it was not the amadholozi (shades) but rather the God of the whites who had saved him from death. But when Kuzwayo later asked Sotobe to give evidence of his gratitude to the white God and allow him to erect a chapel in his chiefdom, Sotobe was less accommodating: "We Zulu realise that the whites' God will come into power and that it will be to our advantage, but we blacks are amavila (lazybones)."

The Case of the Oscarsberg Region

Unrest

The unrest that in the latter part of 1905 occurred between Kula's people and the Dutch and German settlers in the vicinity of the Klip River reserve at Umsinga was soon spread to the north towards the southern part of the Dundee division where headman Mtele was in charge. This area, Elandskraal, was dominated by German farmers who had settled around the nearby HMS Nazareth mission station, seven kilometres south of the CSM mission farms. The farmers were resented by their labour tenants and the introduction of the Poll Tax augmented already heightened tensions between landlords and tenants. The general unrest in the area obviously affected also some of the CSM Christians, particularly the young men. Most of them had joined the stream of migrant labourers, generally to the Dundee coal fields or to Johannesburg. In January when local chiefs and their young men began to voice their critique against the tax or failed to appear for the tax collection, also the tenants on the CSM farms took part. Wild talk was reported, particularly among the young men on the mission farms, and in early February when they collectively were instructed to pay the tax at nearby Van's Drift, most of them refused to obey the magistrate's orders. Successive rumours and threats of an advancing Zulu army or of approaching white troops led both settlers and Africans to flee their homes, each depending on which force was said to be drawing near. On the 22-23rd of April all whites in the region, including the German missionaries at Nazareth, left their homes for Helpmakaar with the exception of the CSM missionaries at Oscarsberg. Thus, by the end of April and in early May, tensions and fears among whites and blacks had escalated to an extent that developments were bound to erupt.

Uprising

The turning point fell on the 4th May. In his attempts to remain loyal to the government chief Kula responded positively to its requests to hand in one of his dissenting headmen who lived in Mtele's ward further to the north. This, Marks claims, became a major reason for Mtele's own uprising in the region south of Oscarsberg. But missionary material with its rich access to local informants sheds new light on what actually provoked the local conflict. As a matter of fact, Hallendorff relates, by this time the previously
hostile sentiments between whites and blacks were appeased. Most people had already paid their ordinary, annual hut taxes and on that day also Mtele and his followers, due to an agreement with the local magistrate, were on their way to Helpmekaar with the intention of paying the Poll Tax. But on the way a group of German settlers unprovoked attacked them and two of Mtele's men were said not to have returned alive. At this time Mtele exclaimed, "Evidently there is no law! The white men want war! Arm yourselves!" And from that moment there was open resistance. During the first week the region was dominated by Mtele's men, during the second by settler forces and for a fortnight both sides actively sought opportunities to take revenge for unsolved grievances. When Mtele's forces still dominated the region, not only the resented Germans but also other settlers were chased away as they too, according to Posse, "had enemies among the people whom they fear because they did not treat the people well." After the uprising had been crushed, the locally recruited settler militia burned many homesteads, shot and killed unarmed blacks who, according to local Africans, previously had refused to work for neighbouring farmers.

As in a similar situation around Appelsbosch African Christians' sympathies for the uprising were expressed by people who lived in the vicinity of the wards of dissenting chiefs, i.e. in Mtele's region to the south-west. One of them was said to sympathise with Mtele and Bambatha "in words and deeds". Another sent cattle to the areas controlled by the resistance forces which, according to Posse, implied that he was on their side. Others, enrolled with Mtele's men, stayed with them at least until white settler troops began to arrive in the region. But in spite of the young males' earlier, almost unanimous dissent, there is no evidence of any CSM converts actually siding with the resistance forces, opting for armed struggle. The situation at Oscarsberg was in this respect similar to that of the Anglicans at St. Augustine's, across the Mzinyathi. Lee writes, "Out of the many thousands of Christians" in this mission district "only seven young men had joined the rebels." Although, as remarked by him, "the temptation to do so must have been all but resistible. They shared to the full the sense of injustice and outraged national feeling with their people. The new taxes and the loss of territory pressed as hardly upon them as upon any." The general stance of CSM converts in the Oscarsberg region seems to have been characterised by neutrality. The uprising was thus mostly felt in the southern parts of the CSM region, i.e. around the African-led outstation and farm at Amoibie with its adjacent smaller congregation at Makhonde Hill where Christianity always had been, and still was, comparatively poorly represented. Amoibie was both in 1904 and as late as in 1911 still regarded as a sombre chapter in CSM history. If any of the CSM converts in the Oscarsberg region would have joined in the uprising, it would most probably have occurred around Amoibie with its proximity to the reserve and possible influences by Mtele's supporters. Nevertheless, when the people of the region several
times left their homes because of the successive rumours of approaching forces, Amoibie residents remained quietly in their homes, trying to uphold a neutral position. While Swedish missionaries reported that German settlers had fled abruptly in the middle of the night more or less unclothed and carrying their small children, CSM church members seem not to have felt threatened. As was the case with their fellow church members in the reserves of the Appelsbosch region, also the Oscarsberg and Amoibie converts were only minorities within a much larger non-Christian population. Here conflicts preceding the uprising were different. Instead of tensions between comparatively more influential chiefs, evangelists and missionaries over the control over women in the reserves, the underlying social tensions in the Oscarsberg region were related to the ongoing labour conflict between workers and disliked landlords. But CSM converts do not appear to have been moved by the rumours of approaching white troops which, according to the local missionary, caused most of their non-Christian neighbours to abandon their homes. Thus, in spite of Africans’ threats against settlers a hardened atmosphere between converts and settlers following upon the previous general settler hostility against the educated Africans, CSM Christians still remained in their homes. It was only comparatively late, after Mtele’s men began to mobilise that the first signs of fear were reported among them. Not until then did parents express their wish to take their children from the mission school. And by mid-May, when Mtele’s men were reported to have murdered a government-loyal African and a group of black freeholders as well as so called “coloureds” left the area for the whitelaager at Helpmekaar, CSM converts appear to have remained unaffected also by these events. It was not until the last minute when it came to open warfare and when their position of neutrality became impossible to maintain that CSM converts with their belongings and cattle left the area which already had been abandoned by almost all other civilians. But while earlier refugees had left for the white settler stronghold at Helpmekaar, many of the CSM converts were spread out in various directions and some continued across the Mzinyathi and dispersed into Zululand.

When compared to developments in the Appelsbosch region, the general stance of Oscarsberg converts was far less antagonistic towards both the men of the resistance and other non-Christians. Differently to the situation in the reserves where particularly the few male converts were engaged in the uprising - i.e. evangelists and owners of European houses - this was not the case in the Oscarsberg region where there ought to have been more family men in the congregations. While this accounts for rank-and-file church members, also the leading evangelist and school teacher Magwaza gave evidence of a similar, more accommodating stance. He had already before the uprising been able to articulate an independent stand among evangelists, as a major spokesman for a renewed interest in Zulu history and tradition. Now, unlike his colleagues in the Appelsbosch region, Magwaza seems to have taken a neutral position. Through intermarriage he maintained links to sections of society which were favourably disposed
towards the uprising. His wife Elin belonged to the Qungebe people across the Mzinyathi in Zululand. The bulk of that clan remained neutral to the uprising, but among the minority who followed their chief Mehlokazulu to Bambatha's stronghold at the Nkandhla, was his wife's brothers. His accommodating position towards the resistance and probable contacts with Mehlokazulu's men in Zululand may have been a major reason why he when the mission station during the most critical days of the uprising was abandoned by the missionaries, was the sole member of the CSM staff who dared to remain at Oscarsberg.

Aftermath

When Mtele's army on 11th May was defeated and forced into Zululand the settler militia from nearby Pomeroy searched through the area for remaining rebels. The troops covered a vast area in which, Stuart reports, all homesteads belonging to rebels were destroyed. Posse's view is probably more correct when she claims that virtually all abandoned homes were burnt. The troops' reprisals hit nearly all Africans, indifferent of loyalties, and almost all civilians in the area had fled, particularly around Amoibie. Many homes were burnt also on the Oscarsberg mission farm, and Hallendorff was enraged about the cruelty demonstrated by the settlers' troops. Also peaceful Africans who had remained neutral to the uprising, were shot and killed which, according to Hallendorff, was nothing short of plain murder. Pleading to the authorities for neutrals, "was like talking to deaf ears" or met by contemptuous smiles because a missionary was said to be no more than "a spoiler of the Native". As was the case of many others, also CSM converts were now caught between black and white forces. During nights they feared being stabbed to death by the rebels' assegais and during daytime they experienced the ruthlessness of the white troops. Their trapped position gave rise to fear and hatred and, as one of them desperately stated, "Indeed, if the whites don't burn our abandoned homes, our homes will still be burnt by the rebels." But there were also measures taken by the white forces that were particularly aimed at the CSM converts and which clearly indicate the local settlers' widespread antagonism, indeed hatred, against African Christians and mission organisations. Their troops broke into and desecrated the church at Oscarsberg and at the entirely African-run Amoibie outstation the church-building was set on fire and burnt down. Hallendorff writes, "they tolled the bell while our temple perished in the flames."

Unfortunately CSM sources do not convey any further information on how Amoibie Christians responded to their church being burnt down. The missionary narratives were in this respect confined to the mission stations and their vicinities. As far as the leading evangelist Magwaza was concerned, a significant step was taken in the aftermath of the uprising and its defeat which is to be seen as a response to happenings that had occurred. After headman Mtele whose homestead neighboured Amoibie, had been
killed with Bambatha at Nkandhla, Magwaza took particular care of two of his widows and their children who were said to belong to the CSM congregation when he invited them to live in his own house at Oscarsberg. Such general humanitarian was expected of a leading evangelist. But the impact and nature of Magwaza's care becomes very evident when seen in the light of Dinuzulu's similar harbouring of Bambatha's wife and children which was one of the three charges raised against him and which eventually led to his conviction at the subsequent Treason Trial.

**Comparative Analysis**

After a long series of drawbacks for the black population in the form of natural disasters, evictions and increased taxation resulting in an augmented alienation of land and the proletarianization of men, the Poll Tax of 1905 eventually triggered off the uprising. Marks's view of a "reluctant" and "traditional" uprising which only started after having been provoked by white forces is both confirmed and further elaborated on by CSM source material. In both CSM regions it was the already existing tensions which through the uprising were brought to the surface. Diverging pre-1906 conditions in the two regions came to determine the different developments. In the reserves the CSM missionary and his evangelists for long time had difficulties with chiefs and homestead-heads. Those were backed by the government in a struggle to control women and their labour who second to land were the most valuable remaining resource of the chiefdoms and homesteads. To the missionary, independently backed by the pecuniary aid from Swedish mission supporters, the competition with chiefs and homestead-heads was largely a struggle on religious matters and the envisaged folk church. But also the shift to Western capitalist norms through education played an important role and in which the missionary came into conflict with the segregationist government. To evangelists, such as Magwaza and Camane with their already established large following at Mona and Nhlangakazi, it was equally a matter of their congregations' future prospects of developing into self-supporting congregations. Through the development they envisaged not only to become increasingly powerful alternative regional leaders but also with the achievement of fully self-supporting congregations, independent of the mission. From this point of view their struggle with chiefs and homestead-heads is to be seen as a struggle over the albeit diminishing surpluses produced by the women which after their conversion partly were redirected from chiefdoms and homesteads to the congregational funds. The social safety net, previously facilitated by the chiefdom, would thus be replaced by that of the congregations from which men, aspiring to establish homesteads of their own with an economic viability dependent on having more than one wife, necessarily were excluded. With the radically deteriorating conditions and diminishing resources of chiefdoms and homesteads in the years before 1906, controversies over such a redirection of surpluses became serious matters in society. The steadily growing number of youth, men and even young boys being forced
into migrant wage labour while the survival of the homestead almost entirely was dependent on women and girls at home, underlines the radical economic changes and the social stress brought upon chiefdoms and homesteads. A growing number of women and girls who illustrated signs of an increased independence of established social norms, were the folk that in 1906 brought about the exceptional peak in the number of women baptisms in the Appelsbosch region. This development provides the relevant background to and explains the particularly severe hostilities of chiefs, homestead-heads and young men against the mission, which became so evident during the uprising.

What previously not has been recognised is how different contexts affected African Christians differently in the course of the uprising. In the reserves where tensions between non-Christians and CSM representatives already before the uprising had been felt, sentiments among the men became increasingly Zulu nationalistic. To many government-supported chiefs, elders and young men in the reserves the imposition of the Poll Tax reinforced the already begun movement among many Natal Africans. To quote Lambert, instead of regarding "the colonial presence as a protection against the Zulu" they now "had little alternative but to look north of the Thukela for salvation". But it was also a struggle against the presence of the new and threatening religion and to some extent an uprising against Western Christianity. With the growth of the conflict, obvious symbols for Western Christianity were pointed at by the dissenters, such as the few Christian family men and their western styled houses, the evangelists and, ultimately, the mission station itself. To most people in the region, including ordinary church members, the missionary's and evangelists' open loyalty to the government and active participation on its side had cleared the boundary line. The established missionary description of the African Christian community as threatened by a heathen surrounding - as portrayed in previous works by CSM - can be confirmed. But it has also to be pointed out that the hostilities aimed against African Christians mostly aimed at men and the leading section of that community. Hernæs's note on African Christians' more or less social integration with surrounding non-Christian society is most vital for the understanding of developments in a region of this character. Of the many armed, non-Christian men who gathered on the Noodsberg hights several must have had relatives, perhaps even wives and children, among those who were at the Appelsbosch mission station. It is highly unlikely that these Christians were included in the mens' curses and exhortations: "Go away with your fathers, the whites, beyond the ocean!" On the other hand it is not difficult to imagine the mens' disparaging antagonisms against "the small white men" at the mission station where the overwhelming majority of church members were made up of their wives, daughters and children as having implied calls for their return. At a later stage, after the arrival of the white troops, these Christian women and their children were probably as exposed to white terror as were their non-Christian husbands, fathers and brothers.
A different impression of the uprising emerges when confronted with CSM African Christians' attitudes in the north. If Marks in general terms assumes European economic activity at the nearby coal-mines to have influenced the regional developments, the CSM material conveys new perspectives of relevant conditions and insights into what actually came to determine CSM converts' position. Here, where alienation of African land already was accomplished, where the African population was more heterogeneous than in the reserves, where the chieftaincy power structures therefore were weakened and Christianity had become a dominant force, the fundamental conflict was between the strained landlord and labour tenant. To no little extent this was aggravated by German and Boer settlers' harsh treatment of their labour tenants. Impoverishment and frustration among Africans was certainly not less here than in the reserves. But the weakened chief's power structure implied that a trigger had to be brought from the outside to bring about an uprising, i.e. from the chiefs in the Klip River reserve at Umsinga or from Zululand. But differently from developments in the reserves and most likely due to the different economic and social character of the region also when the war broke out, religion did not become a crucial matter between non-Christians and converts. Violent action taken by men of the resistance movement was not aimed at African Christians or Western Christianity as such. To the contrary and unlike the situation in the reserves, the African Christian community as a whole, including its leadership, shared the fate of being resented by the dominant white settlers. If any rapprochement, as suggested by Marks, between the "traditional" politics of the defeated chiefs and the developing claims of the increasingly politically conscious and leading African Christians was to take place, the ground was well prepared for such a merger in the Oscarsberg region.

As already pointed out by Marks, also among CSM Christians it was only a handful who eventually went into open resistance. Even if the rural and mostly poor African Christians on whom this study has focused, seem to have shared only little likeness with the emerging African Christian middle class élite, also their hopes and aspirations — for a better future through education, possible economic benefits and a more western-styled life in parity with whites — were probably quite different from those of the chiefs' "restorationist" objects. Also among converts in the reserves around Appelsbosch who to a greater extent lived socially integrated with their non-Christian neighbours, the Christian men who would have enrolled in the uprising were few. The majority of them spent most of their time at work elsewhere and for the few adult men who had begun to organise their living according to the mission's standards, recalling the previous harassments by chiefs, hardly felt disposed to join with their long standing tormentors. Certainly also Christian men had every reason for dissatisfaction and may have felt inclined to protest against the worsened living conditions in the reserves or maltreatment in the cities. They may have agreed in the condemnation of settler-dominated society. But a restoration of a society under the leadership of a chief does not seem to have
been a plausible alternative for those who wished to escape that kind of authority. This was more so in the Westernised Oscarsberg region where in spite of an initial and unanimous tax refusal among the young men, none of CSM converts opted for armed resistance. For most Christians in this region there was distance to the reserves not only in kilometres but also in life style. The heterogeneous group of converts, many of whom had migrated into the area, were only loosely attached to local chiefs whose authority and African traditional religion anyhow was weak. For the majority of CSM converts who depended on the mission farms for their living had more to lose than to gain by taking part in the uprising. But neither did CSM converts opt for the government. In the region they knew all too well the thrust of settler power.

African Christians’ sympathies and loyalties can be taken a step further. While J. E. Norenius and other missionaries claim that all but four CSM converts remained "loyal" and underlines their own restraining influence, Marks’s assumption that there must have been much heart-searching among the African Christians on which side they were to stand, seems more valid. In both regions African Christians to a great extent seem to have shared in the widespread distress which was already there before the outbreak of resistance. Many rural poor, non-Christians and converts alike, certainly had reasons to opt for an uprising. But the question of who joined in the uprising and who did not remains complex. The commitment to armed resistance rested on local-level politics which tipped the balance. The role of the local chief was important even if in some areas chiefs rose while their subjects largely remained neutral; and in other districts it was their subjects who rose while chiefs remained loyal to the government. The situations are far more complicated than descriptions conveyed by Carton. His conclusions are to a large extent based on biased judgements, passed by magistrates and other officials who often had superficial knowledge of local people and social conditions. The complexities involved also shed light on what ultimately determined the loyalties of those CSM converts who were ultimately tempted to join the resistance movement. In chiefdoms where chiefs remained government-loyal and where sections of their subjects appear to have opted for resistance, no CSM converts enrolled. In some cases the influence of evangelists, missionaries and of local chiefs had a curbing effect. It is significant for both CSM regions that it was chiefly in wards where the chiefs themselves opted for the uprising that CSM converts, albeit only in small numbers, eventually did participate. In cases in which men were tempted to participate in the uprising but were not wholly convinced, it was the chief’s participation which probably became the catalyst also for those CSM converts who lived in these wards.

CSM converts’ attitudes towards whites seem to have been ambiguous. In the Oscarsberg region the large majority of refugees did not consider themselves to have been safe either with missionaries or the white settlers in laager at Helpmekaar. At Appelsbosch the mixed feelings became evident in the manner in which they
encountered the white troops. But in both regions the determining factor in peoples’ attitudes in the course of the conflict was clearly their strong stands and evictions to the actions taken by the white forces. The white forces’ ravages provoked increased anti-settler sentiments in the north, and in the south sympathies with the defeated blacks. In the north, religion had not increased tensions between non-Christians and converts. It was only after the settlers regained their dominance in the Oscarsberg region that the issue of religion was acutely brought to the fore. The settlers’ burning of the Amoibie church was directly aimed against African Christians and indirectly against the missions’ fundamental labours to convert and educate. The latter accelerated conflict situations between Swedish missionaries on the one hand, and on the other chiefly German and Boer settlers, as well as the Natal government. Hence, in both the Oscarsberg and the Appelsbosch regions Christianity was openly regarded as a dangerous force. Whether aimed against chiefs in the reserves or against white farmers in the north, it was threatening status quo. In both cases it was ultimately the settler government which defended the established order. Ljungquist’s and his evangelists’ stand as well as Magwasa’s and Hallendorff’s less overt but determined stance in the course of events was most crucial for the future of Christianity and the evolving church in the two CSM regions. To no little extent does a comparison between developments in the two CSM regions in the course of the uprising resemble a pattern which was established at the time of the first encounter between missionaries, African converts and settlers. The pattern has since prevailed in South African church history.

As pointed out by Elizabeth Elbourne and Robert Ross in their study of early Western missions in the Cape, slave-owners were seldom happy to see their slaves go to mission stations. Many slaves were not allowed to participate in the prayers, hymn singing and Bible readings. Missionary presence was seen as a threat against African labour – thus contributing to undermining the very basis of the colonial mode of production. When settlers felt that their control over their labour force was questioned or threatened, they chose to oppose Christianization of their workers and slaves. Conversely, Africans became increasingly likely to convert when proselytization was opposed by the farmers and less likely when Christianity was propagated as a weapon of social control. For years to come the pattern established in the 1906 Bambatha uprising was to prevail.

One might draw the conclusion that in the course of the uprising evangelists in their attitudes and actions merely resembled positions taken by their superiors, the local missionaries. In the Appelsbosch region both missionary and evangelists were seen to be willing tools in the hands of the Natal government. But there is more to the issue than mere copying of their superiors. Camane and Kuzwayo, the two evangelists who were zealous in their loyalty to the government, also had personal interests in the scramble for converts among competing mission organisation. In their case it was the
long standing controversy between CSM and the Roman Catholics among the Ntuli at
Nhlangakazi which was at stake. Although a smaller section of the Ntuli belonged to
CSM under the care of Camane, the larger population including its leading members
belonged to the Roman Catholic mission at St. Peter’s. Before the uprising chief Mdiya
had been deposed and instead of appointing his brother who also was a Roman Catholic,
the government had brought the Ntuli in under the Nyuswa and chief Sotobe’s unpopular
rule. When widespread unrest broke out, Sotobe, favoured by the government, remain-
ed loyal while among those of his subjects who opted for resistance – not only against
the government but also against the chief who had been forced on them – were the
maltreated Ntuli. It is in the light of these conflicts that we are to understand the
remarkable developments that followed: the sudden change in Kuzwayo’s and Sotobe’s
relations, leading to the CSM converts’ paradoxical protection of their former tor-
mentor, Camane’s and Kuzwayo’s overzealous assistance when white troops’ hunted
rebels among the Ntuli, as well as the Roman Catholic evangelist’s sharp comments
after the uprising on the role played by CSM.

Also Magwaza’s position which at first sight appears as a mere reflection of
Hallendorff’s neutral attitude, is to be seen in developments on a local basis. With the
alienation of Africans’ land, undermining of African pre-capitalist society, weakened
position of chiefs and restructured patterns of Africans’ labour, the issue at stake was
not on religion or the African women and their labour as in the reserves. It was rather
that of the landlords’ exploitation of their male workers and labour tenants. The gene-
ral impoverishment and distress among Africans was not less than in the reserves. But
the issue was not limited to that of the labour tenants. To the dwellers in the Oscars-
berg region the uprising was brought in from the outside, i. e. from the reserve to the
south at Umsinga. The fact that resistance was not spread beyond this southern part of
the Dundee division indicates that motives which led to the uprising had less to do
with the humiliations, experienced by labour tenants in the solidly white-dominated
and western influenced further north. Among proletarianized labourers on white-owned
farms there was at this time - and for many years to come - no alternative political
voice with which their grievances could be heard. In the political vacuum which followed
the defeated uprising, the significance of Magwaza’s deeds in the aftermath of the
unrest became understandable. As school teacher, evangelist and member of the
emerging Christian middle class élite, Magwaza was a representative of the new age,
whilst remaining an outspoken supporter of Zulu renaissance that had emerged before
1906. His sheltering of Mtele’s wives illustrates current interests between the educated
African Christians and the new Zulu nationalism of the post-Bambatha period. This
kind of development was not limited to Dube having been moved by the fate of Dinu-
zulu during the his Treason Trial. Nor was it a new tendency, begun with Solomon’s
succession to Dinuzulu in 1913, nor commenced with Dube being ousted from the
presidency of the Union-wide Congress in 1917. It was a combination of interests
which had begun before 1906 and which now, as Marks points out, was reinforced by the failure of the uprising. It was the time when a new political agenda among Africans in Natal and Zululand was beginning to take shape.

1 CSM statistical tables for the years 1904 and 1906 in Missionsstatistik 1900–1939, H I: 2, SKMA.
2 Ljungquist in SKMT 29 1904 8: 129-132 and in TDR 1906: 17. H. C. Leisegang to L. Dahle, 24.1.06, Gen. sek. (Dahle) 143: 15, NMSA.
3 For Swaimana’s (or Swayimana’s) position in the (Mavela-)Nyuswa branch of the Ngcobo tribe, cf. Bryant 1929: 482.
4 Ljungquist to Ihrmark 28.2.06, Md Kor SA, 1905-1906, E I c:4, SKMA. Ljungquist in TDR 1906: 18, Stuart 1913: 149, Marks 1970: 199.
5 Isitunywa 2 1906 4: 28. The incident was also related by Leisegang of the Norwegian Missionary Society. H. C. Leisegang to L. Dahle, 24.1.06, Gen. sek. (Dahle) 143: 15, NMSA. Cf. Stuart 1913: 121, Marks 1970: 171, 198.
6 Ljungquist in SKMT 31 1906 11-12: 179-180, other similar statements in Ljungquist to Danell 21.3.06, Hjalmar Danells samling, Brev 1894-1933, SKMA.
7 The Editor (Ihrmark) in SKMT 31 1906 5: 95, Ljungquist to Danell 21.3.06, Hjalmar Danells samling, Brev 1894-1933, SKMA. Cf. Ljungquist in TDR 1906: 21 and F. Ljungquist: Redogörelse för missionsarbetset på Appelsbosch år 1914. The Archives, Lutheran Church Centre, South Eastern Diocese, Umpumulo. Also from the neighbouring missionary Leisegang of Norwegian Missionary Society there were similar fears voiced about their converts. Cf. H. C. Leisegang to L. Dahle, 24.1.06, Gen. sekr. (Dahle) 143: 15, NMSA. Ljungquist in TDR 1906: 21. Chief Xegwana was the acting chief for Deliwayo’s juvenile son Mqedi of the (Sihayo-)Nyuswa branch of the Ngcobo tribe. Cf. Bryant 1929: 482.
8 Nene in SKMT 32 1907 6: 100-101. Similarly, to the north of the CSM Appelsbosch region, African Christians belonging to the NMS, claimed they had been forced to join in the uprising. Cf. E. Hove: Grundtræk fra norsk missionsarbejde - 1906, in NMT 10 1908 60.
9 Welsh 1971: 309-310. The government’s claim that two congregations of the American Zulu mission had been beyond control is refuted by Strong who maintains that these statements afterwards were fully disproved. Not one of the twenty four preachers had been found disloyal and: "...all the male members who joined the rebels could be counted on the fingers of two hands." Strong 1910: 433-434.
10 Ljungquist to Danell 21.3.06, Hjalmar Danells samling, Brev 1894-1933, SKMA and Ljungquist to Ihrmark 10.7.06, Md Kor SA, 1905-1906, E I c:4, SKMA.
12 F. Ljungquist, Kvartalsredogörelse för missionsarbetet på Appelsbosch andra kvartalet 1906. Inkommande handlingar. Årsberättelser. Missionärer och afrikaner. 1906-1962, D II b: 2, (Fältarkivet) SKMA. This is also in line with similar assumptions by Marks, cf. Marks 1970: 335.
14 Ljungquist in SKMT 32 1907 13-14: 224.
15 Ljungquist in SKMT 32 1907 13-14: 223.
16 Ljungquist to Ihrmark 10.7.06, Md Kor SA, 1905-1906, E I c:4, SKMA and Ljungquist in TDR 1906: 20.
17 Johansson in SKMT 31 1906 19: 316. Noragela, one of the evangelists at Ozwatini, was even threatened to be beaten up because of his reporting to Ljungquist. Ljungquist in TDR 1906: 21.
19 Marks 1970: 357.


Ljungquist in SKMT 32 1907 13-14: 234.


Ljungquist to Ihrmark 28.6.06, Md Korr SA, 1905-1906, E I c:4, SKMA.

Ljungquist in TDR 1906: 20, 22-23


Ljungquist in TDR 1906: 22.

Johansson in SKMT 31 1906 19: 316.


Johansson in LMT 60 1906 8: 114-116.

Filemone Camane in SKMT 31 1906 24: 402.

Ljungquist in SKMT 32 1907 13-14: 235.

Ljungquist's remark was that: "...the Governor is keen on spirits" and Soto be, though loyal to the government, "...a thoroughgoing heathen and an enemy of the mission." Ljungquist to Ihrmark 9.8.06, Md Korr SA, 1905-1906, E I c:4, SKMA. Ljungquist in SKMT 32 1907 13-14: 235.

Ljungquist in SKMT 32 1907 13-14: 235.

Ljungquist to Ihrmark 8.11.06, 6.12.06, 20.12.06, Md Korr SA, 1905-1906, E I c:4, SKMA and Ljungquist in SKMT 32 1907 13-14: 235. Also in February 1907 Ljungquist reported that the hatred against the whites was as severe as ever, Ljungquist to Ihrmark, 14.2.07, Md Korr SA, 1907-1908, E I c: 5, SKMA

Sandström 1935: 34.

Ljungquist in TDR 1906: 29.

Ljungquist in SKMT 32 1907 13-14: 236.

Quotation in Marks 1970: 358 also in Marks 1986a: 60 and Marks 1986b: 365. Following the uprising and its defeat, also missionaries at neighbouring NMS mission stations to the north reported of similarly hardened feelings among the people there. Cf. E. Hove: Grundtræk fra norsk missionsarbejde - 1906, in NMT 10 1908: 60.

Ljungquist to Ihrmark, 8.4.08, Md Korr SA, 1907-1908, E I c: 5, SKMA


SKMA, Ljungquist in SKMT 32 1907 13-14: 234-236.


Posse to Anna Posse 12.1.06, 8.2.06, Hedvig Posses samlings, B, Brev till Anna Posse 1904-1912, /Brev till vänner, Resebrev, Korrespondens, J. Tryckt material, SKMA.


Claimed by Marks 1970: 218, mentioned as one reason by Posse in SKMT 31 '906 13-14: 219, which of course is further emphasised by the fact that the dissenting headman, Mabulawa, came from Mtele's section of the chiefdom. Stuart 1913: 321.
50 Hallendorff in SKMT 31 1906 15-16: 253. They were also expected to do this as the magistracy at Helpmekaar, where the tax was to be paid, had been reinforced with local Militia reserves. Marks 1970: 218.


53 It is not said whether the named Simon eventually took part in the uprising. Posse to Anna Posse 11.5.06, Hedvig Posses samling, B, Brev till Anna Posse 1904-1912, /Brev till vänner, Resebrev, Korrespondens, J. Tryckt material, SKMA.

54 Posse to Anna Posse 11.5.06, Hedvig Posses samling, B, Brev till Anna Posse 1904-1912, /Brev till vänner, Resebrev, Korrespondens, J. Tryckt material, SKMA.


56 Åmbetsberättelse för Oscarsbergs station med utstationer och predikoplatser avgiven i juli 1904 av K. Hallendorff, stationsföreståndare, in Inspektion av missionsfälten 1904: A II: 11 b, SKMA. Cf. an article particularly on Amoibie by Hallendorff in TDR 6 1911: 18-29.


59 Hallendorff to Ihrmark 9.3.09, Md Korr SA, 1905-1906, E I c:4, SKMA.

60 Hallendorff to Ihrmark 26.4.06, Md Korr SA, 1905-1906, E I c:4, SKMA.


62 Posse to Anna Posse 15.6.06, Hedvig Posses samling, B, Brev till Anna Posse 1904-1912, /Brev till vänner, Resebrev, Korrespondens, J. Tryckt material, SKMA


64 Stuart 1913: 326.

65 Posse to Anna Posse 14-19.5.06, Hedvig Posses samling, B, Brev till Anna Posse 1904-1912, /Brev till vänner, Resebrev, Korrespondens, J. Tryckt material, SKMA.


67 Posse to Anna Posse 26.7.06, Hedvig Posses samling, B, Brev till Anna Posse 1904-1912, /Brev till vänner, Resebrev, Korrespondens, J. Tryckt material, SKMA

68 Marks 1970: 293.

69 Lambert 1995b: 187, On his train of thought, cf. 143, 177 and 186. As commented on by Sandra Scott Swart, the phrasing does however suggest a paternalistic outlook on the part of the author "in which the Africans believed colonial rhetoric to protect them and also suggests a moral scheme in which the colonial state owed them this protection." Scott Swart 1996: 101.

70 Marks 1970: 64.

71 Marks 1970: 358.

72 Marks 1986b: 358.

Because of the varied social, economic and political conditions in the two major CSM regions of Natal the uprising was experienced differently when tensions developed into open conflict and patterns of loyalties changed. Also within CSM, the uprising caused new strains, different interpretations and new loyalties among church members, evangelists and missionaries. Rather than seen as merely an external and a temporal event as conveyed in previous contributions on the CSM, the uprising and its consequences left distinctive marks on the evolving Church. While the chapter above focused on two of the most crucial regions in which the uprising in Natal occurred, the concern of this chapter is to widen the perspective in time and space with the purpose of analysing the further post-Bambatha consequences in regard also to the other CSM regions.

Marks found that the failure of the uprising increased political awareness among African Christians and contributed to new links with "traditional" politics. One issue in this chapter will be to clarify these developments in regard to CSM African Christian leadership, relate them to possible political alternatives and to attitudes among their superiors, the Swedish missionaries. Generally evangelists depended heavily on the mission, either as payment or for the small lots of land, purchased or rented by the CSM, on which they lived. A few among black leadership had achieved established positions in both mission and society. Hence they were enabled to take an independent stand in the post-Bambatha period. Among them was Josef Zulu, the only black clergyman and supposedly an equal to the missionaries. Educated abroad, exempted from Native Law and as a small-scale farmer on land allotted to him, he was among the few in CSM who belonged to the small African Christian middle class élite. His position in the post-Bambatha period sheds light on the continued course of CSM black leadership although most of his aspirations as a returnee were curbed by Ljungquist, Hogner and the Natal government at an early stage. With distance from the CSM centre a few of the evangelists became increasingly independent. Among them was Nene, the first black pastor of the American mission and the owner of small farm. By the time of the uprising he was however an ageing man. In this group was also Magwaza who could rely on his further education and social standing as a school teacher, and who also was among the few of the emerging, educated CSM African Christian middle class. Both before and during the uprising he had been able to articulate somewhat of an independent standing within the CSM. Among them was also Mavundhla, the self-assured founder and charismatic leader of the Ceza congregation. But even if most of the others were more dependent on the mission and maintained a less autonomous position in society, they were still important leaders of their
congregations, and a number of them were eventually to be ordained and reach a position similar to that of Zulu. This second ordination of CSM black co-workers was, however, not to occur until 1915 and did not create as much stir as that of Zulu’s in 1901, located as it was to South Africa and orchestrated by the missionaries. Some CSM evangelists in two of the most crucial regions of the uprising have been dealt with earlier in this study. But in order to identify African Christian political developments among CSM evangelists, rather than studying the war-thorn and subjugated CSM regions in rural Natal, the attention will now be given those regions where post-uprising tensions were less notable, and where opinions therefore could be expressed more freely, i.e. in the town of Dundee and at Ceza, the royal heartland of Zululand.

CSM missionaries encountered the uprising differently. In the reserves pre-1906 missionary and government conflicts were not made known, chiefly because the uprising came in between. Instead Ljungquist drew closer to a government which he for years so intensely had denounced. In the north the violences brought tensions between settler and missionaries to a climax. Although differences among CSM missionaries have been avoided in CSM information material, the uprising and its consequences made impressions on missionary attitudes and their stands in regard to government and settlers. In times of acute danger in the course of the uprising, urgent resolutions were called for. One concern is to discover their positions towards white settler society, the government and the Poll Tax, particularly in the light of the pre-1906 crisis. How did their standpoints differ and change in the course of the uprising, and if such interpretations changed in the course of the events. Furthermore, mindful of the political claims that came to the fore in the course of the uprising among African Christians, it seems valid to investigate variations and developments in attitudes towards the increasingly active African Nationalist movement as well as Zulu Nationalistic claims indicated in their views on Dinuzulu.

It also demands a closer examination of the continued fortunes of the CSM congregations in regard to their viability of developing into a Lutheran folk church, in accordance with the "three selves" formula, i.e. with the purpose of establishing self-supporting, self-propagating and self-governing congregations. First, however, an evaluation of changes in the CSM numerical strength in comparison with the other Lutheran missions in the course of the uprising has to be considered.

**Retreat or Church Growth in the Course of the Uprising?**

In comparison with the major Lutheran missions of Natal and Zululand, CSM was yet by the end 1908 one of the smaller missions. It was still not as big as the NMS, and only a third as large as the HMS. Compared with NMS, however, the gap between the two missions was reduced to 20 per cent by the end of the period. As indicted in the
figure below, all the three larger mission societies had between the end of 1905 and the end of 1908 increased their membership figures whereby the HMS had grown by 18 per cent, the NMS by 16 per cent and the CSM by 37 per cent.1

Total number of baptised members: HMS, NMS, CSM and CNM 1905-1908.

Within the CSM, the significant gains between late 1905 and late 1908 were those achieved in the Appelsbosch region where over 300 baptisms took place. In percentages the increase amounted to not less than 42 per cent. Before the uprising, as already mentioned, the most spectacular rise was that which occurred at Appelsbosch south, largely due to the peak in the number baptised women in the first half of 1906 (Chapter six). After the outbreak of open conflicts between CSM agents and the resistance forces at Appelsbosch south, the steepest growth did, however, not occur there, but in the far north-west of the Umvoti reserve which, unlike the south, were not involved in the 1906 conflicts. At northernmost Emtulwa the number of church members was in these years more than doubled. Also the CSM Zululand regions, similarly unaffected by conflicts in which mission agents actively were involved, gave evidence of steep
increases with an influx of an additional 200 new church members. In percentages growth in Zululand reached 55 per cent while it in the Oscarsberg and Dundee regions amounted to 25 per cent and 26 per cent respectively. But it is difficult to assess to what extent these figures represent major inroads among the non-Christian population. Undoubtedly, a large proportion of new church members were baptised children, brought into the church by their parents, presumably their mothers. Such child baptisms were probably more common in the older and more established congregations in the Appelsbosch and Oscarsberg regions. An interesting figure is therefore that which accounts for the number of baptised adults, commonly labelled "heathen baptisms". Available statistics from the NMS and HMS indicate, as seen in the chart below, a drop in these numbers which began in the year before the uprising. After a sharp decrease in 1905, the NMS experienced a period of decline. Statistics from the HMS reveal a similar pattern, with a decline beginning in 1905 and continuing to 1908. Developments within the CSM were different. And also when considering these figures the CSM peak of 1906 of which almost all accounts for the women baptised in the weeks before the local uprising at Appelsbosch south, is accentuated. The increase was exceptional for the Appelsbosch region as a whole, and after 1906 these figures were lowered, not to be surpassed in a foreseeable future. But also within the CSM at large this was not to be surpassed until 1912 with the large number of adult conversions taking place in Zululand in general and at Ceza in particular.

![Adult baptisms in the HMS, NMS, and the CSM 1925-1908.](image)
Divided Views Among CSM Evangelists

The Spirit of Independence also Within the CSM

The vast majority of CSM African Christian members represented a lower social class than those of the older, larger and more established missions such as the American or the Methodist missions. Based among the poor and recently converted people of rural areas, with a membership made up of chiefly women married to non-Christian men, and from few Christian monogamous families, CSM conditions were comparable to those of the two Norwegian missions. There were very few within the CSM who belonged to the educated Natal African middle class, described by scholars such as Meintjes, Marks and Marable. But some CSM black leaders were influenced by contemporary opinions expressed by representatives of the African Christian political élite in the Natal Congress. Opinions were channelled partly by Dube’s newspaper *Ihlanga lase Natal*, founded in 1903, partly by the Lutheran monthly *Isitunywa*. This paper was launched in 1905 by the loosely organised Lutheran Church Conference and its editor in 1906 was Johannes Astrup of the CNM. Although missionary-controlled the paper did not altogether ignore news that had a bearing on the lives of African converts. *Isitunywa* maintained an independent stance which gave room for rather controversial issues in its letters-to-the-editor column. *Isitunywa* was at times criticised by missionaries and clergymen who complained that it fostered a “pompous and arrogant” attitude among its African readers, particularly when the editorial gave credit to Dube, describing him as one of the leaders of “the great Zulu people”.

By 1906 *Isitunywa*, known both for its religious instruction and moulding of public opinion, was particularly popular among African Christians of the younger generation. It was read also by non-Lutherans and was available in large areas of both Natal and Zululand.

In the course of the 1906 uprising, Dube consistently urged his fellow Christians to refrain from taking part in the uprising and remain loyal to the white authorities. But he remained very critical of the Natal government. In January, before the outbreak of the uprising, he wrote without hesitation that “White men can have big meetings to protest against the poll tax”, but, he continued, “if native people and their chiefs say a word against that measure, they are suspected of disloyalty.” In May *Ihlanga* spelt out that the uprising would not have occurred if, “there had not been plenty of combustible material, the result of loss of respect” In the settler government Dube’s view did not raise much sympathy for the Africans and in their grievances which were regarded as getting dangerously close to sedition. Dube appeared before the governor and was rebuked because of his supposedly seditious articles.

In his paper, Dube argued that the aspirations of the African Christian community were not to be brought about through armed resistance, but by way of education and
peaceful political organisations which eventually, he claimed, also whites would acknowledge and respect. 7 Isitunywa argued in similar fashion. In the February-edition of Isitunywa, John Tengo Jabavu, the leading African Christian politician in the Cape and the editor of the black secular newspaper Imvo Zabantsundu (Native Opinion), was taken up in a lengthy article. Jabavu argued that the revenue income from the Natal Poll Tax ought to be used for Africans’ higher education and for the establishment of an African College. This, he claimed, was urgent in fostering goodwill and understanding both among blacks of different ethnic groups and between blacks and whites, particularly in the light of the severe tensions brought about by the imposition of the Poll Tax in Natal. The educational institution proposed by him was to be independently managed by Africans themselves. 8 In its May-edition, the issue of Africans’ education as the proper way to advancement in society was again emphasised in Isitunywa. The editor referred to an article in the Natal Mercury, a white Natalian leading newspaper which took up the recent return of Pixley ka Isaka Seme who, like Dube and other prominent members of the American mission, had been educated in the United States. Now he had returned as a learned man” and “enlightened” and in education equal to or even more than many whites. Isitunywa raised the question whether “spears and disobedience” was to be found among such people, ”If Ngobizembe and Bambatha had been enlightened like him, perhaps they had been prominent and leading among us, leaders of the people?” Isitunywa urged its readers, ”You leaders of the people, wake up and teach the people in your areas!” and ”Rouse public opinion in favour of schools so enlightenment may reach the people!”9

To what extent did CSM black leaders have access to Dube’s paper? It is probable that several of them did. Isitunywa was undoubtedly read by most of them. Through articles published in Isitunywa at least some Natal African Christians’ political opinions were channelled also to CSM agents. Josef Zulu was most likely one of them. In 1906, when all political opposition could be exceedingly dangerous, he was said to have voiced critique and discontent about the Natal government. Ljungquist warned him several times for “his inclination to point at the faults of and blaming the government and whites in general”, and claimed that the ”good reputation” he previously had enjoyed among his white neighbours, now was being questioned. Several of his white neighbours, Ljungquist stated, now complained and criticised him for exerting bad influence on the local congregation. Some of his ”blameworthy utterances” were said to have been derived from Dube’s Ihlanga.10 As in the case with most CSM black co-workers, only very little remains of Zulu’s own writing. Occasionally he sent very brief articles to the CSM Swedish periodical which after having been censored by Ljungquist,11 were published. His articles were generally limited to glimpses from everyday work at his outstation. Also from Ljungquist’s material it is difficult to assess to what extent the uprising affected Zulu’s outlook. In the brief biography of his life and work many years later, written by J. E. Norenius, he is said to have ”keenly stood up for his people”
and often given credit to the great value of many Zulu usages and customs. At the same time he was also known to have denounced many of the customs brought by Europeans. "In general", Norenius relates, "he was hardly a friend of Boer and English."12

But it may equally be that Zulu's and even Kuzwayo's and Camane's position in the course of the uprising may have been more in line with that of the leading members of the Natal Congress. Dube had thus most severely condemned the Natal government's pursuit of the war, the following atrocities pursued by the white troops and, later, placed the full responsibility for its outbreak on the government and an absence of proper consideration for the African population. This, he claimed, had been the state of affairs ever since the introduction of responsible government. But, Marable points out, it has to be remembered that he nevertheless had been similarly critical of Bambatha's alternative. For this reason, as shown by him, Dube's position remained a compromise of his values throughout the 1906-1910 period.13 And, it is probably in this compromise that a key to his political stance in the post-1910 years is to be found. Thus, immediately after the outbreak of war, Dube had channelled all his energies to defeat the "Ethiopian" influence within the Inanda division and Victoria County and, in this respect, he publicly supported the position of the white colonists. Many years later, when Dube in retrospect in 1927 related his efforts during the war, he told of how he - like the CSM evangelists of the in the Appelsbosch region - had visited African chiefs high in the mountains and used the power of his influence to keep the people at peace. Violence was to be avoided at all costs, Bambatha represented a former way of life and he certainly had no desire to halt the spread of Christianity and British rule.14

Other members of the Natal Congress appears to have maintained similar positions and H. C. C. Matiwane, the secretary of the Natal Congress, had not only denounced those who protested against the poll tax but also, in the Natal Mercury in early June 1906, informed the white public that his organisation was completely in favour of the military invasion of Zululand and the mass arrests. Although the bulk of Africans were in great sympathy with the motives that prompted the rebellion, Matiwane said, they utterly dissociated themselves from the rebellion itself.15 And, as cogently shown by Marable, there were several reasons for Dube and the leading members of the Natal Congress to attain such views. Already from the beginning of the first violence, white liberals had accused the government of using the uprising as a pretext for the further alienation of African land. And, while Dube's programme of Africans' self-improvement rested upon the precondition of the ready access of lands purchasable by educated Africans - as a basis for their further advancement and eventual reaching of the qualified franchise - the outbreak of violence and its anticipated consequences posed a threat to his entire policy.16 And, while several of the leading African Christians had been against the uprising, within the Natal Congress, this was probably too an opinion to be reckoned with although the general stance of the African Christian community as such, as seen in the case of the CSM, by no means had been univocal.
Also within the leading élite there had been diverging attitudes. Even if some of the most influential African Christians, such as Steven Mini, the chief of the large Wesleyan Edendale African Christian community, had taken up arms to fight the rebels, for which he later received a silver medal by the governor, this had not been the stance of the African Christian leaders as well as of its the rank-and-file members of the similarly important American mission. Nevertheless, to the majority of the educated African Christians, there were probably far more important grievances which were crying for redress and, most of all, Marable argues, the élite understood the remarkable opportunity which the uprising represented. Matiwane had deliberately criticised the Shepstonian system, the forced labour principle and the system of indirect rule through chiefs and headmen and by equating chief Bambatha with the criticised native politics, Matiwane allowed for the more progressive white liberals to defend the expansion of the African Christians’ privileges. Many thousands of African Christians had thrown in their lot with the government, Matiwane wrote, "Government need have no fear of our support, believing, as we do, that our grievances will be considered after the rebellion is crushed.” and, as Marable remarks, it may be assumed that Dube too concurred with the views of Matiwane.

In the CSM Appelsbosch congregations, however, as a result of the uprising, new opinions increasingly independent of the local missionary-in-charge, were thus raised among the rank-and-file members. Also in other CSM regions the emergence of a new, politically articulate attitude developed. In the Oscarsberg region, including the town of Dundee and its adjacent coal-fields, where a large number of CSM converts also from the other regions were temporary migrant labourers, there was a great interchange of opinions. It was in Dundee where the local missionary-in-charge reported on influences among the converts, arising from Dube’s message. In early 1907 L. P. Norenius commented on the new spirit among the Christians. Contrary to what he had expected, there were no feelings of guilt or repentance on the part of Africans, for what he claimed to be their collective responsibility for the uprising. Rather, he noticed, with popular leaders such as Dube among them, there emerged increasingly powerful claims for Africans’ equal rights. Among evangelists and rank-and-file converts, demands articulated by Dube in Ihlanga, including Africans' franchise were also equal rights for Africans to carry guns and to enter institutions open to the public. There were now widely accepted also among people in the congregations. Among some CSM black leaders, stationed away from urban settings and distant from the conflict-ridden Natal reserves, there were growing feelings in favour of a new pan-Zulu nationalism of which, in pre-Bambatha years, Fuze and presumably Magwaza were spokesmen.

It is not likely that Dinuzulu himself was involved in the uprising. But the resistance-leaders' utilising Zulu history, Dinuzulu's name and their united reaction against the policy of the Natal government, spurred a much greater interchange between non-
Christians and converts on the emerging Zulu nationalism, acceptable to an increasing number of African Christians. Apart from Magwaza at Oscarsberg, it was obviously Mavundhla at Ceza who were the explicit exponents of the new African Christian appreciation of, and move towards, the Zulu royal house. With the Ceza congregation located in the relative proximity of the royal homestead at Nongoma and with links to the royal family among the parish members, sympathies for the Zulu cause were strong in the congregation. During the uprising, first in Natal and later in southern Zululand, these sympathies obviously also included the Bambatha uprising. Missionary Sandström had not been long at Ceza before he became familiar with the parish members' and their leading evangelist's staunch patriotism. Undoubtedly, he said, in his heart Mavundhla strongly sympathised with Bambatha's cause, a stand made obvious in remarks such as "perhaps God will now look to his people and again grant them their freedom." But Sandström did not appreciate the new Zulu nationalism. With Ljungquist, he was an ardent supporter of the Natal government and its actions. After Bambatha's defeat, when bitterness and hardened feelings were more widespread among Ceza parish members, the relationship between Mavundhla, with support in the congregation, and the young missionary led to new and increasingly serious conflicts. For Mavundhla, one of the most skilled theologians among CSM evangelists, it was natural to voice his deep-seated convictions in Lutheran-theological terms. In early 1907 he said, "Had I only seen and so acted on the fruits by which I know the whites, indeed even the missionaries, I would never have become a Christian. It is rather [due to] the word of God — the Bible." Mavundhla's statement may be compared with another confession given by Dinuzulu who at his Treason Trial, on being asked whether or not he was a Christian, bitterly remarked: "I do not know who is a Christian in this country. It was only Christ who was a Christian."

The Evangelists' Conference of 1907: The Issue of the Izinyanga

That the African Christian middle class did not rise against the whites in 1906, Marks states, can not be held against them. To them, the pre-capitalist or non-capitalist structures of chiefs and homestead-heads were regressive and repressive. They would hardly have endorsed popular beliefs such as "if they carried out the appropriate ritual, the white man's bullets would turn into water." By 1908, as Marks assumes in referring to the report of the Natal Native Affairs Commission, "the cleavage between the kraal(homestead) kaffir and the Christian native" was breaking down. Obviously many African Christians had regarded and continued to view themselves as "a special class", set apart from non-Christians. The outcome of the uprising did bring about a new sense of unity. In the largely rural and impoverished CSM African Christian community, chiefly consisting of first generation Christian women presumably married to non-Christian men and of a different social standing than the Natal middle class elite, a too sharp demarcation line between converts and non-Christians as well as
conditions before and after the Bambatha resistance, is not advisable. Not only among members of the African independent churches but also among African Christians of the so-called mainline churches, there were different attitudes towards African traditional religion. As Welsh has pointed out, many converts disagreed to the missionaries’ general intolerance of African traditional religion, and several of them found no reason why Christianity and "traditionalism" should be mutually exclusive. When, even before the uprising, leading politicians of the Natal Congress extended invitations to chiefs and headmen to take part in its work, this was a similar step to that taken by African newspapers’ in their reconciling attitude to "traditionalism". Among newspapers with this understanding was Dube’s *Ihlanga* which frequently had taken issue with whites who made incorrect or unjust statements about African custom and habits.27 The frustration that the failure of the uprising must have evoked also among CSM converts, and the differing attitudes and tensions that the uprising had uncovered among its members as well as their conflicting sentiments, needed to be heard. In want of a political arena for voicing of the grievances, and in recognising that political and religious issues were not put away in separate vessels, some CSM evangelists urged that the details of the conflict be brought forth. The only available public forum was the CSM Evangelists’ Conference at Ekutuleni, 17-20th of May 1907.28

Because of their "war medicines" *izinyangas* (diviners and/or herbalists), played an important role during the uprising. In the following year the strengthening of soldiers as practised by *izinyangas* became a controversial issue in the CSM. The controversy was brought to the fore in a long and heated debate in the *Isitunywa*. Its editor strongly warned his readers against fraternisation with the *izinyangas*. Among his principal contestants in the letters-to-the-editor column was Mavundhla.29 Further among ordinary CSM church members there was a sudden increase in converts’ consulting *izinyangas*.30 It also became known that no less than three CSM evangelists in different ways had dealings with *izinyangas*. Naftali Koza, evangelist in Dundee, employed an *izinyanga* to cure his wife’s illness and was expelled for this reason. At Oscarsberg evangelist Magwaza was reported to have employed *izinyangas* for similar reasons and of Israel Mapanga, also an evangelist at Oscarsberg, it was said that he had practised "witchcraft" (divination) himself although his parish-members did not dare to witness against him.31 Among the majority of CSM converts who often lived far away from mission stations and outstations, there must for natural reasons have arisen the question of an essential and optional *modus vivendi* between Western Christianity and African traditional religion. The term "conversion" is, in this respect, misleading in so far as it implies an overnight and abrupt break with an entire world view, and its replacement by a new which to many must have been unknown and foreign. It is probable that people adopted what at the time seemed appropriate for their needs, and retained those aspects of the old which were valued and found indispensable, indicating a slow and over an extended period of time gradual change. Occasionally also some missionaries
gained insights into the world of African traditional religion and culture. Many were quite unaware of values in African life-patterns and remained helplessly ignorant of them. And when "transculturation" was detected among church members, the missionaries often used all their authority in counteracting and condemning these tendencies.

The Evangelists’ Conference had no constitutional standing as did the Missionary Conference. It was no more than an opportunity for mutual consultation and encouragement among evangelists. But it was unconsciously an important embryo of an organised African leadership in the evolving Church, because it brought together African leaders from the various CSM regions in Natal and Zululand. Political developments in the course of the uprising and its defeat, the debate in the Isitunywa and divided opinions in CSM, African Christians’ relations to izinyanga became major concerns among several evangelists. But not only in the CSM. Also within the African Christian communities of the two neighbouring Norwegian missions it was post-war traumas and tensions which led to the izinyanga-issue being raised at several church meetings. Within NMS it became a major question both at its African Teachers’ and Evangelists’ Conference at Ungoye in July 1907 and at the NMS parish meeting in the largest of the NMS congregations at Eshowe in Zululand in July the following year. The issue was at stake in the CNM at its Teachers’ and Evangelists’ Conference at Entumeni in July 1907. The discussions held in the three mission organisations were published in their mission periodicals. But it is in the CSM accounts, recorded by Kempe, that the divergent opinions are presented.

Of the 13 proposed topics to be discussed at the CSM Evangelists’ Conference, Mavundhla’s and Magwaza’s question, “Is it advisable for us to call in our doctors or to fail to do so?” was placed as the first on the agenda. Of the four days set aside for the conference, almost two were devoted to it. In the discussion that followed, the new independent spirit among evangelists was evident, arguments in favour of tolerance towards izinyanga dominating. The major claim was that also Christians were, to a certain extent, dependent on them. One argued that sometimes their medicines had proven useful and the “doctor” were for many church members the only available consultants. In an extensive report in the CSM periodical, Kempe described what he believed was at stake. Claims presented by izinyanga-tolerant evangelists, he wrote, were characterised by distrust in novelties brought by whites and a corresponding confidence in domestic, old and approved measures. To them, he explained, the white physician corresponded to the indigenous izinyanga. The white physician was for whites. He knew how to cure Europeans’ illnesses while the izinyanga was for blacks and was the most qualified to deal with Africans’ maladies. But several evangelists, presumably more faithful to the missionary stance, were staunchly critical, drawing attention to izinyangas’ ignorance of physiology, their costly charges and how dangerous their
seducing of the converts was. The debate became not only lengthy. It was also very lively which, according to Kempe, most clearly indicated evangelists’ concerns.

In his narrative to Swedish readers, Kempe explained that it was with difficulties that the *izinyanga*-tolerant evangelists were able to defend their tolerant stance. At the end of the day, the final resolution was a negotiated compromise, probably due to Magwaza’s and Mavundhla’s personal prestige and distinguished positions among the evangelists. A female CSM missionary observed the two evangelists Magwaza, but in particular Mavundhla, had because of their energy, charisma and wit, made the strongest impressions on Ekutuleni residents. In the final resolution it was stated that, because of the physical and spiritual dangers involved, the consultation of *izinyangas* was, if not unavoidable, not to be approved of. But it was also stated that their medicines were partly to be recognised as useful and that, when no alternative options were available, Christians who had made use of their medicines were not to be condemned, but warned. Lastly, in recognising *izinyangas*’ double competence in both spiritual and physical cures which both were required by Christians, the resolution of the Evangelists’ Conference included a demand for their own further training in elementary medical skills.

The *izinyanga*-tolerant party among CSM evangelists, represented chiefly by Mavundhla and Magwaza, had thus not only pushed the finally accepted standpoint towards a middle-of-the-road position, but had also used the conference to propagate an issue which, in post-Bambatha years, had significant African nationalist political connotations. This becomes particularly evident when CSM evangelists’ stance is compared to the outcome of the NMS Teachers’ and Evangelists’ Conference at Ungoye. While at the Ekutuleni-conference almost two of four days were devoted to discussing the issue, the Ungoye meeting spent merely an hour on the item. That the problem had been less controversial at Ungoye is confirmed in the report which Stavem sent to Stavanger Home Board. The NMS conference did not find it possible to declare consulting an *izinyanga* as unchristian. For practical reasons it was stated that the time was not yet ripe for such a measure. But the condemnation of African “traditional” customs was unanimous among NMS African co-workers. Because of their claimed amalgam with conceptions such as the veneration of the shades, Christians were not to be involved in such matters. This was the stance that all evangelists and teachers agreed upon and, as Stavem noted, none of them were inclined to think otherwise. But the issue was not that easily dismissed, not even within the NMS. It was soon raised again at a parish meeting. In 1901 Norwegian missionaries had introduced the first African Christians’ parish meeting. But because some speakers at the time had “appeared so childish and undeserving” all such meetings had for years been banned in NMS. Not until on the 50th anniversary of the first baptism in the NMS, was the time found ripe for a second meeting. It took place in July 1908 at Eshowe, the largest of the NMS
congregations. The izinyanga-issue reappeared as an important issue on the agenda. H. K. Leisegang’s account of the meeting in the NMS Norwegian periodical, unlike Kempe’s narrative, unfortunately refrains from including any details. But what presumably was the orthodox missionary standpoint, current tensions involved, can be traced in the rigid stance of its final resolution. On the izinyanga-issue, Leisegang reported, it was resolved that Christ’s medicine and remedy would have no effect at all if, at the same time, traditional medicines were used. The latter medicines were of the Devil and prevented any relief given by the Holy Spirit. The only way to receive true healing was to do away with the medicines of the Evil One, once and for all. Commenting on the resolution and clarifying the difficult situation to his Norwegian readers, Leisegang explained that missionaries found themselves standing “between thousands of thousand year old ticks [once] created by Satan and yet nourished [by him].”43

Many African Christians equated Nationalist political claims with reconciliant attitudes towards African traditional religion and culture. To what extent issues were politically or religiously motivated was a superficial question. Suffice it to assume that at least to leading evangelists at the CSM Evangelists’ Conference of May 1907, political and religious claims were intertwined. Whether or not these implications were observed by contemporary CSM missionaries, remains an open question. What is known is that at the CSM Missionary Conference of July 1907 at Emtulwa, Kempe’s account of the recently held Ekutuleni-conference gave rise to debate among the missionaries. The title given the discussion in the conference indicates some anxiety on their part: Are our congregations with us?44

Divided Loyalties Among CSM Missionaries

To Government and White Society

Only occasionally did CSM missionaries directly criticise the Natal government. Disagreements occurred when there were conflicting interests between them and the government, mainly on issues of African’s education. Education was at stake both when Ljungquist clashed with chiefs in the reserves, and when Hallendorff and Kempe criticised the government’s restricted policy for mission schools.45 In the missionaries’ argument they also contributed to the contemporary discussion on native administration among white Natalians, among whom there were those who, in line with Shepstone’s established ideology, opted for segregation, and those who with a liberal inclination spoke for a gradual assimilation of Africans into white society. Most missionaries disagreed with the staunch segregationists. At this time Schreuder’s, the Herrmansburg missionaries’ and Tottie’s original idea of a culturally inclusive folk church with an envisaged respect for the vernacular and indigenous social institutions (originally intended for a pre-1897 Zululand), had gradually been outdated. This was
particularly evident in Shepstonian and now settler-dominated Natal but increasingly so also in Zululand. A support for the indigenous pre-capitalist structures in the Natal reserves would have implied support given the chiefs and, indirectly, the Natal settlers' government. In Zululand, Kempe was a staunch supporter of Tottie's ideals, presumably recognised by Zulu nationalist Mavundhla at Cezza. But after 1906 when also this part of the country was conquered by white settlers, conditions were brought in line with those in Natal. The other theme in Tottie's theology, i.e. the stationary approach, implying the purchase of land, establishing of schools, industrial training and the whole a socialisation to capitalist economic structures, proved useful in the new situation. The course was encouraged by developments in society at large. Capitalism, strengthened in the post-Bambatha years, increasingly gained ground and growing numbers of Africans recognised the need of western education.

In the debate among white Natalians, Swedish missionaries opted for a kind of "paternalist assimilation", as defined by Hernæs. But while Hernæs argues that Norwegian missionaries to a great extent attained this position as a consequence of the post-uprising debate, CSM missionaries, at least at Oscarsberg, were already before 1906 quite aware of the political alternatives as seen in the debate following upon Robert Plant's book of 1905 (Chapter five). Already before 1906, leading missionaries at Oscarsberg had thus politically sided with more liberal whites which probably was of importance for their stance during the subsequent uprising. But the missionaries' disagreement with the dominant settler opinion was, as seen in the above, only on the level of the white political debate and it did not imply any questioning of white supremacy or the hut tax. Therefore it is consequential that the imposition of the Poll Tax in late 1905 raised no serious doubts.

Like most missionaries in Natal and Zululand, CSM missionaries remained firmly rooted in their loyalty to the government. The otherwise quite outspoken Isitunywa argued in favour of the Poll Tax by listing all the benefits that people would receive in return. Even Dube, the leading spokesman of the African Christian élite, defended it. Among CSM missionaries, the tax was explained as an inevitable measure in countering the colony's deficit caused by the South African War. Hallendorff claimed that the young men who were the victims of the Poll Tax were the ones who most readily ought to pay. In his congregation Hallendorff propagated support for the tax. Neither Posse questioned the government's tax legislation although she voiced sympathies for the already overburdened labour tenants.

Basically CSM missionaries seem to have comprehended their position in colonial society as intermediates between whites and blacks. In their explanations to the causes of the uprising was that both whites and blacks essentially were equally responsible. Both Ljungquist and Hallendorff criticised the settlers' condescending attitudes and
ill-treatment of Africans as vital reasons for their sad lot. But Africans were also responsible as they, being Zulu, were not only "the haughty noblemen among the tribes of South Africa". They were also claimed to be extremely proud and self-contemptuous. A popular explanation was to blame the black youth whom, they believed, were too insubordinate to conform because they, unlike their fathers, not had experienced the consequences of white superior forces.

During and after the uprising the Swedish missionaries' attention was increasingly drawn to the government. They judged its actions quite different, some even antagonistically. The study hitherto has shown how Ljungquist from prior to 1906 having been a staunch opponent of the government's policy, with the experience of the uprising became the most ardent supporter of both the government and its troops. When his and his evangelists' credibility was being undermined and the CSM message questioned, he saw developments as a fulfilment of God's revenge prophesies. By late 1906, he accused Africans to have been one-sidedly responsible for the violence. Ljungquist was the most articulate in his stance. But other missionaries such as L. P. Norenius in Dundee and Sandström at the increasingly important Ceza, agreed with Ljungquist that Africans' bore the sole responsibility and that the whites were unjustly accused of the cruelties. Ljungquist's attitudes is to be seen in the light both of his exposed position at Appelsbosch, being completely surrounded by enemies, and of the threats posed against the Appelsbosch mission station. But his staunchly propagated obedience to the authorities after the uprising may also be seen towards the background of his particular theological preferences. Similarly as Ljungquist's orthodox Lutheranism in the pre-1906 missionary debate on polygyny brought him to the one end of the spectrum where he was found among the radical dissenters, one of the reasons for his firm stance in 1906 was obviously the similarly Lutheran concept of the two kingdoms, implying a firm belief in the obedience to the authorities.

Among CSM missionaries alternative opinions were expressed also at Appelsbosch. Nils Johansson, at the time Ljungquist's assistant, expressed both grief and disgust in his report of how "the missionaries' black friends were shot down... by heartless and unscrupulous soldiers" and had their homes burnt. But it was foremost in the Oscarsberg region where differing understandings were voiced. Hallendorff became hesitant in his defence of the government, becoming firmly convinced that neither local Africans nor their chiefs would commence an uprising. Repeatedly he stated that, "unless a white force arrives here, there is little reason for fear." Several times he and some of his converts attempted to soothe the heated tensions between whites and blacks by refuting the often exaggerated rumours about the local chiefs' intentions. Although Hallendorff's attempts to prevent local war failed, both "rebels" as well as those loyal to the government recognised his efforts and good will. To the missionaries at Oscarsberg, it was fear of the settler troops which forced the missionaries to consider their
loyalty. The troops' severe punitive actions which caused tremendous suffering in the African community, their murdering innocent people and extensive burning of homesteads, was repudiated with most indignant wording by both Hallendorff and Posse. The soldiers' and officers' contempt of the missionary as only "a spoiler of the native" as well as the burning of the Amoibie church, clearly illustrated the hurt that the missionaries felt. To Sweden Posse wrote, "you may not read about our comments or outbursts of feelings in our letters as... we fear that the letters may be confiscated by the post office."60

Missionaries at Oscarsberg and Appelsbosch experienced the uprising and its consequences differently, and hence expressed different attitudes towards the uprising, troops and government. Hallendorff was in this respect the most critical of the government, although, within CSM as a whole, he was not alone in this stance. From distant Johannesburg, J. E. Norenius commented on developments in Natal in a letter to Danell who, because of his previous 1904 visit to the mission field, was a well-informed member on the Home Board. Norenius strongly criticised the Natal authorities and the "brave colonists who revel in their heroism, demonstrated in the burning of churches and huts, the robbing of cattle and shooting down unarmed Africans."61 Hence, it was not only Ljungquist's interpretation of the events which was furthered to Sweden. Hallendorff, on furlough in Sweden, met with mission supporters in the city of Gävle, and faced upset feelings about Ljungquist's sympathetic attitudes towards the Natal government which he had previously conveyed to the Swedish Press.62 Hallendorff felt obliged to distance himself clearly from Ljungquist's view. On the whites' responsibility for the uprising and in response to Ljungquist's reports, Hallendorff stated that because, "the whites are in possession of greater enlightenment and knowledge; you had rightly expected something different from them, so, where is the greatest obligation and where is the greatest fault?" He carefully considered a public refutation but refrained from this, reluctant because of the prospect of having two missionaries polemizing against one another in the Press.63 Although Hallendorff maintained a careful position in relation to Ljungquist, the independent Liljestrand was outspoken. Due to his pioneering and hazardous work in Zimbabwe, Liljestrand was widely respected in Swedish mission-supporting circles and influential with the Uppsala Home Board.64 At the time he was on leave in Sweden, collecting financial support for further efforts north of the Limpopo. As Hallendorff's predecessor at Oscarsberg he was well informed of conditions in this particular region. In an article published in LMT he wrote on what he believed was the major issue. White rule in Natal, he claimed, could prevail only because of the uneducated, "traditionalist" Africans' superstition and fear for whites. Only as long as fear for whites was maintained would they remain obedient servants. Through mission schools and Christianity, however, Africans' superstition was being driven away, human dignity strengthened and proper knowledge acquired,
necessary for their survival in Africans’ struggle for existence. Whites would have to yield although African Christians would become resented more than his non-Christian fellow. Therefore, Liljestrand concluded, "Christianity is distinguished as a most radical, if not revolutionary power."65

To African Nationalist Mobilisation

CSM missionary attitudes towards the opinions presented by Dube in his *Ihlanga* and of the emerging African nationalist movement are not easily known. As the CSM was a predominantly rural based mission, African political alternatives were by this time only obscurely known by them. Neither in Durban nor in Pietermaritzburg, where many of the CSM young men went for migrant labour, was there any CSM representation. Among the many migrant workers on the Rand, CSM missionary work had hardly developed. J. E. Norenius, the sole missionary-in-charge, was still, and for many years to come, preoccupied with the resident Scandinavian diaspora.66 L. P. Norenius, his elder brother in Dundee and the only CSM missionaries who directly encountered widespread African nationalist support among converts, was hardly approving Ljungquist’s held views. Already after the South African War he warned against the threat of a new, united African nationalism and, in 1906, he scolded Josef Zulu for his criticism of the Natal government. Zulu’s views, inspired by Dube’s *Ihlanga*, Dube’s conflict with the governor is mentioned by Hallendorff in 1907, but only in passing. Hallendorff was, at the time, preoccupied with his dispute with Ljungquist.

CSM missionary attitudes towards Dinuzulu are equally difficult to assess although he as the leading symbol for the Zulu cause, was gaining support also among missionary followers. References to him in CSM records are few and vague. Ljungquist mentions his symbolic significance as a unifying factor to the resistance in the reserves, but acknowledges his probable disassociation from the uprising.67 But after Dinuzulu’s arrest and at the time of the preliminary hearings in early 1908, Ljungquist held the same opinion which prevailed among white Natalians, convinced of Dinuzulu’s guilt. But his statements in the post-Bambatha years, as was his unrestrained attacks on the increasingly resistant people in the reserves, give evidence of his great disappointment over failed expectations and a new frustrated mentality on his part. "The old system of Zulu kings and chiefs is rotten to the core and not until this leaven is purged will there be improvements for the Zulu." The arrest of Dinuzulu was a severe blow to the Zulu people at large as they, he claimed, still remained loyal to their king. To the spreading of the Gospel, his arrest would be most advantageous, one of its most crucial obstacles now removed.68 Posse with Hallendorff maintained a neutral stance. Initially, she even regarded Dinuzulu with a certain empathy. But by early 1908, at the time of the preliminary hearings, she definitively changed her mind, "I hope they will not let him free again."69
Kempe at Ekuuluuni and Sandström at Ceza, from their close neighbourhood to Zulu in Zululand proper and with access to local sources, were able to develop a considerate view. With Sandström, it is not surprising that he hardly had any understanding at all for Dinuzulu’s cause. By the time of the trial he wished him sent forever far away. It was foremost Kempe who expressed concern for Dinuzulu. Due to his experience and closer contact with the local Zulu population, Kempe was able to refute some of the worst rumours about him that were spread in the local settler community. Contrary to a unanimous opinion among local settlers and the magistrate, Kempe defended chief Sitheku, Dinuzulu’s uncle (Fristedt’s closest neighbour and old antagonist), when he was accused of disloyalty. By late 1906 Kempe tried to moderate the common view of Dinuzulu’s role, basing his views on local information which was accessible to him. Although Dinuzulu might have been ambiguous, Kempe explained, largely because of the influence of his uncles Sitheku and Shingana, his old mother and foremost the old and sensible chief Ngoqo, by Kempe claimed to be the most prominent of his counsellors, Dinuzulu later dissociated himself from the resistance. The government’s actions against Dinuzulu in the aftermath of the uprising were therefore most harshly condemned by Kempe who described its policy towards its African subjects as entirely senseless. Also after his return from St. Helena, Dinuzulu was exposed to its condescending attitudes. Its policy was now characterised by exaggerations, particularly evident at Dinuzulu’s arrest when not less than 2,000 soldiers were detailed for the expedition. Weather Kempe still maintained this attitude, also when Dinuzulu later faced the Treason Trial court, is not known. Ihrmark, Hogner’s successor as secretary of the Home Board and the only editor of the CSM periodical, was not fond of further controversial issues in his paper. His intention was to keep “contemporary political and social struggles” out of it, and when Kempe had sent him an article on the uprising he had censored sections of it and reprimanded Kempe. Severely hurt Kempe replied in November 1906 that such confinements could not be maintain in a mission periodical. He would himself never become, as he put it, such a disengaged missionary that anything not immediately involving mission would become alien to him. Denouncing what he regarded to be the Home Board’s constantly nervous, middle-of-the-road position, he continued, “This fear for shadows makes me desperate and bitter.” Kempe’s controversy with the authorities in Uppsala continued in June 1907. He asked the Home Board to not continually accuse him of being, ”a rabid radical” only because he, in certain issues, dared to have his own opinion and that he dared to voice these opinions.

The CSM Missionary Conference of 1907

In discussing the government’s responsibility for the events of 1906, and of settler oligarchy in Natal and Zululand, Hallendorff, Kempe, J. E. Norenius and Liljestrand voiced critical attitudes. This encouraged their political awareness. They alienated themselves from Ljungquist’s distinctly government-supportive stand, although only
Hallendorff explicitly spelled this out. As the chairman of the CSM Missionary Conference, Ljungquist was in re the director of the CSM mission in South Africa and sole spokesman to the Home Board. In the period following the uprising Ljungquist’s authority became resilient, coupled to growing dissatisfaction among his colleagues about his dominant position in the mission. It was the latter which was the chief canal of their discontent. When the opinions among the missionaries, due to and brought to the fore in the events of 1906, it became increasingly difficult for them to accept Ljungquist as their common spokesman. Hallendorff’s and Kempe’s previous controversies with Ljungquist and Ihrmark respectively, revealed missionaries’ right to interpret conditions on the mission field and to forward these to the Home Board as well as to financially mission-supporting circles. Ljungquist’s demand that all articles written for the CSM periodical first were to be reviewed by him, provoked further dissatisfaction. When explaining the situation to Ihrmark, Ljungquist later admitted, the missionaries had complained over their restrained freedom of expression.76

Missionary complaints were clearly expressed at the CSM Missionary Conference of July 1907. The issue of balancing the chairman’s executive power by way of creating a Missionary Council was raised.77 To her sister in Sweden, and possibly with the purpose of influencing the Uppsala Home Board of which her brother-in-law was a member, Posse wrote that CSM missionaries wished to confine Ljungquist’s powers. Posse expressed her hopes that the Home Board would not allow Ljungquist too much authority as he did not enjoy the confidence of all CSM missionaries in South Africa.78 With Hallendorff and Liljestrand on furlough in Sweden, it is significant that it was Kempe who had raised the question of a Missionary Council.79 But because the issue was raised too late to be placed on the agenda, it was, according to Ljungquist, contrary to the rules that it at all was taken up at the conference. But as a majority of the missionaries wished to have it discussed, Ljungquist had to yield.80 Instead of limiting the executive power to the chairman of the Missionary Conference, Kempe first proposed the establishment of a Missionary Council, with which the chairman in important matters was to be obliged to confer. Secondly, council-meetings were to be recorded and the records to be submitted the Missionary Conference. Almost unanimously Kempe’s proposal was endorsed by the missionaries and was therefore forwarded to the Home Board for its final approvement. To Ljungquist who was the only one to register his reservation in the minutes, it was the second part in Kempe’s proposition which was controversial. The crucial issue was the upgrading of the Missionary Conference to a body to which a proposed measure of authority was to be referred for consideration. Ljungquist objected to the proposal that the chairman was to be responsible both to the Home Board and to the Missionary Conference.81 The Home Board on the other hand was not disposed to relinquish its own influence at the expense of the missionaries, nor was it inclined to reduce the executive powers of its long standing leader on the mission field. Ever since the revivalist turmoil brought
about by Witt, Ljungquist had proven himself to be the reliable, trustworthy, strictly Lutheran leader of the church mission envisaged to develop according to Tottie's principles. It is therefore not surprising that when the issue eventually by late October 1907 was placed on the Home Board table, the missionaries' proposition was rejected, a step which Ljungquist, when commenting on the Home Board's decision, found most satisfactory.

The CSM Home Board

Apart from the political crisis in neighbouring Russia which at the time was an important export market for Swedish engineering products, the parliamentary elections in Britain and the Bambatha uprising attracted attention in major Stockholm newspapers. Swedish South African concerns were due to the Swedish diaspora community in Johannesburg, at the time consisting of some 700-800 expatriates, and the fact that the Swedish export of timber and wood products was quite substantial although it did not regain the large proportions it had in the years before the South African War. Swedish articles and news items reflected mainly official reports by the Natal government and war-bulletins issued in Britain. But at least two major daily papers commented on the uprising in their editorials. Natal developments were most thoroughly discussed by the conservative Stockholms Dagblad. With a solid support for the Natal government, its white population and the "reasonable" Poll Tax it was equally frank in its condemnation of "Ethiopians", Dinuzulu and, what it claimed, the irresponsible, liberal opinion in Britain. Swedish readers were to be concerned about the events in Natal because Swedish missionaries operating in the region were in an exposed position. A contrasting picture was that of the liberal Dagens Nyheter which voiced critical attitudes in regard to both the Poll Tax and the British and white settlers' dealing with the uprising. Claiming that a war against the black races inevitably would degenerate into barbarism, the few whites killed was contrasted to the great number of Africans slaughtered. That Bambatha's head had been cut off and exhibited to a public, exemplified white barbarism. Within Swedish public opinion, mission supporters and the members of the Home Board ought to have been particularly well-informed, not least because they also had access to missionary correspondence, lectures and articles in mission periodicals. It is therefore quite remarkable how rarely these events were mentioned in Home Board members' correspondence. Besides Danell who visited South Africa in 1904, it was Hogner, the former secretary of the Home Board, who ought to have been among the best informed members. But Hogner's information was heavily dependent on the missionaries' reports. Initially his view was very much in line with the opinions voiced among the cautious Oscarsberg missionaries. By mid-May 1906 he was convinced that the significance of the uprising had by and large been overstated. He was not inclined to believe that the Zulu would have initiated, as he put it, such a useless resistance. After the war he essentially revised his earlier
assessment due to information he had received from the Appelsbosch region in June. His assessment of the uprising was similar to Ljungquist’s opinion that the sufferings among the pagans were to be instrumental for their salvation. In early August he therefore informed his successor Ihrmark, that it was particularly important to concentrate on the South African mission field, since its long awaited harvest time at least had arrived.  

At least in plenary sittings the Home Board did not voice a particular attitude towards the uprising. According to Home Board minutes, its major concern was the practical arrangement related to the compensation which was to be claimed against the Natal government for the burnt Amoibie church. Although CSM eventually received its compensation, the burning of the church seems to have shattered Home Board members’ illusions about what could be expected by a "Christian nation". Ihrmark wrote to Ljungquist that when he, off the record, related what had been discussed the general opinion was that an agreement with the Natal government was of importance, not only because of the lost church, but because it had been: "a violation of a Christian nation’s unselfish work" and that "this misdeed, if committed by the government’s troops, is a stain which has to be cleansed."  

Also among mission-supporters in Sweden, doubts were raised about Ljungquist’s political attitudes. Whether or not his interpretation of the situation on the field was spread in wider circles, is difficult to know. But what is known, is that the Home Board at this particular time, had every reason to strengthen its somewhat tarnished reputation in the Swedish public opinion. Harsh attacks had been launched against the missions’ enterprises, both from liberal and rightist-nationalist points of view. Liberal writers took up the despised State Church in general and its mission enterprise in particular. The Church and its mission were claimed to be part of the wider Western imperialism and responsible for attacks on indigenous peoples. One major antagonists was Colonel Carl Rosenblad, a well-known liberal philanthropist, distinguished by his sharply worded wit.  

A golden opportunity to restore the CSM reputation was provided in 1906 and 1907 when the Ethnographic department of the National gallery prepared a special exhibit on cultural objects derived from various Swedish mission fields. Even Dagens Nyheter admitted that at least this aspect of “the religious free trade” had to be appreciated. With increasing energy the editorial pointed out that already zealous missionaries had now became ethnographers’ colleagues, taking interest in the new task of collecting gods and other articles for the benefit of public information. Ihrmark delighted in the opportunities provided in meeting anti-clerical liberals’ attacks. But he feared that CSM would be overshadowed by the Swedish Mission Covenant Church because of that denomination’s more substantial collections from Congo.
the contribution of the CSM South African missionaries was portrayed in a lengthy article in the conservative *Svenska Dagbladet*, where Ljungquist’s efforts in this respect particularly was emphasised, especially he seem to have appreciated it as a sign of some kind of rehabilitation. 98

The CSM Missionaries in a Comparative Perspective

In evaluating the CSM position in the course of the uprising and its aftermath, a comparison with conditions among the neighbouring Lutheran missions is informative. Of the three missions, i.e. NMS, CNM and HMS, it was the latter which was profoundly affected by the uprising. As recalled from the above. It was after the late nineteenth century Anglo-Zulu and Anglo-Boer Wars as well as the rise of Germany as a competitor in the "Scramble for Africa", that the initial HMS mission strategy was changed. With a new, “firm” policy towards its converts, closer links to the Boers, gradual integration of German farmers into white settler society and spread of Social Darwinism among its missionaries, tensions increased between them and their African church members. The South African War widened the gap between missionaries and congregations. While the missionaries feared a “Black Peril”, the African church members increasingly identified missionary support to repressive Boer social order. 99 It was foremost at Nazareth, near Oscarsberg, where these restrained sentiments were released. There, a large part of the male converts joined Mtele’s uprising a step which was aimed not only at the government but also at the local German farmers and missionaries.100 After the defeat, ten male converts of the Nazareth congregation were sentenced to several years imprisonment while many others escaped into Zululand, among them the two churchwardens and David Kumalo, the former teacher. In spite of the persecution, HMS church members maintained the men had acted correctly and, as one of the participants said to Dedekind, he had only obeyed his rightful authorities. In regard to HMS missionaries, Hasselhorn describes how the events in 1906 disclosed their allegiance to whites and increased their previously developed racial assumptions. In early March, Egmont Harms, the HMS mission director, accounted for the difficult living conditions under a weak white government when insolent blacks, heathen and Christians alike, strove to hunt all whites out of the country. When Dedekind and all Germans had been chased away from Nazareth and Elandskraal, the other missionaries armed themselves in secrecy.101 From the HMS missionary point of view the defeat of the uprising was most appreciated. But it was also considered beneficial for future mission developments. "Any individual with an African experience, particularly a friend of the black people, now rejoice [the victory of the white troops]" Harms wrote. "A transient maltreatment is not hurtful to blacks. But they can’t tolerate a soft authority which will lead to their complete degeneration." Harshness was required more than justice. Proposals for a general penance among the black church members were flatly refused by Harms who claimed that such measures were not even to be considered.
Forgiveness would indicate a weakness on the part of HMS missionaries and a disregard of evils previously committed. Unanimously, HMS missionaries condemned the lenient British policy towards Africans, claiming that it was responsible both for the emergence of an African nationalist movement and the Bambatha uprising. If Boers had been included in the colonial government from the beginning, Harms assured, the uprising would not have happened. He believed in their particular treatment of blacks, and claimed that it was only through a future strengthening of Boer influences in South Africa that British mistakes, of which many Africans approved, could be corrected. From one particular point of view, he added, the events of 1906 were most useful: in introduction of a new and "healthy" fear among the black population.102

Even if Hasselhorn relates what probably was the mainline opinion among leading HMS missionaries, one may caution against generalisations while, as with Kempe in the CSM, variations may have occurred between its Natal and Zululand agents. Among some of the latter, more considerate attitudes were certainly voiced in the course of the uprising. The sympathetic policy towards Dinuzulu previously pursued by HMS missionary Stalborn (unfortunately overlooked by Hasselhorn), appears to have been maintained also by some of his more recent successors in the nearness of Nongoma. Among them missionary Bostelman at Ehlonohlomo emphasised that it was only because of his friendship with Dinuzulu that he had been able to remain at his mission station in the course of the uprising. Also Köneke described the peaceful conditions in the Ekahlengeni region as entirely due to Dinuzulu's influence among the local population.103

In attitudes towards the uprising, the Natal government and African nationalist claims, Harms and presumably a majority of HMS missionaries, represented one extreme among Lutheran missionaries. With HMS missionaries' generally sympathetic views of Boer rule, the unification of the colonies and the inclusion of Boers in the new Union government was naturally seen as most beneficial to future prospects.104 In CSM, similar notions would have been endorsed by missionaries such as Fristedt and Sandström who also shared HMS missionaries' admiration for Boer firm treatment of Africans. During the South African War, also Ljungquist expressed his belief in Boers' firm and consequent treatment of blacks and at the time of Union he and J. E. Norenius were outspoken supporters of a Boer-dominated government in the new South Africa. In J. E. Norenius' case the unification of the colonies was probably regarded as beneficial to his work among the Natal and Zululand migrant labourers, but also to a future peaceful cohabitation between British and Boers, the general advancement of civilisation and to a more sound African administration.105 Also Ljungquist referred to the new peaceful conditions between Boers and British, a bright future when more whites would arrive and settle in South Africa, and the beneficial results he expected from Boer influences in the new government. Like J. E. Norenius, he was also convinced that "The native question could not have been solved in a better way." With Boers
returning to the political arena in 1909, Ljungquist confidently wrote, "We have much to expect from the Boers and their reverence of the Bible." And with Union close at hand he exclaimed, "What a wonderful blend of Boer and English elements [working] for the settlement of South Africa's problems!" With the changed balance of power he probably also hoped for a brighter future for his own difficult situation in the reserves and a return to the Natal system of indirect rule. After years of controversies with Natal magistrates and officials, it was not without a sense of triumph he ridiculed over "all the Boer-contemptuous Englishmen in a twinkling having become sympathetic with the Boers" as all the English-speaking civil servants at Pietermaritzburg "now were struggling with their lessons in Afrikaans." It did not take long until he registered a first dismantling of the Shepstonian system. In a letter to Danell of October 1910, Ljungquist reported of the first benefits reaped in the new Union when the much resented isibalo -forced labour system now was abolished. Never again, he claimed, would hostile chiefs in the reserves be allowed to order his evangelists out to road works.

The views most contrasting to those presumably held by a majority of HMS missionaries were those conveyed by the Norwegians, whereby they also distinguished themselves from most of the Swedes. This becomes evident when comparing the Swedish and Norwegian missionaries' contributions to their respective mission periodicals. In his study of 1988, Hernæs emphasises the Norwegians' clear-cut loyalty to the Natal government in the course of the uprising. Hernæs finds several reasons for this and although he also refers to humanitarian and ethnocentric factors, the prime mover is by him ascribed to their theological outlook, expressed in the Lutheran concept of the two kingdoms which in turn implied an obedience to secular authorities (ovrigheten).

It was only after their experience of the uprising, its cruel subjugation and the post-1906 anti-black settler opinion, that they gradually came to turn their sympathies in favour of Africans. Several of the attitudes expressed by the Norwegians are in this respect similar to those voiced by Hallendorff and Kempe. Among them, NMS missionary Eriksen argued that the missionaries were obliged to side with the black people without whom their very presence in South Africa was purposeless. From his outpost at the entirely male-dominated NMS Durban congregation, he affirmed that the uprising had not affected the friendship between him and his black church members. From Eotimati which together with Umphumulo and Ekomba was most affected by violence, Tvedt emphasised that while his mission station was spared by the black fighters, the white soldiers not only looted the NMS property, but also burnt all the homesteads in the region where all black men now were killed or taken prisoners. And from Eshowe, Stavem claimed that although both sides were responsible for a widespread racial hatred, more was to be expected from adults than from children. Stavem's statement (not very different from that expressed by Hallendorff) is illustrative of what Hernæs defines as their pervading "paternalist assimilationist approach". Hernæs' accentuation of their Lutheran obedience to secular
authorities may be qualified. One has to recognise their decidedly Zululand-based perspective which to some extent came to distance them from settler government in Natal. Lars Dahle, the NMS director in Norway, in 1903 gave his overt support to the settler government. But among others the dissociation of Natal developments, most explicitly evident in their concern over the anticipated Zululand lands delimitation and the prospect of a Natal settler invasion, has to be considered. And while the concept of an obedience to the authorities easily may be used to generalise Lutheran missionary attitudes, it also seems important to relate to the particular historical and political context from which it derived in Norway. As recently demonstrated by Dag Thorkildsen in his study of 1998, this particular concept and its interpretation had actually become a focal issue in the Norwegian struggle for independence as well as within Norwegian church life. Beginning in the 1880s, he claims, this concept was given a new interpretation which was different from its original meaning in Luther’s catechism. Because of its considered inapplicability under Swedish authority, it was generally understood to rather imply an allegiance to the emerging new and democratic rule in Norway.113

During the late nineteenth century the more pietist NMS missionaries were probably, as claimed by Simensen with Gynnild, not much concerned with the growing cultural nationalism in Norway. Stavem’s assessment of 1915 that the NMS was “chemically cleansed from politics” may to some extent seem valid when the NMS is compared to the politically more outspoken representatives of HMS, CSM and CNM.114 In such a comparison, Nils Astrup, who claimed he always had remained Dinuzulu’s friend, was the most outspoken in his criticism of the Natal government. In his case he had however been critical of the government already before 1906 and remained so also after the uprising. But he had neither been a supporter of Norwegian independence.115 Therefore, the most interesting change was probably that which seem to have occurred among the NMS missionaries. It can be argued that in 1906 and 1907, immediately after the intense nationalistic revival in Norway resulted in her declaration of independence, the different nationalisms developed in the two countries actually may help to explain NMS and CSM missionaries’ essential differences in their attitudes towards the uprising. Among the NMS missionaries there was undoubtedly a great concern for the political events surrounding the Norwegian-Swedish controversy is evident in Tvedt’s 1905 report from Eshowe in Zululand, the largest of the NMS regions. It is equally interesting to note that not only they but also their black church members, in eager discussions with the missionaries and by keeping up with the news in Natal papers, were most enthusiastic about the Norwegian struggle for independence. Some of them declared: “The Norwegian people must be very brave” while others pointed at Norway as a thoroughly Christian nation which in spite of its humble size was able to maintain such a large mission enterprise. By July, when Norwegian-Swedish relations appeared reach a most critical stage, Tvedt felt compelled to gather the Eshowe congregation for information on the political events and in prayers for Norway. Many
of them, particularly the men, attended and, Tvedt reported, he had never before seen such an attentive audience among the Zulu. "It was as if they absorbed every word I said." And, in the light of a recently shared concern over Norway's future, it is not at all unlikely that some of this also may have coloured some of the NMS missionary attitudes voiced in the aftermath of the uprising. From Empangeni, Strømme urged the NMS supporters at home to not too harshly condemn those who had joined in resistance: "Like a Zulu at heart remains a Zulu, also a Norwegian is in his heart no more than a Norwegian." Similarly Lars Martin Titlestad at Ekombe explained how national pride only was natural to the Zulu as well as their earnest wish to cast off the yoke. To him the legitimacy of Zulu claims were obvious as he, although several years later, explained "For the people to follow their royalty is only national and natural. Nationalism is no sin, but to trample it down and ridicule over it remains a sin."

**Further Repercussions on the Evolving Zulu Church**

In Natal, where the Bambatha uprising, as stated by Lambert, is to be regarded as the last chapter in the saga which had seen the undermining of the homestead economy, there was a continuation of natural disasters. With the outbreak of the tick-transmitted east coast fever in 1906, cattle herds which had, to some degree, been restored since the days of the rinderpest epidemic, were again decimated in 1909. Already in a chronic state of serious poverty most African producers found it impossible to restock their herds or grow sufficient crops. The downward trend of the homestead economy was also accompanied by the displacement of the local chief’s system of authority. Many chiefs who were involved in the uprising or suspected to sympathise with Bambatha, were deposed and replaced by other men who were willing to collaborate with the government. The downward trend was accompanied by the dislocation of African society itself where its members under the impact of white settler dominance were sucked into the white economy as wage-labourers.

"All Animals Appear to Die in South Africa"

From their various mission stations and regions the development is confirmed by CSM missionaries. From Oscarsberg Hallendorff reported in 1908 of the complete region having lost all herds, with cattle either dying of fever or required by the government which, in its efforts to halt the spreading of fever, either killed off all infected cattle or collected cattle to be sent to uncontaminated regions. Africans were therefore forced to sell at a loss, often for next to nothing "to unscrupulous whites who lined their pockets at the expense of Africans", to quote Hallendorff, and who in their turn sold to the slaughterhouses with a handsome profit. Naturally, this caused tremendous bitterness among the people. It was Africans who suffered severely as a result of the east coast fever. The slaying of African herds, the local magistrate spelt out, took
place because of "the merciless demands of their more fortunate European fellow-breeders". It was blacks who became the victims of the drastic policy adopted by the government. In the years before Union the region was furthermore severely struck by tuberculosis. By 1910 there had been a remarkably high rate in mortality. Hallendorff reported that several of the members of his congregation had suffered severely because of the outbreak of tuberculosis. Wherever people died, huts were burnt to prevent further spreading of the illness, and when hailstorms followed in its wake, people claimed the storms were due to the lack of respect of the dead, and whites' little understanding of Africans' beliefs. Apparently this caused great tensions also at Oscarsberg where some of the CSM converts left the congregations because of these traditional ways of seeing disasters.

By 1912 little had changed. Hallendorff confirmed that the region was very poor; with four years of famine and industries only at a far distance it was difficult for Africans to find subsistence. As a result of this, the local white farming interest were more dominant than ever and Hallendorff complained about the white farmers' constant undermining of even limited independence of their labour tenants. Whenever blacks succeed in agricultural efforts on their small lots, he reported, a white farmer who assumed the land to be particularly fertile, soon found a pretext to evict the African. For this reason it came natural that the African labour tenants, to quote Hallendorff, "merely lived from hand to mouth." The generally deteriorating conditions were reflected in the evolving church, as described in Hallendorff's report of 1913. Most developments recorded were merely the continuation of trends established already in the pre-1906 period. The impact of African traditional religion was being continuously weakened and, by now, not less than 65 per cent of people living in the vast but increasingly sparsely populated region were considered Christians and, among the remainder, there was an ever growing desire for schooling. By now the region had been heavily caught in Western economy and culture. When three of chief Mehlokazulu's nieces had crossed the river from Zululand and, virtually naked, arrived to learn at Oscarsberg in 1910, this was a remarkable occasion, pioneering female missionary Ida Jonathansson commented, while "pure heathen" only seldom were found in these days. Evictions from white-owned farms and difficulties in finding employment in the region continued, and it is obvious that many left for the mines in the Transvaal. Not less than 210 church members migrated from the region in the previous years of which half the number left for Zululand and the remainder to urban centres such as Dundee and Johannesburg. Although there had been recent organisational improvements in the congregations, such as the establishing of a church council and a regularity in the collection of parish fees, the all-pervading obstacle was the bonded living conditions of a large part of its members. Apart from the men who mostly were away at work, and many of the children prevented from a regular schooling by their white landlords, the most pressing problem, Hallendorff stated, was the white farmers'
economic hold on their labour tenants which, in turn, made it impossible for a congregation to reach the goal of self-support. For reasons such as these, future prospects in the Oscarsberg region seemed rather sombre and, as Hallendorff wrote in a letter in 1914 to Gunnar Brundin, the new Home Board Secretary, "many of my colleagues regard the Oscarsberg enterprise as exceptionally burdensome, perhaps one of the most trying and least encouraging within our mission."

Similar reports were produced also in the Appelsbosch region. There were few signs that the east coast fever which during the uprising mostly occurred in the Mapumulo division, would come to an end. By 1907 it had reached the Umvoti valley, by late 1908 the Noordsberg valley and in October 1909 Ljungquist wrote, "The road to Noordsberg is now closed also for horses, mules and donkeys. All animals appear to die in South Africa." By 1910 the whole region was infected, leading to cattle being decimated and, with the loss of oxen, Africans' agricultural work had to be done by hand. Inevitably this led to an increase in labour migration. The implementation of the Poll Tax contributed with its burdensome share. Although the tax had been introduced mainly for the purpose of coming to terms with the colony's deficit and financial depression in the years after 1902, the wish to "bring forth" labour was always a part of the problem. But settlers and government had not envisaged the accelerated labour migration beyond the borders of the colony. Hence, Africans were increasingly driven to accept labour in the mines although, as the local magistrate noticed in 1908, while they still had very strong aversions to underground work, most of them opted for other employment on the Rand. The magistrate noted, "The poll tax has been a blessing in disguise in forcing the lazy young men out to work," but with the east coast fever indirectly increasing the number of migrants, there were signs that even Natal officials began to consider process as having got out of hand. By 1910 the District Native Commissioner reported that the region now was "drained" of its African labourers, resulting in local farmers being placed in a most difficult position. Furthermore, he reasoned, while employment outside the borders of the Province hardly contributed to "improve moral standards of those engaged or their families" this implied that "The money earned is seldom remitted home but appears to be squandered on the mines or other centres of labour."

General developments were reflected in CSM missionary reports. Although the number of adult baptisms in the Appelsbosch region did not reach the peak of 1906, signs of a recovery were noticed by 1911. The vast majority of those baptised as well as those entitled to the Sacraments remained women with their children. But Ljungquist's joy in two of 56 candidates baptised in 1911 being adult men, can not be overestimated. According to him, the lack in enthusiasm on the part of men and youth was ascribed to "them entirely being impregnated with thoughts of polygamy", which was the major stumbling block against conversion. It seems that the little success experienced in
the reserves actually was part of a widespread and general antipathy against Western missions in the post-Bambatha period. From the neighbouring NMS Umpumulo region, missionary Leisegang interpreted the tendencies in of 1908: while a breakthrough had appeared to be at hand two years earlier, it had been interrupted by the uprising. People were now dominated by a different spirit, highly obstructive to missionary work. 1907 was indeed, he complained, a very burdensome year.138 Equal complaints were included in Ljungquist’s reports. In contrast to his seemingly tireless struggle against the stubborn chiefs and homestead heads of the pre-Bambatha years, his zeal now appear to have faded. A number of reasons contributed to the developments, one of them was to be found within the CSM itself. Had he not, when trying to find ways to allow also the polygynist men a limited membership in the church, both in 1899 and in 1904, on each occasion been voted down by his colleagues? But was it not also that the Bambatha uprising had its effects on men whom he previously had seen as potential semi-members of the church, now were more resistant than ever? Besides, Ljungquist was now reaching his mid-60s and became inclined to maintain what had been accomplished rather than continuing a futile struggle in the reserves. Several indications suggest that the crisis experienced during the Bambatha years, actually had left a weakening impact on the formerly authoritarian Mjele, “the Stone” at Appelsbosch. One sign was his comparatively few articles to the CSM periodical after 1906. Another was noted by J. E. Norenius after his visit to the region in 1912 when he remarked that the weakest point in mission work was the preaching among the heathen and the missionary’s (i.e. Ljungquist’s) limited personal contact with the people in the reserves.139

Also within the large congregations there were issues to be dealt with. One pressing problem was the unequal distribution between men and women. The overwhelming dominance of women in the Appelsbosch congregations was one of the major obstacles for a future development of a folk church. The majority of “Christian homes” remained only partially Christian, and many girls and young women had to find non-Christian husbands among the population in the reserves – which to some 75 per cent remained non-Christian. But this did not imply that there was a total absence of young men in the congregations. Many boys who in the pre-1906 years had been baptised with their mothers, had now in the pre-1906 years come of age. But while the majority of the girls and young women remained at home, the young men followed in the large stream of migrant labourers which by 1910 thus had “drained” the region of its (male) labourers. The 1912 CSM visitation to the region gave credit to the orderly organisation at Appelsbosch. The large wattle plantation which over the years yielded a great profit, the regularity in schooling and payment of parish fees, a widespread literacy among church members and a particularly able staff of evangelists, there were, beneath the surface, grave signs of a social and moral disruption spreading within the congregations.140
"Our Young People is Getting Out of Hand"

Undoubtedly the war, the implementation of the Poll Tax, ravaging cattle fever and the subsequent dramatic increase in the number of labour migrants, resulted in psychological disruption among the people, including the CSM church members. One of the long-term effects were the difficulties in handling the black youth. A frequency of qomisa (literally "making the girls choose") or the young mens’ courting of girls and the ukuhlobonga, a pre-martial external intercourse, sometimes resulting in illegitimate births, had always been listed among missionaries’ complaints. But with the radical depletion of cattle, implying that the ten head of cattle normally accepted as lobolo was substituted by the payment of £ 50, and the increasing difficulties on the part of the young men in saving money for pecuniary lobolo, both ukuhlobonga and pre-martial pregnancies were in the increase. Unquestionably, this was used by young men to force reluctant fathers to marry off their daughters and by daughters to choose own husbands.141 Within the African Christian community there was also a new and overt criticism voiced against authorities.142 Before marriage, several of the young men openly refused to acquire the marriage licence obtained at magistrate’s office. The license was required not only for Christian marriages but prevented the Christian men from taking additional future wives.143 Repeated reprimands by Ljungquist or Josef Zulu appeared to have had little impact. Ljungquist claimed while, as claimed that men now were too proud to listen to their admonitions.144

The colonial society tried to limit the regional interaction through segregation, and at the same time, extracting labour from the rural reserves, implying that young men would be drawn to the urban centres. But that policy would inevitably lead to many tensions. The young men were expected to be workers in the urban economy and at the same time be citizens in the tightly defined micro-cosmic society controlled by homestead heads and elders who often were alarmed at the new skills achieved and financial resources possessed by the returning migrants.145 Complaints raised by chiefs, headmen and homestead heads on this score were bitter. Giving evidence in the 1906-7 Natal Native Affairs Commission, a headman stated, "Our young people are getting out of hand. Instead of recognising and obeying their fathers and guardians they sometimes disobey and disown them. Sons who should be working for the house, keep all their earnings to themselves."146 The tendencies of new values being introduced, morality breaking down and the respect for the authority and customs of the older generation gradually weathering down, became a part of a "youth subculture", recognised by Cope in Zululand at the time.147 With the government’s previous support of "loyal" chiefs such as Sotobe and Sobuza, and the replacement of "rebellious" chiefs such as Xegwana, Ngobizembe, Meseni and Swaimana by chiefs acceptable to the government, youth obstinacy was to be expected in the region. While Ljungquist and his evangelists were able to ride out the storm of 1906, the new challenge, not
merely confined to the local region, was more difficult to handle. A large part of black Christian youth who had access to the wider world outside the reserves were increasingly getting out of hand, a detail noted by a 1912 visitation committee. Ljungquist seems to have lost some of his previously unquestioned authority. J. E. Norenius who undertook the 1912 visitation commented that, beside Ljungquist appearing to have less interest in preaching in the reserves, his personal contact with the congregations and in particular its youth, seemed to be a major difficulty.

The social pressure on the evangelists through the war became a heavy burden. Among the most reliable of Ljungquist’s co-workers there was moral turmoil in the post war years. By the close of 1908 Ljungquist was compelled to report that one of his most valued evangelists, Camane at Nhlangakazi, had yielded to the temptation of ukuhlobonga, for which offence he was dismissed for five months. He soon repented and confessed in the presence of parish members and, to make sure that he was forgiven also by his wife, the congregation declared its understanding and continued loyalty to him. Ljungquist explained his evangelist’s behaviour to his Swedish superiors. To blacks, he explained, ukuhlobonga was not regarded as evil, but rather as something required by custom. Moreover, he affirmed, there were not many African Christian parents whose sons and daughters refrained from committing ukuhlobona. Ljungquist and many of his church members viewed ukuhlobonga as “required” by African custom. But now it was practised in a society largely displaced and in which several previously observed taboos - such as illegitimate births - controlled by traditional measures, were in decline (in part as a result of white missionary activities). Also Samuel Mayeza at Egwini, another CSM evangelist who during the war had been demandingly exposed between the rising people in his district and loyalty to mission and government, shared Camane’s fate. In his case he allied himself with the neighbouring American mission. In the case of the Nhlangakazi congregation which, according to Ljungquist, “was shaken to its foundations”, the situation appeared particularly precarious to CSM as far as, Ljungquist assumed, “the Catholics were prepared to haul in their nets.” In the light of the rapidly deteriorating conditions in the reserves, the many wounds caused by the Bambatha uprising and its defeat, the severely compromised position of CSM workers and the social and moral turmoil within CSM congregations, the ground was well prepared for many difficulties. At this particular time, however, developments were not to the advantage of the missionaries at St. Peter’s. Rather, the ground was prepared for one of South Africa’s most remarkable and charismatic black prophets and church founders who as a lonely man arrived and settled in the region in 1911. At mount Nhlangakazi he established what came to be one of his chief shrines: Isaiah Shembe.
"I don't Even Have a Land on Which to Sit"

In the southern-central parts of Zululand different coinciding factors contributed in bringing about a most difficult situation in the post-1906 years. One difficulty was the new distribution of land assigned by the 1902-04 Zululand Delimitation Commission which set aside roughly 60 per cent of the land as reserves and the remaining 40 per cent opened to white occupation. Most of the land made available for whites was soon turned into private sugar and wattle plantations. As late as in 1906 there had yet been only a handful of white settlers in southern Zululand. In comparison with violences in Natal the very limited members of whites was the major reason why uprisings had not occurred in Zululand. By the first half of 1907, with the partitioning of land the subsequent influx of a number of "reckless white farmers" with condescending attitudes towards the Zulu and backed by the farmer-dominated Natal government, conditions changed rapidly. The development was dangerous. From his central position at Entumeni, Nils Astrup noted how a great number of whites in the course of that year moved into the southern parts of the country, purchasing a multitude of small lots in the large tracts of land set aside for whites. The land was among the best and most fertile, a fact noted by the Zulu. The disturbed sentiments among the people were, Astrup related, gravely worrying. By the end of 1908 the partitioning of land seems by and large to have been completed in the south. When an increasing number of Zulu were evicted from the recently established white farms and forced to move into the already heavily populated reserves, many families were now divided and scattered throughout the country.

Also in Zululand the east coast fever caused great losses in cattle herds, a disaster which continued well into the years after Union. In 1909 Fristedt, who had witnessed most of the ravages since the time of the rinderpest epidemic, described the cattle disease as the worst blow ever to hit Zulu herds. Up to 95 per cent of the cattle were wiped out. In the following years the situation was further aggravated when cattle fever was replaced by drought, widespread famine and followed by floods, with fatal diseases in its wake. It was in the south where the double impact of overcrowding and natural disasters created the most difficult conditions. In the low-lying region along the coast which in the nineteenth century had been densely populated, Cope relates, the spread of east coast fever was accompanied by the spread of malaria and, in pace with the expansion of sugar plantations in the coastal areas, malaria became endemic. The impact of cattle fever and malaria led to migration of people from the contaminated areas to the healthier inland and, coupled to an additional influx of Zulu evicted from the recently established white farms resulted in a radically increased overpopulation of the inland reserves by 1910.
The confiscation of land, natural disasters leading to a widespread impoverishment and social disruption, brought Zululand into a situation similar to that prevailed in Natal. It was in the late nineteenth century that Zululand first was brought into an increasing wage labour dependency, triggered off by the 1889 first successful collection of the hut tax. Zululand had been brought into the sphere of capitalism. In the early twentieth century developments added further to the downward development. Overall, Cope affirms, a picture emerges of a Zululand becoming increasingly enmeshed as a dependent periphery in an expanding capitalist economy. Inevitably this further escalated the need for labour migration. Immediately when reaching working age, young men joined in the stream of migrant labourers, either as farm labourers on the white plantations or as workers in the urban centres. While most of the men along the coast turned to the Durban area for work, most inland people left for Johannesburg where the wages were better than in Natal. The result was that an increasing number of young men from Zululand worked in the urban centres and in the gold mines. On their return they brought back a new set of values and inspirations derived from a wholly different society. In Zululand, as previously in Natal, the result was a new kind of individualism and a lack of respect for and resistance to the demands of homestead heads and elders in the reserves. On white farms, an opposition to pay rents or provide labour became serious causes of deep-seated anger and enmity. In the face of what Cope calls a developing kind of youth subculture, chiefs and homestead heads on the one hand, and government officials on the other, increasingly found that they had a common ground in opposing the new class of disaffected African youth.

The changed conditions in southern Zululand were conditional to the progress of missionary work as well as to the development of African Christian communities. To older organisations such as the two Norwegian missions, the new conditions endangered their since-long privileged positions when their land-possessions rapidly were encircled by white farms. In late 1906 missionary H. J. S. Astrup criticised white landgrabbers, suppressing Africans and hostile to the mission. It was these whites who swiftly took control of the land immediately adjacent to his CNM Entumeni mission station. A few years later the forests on the Entumeni plateau had been hewed down and a number of white farms established. Nils Astrup's desperate claim that the land was a part of the 13,000 acres once given to Schreuder by king Cethswayo, was heard only in distant Norway. Also to NMS the situation was critical. At its largest mission station and congregation at Eshowe, the land was surround by a number of white farms and the Eshowe municipality. Only along a single stretch did NMS lands border to the reserve. When Zulu Christians who previously had lived in the vicinity of the Norwegian missions were forced off the land by the new landlords and driven away to reserves, the congregations were scattered and difficult to manage by missionaries and evangelists. To CSM, however, which as a latecomer mission had been confined to purchase one of the few white farms then available and which, furthermore, was
located on the border to a region rejected by whites and merely inhabited by Zulu, the situation was quite the opposite. While the Swedes also had been early in gaining a foothold in the nearby Biyela region, now turned into a reserve and increasingly populated because of evictions from white farms or migrations from the low-lying coastlands, the future seemed reasonably bright. Even if also other missions were swift to realise the potential suddenly laid open in the Biyela area, where first Anglicans and Roman Catholics had failed to enter and where the competition from 1909 developed into a long standing struggle between the CNM and CSM, and where also the American Zulu Mission had tried to gain a foothold, the area covered by the CSM still included some 3,000 Zulu.

But in spite of an essentially beneficial situation with a multitude of Zulu now gathered in confined areas, prospects for evangelistic efforts among the people were hardly encouraging. Both Norwegian and Swedish missionaries reported that people had become resistant to the new religion. An obvious case was the NMS Empangeni region, the oldest NMS field in Zululand where Schreuder and all early Norwegian missionaries worked for years. But it had for a long time been considered particularly hard to mould and in the post-1906 years when sugar plantations covered large areas of land, the situation appeared to be increasingly difficult. P. R. Strömme, the local missionary-in-charge, reported discouragingly and there were few signs of any change taking place. The population remained stubborn and indifferent. Despite the fact that the Gospel has been preached to all, Stavem said, they all refrain from coming.

When a religious revival eventually reached the region in 1910, it is significant that it had been instigated by an African independent church, the *Ibandhla labahlubuk* (The Congregation of Apostates). Based in Durban and claiming to heal the sick, it made inroads into the NMS congregation. Not only an evangelist left the mission, but also a leading member of the Empangeni parish council. Empangeni region was a particularly sombre case and also the inland reports produced by both Norwegian and Swedish missionaries were by and large discouraging. Even from the Biyela region which initially appeared a promising field, reports were bleak. "Since our struggle with the Norwegians", wrote Sven Fogelqvist in 1916, "the ground appears to be void of growth both to them and to us." Missionaries tried to explain the negative developments to their financial supporters in their home countries. But the new situation in southern Zululand was not easily understood. Stavem saw the increased difficulties to be caused either by general breakdown of "traditional" customs (which he obviously regarded as hampering also to missionary progress), or as a result of Africans being content and well-to-do in the reserves. To Braatvedt a major reason was the worsened living conditions following natural disasters, where Christians certainly had not been spared and conversion to the Christian faith thus of little benefit. An assumingly more realistic interpretation was probably that of an old man, once a servant of Cetshwayo who, quoted by Stavem in 1910, voiced his frustration,
Oh, the white people, they have taken our land, you teachers found the way and the others followed you. I don’t even have a piece of land on which to sit and I can’t find a place for my homestead. … The white rule is hard. … How has Dinuzulu, the king’s child, been treated; what evil had the king’s child done?176

If the whites’ conquering of land in southern Zululand in the post-1906 period brought about a generally hardened attitude against Western missions and a situation strikingly similar to that in the Natal reserves in the post-Bambatha years, the internal developments within the African Christian communities were also comparable. From the CSM Ekutuleni region, which from 1908 first was managed by Sandström and from 1911 by Fogelqvist,177 missionary reports describe a congregation with little hopes for the future. Like NMS accounts from neighbouring Eshowe and Empangeni, also CSM Ekutuleni reports speak of stagnation, even a tendency towards decline. This was evident in the diminishing number of attendants at communion and other services as well as in the reduce of parish fees when all young men, the major wage earners, often were away for several years. The radically increased dependence on the incomes afforded by the young mens’ migrant wage labour is clearly indicated in missionary sources, further accentuating the radical changes which occurred in southern Zululand in the early century. When many of the youth failed to contribute to the subsistence of their families, the result was an increasingly impoverished community. The Ekutuleni congregation had become a community very far from the missionaries’ labours of self-support. As was the case in CSM congregations in the Natal reserves, the lack of cattle and a weakened social structure contributed to social and moral disruption. Among the converts at Ekutuleni there was an alarming increase in the number of illegitimate births and a tendency among many of the young men to altogether denounce the demands placed on them by the local missionary and congregation. One drew closer to African traditional religion.178

In Ceza: A Zulu Church

As the first decade of the twentieth century drew to a close, reports from CSM rural regions of Natal and Zululand spoke of deteriorating and impoverished conditions. Whether reports came from the white-dominated and proletarianized Oscarsberg region, or the dependent peripheries of the Ekutuleni and Appelsbosch regions, the reports were hardly encouraging for a viable future folk church, developed along the lines of the “three selves” formula. But there was one exception: Ceza. Independently established by Mavundhla and by him voluntarily affiliated to CSM before 1906, the Ceza congregation developed along different lines. One reason for its successful consolidation within the local population was its establishment as a part of a larger co-operative
movement consisting of several members of the Zulu royal house, representatives of both the Natal Christian élite and certain missionaries. One of the important features in Mavundhla’s early labours was the congregations’ relationships to the Ceza society, adapting to the new conditions facilitated by Dinuzulu’s tolerant religious policy. After the arrival of the aspirant Swedish missionary, insensitive to local political conditions and with increasingly white chauvinistic manners, it was equally evident that not only Maundhla’s leading position but also the particular achievements at Ceza were endangered. By the time of the Bambatha uprising, tensions between the white missionary and the leading evangelist with his congregation reached a climax. The post-Bambatha increased bitterness and hardened feelings among Ceza converts differed very little from attitudes among the people living near the royal homestead at Nongoma, irrespective of religion. After Bambatha’s defeat there was a widespread antipathy among wide segments of African society, also against the Western missions.

According to Marks, the post-Bambatha years were characterised by an upsurge of interest among Africans in Christianity and in Western education, experienced among both so-called mainline and African independent churches. Occasionally this resulted in “a great revival”, such as in the conversion of “rebel” prisoners at the Eshowe gaol in 1908. “After the arrest of Dinuzulu there was even a ‘revival’ among a section of the Zulu at Nongoma. Two of the chief’s own wives became converts in 1908”, she states. The “purely religious” aspect of the revival she explains “in terms of the solace religion can afford in times of distress and despair”. The increased demand for education among non-Christians is ascribed to the evidence given by converts who not only proved correct in their stance against the uprising, but also showed that education was the new weapon towards advancement. This strengthens her overall assumption, “At the same time as tribal Africans were turning to education and Christianity, Christian Africans seem to have been drawn closer to their non-Christian fellows by the disturbances and to have their feeling of a common race aroused.”

Marks’ statement of an upsurge in conversions is undoubtedly correct, although the fundamental spur towards conversion probably occurred after her 1908 mark. But even with the rather limited CSM sources confined to a few regions, I wish to qualify her findings a step further. Religious leaders such as Shembe were particularly vigorous in a context where social disruption was rampant and where the Western mission had lost some of its former credibility in affording solace, as with the many wives and daughters who, before the uprising, found CSM a plausible alternative. But Marks’ analysis of the Nongoma region of 1908 may be added to. For the movement towards Christianity inside as well as outside the royal house had been in progress for almost a decade and, if not openly encouraged by Dinuzulu, at least tolerated by him. In the light of the previously indicated *modus vivendi* of the Ceza congregation, the firm stance taken by
its leading evangelist in the course of the uprising and the supposed "revival" at Nongoma, additional consideration of post-Bambatha developments at Ceza is required.

The generally worsened conditions of the post-1906 years were by and large reflected in the Ceza region. Also this part of the country received its share of the east coast fever and other calamities. By 1909 and 1910 parts to the south of the Mahlabatini division to the south were severely hurt by the spread of malaria, with numbers of deaths following in its wake. In some parts virtually every homestead had lost one or several of its family members. At approximately the same time the region was struck by the cattle fever. Although isolated areas around Ceza and Nongoma were less affected, both in the southern parts of Mahlabatini and in the Boer-dominated areas to the west, virtually all cattle were depleted by 1911. In these areas the situation was very severe. Some years later, due to the double impact of malaria and cattle fever, the Mahlabatini plains became virtually uninhabitable. This part of Zululand also experienced drought and famine and was included in the 1902-04 lands delimitation. But unlike the fertile southern-central regions, the north-west had, since the annexation in 1884, already been divided and some of the best grazing grounds in the west was occupied by the Boer farmers. Less fertile land to the east was allotted to Africans and now defined as reserves. The blow that struck Africans, namely the alienation of their land and resulting evictions, had thus already been accomplished in the Ceza region and was not, as was the case at Ekutuleni, a further consequence of the defeated uprising. To CSM the government's grant of a piece of land at Ceza in 1907 was beneficial. It was situated in a large and densely populated reserve with a potential of extending its missionary outreach to no less than 80 kilometres in several directions and reaching some 10-15,000 yet unreached Africans.

In the Ceza congregation tensions which had arisen between missionary and church members in the course of the uprising, were about to be reduced in 1908. A major reason was that Sandström, because of Kempe's furlough in Sweden, was transferred to Ekutuleni, from which he only at a distance was able to attend to the daily work at Ceza. Mavundhla was reinstated as leader of the congregation. A most important token of his elevated status, proposed by the 1909 Missionary Conference, refused by the Home Board but granted by Sandström, was his being entrusted the distribution of the Sacraments. It was about at this time that some of the pre-1906 vitality and evangelistic zeal returned to the congregation. As in other parts of Natal and Zululand also this region was visited by itinerant "Ethiopian" preachers. Inroads were made both in the neighbouring NMS and HMS congregations and at times they threatened also the Ceza congregation. But with Mavundhla in charge, the "Ethiopians" were successfully warded off. When Sandström in 1910 resumed his leadership of Ceza he thus concluded,
That the enterprise at Ceza in spite of my absence for long periods not falls into pieces but rather flourishes under the evangelists’ care, reveals that it is the Lord and not the missionary who is indispensable to the progress of mission work. I am firmly convinced that the fire ignited among the Zulu will not fade even if every white missionary was forced out of the country.\textsuperscript{188}

By early 1911 the new conditions were affirmed by Mavundhla, "The people at Ceza are now more well disposed [towards Christianity] than before. Those who hate the Word of God are not so numerous any more."\textsuperscript{189} From this time the "revival" rapidly spread within the large region and even beyond its borders. Ceza evangelists’ and church members’ remarkable zeal and energy in spreading the Gospel soon became an ideal within CSM. Developments were not only, as J. E. Norenius in 1912 informed his colleagues and the Home Board, remarkably sound and dynamic. They were also about to surpass what was taking place in all the other CSM regions.\textsuperscript{190} The movement begun at Ceza was recognised by outsiders. Also other missions, after the sombre post-Bambatha years, at last began to register a turning point and Ceza remained the most promising example.\textsuperscript{191} While the Ceza revival not only was confined to the Mahlabatini and Ndwanew divisions but also spread into the Boer-dominated land to the west, the issue of purchasing a white-owned farm also in this part of the country was brought to the fore by CSM. The enormous importance and prospects attached to the Ceza mission field are strikingly revealed in the fact that J. E. Norenius even considered the sale of Oscarsberg as a means of securing necessary finances in what was being accomplished in the Ceza region.\textsuperscript{192} In the light of the hitherto rather modest Swedish missionary achievements, it was undoubtedly at Mavundhla’s Ceza where CSM could foresee a new and different future for its envisaged folk church. Pan-Zulu nationalism had first emerged in the years around the turn of the century and had then become an important factor against which Mavundhla’s endeavour is to be seen. Now it came to take a new turn, decisive not only for local developments at Ceza and Nongoma, but also for the future characteristics of the evolving Zulu church.

Parallel to post-Bambatha developments in rural Natal and Zululand, the urban population grew rapidly. It is difficult to assess the distribution between those who still remained rooted in the countryside and those who permanently had settled in urban areas. Several intermediate categories existed between town-rooted and country-rooted folk. Many who had attained a small degree of urbanisation attitudes still used to return home annually during the prescribed leave period. A rough indication of permanent urbanisation, as proposed by Welsh, can be afforded by the masculinity ratios in Johannesburg. In 1910 there were approximately 23 men to one woman.\textsuperscript{193} Within CSM, and presumably within most of the other rural-based missions, this implied new difficulties when the few men in their congregations in increasing numbers left the
countryside for urban areas such as Pietermaritzburg, Durban, Dundee and Johannesburg. While the NMS catered for black Lutherans at Durban, the CSM was represented in Dundee and in Johannesburg. But mission work in Dundee had for long not been a priority. In Johannesburg the CSM efforts were only in part devoted to the black migrant labourers. The urban congregations were overwhelmingly male-dominated: in the NMS Durban congregation its over 300 church attendants in 1914 were almost exclusively men. From Johannesburg in 1911, J. E. Norenius reported that more Zulu migrant labourers than ever before were working on the Rand as a result of the east coast fever and bad harvests. As a result of the formation of Union, less restricted recruitment regulations encouraged labourers to seek work in Johannesburg. While the Zulu previously had rejected work in the depth of the mines, commonly regarded as descending into the grave, and therefore preferred employments in adjacent industries on the earth’s surface, this was gradually changing. Several thousands Zulu were now working underground. Among them were many men from CSM rural regions, although only a few of them became affiliated to the CSM Johannesburg congregation. Some mines had confined their labour forces to exclusively Zulu and Swazi which to CSM was advantageous. One had better opportunities to get in touch with the migrants from “their” and the other Lutheran missions’ regions of Natal and Zululand. For CSM which since 1902 had been present at Johannesburg, conditions appeared to improve. With the hitherto modest success in reaching the male population in rural areas, old lapses could be repaired and J. E. Norenius was hopeful of future prospects. Johannesburg, he predicted, was now becoming the very spot in South Africa where the future of its black population was to be resolved. Men in their best age from all over the country gathered there, and the general opinion among them, he judged, would determine the future preferences among black people. This, he stated, was the most strategic site in the whole of South Africa. In the years after 1910, CSM was to prove whether it more than in Sweden was adequately equipped to deal with the new challenges of advancing industrialisation, increased segregation and an emerging black urban proletariat.


2Statistical tables in Sydafrika 1905-1908 in Missionsstatistik 1900-1939, H I: 2, SKMA.

3For the Appelsbosch region this figure was yet by 1915 not exceeded. For a comment on developments in the NMS, cf. E. Hove: in NMT 10 1908 58-61, 11 1909: 80 and 12 1910: 231. CNM figures are difficult to assess while the statistical criteria varied over the years. On adult baptisms, the CNM accounted: 81 in 1905, 89 in 1906 and 85 in 1908. The number for 1907(149) includes both children and adults. For references to the statistical tables of the four Lutheran missions, see footnote in the above.
Isitunywa was published by the Joint Lutheran Conference in Natal from 1905. The number of copies printed varied between 1,000 and 1,500. L. P. Norenius, Femârsberättelse för Dundee Missionsstation åren 1903-1907 in Ms Prot Bil 1908, A II: 15, SKMA. See Isitunywa 2 1906 2: 13. Posse to Anna Posse 25.10.07, Hedvig Posses Samling, B, Brev till Anna Posse 1904-1912, /Brev till vänner, Resebrev, Korrespondens, J. Tryckt material, SKMA. See also Schlyter 1953: 10.


Marks 1970: 332.


Isitunywa 2 1906 5: 34. (Translation from Zulu by Dr. Axel-Ivar Berglund). Pixley kalsaka Seme, born in Natal of African Christian parents, had been sponsored by the American mission and in particular by the Rev. S. Pixley for studies in the United States where he had passed his B. A. at Columbia University. Later he was to continue his studies at Jesus College, Oxford, where he passed his law examinations and then returned to South Africa, eventually to in 1912 become one of the initiators of the Union-wide Congress. Cf. Walshe 1970: 32-33, Marable 1976: 244, Marks 1970: 60.

Ljungquist to Ihrmark 10.7.06, Md Korr SA, 1905-1906, E I c:4, SKMA.

Hogner to Ljungquist 9.4.02, Md Konc Hogner, 1901-1902, B II :3, Ljungquist to Hogner 9.5.02, 27.6.02, Md Korr SA, 1901-1902, E 1 c: 2, SKMA.

E. P. Norenius in TDR 1933: 24.


On the public opinion among Christians in the Ceza congregation in September 1906 cf. Sandström 1926: 28. Sandström in SKMT 33 1908 8: 140-142. Some of this may also be indicated behind Norenius' narrative of the difficulties experienced by the young missionary at Ceza, see Norenius 1925: 74.


Sandström in LMT 61 1907 2: 22.

Cited from Marks 1970: 356-357.


In contrast to the commonly used concept of "indigenisation", Guy argues for the term "transculturation" which unlike the former encapsulates the "enormous ambivalence which is essential to the history of Christianity in South Africa: the enlightenment which brought darkness; progress with destruction; the love of humanity which carried with it hatred; the integrity of Africa conceptualised in western terms; the western ideal itself, simultaneously embraced and rejected; the Eurocentricity in the universal message. Transculturation allows us to retain this ambivalence; indigenisation excludes it by throwing the weight too heavily on one side [either African or European]." Quotation from Guy in Cuthbertson and Kretzschmar 1996: 280.
Among the missionaries Sandström held a somewhat extremist opinion overtly in favour of the white colonists after the uprising, that the Africans needed a beating now and then etc. Cf. Sandström in LMT 61 1907 2: 22-23, 3: 42-43. In LMT 62 1908 10: 149-151,

Potte to Åskade Anna 30, 31.6.07 in Hedvig Posses Samling, B, Brev till Anna Posse 1904-1912, /Brev till vänner, Resebrev, Korrespondens, J. Tryckt material, SKMA.

To Danell Kempe later wrote about his initiative. Cf. Kempe to Danell 23.5.10 in Hjalmar Danells Samling, Brev 1894-1933, SKMA.

Ljungquist till Ihrmark 11.12.07, Md Kor SA, 1907-1908, E I c: 5, SKMA.

Par. 15. Protokoll hållit vid ordinarie missionskonferenser å Emilulwa den 13-22 Juli 1907. Protokoll, ekonomi, 1903-1912, A I a: 4, (Fältarkivet), SKMA.

In a letter to the Home Board Secretary he later explained his reservation by stating that it would imply the serving of two masters. Objections to the chairman's decisions were instead to be brought before the Home Board, he claimed. Ljungquist to Ihrmark 15.8.07, Md Kor SA, 1907-1908, E I c: 5, SKMA.

Par. 4: j. Protokoll hållit vid SKM styrelsesammanträde 29 Oktober 1907, MS Protokoll, 1903-1908, A 1: 4, (Fiiltarkivet), SKMA.

In a letter to Ljungquist, the secretary of the Home Board commented the discussion that had preceded its decision. It was only the first part of the missionaries proposition that at all had been discussed. The Board had rejected the proposed council on the grounds of its suggested composition of members. The vice chairman and the treasurer, it had been said, were not to be tied to these functions. Ihrmark to Ljungquist 6.11.07, Md Korr Ihrmark, 1907, B II: 10, SKMA.

Ljungquist to Ihrmark 11.12.07, Md Kor SA, 1907-1908, E I c: 5, SKMA.


Cf. DN 20.6.06, 10.7.06, GHST 14.6.06, SvD 1.4.06, 3.4.06, 4.4.06, 5.4.06, 6.4.06, 7.4.06, 1.5.06, 10.5.06, 21.5.06, 28.5.06 and VL 3.4.06, 7.4.06, 9.4.06, 19.4.06, 22.4.06.

Cf. Konsulat och vicekonsulat: Johannesburg, 4. 1906-1910 kopier av skrivelse, 24: 1905 and 1906 inkommande skrivelse, UdA, RAS. Swedish financial interests were also mirrored in writings on the 1906 South African discussions on customs and duties, cf. VL 14.3.06, 6.4.06, DN 27.7.06, 29.8.06 and GHST 19.6.06, 20.6.06.

StD 15.6.06. This editorial was later commented by Ljungquist, in a letter to the editor which in November was published in Stockholms Dagblad. He furthered his compliments to the editor for a most sensible editorial that he, contrary to other articles on the uprising published elsewhere, had read with great pleasure. StD 29.11.06.

DN 23.7.06.

Hogner to Ihrmark 17.5.06, Md Inkonna skrivelse, Hemlandet. 1906 E I a: 4, SKMA.

Hogner to Ihrmark 3.8.06, Md Inkonna skrivelse, Hemlandet. 1906 E I a: 4, SKMA.

Par. 6, 19.9.06, Par. 8: h, 6.12.06, Par. 26: 2, 26.9.07, in MS Protokoll, 1903-1908, A I: 4, SKMA.

Ihrmark to Ljungquist 10.9.06, Md Kon Kogener, Ihrmark, 1905-1907, B II: 9, SKMA.

Hallendorf to Ihrmark 14.5.07 and 18.5.07. Cf. Alexis Kuylenstierna in Vårt fosterland och vårt försvar 3 1907 10, and a refutation by Hjalmar Lyth in Fb 4 1907 21(24.5.07): 204.


Hasselhorn 1988: 100-101, see Chapter three, above.

102 Hasselhorn 1988: 138-139.
106 Ljungquist to Kempe 30.7.09, Sydafrika. (Fältarkivet) Korrespondens. Kempe.- Missionärs och andra på fältet 1909-20. E IIIb: 1, SKMA.
107 Ljungquist to Danell 26.10.10 in Hjalmar Danells samling, Brev 1894-1933, SKMA.
108 Hermes 1988: 29-30, 35. On Hermes' study, see above, Chapter eight.
111 Tvedt in NM 62 1907 7: 152-156.
115 Cf. Nils Astrup in ZMB 29 1905 10-11: 163-165, 177, ZMB 30 1906 4-5: 15.2.06
116 Tvedt in NM 60 1905 24: 565.
119 Titlestad in NM 69 1914: 516-523.
123 Maynard Matthews, Magistrate, Dundee division, Colony of Natal Blue Book on Native Affairs 1907: 38.
127 Jonathansson to Ihrmark 20.1.10 in Md Korr SA, 1909-1910, E I c: 6, SKMA.
129 Cf. Protokoll hålllet vid visitation å Oscarsberg den 1-9 november 1913 and Hallendorff: Ämbetsberättelse för Oscarsbergs församling 1913. Visitation Oscarsberg 1913 in Konferensörförandens visitationer, Protokoll, A II: 1 a-f, (Fältarkivet), SKMA.
130 Hallendorff to Brundin 13. 4.15, Md Korr SA, 1914-1916, E I c: 8, SKMA.
132 Ljungquist to Ihrmark 14.2.07, 20.5.08, 8.7.08, 10.9.08, Md Korr SA, 1907-1908, SKMA and Ljungquist to Dear Brother 10.12.08, 7.10.09, Korrespondens, Stationsföreståndaren i Apelsbosch 1908-1956, E VI: 1, (Fältarkivet), SKMA and Ljungquist to Dear Brother (Kempe) 30.7.09 in Sydafrika, Korrespondens. Kempe.- Missionärer och andra på fältet 1909-20. E IIIb: 1, (Fältarkivet), SKMA. On similar developments in the southern part of the region, cf. Ljungquist in SKMT 34. 1909 9: 145.
134 Colony of Natal, Department of Native Affairs, Annual Reports for the year 1908, Section II: 15.
Arthur J. Shepstone, Report by District Commissioner in District no 2 (including New Hannover and Mapumulo), in Union of South Africa, Department of Native Affairs 1910: 34-36. Cf. a similar view furthered in the New Hanover Administrative Report for the year ending the 31st December 1910 in JUS, 51, 1/401/10, SAP.


Leisegang in NM 63 1908 10: 230-234.

E. Norenius to Hallendorff 11.12.12, see also J. E. Norenius to Johansson 18.12.12, in Konferensordföranden. SKMs missionärer i Sydafrika. 1911-1922. E 1 c: 1. (Fältarkivet) SKMA.

Protokoll hålltal vid av missionär J. E. Norenius företagen visitation å Appelsbosch och Ifaye missionsstationer november 20 till december 1, år 1912, in Visitation Appelsbosch 1912, Konferensordföranden’s visitationer, Protokoll, A II: 1 a-f, (Fältarkivet), SKMA.

F. Ljungquists Redogörelse för missionsarbetet å Appelsbosch med Ifaye år 1911 och några extra anmärkningar and Redogörelse för missionsarbetet å Appelsbosch med Ifaye år 1913. The Archives, Lutheran Church Centre, South Eastern Diocese, Umgumulo. See also Ljungquist to J. E. Norenius, 6.1.12 Korrespondens. Konferensordföranden. SKMs missionärer i Sydafrika. 1912-1934. E 1 c: 14. (Fältarkivet), SKMA.


Protokoll hålltal vid av missionär J. E. Norenius företagen visitation å Appelsbosch och Ifaye missionsstationen november 20 till december 1, år 1912, in Visitation Appelsbosch 1912, Konferensordföranden’s visitationer, Protokoll, A II: 1 a-f, (Fältarkivet), SKMA.

J. E. Norenius to Hallendorff 11.12.12, Konferensordföranden. SKMs missionärer i Sydafrika. 1911-1922. E 1 c: 1. (Fältarkivet) SKMA.


On pre-marital sexual intercourse as being widely practiced and highly valued in African society but also on the disturbing new conditions, cf. Vilakazi 1986: 28, 32 and 33.

Ljungquist to Ihrmark 5.2.09, Md Korr SA, 1909-1910, E 1 c: 6, SKMA


By February 1911 southern Zululand was furthermore hit by a severe drought and from the Ekutuleni region Kempe commented Africans’ desperate situation: “all is burnt out. The heathen run between their witchdoctors and the services, between the *amadhlazi* and God to muddle their way through to some raindrops wherever found.” Kempe to Dear Brother (J. E. Norenius) 13.2.11, in Sydafrika, Korrespondens. Konferensordföranden. SKM:s missionärer i Sydafrika. 1910-1922. E 1 c: 10, SKMA. By mid-1913 the drought was followed by a widespread famine and then replaced by heavy raining, the worst flooding experienced for over fifty years and, as commented by missionary Fogelqvist, beginning in 1911 Kempe’s successor at Ekutuleni, with deadly diseases following in its wake. Cf. Fogelqvist in SKMT 38 1913 18: 253-254.

**160** Cope 1993: 26.

**161** Cf. Chapter two, above.

**162** Cope 1993: 32.


**164** Cope 1993: 26, 30-31. On generational conflicts in pre-1906 Zululand, see Carton 1996.


**166** Stavem in NM 65 1910 21: 488-496.


**168** On the particular appeal of the Biyela region to the Western missions while all surrounding land now was being taken over by white farmers, cf. Tilsynsmannens Beretning for 1908 in Missionsmarkerne, I. Zulumissionen. Page 121-131 in Det Norske Missionsselskabs 67 Aarsberetning(1908). (Appendix in NM 64 1909).


174 Already by 1913 J. E. Norenius complained about the Biyela field which he regarded as having become the black sheep of the CSM. Somewhat later this was by him ascribed to the poor contribution by the local missionary. Cf. J. E. Norenius to Ihrmark, 2.10.13 and 20.11.13, Md Korr SA, 1911-1913 E I c: 7 and Fogelqvist: Ämbetsberättelse vid visitationen å Ekutuleni och Biyela den 5-16 aug. 1916, in Visistion Ekutuleni och Biyela 1916, in KonferensordfOrandens visitationer, Protokoll, A II: 1, (Fältarkivet), SKMA.


179 Marks 1970: 356.


181 Sandström in SKMT 35 1910 1: 4.


186 J. E. Norenius to Brundin 10.5.15, Md Korr SA, E I c: 8, SKMA. On the Home Board refusal of the missionaries' proposal, 1 7.10.09, cf. Visitation Ceza 1916, in KonferensordfOrandens visitationer, Protokoll, A II: 1, (Fältarkivet), SKMA.

187 Although the separatists did not refrain from promising the moon, Sandström said, most of his evangelists preferred the CSM not merely due to prayers but also because of the higher wages paid among the Western mission societies. Sandström in SKMT 34 1909 10: 168-171.

188 Sandström in SKMT 35 1910 1: 4.

189 Mavundhla quoted by Sandström: Sandström in SKMT 36 1911 11-12: 169.


Cf. Welsh 1970: 210-211.

Bovim in NM 69 1914 17: 396-400.

J. E. Norenius in SKMT 36 1911 6: 83-92, SKMT 36 1911 24: 348-351. As confirmed by the Colony of Natal officials at Johannesburg who claimed: "two years ago there was a rare occasion to find any of them at work underground." but now there were some 3,000 blacks from Natal and Zulu land employed. See the report by the Johannesburg Agency of the Native Affairs Department, Colony of Natal Department of Native Affairs: Reports for the year 1908: 10. The comparatively small number of permanent members of the CSM Johannesburg congregation was in 1909 indicated by its being made up of merely 47 and by 1911 of 80 parishioners. Cf. Norenius 1925: 128.

J. E. Norenius to Ihrmark 8.8.10, Md Korr SA, 1909-1910, E I c: 6, SKMA.


CONCLUDING REMARKS

The 1906 Bambatha uprising is indeed to be seen as a watershed also in the microcosm of social experience which in this study is represented by CSM. Among all categories of people, church members, black leaders and missionaries, crucial changes occurred as a result of the uprising, its defeat and the social and psychological disruption which followed in the wake of the resistance. Disturbed relationship between missionaries and congregations were particularly evident in the Appelsbosch region which in pre-1906 years was the most promising of CSM regions. At a time of radically increasing impoverishment and social change in the reserves, CSM was seen as affording solace, fellowship and plausible alternatives to a great many wives and young women. African Christians were not major participants in the resistance. But husbands, fathers and brothers were. After the uprising when patterns of loyalties had been revealed, internal conditions within congregations were characterised by social and moral disruption. To potential converts among women in the reserves, the CSM appeal was now merely a shadow of what it had been prior to 1906. In due course the changed attitudes paved the way for a new religious alternative in the form Isiah Shembe’s African Independent Church. In the years after 1910 this religious alternative increasingly came to gain ground in previously CSM-dominated areas.

In the Appelsbosch region changed relationships were apparent also between black church leaders and congregations. Partly because of their opposition to government-supported chiefly power structures in the reserves, before 1906, local evangelists were probably seen as representing a new set of values which also may have enabled women’s emancipation. But now they faced changed sentiments. Siding with their missionary superiors in a conflict which included local politics, they had assumed a position which was not very different from that of the Natal Congress African Christian political élite. With their different constituency among the women in the reserves, they were already compromised and lost some of the confidence and authority they previously had enjoyed. Among CSM congregations, the case of Ceza represents an entirely different situation. In contrast to the situation in the Natal reserves, where Western Christianity was opposed by chiefs, supported by the settler government, the establishment and development of the Ceza congregation occurred in agreement with Dinuzulu’s tolerant religious policy. While he maintained an uncompromised position vis-a-vis the Natal government and increasingly was seen as a unifying symbol of an emerging Zulu nationalism, African Christianity at Ceza unfolded in a most interesting development. To no little extent was this due to its talented church founder and leading evangelist who both before and after the Bambatha uprising repeatedly affirmed his allegiance to a distinctly Zulu flavoured African Christianity. As a key individual he demonstrated that it was possible to be both a nationalist and a Christian. Because of his firm stance, and in spite of missionary interference, he paved
the way for religious independency and nationalist resistance and, eventually, large scale conversions.

Also in relationships between missionaries and evangelists, new patterns developed as a result of the uprising. The evangelists played a most important role in running the various congregations attached to a mission centre. But in spite of this most important input in missionary labours and despite the responsibilities they held, they had no say in the administration and policies of the mission among Africans. The treatment of the CSM first black clergyman depicts the difficult situation under which indigenous mission workers lived. But the new Zulu nationalism, expressed in the search for a revitalisation of Zulu history and brought to the fore within CSM mission work, was articulated at the first CSM Evangelists’ Conference. The Conference provides an illustrative example of a new spirit of independence among black leaders in CSM. With the particular flavour of the CSM ideology as it had been formulated and presented in Sweden, the CSM evangelists’ request had to be granted by the missionaries. After 1906, the claim raised in Conference for a tolerant view on izinyanga, an issue which was very controversial in missionary circles, indicates a radicalised opinion in the wake of the Bambatha uprising. In a modified form also this proposition had to be accepted by the missionaries. But it created worries amongst them. It is nonetheless important to note that the privilege to formulating relevant matters to be taken up within CSM, no longer was confined solely to the missionaries. At the end of the period included in my study, the Evangelists’ Conference, the embryo of the Zulu black church, had not yet reached constitutional standing. But in years to come similar calls for greater independence within the evolving church were increasingly radicalised, particularly in the years after World War I. Clearly it was among the evangelists that the future leadership of the evolving church was to be found.

CSM theological ambitions had roots in the late nineteenth century Swedish society and its emerging nationalism. The particular characteristics of the Swedish society, in the years after the emergence of the first industrial breakthrough, articulated the social content of the CSM message, formulated in the Swedish context, but intended to be applied on the mission field. The concept of folk Christianisation and the goal of a territorial folk Church, are two main features in CSM policy: culturally inclusive and politically preservative.

The CSM goals were primarily intended for a Zululand, defeated by the British, but in the early 1890s not yet incorporated into the Colony of Natal. In spite of the original intention which still was kept alive by the turn of the century, it was in Natal where CSM came to establish its major missionary enterprises. The contradiction inherent in the CSM ideology between the "station strategy", intended for "civilisation", and the folk Christianisation, aimed at cultural tolerance, was present when theory was to be put into practice. This became apparent in the CSM policy on land. Large stretches of
farmland were purchased and one clearly opted for the Western concept of private ownership. Thereby one distanced oneself from a basic pillar on African landownship convictions in pre-capitalist society. In Zululand on the other hand where most land by the turn of the century was commonly tilled and utilised, the CSM "station strategy" was put into practice in the small intersection of Zululand where this had been made possible. It was, however, in the issue of polygyny in which the CSM goals were likely to have been put to test. This was the very crucial issue on which the CSM ideology most clearly diverted from the main course, followed in other Lutheran missions, albeit that they shared in the CSM respect for the vernacular and indigenously developed social institutions. The counterpoint stance on the issue came from the pietistically-inclined NMS missionaries. CSM did not follow its own course. In part this was due to the fear of envisaged conflicts with other Lutheran missions, with whom it shared the joint mission goal of a Lutheran Zulu folk church. CSM missionaries also addressed themselves in an appropriate fashion to their supporters in Sweden on whom they depended.

The issue of lobolo was of minor importance. Unlike other missions, both lobolo and polygyny were not major reasons for conflicts in CSM congregations. With the bulk of members being women married to non-Christian husbands, the solution of such issues was more a question of attracting potential converts from among African men. On other issues, the CSM agents showed relative tolerance towards indigenous customs such as in sticking to the vernacular and in respecting African personal names. In keeping with the "station strategy" and by accentuating propagation of the "dignity of labour", CSM was closer to the "civilising" attitudes of HMS missionaries, than to their brethren in the NMS who maintained that the "Word" alone would suffice for conversion. The CSM message was originally intended for Zululand although it came to be implemented within a colonial settler framework. In Natal the tolerance towards indigenously developed structures was long outdated. A respect for chiefs and headmen would in Natal have implied support of its segregationist government, which in turn would have undermined efforts to educate Africans, education being a major inroad into the African population.

In southern-central Zululand where such a policy was not necessary, the local CSM missionary relied on white power in his struggle with the local Zulu authority. Before 1906 the CSM conflicts in Natal, both in the reserves and on white-dominated land, was essentially a conflict with the white government which supported chiefs and settlers. After 1906 the missionary attitudes shifted in favour of the government, a move that had severe implications in the reserves. Because of increased settler antagonism on African society after the Bambatha uprising, missionaries who previously had opted for a different approach were not rewarded. When compared with the different attitudes represented by their Norwegian colleagues, the CSM position during the uprising was, however, far less critical to the government which, to some extent may be explained by different views on nation and nationalism in Sweden and within the CSM.
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