The copyright of this thesis vests in the author. No quotation from it or information derived from it is to be published without full acknowledgement of the source. The thesis is to be used for private study or non-commercial research purposes only.

Published by the University of Cape Town (UCT) in terms of the non-exclusive license granted to UCT by the author.

University of Cape Town

Communal Identity and Historical Claims to Land in South Africa: The Cases of the Clarkson Moravian Mission and the Tsitsikamma Mfengu

by

CRYSTAL JANNECKE

Dissertation presented for the degree

of

Doctor of Philosophy

Department of Political Studies in the Faculty of Social Science and Humanities

University of Cape Town

September 2005

(Supervisor: Prof. André du Toit)

Table of Contents

Acknowledgements v

Declaration vii

Abstract viii

List of Figures ix

Chapter One

Historical Claims of Entitlement to Land and the Construction of Clarksoner and Mfengu Identities 1

1.1 Introduction 1

1.2.1 The Tsitsikamma Mfengu Claims of Historical Entitlement to Land: Dispossession and Restitution 3

1.2.1.1 Legal versus Historical Rights to the Land 7

1.2.1.2 The Mfengu Campaign: Historical and Legal Claims to Land Rights 8

1.2.2 The Moravian Community at Clarkson and their Historical Claim to Land 10

1.2.2.1 Terminological Differentiation of "Coloured" and "Native" 11

1.3 Problem Statement and Research Question 14

1.4 Research Approach and Design 17

1.5 Limitations and Issues for Further Study 20

1.6 A Survey of Literature on the Themes of Mission History, Moravian History, Mfengu History, Land and Community within a South African Context 22

1.6.1 South African Mission History 22

1.6.2 Moravian Mission History within a South African Context 29

1.6.3 The Mfengu: A Controversial History 41

1.6.3.1 The Received Conventional View 41

1.6.3.2 The Revised Revisionist View 43

1.6.4 Land and Communal Identity in a South African Context 46

1.7 Structure of Discussion and Overview of Dissertation 51

Chapter Two

Theoretical Framework: A Discursive Analytical Approach 55

2.1 Introduction 55

2.2 An Analytical Framework for Contextualised Discursive Analysis 56

2.3 Ideological Discourse and Discursive Mechanisms for Mobilising Meaning 59

2.4 Complementing the Analytical Framework: Fairclough, White and Foucault 60

2.5 Communal Identities as Discursive Objects 64

2.6 Hailing the Subjects of Discourses about Communal Identities 68

2.7 Conclusion 71

Chapter Three

The Historical and Narrative Origins of the Moravian Missionary Community 72

3.1 Introduction 72

3.2 The Moravian Communal Identity in Socio-historical and Discursive Context 73

3.2.1 Herrnhut and the Moravian Ethic 73

3.2.1.1 Pietism and Protestantism: Distinctive Features of the Herrnhut Community 75
3.2.2 The Ancient Unitas Fratum and the Renewed Moravian Church 80
3.2.2.1 The Moravian historical narrative of the seed: A discourse analysis 82
3.3 The Moravian Mission in the Cape Colony: A Social Historical Context 85
3.3.1 Dutch Settlement at the Cape 85
3.3.2 The Moravian Missionary Project at the Cape 87
3.3.3 The Dutch Colonial Response to the Moravian Mission 92
3.3.4 The Moravian Mission Renewed 94
3.4 Reconstructing the Moravian Mission Narrative 95
3.4.1 Interpretation and Analysis of the Moravian and Missionary Narratives 99
3.5 The Imposition of the Moravian Ethic 104
3.5.1 Labour and Transformed Modes of Subsistence 104
3.5.2 Transforming the Spatial Organisation of the Indigenous Landscape 108
3.5.3 A Regulated Social Discipline 110
3.6 Conclusion 113

Chapter Four
The Colonial Context: Land Dispossession and Forced Labour in the Origins of the Clarkson Moravian Mission Station and the Tsitsikamma Mfengu Settlements 115

4.1 Introduction 115
4.2 Land: Dispossession and Colonisation 116
4.2.1 Resistance to Land Dispossession on the Closing Frontier 117
4.2.2 Entitlement to Land: Indigenous versus Colonial Conceptions 119
4.2.3 Indigenous Claims to Land under the Colonial System 120
4.2.4 The Caledon Code and the Consolidation of the Colonial Land Order 121
4.3 Missionary Settlements within the Colonial Land Order 125
4.3.1 The Closing Frontier as Context of Missionary Settlements 128
4.3.2 The Founding of Missionary Communities on the Eastern Cape Frontier 132
4.4 Labour: Colonial Forced Labour Practices and Missionary Settlements 135
4.4.1 The Commando System and Indentured Labourers 135
4.4.2 Labour Control and the Caledon Code 136
4.4.3 The "Mantatees" as Indentured Labourers 137
4.4.4 Ordinance 49 and the Introduction of Xhosa Labourers into the Colony 139
4.5 The Origins of the Mfengu in the Context and Aftermath of the 1835 Frontier War 140
4.5.1 "The Flight of the "Fingo" Nation" 140
4.5.2 Reports of Wanderers and Refugees in Flight 142
4.5.3 Collaborating Chiefs, Peace Treaties, and British Subjects 144
4.6. The Colonial Land Grants to the Tsitsikamma Mfengu 145
4.6.1 The Clarkson Land Grants and the Differentiation of the Mission and Tsitsikamma Mfengu Communities 150
4.7 Conclusion 155

Chapter Five

Elements of the Discursive Construction of a Clarksoner Moravian Missionary Identity and its Relation to Land **157**

5.1 Introduction 157
5.2 The Moravian Narrative and the Communal Identity of the Clarksoners / Mfengu 158
5.2.1 The "Nucleus of Converts", a "Seed" of Continuity 159
5.2.2 Our People, the Clarksoners 162
5.2.3 Rituals of (Re) naming 163
5.2.3.1 Appropriation of Names and Metaphors 166
5.2.4 The Moravian Ethic and the Constructed Clarksoner Missionary Identity 169
5.2.5 Membership and Representations of Clarksoner/Mfengu 171
5.3 Elements of Missionary "Conversation" 177
5.3.1 The Politics of Spatial Organisation and the Changing Spatial Landscape 179
5.3.2 The Politics of Production and the Cultivation of the Land 185
5.3.3 The Politics of Water 192
5.4 Conclusion 196

Chapter Six

Resistance, Rebellion and Collaboration, 1846-1900: A Social Historical Context for the Appropriated Clarksoner and Tsitsikamma Mfengu Communal Identities **198**

6.1 Introduction 198
6.2 Rebellion Resistance and Collaboration on the Eastern Cape Frontier 200
6.2.1 The Kat River Settlement Revisited 200
6.2.2 The Kat River Rebellion and its Aftermath 203
6.2.3 The Impact on the Moravian Mission Communities 206
6.2.4 The Cattle Killing Movement and its aftermath for the Mfengu 210
6.2.4.1 Developments among the Mfengu in the Tsitsikamma Mfengu 216
6.3 From Colonial "Fingos" to "Natives" and/or Mfengu 220
6.4 Consolidating and Opposing the Colonial Framework 221
6.4.1 From Missions to "Locations" 223
6.4.2 Political Organisation and Protest: The Franchise and Land 225
6.4.3 Growing Political Awareness at Moravian Mission Stations 229
6.5 Conclusion 236

Chapter Seven

Interlude: The Shaping of Rights in Land and of Official Identities: 1910-1975 **239**

7.1 Introduction 239
7.2 Land and Labour: Consolidating the Legal Framework 240
7.2.1 From "Natives" to Official "Ethnic" Units and Customary Land Rights 244
7.2.2 Scrapping the Remaining Historical Land Rights 245
7.3 Racial Classification, Ethnic Categorization and their Impact on Indigenous Land Rights 248
7.4 The Impact of Apartheid Policy and Legislation 251
7.5 Conclusion 254

Chapter Eight

The Contemporary Clarkson and Tsitsikamma Mfengu Communities: From Dispossession and Forced Resettlement to the Contested Restitution of Land Rights **255**

8.1 Introduction 255
8.2 The Tsitsikamma Forced Removals 256
8.2.1 The Clarkson Mission Community Left Behind in Possession of their Land 259
8.3 Reconstructing a "Community" for the Dispersed Tsitsikamma Mfengu Peoples in Relation to their Land Claims 262
8.3.1 A Petition to the Government for the Restoration of Land Rights in the 1980s 262
8.3.2 Calling the Dispersed Tsitsikamma Mfengu Peoples Together to Claim their Land 264
8.3.3 A Unified Homogenous Contemporary Tsitsikamma Mfengu Ethnic Community as Basis for the Claims to Land Restitution 272
8.4 The Contested Clarkson Mission Land and the Construction of the Clarksoner Mission Community as the "Constitutive Outside" in the Ethnic Tsitsikamma Mfengu Discourse 281
8.4.1 The Moravian Church and the Clarkson Mission Community 281
8.5 The (re)Shaping of Communal Identity at Clarkson as a Rural Town 292
8.6 Conclusion 297

Chapter Nine

Conclusion **301**

9.1 General Arguments and Interpretation of Study 301
9.1.1 Community through Racial and Ethnic differentiation 302
9.1.2 Moravian Mission Identity and Land 303
9.1.3 The Tsitsikamma Mfengu Identity and Land 305
9.1.4 Land, Communal Identity and Community 306
9.2 General Significance of the Study 308
9.3 Conclusion 310

Bibliography **312**

Acknowledgements

This research project and its unfolding process have in many ways come to an elegant end with the completion this dissertation. I have learnt to try and try again, to be patient with myself in entering a different mode of writing and thinking critically about my world and the data I wished to engage myself with, to listen with humility, and to tell and critically interpret stories of the past and present as fully as I can. I went off and immersed myself in archival and documentary detail and then emerged astounded at the possibilities. I wish to thank André du Toit my academic supervisor, whose calmness, depth, humility, consistency, critical engagement, and attention to detail has contributed significantly to the completion of this project. I also wish to thank Austin Joemat who initially introduced me to problems of land entitlement, development, identity and conflict at the various Moravian mission stations at my B.Soc.Sci. graduation party ten years ago. At this event he convinced me that I cannot end the party without deciding what my Honours research project should be on for the following academic year. I was intrigued by the political dynamics of the Clarkson Mfengu story that Austin told. It was then that I selected Clarkson and the Tsitsikamma Mfengu as a case study, and I have not been moved away from it since then. The project that I designed at the beginning was very big. But following the sound advice of André du Toit, the initial Honours research project became its pilot study. It is through this dissertation that I have now been able to complete the whole project, albeit with acknowledged limitations.

I wish to thank Angeline Swart of the Moravian Church for allowing me access to the Moravian Archives; Rev. Cloete at the Moravian Archives for speedily providing me with archival material on Clarkson when the time I had available to work in the archives was constrained by attending to the needs of my new-born then toddler son; and Sister Brenda, the librarian at the Moravian Seminary, for alerting me to some of the latest arrivals on Moravian history. The assistance given by Isaac Balie at the Moravian Archive in Genadendal, and Rev. Mcubusi at the Clarkson Church office is also appreciated. A special thanks to Bishop Schlimm who tried to assist from Germany as well as to Bishop Temmers, Bishop Ulster, and Bishop Lottering in South Africa. I also wish to thank Kobus Pienaar for the assistance received. My first visit to Clarkson was in 1996 and for this I wish to thank Richard Griggs who arranged for me to accompany his research team on their way to the Eastern Cape. They dropped me along the way on the Southern Cape Coast, at Clarkson and picked me up three weeks later.

For this initial visit to Clarkson in 1996 I wish to thank Rev. Moos for the assistance given during my stay there, especially the prior accommodation arrangement with Ouma Maria Ruiters with whom I stayed while at Clarkson. I drank fresh cow's milk for the first time in my life in her kitchen over the three weeks that I was there. She not only mothered me but also enthusiastically discussed her life and the history of Clarkson and the Tsitsikamma as she saw it with me. It was with her that I became part of the Clarkson activities – accompanying her to funerals, meetings, church services, and the traditional Easter Saturday grave cleaning at Clarkson. Ouma Maria Ruiters has now passed away but her memory will remain with me. In completing this project I celebrate her energy, enthusiasm for life and her honesty. I also thank Oom Andreas Swazi of Clarkson. I first met him in 1996 soon after arriving in Clarkson. He was then already an old man, but worked diligently in his garden planting and harvesting his vegetables and fruit. I was impressed. I read him as a man who was deeply connected to Clarkson and its soil. He even tasted the ground occasionally. He too shared his life story and the history of Clarkson and

the Tsitsikamma with me. I met him again in 2003 when I returned to Clarkson. Bed ridden he had no energy to speak to me other than to say that he is finished with this world and is just waiting for his Maker to fetch him. He died soon after I left Clarkson in 2003. With the completion of this dissertation I celebrate Oom Andreas' Christian spirit, his rootedness and deep connection to the soil of Clarkson. In 2003 I entered Clarkson with a husband and a two year old son on either side. For our accommodation on this visit I wish to thank George Burrows and his wife for their hospitality and care. I also wish to thank William Uithaler for showing us the historical sites and broken buildings around Clarkson as well as Oom Hendricks; Sister Chrissie Sedeku and her sister; Oom Matheus and his wife; Vrede Vrye and her husband (both have now passed away); Broer Walter, Wilson Wolfkop, Rev. Jantjies, Rev. Mcubusi, Isaac Tembani and his wife, Rev. Moos, Florence Mtambo, Sister Lawak, Miriam Gamede, and Sister Wentzel for sharing part of their life stories of Clarkson and the Tsitsikamma with me.

I wish to thank the Center for Women's Studies at the Australian National University (ANU) in Canberra for welcoming me into their fold as a visitor in 1997-1998. It was during this time that I immersed myself in Moravian Church history and emerged holding the thread of the Moravian historical narrative that I then pulled through all the way to South Africa and the mission stations at Genadendal and Clarkson. I also wish to thank Rashidi Molapho as well as Premesh Lalu of the History Department at the University of the Western Cape for including me at short notice in the department's contemporary history seminar series. The enthusiasm shown and encouragement given by Karel T. August, Steven Robins, and Mark Everingham for this project, is appreciated.

Then there are the words of encouragement received from numerous people to complete this project and complete it well. From among these I wish to acknowledge Richard Newman, my husband, for his care, gentleness, and unending support; my son Phillip for asserting that his mother is not to be disturbed while writing her book; my parents; my Godparents - Momsy and Popsy; Auntie Gracie; my brothers David and Mark Jannecke; my sister Joy Chetty and her husband Lazareth Chetty. There is also Patricia Domingo, Sharon and Pastor Ron Roberts, and Charmaine Marshall whom I wish to thank for their ever ready support in ways that cannot be mentioned here. I wish to give a special thanks to Auntie Jean who entered the lives of my family at a time when we needed her presence most. Her unconditional care and love in attending to our very basic needs has contributed much to getting this dissertation finished within the envisaged time. My own spirituality and faith has deepened as this project has grown and come to its end. Having a family with an enthusiastic energy filled new-born, then toddler, and now school going son has added its own set of difficulties. Amidst all the frustration, joy, anger, happiness, intense pain, tantrum upon tantrum, tiredness, and extreme stress my prayer has been for clarity of mind, courage, strength and perseverance to bring this research project to an elegant end.

Finally, I acknowledge the financial support received from the National Research Foundation (formally the CSD); and the scholarships awarded from the UCT Scholarships Committee, and Swiss Africa.

I dedicate this thesis to my son, Phillip Richard Jannecke Newman, whose presence has made me aware of, and excited about, small things.

Crystal Jannecke, September 2005.

Declaration

I, Crystal Jannecke, hereby declare that the work contained in this dissertation is my own original work and that I have not previously in its entirety or in part submitted it at any university for degree purposes.

Signature .. Signed by candidate .....

Date 26 September 2005 **Place** Kuils River

Communal Identity and Historical Claims to Land in South Africa: The Cases of the Clarkson Moravian Mission and the Tsitsikamma Mfengu

Crystal Jannecke

Abstract

In this thesis we examine the case of the Clarkson Mission and Tsitsikamma Mfengu communities on the Southern Cape Coast of South Africa, and highlight some of the ambiguities prevalent in their contested claims of entitlement to the Clarkson mission land. Their respective notions of communal identity are investigated, and the ways in which these are historically linked to land entitlement are examined. The analyses of the constructed communal identities of the "coloured" Clarksoner and the "native" Mfengu are located within the critical analytical approach of discourse theory, an important component of which is a socio-historical analysis. Primary data were obtained through archival, documentary, comprehensive Deeds Registry research, as well as fieldwork and in-depth interviews. Central themes in this study are colonial land dispossessions, the use of forced indigenous labour, resistance, rebellion and collaboration. The study shows that aspects of "coloured", "native", "tribal", "ancestral", Mfengu, and Moravian, used in contemporary communal identity formations are not fixed givens, but rather historical discursive constructions that are in a process of constant change. In the case of the Clarksoners we show how the Moravian historical narrative together with the Moravian Ethic had been transplanted and imposed by the early Moravian missionaries at the Cape and how these have over time come to be taken-for-granted and appropriated by members of Moravian Church, and Clarksoners in particular. We trace the origin of the Moravian narrative and show the similarities, differences, and continuity at both Genadendal in the Southern Cape and Clarkson. In the case of the Tsitsikamma Mfengu we show how the emerging colonial "Fingo" narrative and constructed colonial "Fingo" identity are firmly connected to land dispossession and forced labour in the aftermath of the 1835 Eastern Cape frontier war. We show how elements of both the "Fingo" narrative and constructed identity were appropriated and re-ordered in contemporary processes of Tsitsikamma Mfengu community identification. The study endeavours to make visible the dynamic changing history and relations of power and domination surrounding processes of communal identification that are connected to historical rights in land.

List of Figures

Figure 1.	Map showing the location of Clarkson along the Southern Cape Coast of South Africa	p. 5
Figure 2.	Diagram illustrating the location of Clarkson in relation to the adjacent Mfengu land in the Tsitsikamma	p. 10
Figure 3.	Map showing the location of Herrnhut in Germany	p. 74
Figure 4.	Map showing the location of Genadendal in relation to Hartebeeskraal and Zoetemelksvallei	p. 88
Figure 5.	Map showing the location of Genadendal in relation to Cape Town and Clarkson.	p. 89
Figure 6.	Map showing the location of the Kat River Settlement within the Cape Colony	p. 124

Chapter One

Historical Claims of Entitlement to Land and the Construction of Clarksoner and Mfengu[1] Identities

1.1 Introduction

This dissertation investigates a particular case study of some of the complex interactions between claims to land and the fashioning of communal identities in the colonial and post-colonial context of South Africa. The South African political landscape is littered with historical narratives of land dispossession, forced removals and the brutal relocation of communities. More recently, in the context of the transition to a post-apartheid South Africa, such narratives of land dispossession have been utilised for communal mobilisation aimed at restitution of land. In this dissertation we describe and explore the relation between communal identity and historical claims to land in South Africa through the cases of the Clarkson Moravian mission and Tsitsikamma Mfengu communities. The origins of these narratives of land dispossession can be traced back to the early Dutch, and later British, colonial settlements at the Cape and the consequent colonial wars of conquest and dispossession. During this period the history of loss of land by many indigenous communities brought about their disbandment, decimation and forced incorporation into the colonial order. The Natives Land Act of 1913 legitimated the dispossession of land during the colonial period, and gave it legal force. This Act restricted indigenous peoples to scheduled land or reserves amounting at the time to 7.5% of the total land area of the Union.[2] Following the Union of the four colonies (Cape, Natal, Orange River and Transvaal) in 1910, the South African government sought to systematically stifle the growth of an emerging independent indigenous peasantry while at the same time creating a large pool of cheap labour for, amongst others, the mining industry and commercial farms. The land reserved by the 1913 Land Act for the use and occupation by indigenous peoples was extended by the Development and Trust Land Act of 1936. This Act permitted the allocation of

[1] The terms Mfengu and "Fingo" are used alternately in this dissertation to refer to the same group of people in different historical and political contexts. The term "Fingo" or "Fingos" was introduced by missionaries and colonists during the 1830s and later appropriated by members of the group themselves. The name Mfengu was only used by group members from the 1960s onwards. During the 1990s members of the Tsitsikamma group used both "Fingo" and Mfengu in the context of communal mobilisation for land restitution. In general we will use the term Mfengu throughout this dissertation. We have tried as much as possible to limit our use of the terms "Fingo" or "Fingoes" only when based on the historical context of the discussion.

[2] Elaine Unterhaler, Forced Removal: The Division, Segregation and Control of the People of South Africa (London, International Defence and Aid for Southern Africa, 1987), pp. 4-7.

land for occupation and use by indigenous groups to gradually increase to 13% of the total land area of the country.[3] After 1948 the National Party government introduced numerous apartheid laws that facilitated the consolidation of the "homelands" designated racial group areas, and legalised the forced removals of communities from "black spots". Apartheid policies and legislation also entrenched earlier systems of land tenure, thus reinforcing and intensifying the unequal distribution of land.[4] The Apartheid state thus secured territorial sovereignty over land on the basis of the historical and ideological notions of racial and ethnic identity. At local levels this history of colonial dispossession of land followed by apartheid relocation and forced resettlement brought about a sustained assault on communal identities. But in many cases it did not sever the historical linkages between land and rural communities. Although the apartheid ideology and policies of "homelands" for racially and ethnically defined communities have been completely discredited, the complex historical linkages between land and the construction of communal identity remain as deeply contested issues. In post-apartheid South Africa the restitution of land to dispossessed communities has become a major means towards communal restoration and reconciliation. It is the point of departure of this dissertation that at the local level the political demise of the imposed apartheid framework has re-opened the asking of basic, but important, questions regarding the (re)construction of communal identities in their claims to historical entitlement to land. For the purposes of this study the historical fashioning of the identities of the Clarksoner and Tsitsikamma Mfengu communities in the Eastern Cape will be considered in detail. In complex but interlinked ways the former missionary community of Clarkson and the "refugee Fingo" community in the Tsitsikamma jointly emerged in the crucible of the Eastern Cape frontier from the 1830s; their claims to contiguous land in a shared locality both joined and separated these two historical communities as they endured the vicissitudes of apartheid and post-apartheid South Africa.

In the "new" or post-apartheid South Africa the apartheid legacy of imposed ethnic "homelands" is being reversed. During the 1990s land reform has been marked by the promulgation of the 1991 Abolition of Racially Based Land Measures Act which repealed, amongst others, the Land Acts of 1913 and 1936, and the Group Areas Act 36 of 1966. The post-apartheid land reform

---

[3] A.J. Van der Walt, 'Land Reform in South Africa Since 1990 – An Overview', South African Public Law 10: 1&2 (1995), p.2.

[4] In South Africa the various types of land tenure, which includes labour tenancy, communal tenure, trust tenure, quitrent, lease holding and freehold tenure, allow varying degrees of access to and ownership of land. Since 1994 the South Africa government have been concerned with changing existing unequal patterns of land ownership and land occupation rights. The Communal Property Association's Bill of 1995 and the Land Tenure Act of 1996 are legislation, which makes some types of land occupation more secure.

programme seeks to redistribute the land more equitably and make the tenure rights of communities' resident on land more secure, but subject to strict limitations. Post-apartheid land reform in the 1990s furthermore includes the Restitution of Land Rights Act of 1994, which is specifically aimed at enabling the restitution of land to individuals, groups, and/or communities who had been forcefully removed from their land. Such individuals, groups, and/or communities were entitled to lodge their land restitution claims with the state by no later than December 1998, provided that the dispossession of their land had not occurred before June 1913. To begin with this policy of land restitution has had only limited and uneven success.[5] While overt racial discrimination was removed from the overall system of land tenure in 1991, the unequal patterns of access to, use, occupation, and ownership of land entrenched by the past colonial and apartheid land laws remain largely intact.[6] Restitution of land also involves other more complex underlying dilemmas and complications in the discursive politics of communal identity. These may be brought to the fore when various groups assert their communal claims of entitlement to land. The deep historical linkages between the fashioning of communal identities and claims to land are demonstrated when groups assert their historical and communal claims of entitlement to land. Notably such communal claims for land mobilise "tissues of meaning"[7] derived from colonial, missionary, and/or racial legacies and discourses. This dissertation involves a study of the process by which the communal identities of the Clarkson and Mfengu communities emerged in relation to land; how these identity formations were sustained and transformed over time; and the different historical contexts in, and purposes for, which they were utilised.

1.2.1. The Tsitsikamma Mfengu Claims of Historical Entitlement to Land: Dispossession and Restitution

The Mfengu and the Clarksoner communities resided and intermingled in the Tsitsikamma since the 1830s, but their more recent histories of claims to land and the outcomes of their struggles to sustain communal identity have been strikingly different. While the Mfengu community was one of many in apartheid South Africa to be forcefully removed from their land during the 1970s,[8] the contiguous Clarksoner community was not subjected to such forced

---

[5] Ruth Hall, Peter Jacobs and Edward Lahiff, 'Final Report' (Programme for Land and Agrarian Studies, University of the Western Cape, September 2003), p. 11.
[6] Abie Ditlhake, 'Land Reform Programme: A Nemesis of the Rural Poor?', Land Update (March 1998), pp. 14-15.
[7] Ian Parker, Discourse Dynamics (London, Routledge,1992), p. 5.
[8] Laurine Platsky and Cheryl Walker, The Surplus People: Forced Removal in South Africa (Johannesburg, Ravan Press, 1985), pp. 189-190.

removal from the mission station. Nor were those Mfengu who were living in Clarkson itself at this time forcefully removed from the mission station.[9] In a classic instance of apartheid forced removals the Mfengu of the Tsitsikamma were resettled without compensation some 300 km away at Keiskammahoek in the Ciskei. Their dispossessed land was purchased by "white" farmers in 1983.[10] But if under apartheid the Mfengu, but not the Clarksoners, lost their land in the Tsitsikamma, the 1990s saw this process in a sense reversed. The post-1990 Mfengu campaign for the "return of our land" was among the first of the claims lodged. But this Mfengu campaign also had implications for the Clarkson community and the Moravian mission station. Indeed the Mfengu made two different land claims; the first was directed towards the South African Government and involved the restitution of land forcefully removed from them in the 1970s. The second land claim was directed towards the Moravian Church and involved the Clarkson mission land held on behalf of, and in trust for, the Mfengu by the Moravians since 1839. A map indicating the location of the Clarkson Moravian mission station in the Tsitsikamma area on the Southern Cape Coast of South Africa[11] is shown in figure 1 below.

The first of the Mfengu land claims involved negotiations between the Mfengu representatives, the South African Government through the procedures of the Land Claims Court, and the nineteen racially classified "white" farmers who in 1983 had bought their dispossessed land from the State. These negotiations commenced in 1991 and were finally settled in April 1994 with the return of ±6000 ha of agricultural land to the Tsitsikamma Mfengu community.[12] In the absence of any law on land restitution at the time, the Mfengu land claim settlement was made in terms of the restitution clause of the interim constitution of South Africa.[13] The restitution of their historic land to the Tsitsikamma Mfengu community was widely hailed as a significant

---

[9] Legal Resource Centre, *Draft proposal on motivation for gravesite to be declared historical monuments*, no date, p. 1.

[10] The terms "white", "European", "kafir", "coloured", "non-native", "native" and "Bantu" are official colonial, Union, and apartheid government racial and ethnic classifications used only in its historical context in this dissertation when discussing the official introduction and usage of these terms in relation to land dispossession and policies of segregation.

[11] We have used the informal reference to describe more accurately the location of Clarkson in the Tsitsikamma as situated along the Southern Cape Coast of South Africa. The official designation of the location of Clarkson and the Tsitsikamma has been that these places lie within the Eastern Cape Region of the Cape Colony, Union of South Africa, and Republic of South Africa. More recently, since 1994, the official demarcation has included Clarkson and the Tsitsikamma as lying within the Eastern Cape Province of South Africa. This official designation has been somewhat misleading since Clarkson, and more generally the Tsitsikamma, is located very far from the historic Fish River boundary and rests just below the Gamtoos River. In this dissertation we use both informal and formal designation of the location of Clarkson and the Tsitsikamma where appropriate and with reference to historical contexts.

[12] The National Land Committee, 'Mfengus Return Home After 17-Year Struggle', Land Update (May-June 1994), p. 15.

In terms of the land claim settlement, the State bought the nineteen farms at market price from the respective nineteen farmers and transferred the land back to the Mfengu community. The returned land received by the Mfengu from the State was hereafter held on behalf of the Mfengu community by an appointed board of trustees, called the Tsitsikamma Development Trust (Mfengu) or TDT (Mfengu).[15] An important task of the TDT (Mfengu) was to administer and manage the return of the Mfengu community to the Tsitsikamma in a way that would ensure the continued productivity and development of the agricultural land.[16] This requirement was in conflict with that of sustaining the Tsitsikamma Mfengu communal identity. In executing their task the trustees signed long term leases with the very farmers from whom the returned land had been bought by the State. In practice this resulted in the paradox of the returning Tsitsikamma Mfengu community being denied access to the land that officially had been returned to them.[17] Access to the returned Mfengu land was prohibited by the TDT (Mfengu) so as to avoid the agricultural development of the land from being jeopardised in any way.[18] The primary concern of the TDT (Mfengu) became the establishment of a residential settlement for returning members of the Tsitsikamma Mfengu community.[19] This had direct implications for the Clarkson Moravian mission station, especially since the TDT (Mfengu) had identified Clarkson as the most suitable residential site in the Tsitsikamma for the settlement of the families of its returning members.

The second land claim made by the Tsitsikamma Mfengu and their representatives in 1991 was directed against the Moravian Church. It involved the demand that the Clarkson mission land which had historically been held in trust for the Mfengu by the Moravian Church since 1839 be returned back to the Tsitsikamma Mfengu people.[20] This second land claim was not directed towards the State. It involved negotiations between representatives of the Mfengu community and the Moravian Church of Southern Africa. This land claim thus involved a set of negotiations separate from those entered into with the South African Government, and did not concern land from which the Mfengu had been forcefully removed during the 1970s but raised claims of historic entitlement going back to the early 19th century. Significantly, the claim of entitlement to

---

[15] The National Land Committee, 'Mfengus Return Home', p. 16.
[16] The National Land Committee, 'Mfengus Return Home', p. 16.
[17] 'Growing Bitterness Over Land Restitution', Business Day, 13 March 1996.
[18] Tsitsikamma Development Trust (Mfengu), *The Resettlement of the Mfengu Community to the Tsitsikamma Region*, November 1995.
[19] Legal Resource Centre, *Documents of Algoa Regional Services Council,* 1994.
[20] Legal Resource Centre, *Report on Visit to Rev. Wessels,* no date.

the Clarkson land made by the Mfengu pre-dates the 1913 Land Act. Strictly speaking it is not covered by the specific set of historic dispossessions that are highlighted and addressed through the process of land restitution in post-apartheid South Africa as outlined in the Restitution of Land Rights Act of 1994. Technically the Mfengu claim of entitlement to the Clarkson land against the Moravian Church was invalid in terms of the Restitution of Land Rights Act of 1994 since the claim pre-dated the 1913 Land Act and since the State was not the transgressor in the land claim. This highlights a first major limitation of the post-1994 attempts at restitution of dispossessed land in South Africa.

1.2.1.1 Legal versus Historical Rights to the Land

If the post-apartheid era has thus seen the beginnings of an unprecedented reversal in the long history of communal dispossession and an attempt at the restoration of communal identities, there is also a major limitation on the historical framework within which the official policy for such restitution of land has been conceived. The process of land restitution in post-apartheid South Africa is explicitly limited to a specific set of dispossessions of legal property rights relative to the 1913 Land Act.[21] In particular, claims of entitlement to land concerning any pre-1913 displacement of individuals, groups, and/or communities do not fall within the ambit of the current land reform programme. As a result the complex colonial and missionary history pre-1913 and pre-Union is largely disregarded. In a sense land reform in the post-apartheid era has legitimated the 1913 Land Act as a historical marker with reference to which land restitution is currently being deliberated. This restrictive conception of the land restitution process requires us to distinguish between land claims based on the individual, group, and/or community's limited *legal* right to land on the one hand, and their *historical* right to land on the other. *Historical* land rights would also include the complex and controversial pre-colonial, colonial and missionary histories involved in certain communal claims of entitlement to land. This dissertation will not limit its investigation of the linkages of communal identity and land to legal rights only, but will also be concerned with questions raised by the more basic historical claims of communal entitlement to land.

As the Mfengu case will show the official mediation and adjudication of present land restitution claims in post-apartheid South Africa are largely based on the *legal* land rights of individuals, groups, and/or communities. The legal framework underpinning the adjudication of these land

claims has been termed a "rights enquiry paradigm" and emerged from discussions among land reform policy makers during 1994-1996.[22] According to this paradigm an assessment of land claims is primarily made in terms of the legal rights and interests of individuals, groups, and/or communities to the land. Conflicting land claims are described within this legal framework as "complex situations" of "overlapping claims".[23] This description does not envisage or provide for any attempt to resolve conflicting land claims by investigating the historical and political relationship which individuals, groups, and/or communities have with the land, especially where these relations are rooted in the pre-1913 period. In this dissertation we will argue that this legal rights paradigm is inadequate for dealing with the full ramifications of communal identities bound up with historical claims of entitlement to land. In our focus on communal claims of entitlement to land we will argue that the present *legal* approach to land rights does not fully take into consideration the political and historical relationships, particularly those pre-dating 1913, which some communities have with the land.[24] We will be especially concerned with the case study of one such set of historical and political relations to the Clarkson land involving the conjoined Tsitsikamma Mfengu and Clarksoner mission communities.

1.2.1.2 The Mfengu Campaign: Historical and Legal Claims to Land Rights

In this regard it needs to be noted that, significantly, the Mfengu struggles for land restitution in the 1990s were not limited to claims on the State in terms of the 1994 Restitution of Land Act implicitly and explicitly based on the legal framework of the 1913 Land Act. In the context of the post-1994 "new South Africa" the Mfengu also found ways of reviving their *historical* land claims to the Tsitsikamma though not directed at the State but at the Moravian Church. In their claim of entitlement to the Clarkson land, representatives of the Mfengu, including staff from the Legal Resources Centre, negotiated with the Moravian Church. In these negotiations the Church was held accountable to the South African Council of Churches' Rustenburg Declaration of 1990. As signatory to the Rustenburg Declaration, the Moravian Church was held to be answerable to representatives of the Mfengu community for the principle and moral

---

[21] Van der Walt, 'Land Reform in South Africa', pp. 11-20.
[22] Land Tenure Core Group, 'Land Tenure Reform Document', 13 May 1996, pp. 10-11; Mark Everingham and Crystal Jannecke, 'Land Restitution and Democratic Citizenship in South Africa', Journal of Southern African Studies 32: 2 (2006) forthcoming.
[23] Land Tenure Core Group, 'Land Tenure Reform Document', pp.10-11.
[24] 'Whose Land Is This', Mail and Guardian, 17 February 1995. The Bathlaping were forcefully removed from their land in 1968.

obligation to return church land to the "*original owners.*"[25] An initial agreement involved the settlement of fifty Mfengu families on a portion of land at Clarkson in terms of the Less Formal Township Act 113 of 1991.[26] By 1993 a settlement, called Silvertown, had been established at the mission station and mirrored the spatial landscape of Clarkson. All residents of Silvertown were to be subject to the rules and regulations of the Clarkson Moravian mission station.[27] Further negotiations paved the way for the remaining Mfengu who wished to return to the Tsitsikamma to be settled at Clarkson. While such preparations were underway, the agricultural land that was successfully returned to the Mfengu by the State was released to some of its previous racially advantaged farm owners. During these negotiations emphasis was placed on the integration of peoples at Clarkson. Agreement was reached on the re-development and transformation of Clarkson from mission station into a rural township. Negotiations culminated in 1996 in the establishment of a Clarkson Communal Property Association in 1996 and the approval of a housing development scheme at Clarkson.[28] This did not by itself amount to a restoration of the historical Mfengu community but rather to an integration with the Clarkson community in the modern format of a shared township. The elected Communal Property Association Trust, comprising of members from the previous Clarksoner mission and Mfengu communities, became responsible for the management of Clarkson including the allocation of houses and of residential sites.[29]

In the context of the 1990s the Mfengu were thus doubly successful, not only in terms of claims based on their legal rights but by mobilising on the basis of historical entitlements in order to recover land. In their claims against the State they secured *legal* rights to agricultural land in terms of the 1994 Restitution of Land Act. In their negotiations with the Moravian Church their historical claims of entitlement to the mission land was recognised. In the latter case they regularly referred in their campaign to their part in the Eastern Cape frontier wars and the sacrifice of their lives for the Queen of the British colony.[30] This fight and sacrifice had been in support of the Cape Colony during the Eastern Cape frontier wars from the 1830s onwards in return for which they had received land grants. In effect, in the case of the Mfengu their *historical* land claims were not actually rooted in pre-colonial settlements, but involved earlier

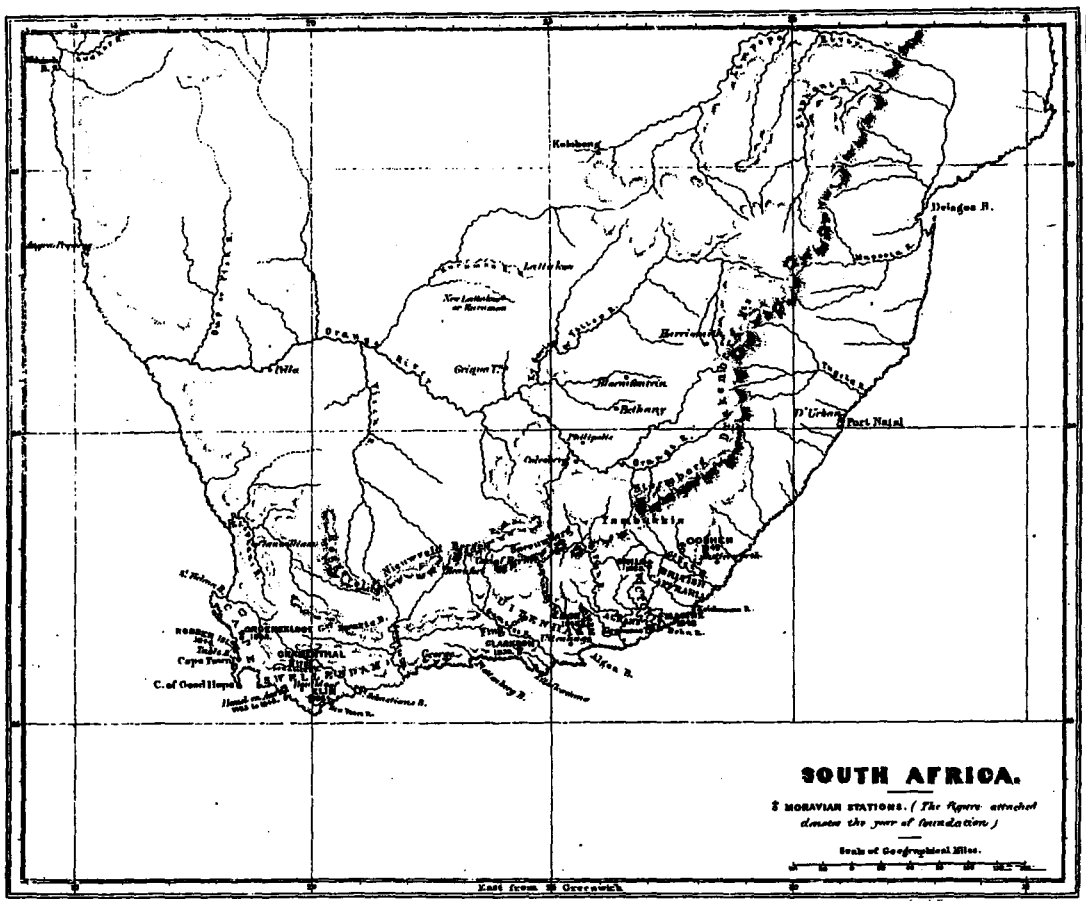
---

[25] South African Council of Churches, *Rustenburg Declaration*, 1990.
[26] Legal Resource Centre, *Motivating Memorandum, Application for the Designation of Land for Less Formal Settlement* (Chapter 1: Less formal Township Establishment Act, 1991 [Act 113 of 1991]), December 1992; Tsitsikamma Exile Association, *Return to Our Land*, September 1991.
[27] Legal Resource Centre, *Motivating Memorandum*, 1992.
[28] Legal Resource Centre, *Chronology of Events: Clarkson Development Project*, January 1996, p. 16.
[29] *Notarial Deed of Trust Establishing the Clarkson Communal Property Association*, 16 August 1996.

political breakthrough, symbolic of the new post-apartheid South Africa's break with its past of dispossession and forced resettlements. In the interim, however, the use of the Mfengu land had been transformed after 1983 from subsistence cultivation to forestry and dairy farming through a programme of high capital investment implemented by these nineteen farmers who had been supported by large government subsidies.[14]

Figure 1. **A map indicating the location of Clarkson on the Southern Cape Coast of South Africa.**

[Source: Teachers of the Fulneck Academy, The Moravian Atlas (1853), map 11.]



[13] The National Land Committee, 'Mfengus Return Home', p. 16. The Restitution of Land Rights Act was passed by government in 1994, soon after the settlement of the Mfengu land claim.
[14] D. Cooper, *Report on Trip to Tsitsikamma*, October 1991, pp. 1-3.

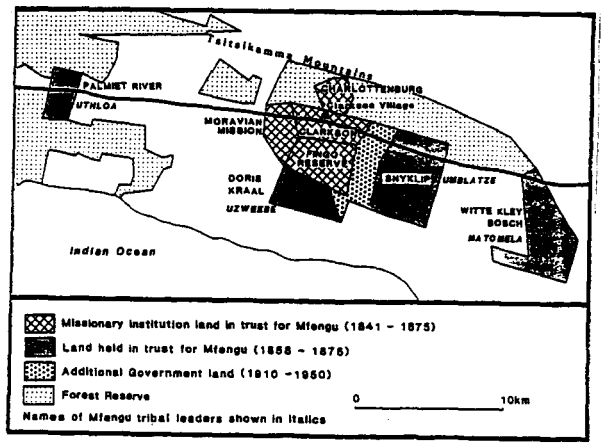
legal entitlements to land conferred by colonial authorities. This was an ironical anomaly related to the Mfengu's peculiarly contested position in the Eastern Cape frontier history.

1.2.2 The Moravian Community at Clarkson and their Historical Claim to Land

The establishment of the Moravian mission station at Clarkson dates back to the arrival of the missionaries in the Tsitsikamma during 1839. The missionary community included some San peoples[31] who came from older Moravian mission stations like Enon and Genadendal in the Southern Cape. At that time some Mfengu had already been granted land and were settled in the Tsitsikamma during 1837 by British colonial authorities as a reward for their support in the Eastern Cape frontier wars against the Xhosa. One group of Mfengu resided on part of the Clarkson mission land while others occupied the adjacent land at Doriskraal, Wittekleibosch, and Snyklip. A diagram illustrating the location of Clarkson in relation to Doriskraal, Wittekleibosch, and Snyklip is shown in figure 2 below. The map also shows the commonage land of the Fingo Reserve and the additional Government land granted during 1910-1950 that became known as the Gap.

Figure 2. **Diagram illustrating the location of Clarkson in relation to the adjacent Mfengu land of Doriskraal, Wittekleibosch, and Snyklip.**

[Source: L. Platsky and C. Walker, The Surplus People: Forced Removal in South Africa (Johannesburg: Ravan Press, 1985), p. 192.]



[30] Tsitsikamma Exile Association, *Return to our Land*, August 1996.

[31] In general we have used the inclusive term Khoisan throughout this dissertation to refer to both Khoikhoi and San peoples However, there are places in our discussion where the term Khoikhoi or khoi as well as San are used.

Membership of the Moravian Clarkson mission settlement, as at other Moravian mission stations in the Cape Colony, was restricted to converts who accepted the rules and authority of the Moravian missionaries. Over time the differentiation between those who lived at the Clarkson mission station and those who resided on the adjacent land of Snyklip, Doriskraal, and Wittekleibosch outside the mission station developed into a division between the Clarksoners and the Mfengu as distinct communities. It would be tempting but misleading to take this division simply as a reflection of prior ethnic identities, with the converted Khoisan and ex-slaves becoming Moravian and eventually the racialised "coloured" community of Clarkson, as distinct from the adjacent ethnic Mfengu community. The assumption that "coloured" and Mfengu identities are racial or ethnic givens, with the former associated with mission settlements, but not the latter, cannot be taken for granted. As we will see the historical construction of a distinct Moravian missionary community at Clarkson in relation to the adjacent Mfengu communities involved both territorial and discursive differentiations. An investigation of this will be central to our analysis of the problem of identity in relation to land and patterns of communal settlement.

1.2.2.1 Terminological Differentiation of "Coloured" and "Native"

For a historical understanding of the relation between such communities as the Clarksoners and the Mfengu from the 1830s it is vital to bear in mind that the term "coloured" did not yet have a fixed connotation. Nor was there any hard and fast demarcation between "coloured" and "natives" in general. In fact, the official and popular terminology of "coloured" and "natives" was only introduced and elaborated during the latter half of the nineteenth century. The establishment of a Representative Government in the Cape Colony during 1853 gave the franchise to all "coloured men" subject to them either having property or an annual income.[32] Significantly the term "coloured" in official British colonial documents was an inclusive one that referred to all non-British settlers and non-Dutch colonists at the Cape. This meant all indigenous peoples, whether Khoikhoi, San, Xhosa, or Mfengu as well as ex-slaves, were included under the term "coloured". The Cape Census of 1865, for example, referred to the Xhosa people within the colony as "coloured".[33] Over time ethnic and racial differentiations in terminology were introduced. The Moravian Missionary Society differentiated the terms "natives" and "coloured" from the 1860s onwards by distinguishing between missionary

[32] L.M. Thompson, The Cape Franchise (Johannesburg, South African Institutes of Race Relations, 1949), p. 7.
[33] Census of the Colony of the Cape of Good Hope, 1865, G.20-66.

activities among converts in the Western Cape as being different to that in the Eastern Cape region of the colony. In 1869 the "coloured" Moravian mission stations were incorporated into the mission's Western region while the "native" mission stations were included in the mission's Eastern Cape region of the colony. Significantly Clarkson and Enon were incorporated into the Western Cape region of the colony even though both were geographically located within the Eastern Cape region of the colony indicating an ethnic rather than a regional criterion of differentiation.[34] In the Cape Census of 1875 the Mfengu were still included as "coloured" in the official colonial discourse.[35] Differentiation among groups of indigenous peoples in official colonial policies increased from the 1870s onwards, as the number of indigenous peoples incorporated into the Cape Colony grew following the annexation of British Kaffraria. It is only from 1904 onwards that the official Cape Census began to differentiate and classify peoples residing within the colony as "white, native and coloured".[36] The 1909 Mission Stations and Communal Reserves Act still referred to both "native" and "coloured", and used the two interchangeably.[37] In the more popular and common usage of the term "coloured" in the early 1900s, the meaning utilised in the colonial discourse of inclusiveness applied. This is demonstrated by Abdullah Abdurahman who defined the "coloured" in his 1909 Presidential address of the African Peoples Organisation (APO) as "everyone who was a British subject in South Africa, and who was not European".[38] The fluidity of this terminology is reflected in the very name of the African Peoples Organisation for what was effectively a "coloured" political organisation. However, in his 1910 presidential address Abdurahman did explicitly distinguish between "the coloured people" and "the native races": "we ... meet as an organisation of the coloured people only of South Africa ... we have a deep interest in the native races ... and the Union Act ... puts us all into one fold: but it is my duty as President of the APO ... to deal with the rights and duties of the coloured people of South Africa, as distinguished from the native races".[39] From the 1920s onwards the "native" became officially defined as ethnic and classified as distinct from the racial "coloured".[40] This officially defined difference between

---

[34] B. Krüger and P.W. Schaberg, The Pear Tree Bears Fruit: The History of the Moravian Church in South Africa Western Cape Province 1869-1980 (Genadendal, The Moravian Book Depot, 1984), p. 2.
[35] Results of A Census of the Colony of the Cape of Good Hope, 1878, G42-76.
[36] Ian Goldin, Making Race: The Politics and Economics of Coloured Identity in South Africa (Cape Town, Masker Miller Longman, 1987), pp. 11-13; Results of a Census of the Colony the Cape of Good Hope, 1905, G.19-1905.
[37] The Mission Stations and Reserves Act of 1909.
[38] R.E. Van der Ross (ed.), Say It Out Loud: The APO Presidential Addresses and other Major Political Speeches 1906-1940 (Bellville, The Western Cape Institute for Historical Research, University of the Western Cape, 1990), p. 26.
[39] Van der Ross, Say It Out Loud, p. 34.
[40] The Native Administration Act of 1927. See discussion in chapter 6 of this dissertation.

"native" and "coloured" was later reinforced by the Coloured Mission Stations Act of 1949.[41] Such official labelling and classification were connected to demarcated territorial spaces specified as group areas, rural reserves, locations and townships. Spatial boundaries of racial/ethnic difference were constructed that had grave implications for the relations between the Clarksoners and the Mfengu peoples of the Tsitsikamma.

The official registration of Clarkson as a "coloured" mission station during the 1950s by the Apartheid government reinforced the growing differentiation between the Clarksoner and Mfengu communities in the Tsitsikamma. The classification meant that the mission station, unlike the neighbouring Mfengu villages, was not declared a "black spot" area.[42] As a result the Clarksoners, unlike the Mfengu, were not forcefully removed nor relocated from the mission station in 1977. The spatial landscape of the dispossessed land adjacent to Clarkson changed significantly after the state sold portions thereof to nineteen "white" farmers in 1983. The impact of these forced removals on the self-perceptions of the Clarksoner community still needs to be investigated. But being a Clarksoner during this time of apartheid upheaval certainly afforded individual and communal protection, security, and perpetuity in their right of access to, and use of, the mission land. This strengthened the Clarkson community's relation to the land they occupied. For the Mfengu the trauma of dispossession and forced resettlement served to intensify their attachment to "our land" in the Tsitsikamma in both material and symbolic ways. But in the longer term, and more specifically from a post-1994 perspective, the Clarksoners' experience under apartheid in some ways served to deligitimise their claim to the mission land, if not in the eyes of the Clarksoners themselves then certainly in the eyes of others, including the Mfengu. Under apartheid the Clarksoners experienced relative security in not becoming targets of dispossession and forced resettlement. The new post-apartheid context of the 1990s, which provided the Mfengu with the opportunity to claim land restitution, actually posed a threat of possible loss of land to the Clarksoners. The demands made by the Mfengu in the 1990s for the "return of our land" largely disregarded the historical and political relations that the Moravian mission community of Clarkson had with the land. The 1990s reversal of Mfengu/Clarksoner claims to land focuses on land and identity. While, at least to begin with, the Mfengu were relatively more effective in their historical claims for land restitution, the

[41] The Coloured Mission Stations and Reserves Act of 1949.
[42] Land held under individual freehold or communal land tenure by "black communities" in classified "white areas" was officially categorised as "black spots".

Clarksoners were now disempowered. This complex history thus leaves us with a range of issues regarding the contested relations of entitlement to land and communal identities.

1.3 Problem Statement and Research Question

The complex history joining and differentiating the Clarkson and Mfengu communities in their claims of entitlement to land may be specific to them and in some ways even unique, but the relation between land and communal identity raises more general questions relevant to the aims and objectives of this dissertation. Numerous claims of historical and legal entitlement to land continue to be made by individuals, groups and communities in post-apartheid South Africa.[43] We are particularly interested in the process by which communal identifications in relation to land emerge, are established and sustained over time, and may then be utilised for different purposes. Representations of communal identity, initially constructed within colonial and missionary discourses, have later been appropriated and transformed within various ethnic discourses, and provided a justificatory framework for apartheid policy and ideology. If this latter association with apartheid seriously undermined the legitimacy of the very notion of communal identity it is significant that the demise of apartheid did not bring about the expected end of the politics of communal identity. Far from disappearing, post-apartheid South Africa has witnessed a vigorous revival of the politics of communal identity in its rural context with numerous agrarian communities asserting their historical and communal claims to land. Typically this has taken the form of linking communal identities with historical entitlements to land through mobilising elements of historical narratives appropriated from colonial, missionary, and racial discourses. In this dissertation we will explore the historical and political relation between the formation of communal identities and claims of entitlement to land. This will be done through a case study of the Clarkson Moravian mission station and its neighbouring Tsitsikamma Mfengu community.

---

[43] Marj Brown et al., Land Restitution in South Africa: A Long Way Home (Cape Town, IDASA, 1998); Commission on Restitution of Land Rights, *Land Restitution in South Africa Our Achievements and Challenges*, 26 May 2003; Ruth Hall, 'Rural Restitution: Evaluating Land and Agrarian Reform in South Africa', series no. 2 (Bellville, Programme for Land and Agrarian Studies, School of Government, University of the Western Cape, September 2003); Hall et al., 'Final Report', September 2003; Ben Cousins (ed.), At the Crossroads: Land and Agrarian Reform in South Africa into the 21st Century (Bellville, Programme for Land and Agrarian Studies of the University of the Western Cape and the National Land Committee, 2000); H. Bernstein (ed.), The Agrarian Question in South Africa (London, Frank Cass, 1996). Some of the historical claims to land during the post-apartheid period are captured in the following articles. 'Land Court Faces its First Tough Decision', Mail and Guardian, 8 December 1996; 'District Six: Restitution or Development', Mail and Guardian, 6 September 1996. For a contested land claim at Smidtsdrift by Tswana community, see 'Bushman Left to Rot in the Karoo,' Mail and Guardian, 14 March 1997. For another contested land claim by a Namaqualand community regarding the Steinkopf land see 'Queen Reminded of Broken Promise', Mail and Guardian, 24 March 1995.

Our study will in the first instance focus on the Clarkson Moravian mission station as an institution that enabled Moravian missionaries to discursively produce a missionary communal identity, transplanted from their place of origin and imposed on indigenous converts at the Cape. The transplantation of a Moravian missionary identity was closely bound up with a particular historical framework of the "Moravian story". Our study will follow and consider the discursive significance of the selected historical events found in the reconstructed Moravian historical narrative. In tracing the transplantation of a Moravian missionary identity at the Cape we will first analyse the function and significance of the Moravian story and its account of the origin of the ancient Moravian Church in Czechoslovakia during the 1400s in relation to the renewal of the Moravian Church in Germany during the 1700s. Having explored some of the discursive elements that constituted the Moravian identity we will, secondly, begin our account of the missionary project of the Moravian Church at the Cape colony from the 1730s onwards and trace the significance of some of the transplanted discursive elements that constituted a Moravian missionary identity. We will explore the imposition of a Moravian missionary identity on converts and its significance in relation to the mission land. We end with an account of the establishment of Clarkson Moravian mission station in 1839 in the Tsitsikamma and its development up to the early 1900s. Our in-depth study of the Clarkson Moravian mission station community involves both descriptive and exploratory questions. We describe some of the distinguishing discursive features of the constituted Moravian missionary identity that was transplanted by the Moravian missionaries from their place of origin and imposed on indigenous converts at the Cape. We ask who constituted the Clarkson Moravian missionary community in the colonial context, and how was this missionary community represented in the Moravian missionary discourse in relation to the Mfengu among whom the missionaries had settled? How was the imposed Clarksoner Moravian missionary identity formed, represented, and produced in relation to the mission land and the neighbouring Tsitsikamma Mfengu? We aim to explore the discursive shifts in representation of the Clarkson Moravian missionary identity in relation to the Tsitiskamma Mfengu, as well as in relation to the Moravian missionaries, colonial authorities, apartheid officials, and the contemporary South African government. Finally, we will problematise the historical origin and socio-political functions of the Moravian story as told in the past by Moravian missionaries and indigenous converts at the Cape and as told today by members of the Moravian Church of Southern Africa.

Secondly, we will be concerned with the contested history and communal identity of the Mfengu. Our study will show that in the 1830s colonial officials created an intermediary group, known as the "Fingoes". In a critical examination of the official colonial version of the "Fingo emancipation" under British colonial authority, we will consider the evidence that this should rather relate to a composite construction of various groupings of "refugees" and other labourers who were escorted by colonial troops and resettled around the colony in response to demands for labour. We will describe how one set of four groups of "Fingo" labourers were settled in the Tsitsikamma, later to become known as the Tsitsikamma Mfengu peoples. We will explore the construction of Tsitsikamma Mfengu identity in relation to the Clarkson mission identity as the latter was produced through the Moravian missionary discourse. We will follow the divergent and convergent trajectories of the conjoined Tsitsikamma Mfengu and Clarkson missionary communities during the mid-19th century frontier wars and under 20th century segregation and apartheid. We will describe the forced removal in the 1970s of the Tsitsikamma Mfengu communities from their land. We will examine how the prospect of land restitution in post-apartheid South Africa renewed and sustained attempts to hail contemporary communal subjects into place. This gave rise to a new discursive formation of a revitalised Tsitsikamma Mfengu ethnic discourse. We will analyse the emergence of a contemporary ethnic Tsitsikamma Mfengu community, its intrinsic connection to the Clarksoner mission community and its historical relation to land. We will look at the transformation of Clarkson from mission station to rural town through our selected themes of land and identity.

Through this study we aim to show that the present South African policy of land restitution premised on *legal* land rights do not fully take into consideration the political and historical relationships, particularly those pre-dating 1913, which some communities have with the land. Furthermore, we show that it is misleading to take for granted the "ethnic" division between Clarksoners as Moravian and "coloured" in relation to the "native" Mfengu people of the Tsitsikamma. Central to our in-depth study of the Clarksoner Moravian mission and Tsitsikamma Mfengu communities is the functions and significance of the contested Clarksoner/Mfengu land claims. The reversal of claims to land restitution in the 1990s meant that the Mfengu who had previously been dispossessed of their land were now able to make claims to the Clarkson land. The case study is a comparative focus on the Clarksoner/Mfengu interactions at the mission station and their relation to the mission land. In this dissertation we are concerned with the respective notions of communal identity of these groups and the ways in which these are historically linked to claims of land entitlement.

Tsitsikamma Mfengu are not fixed givens, but rather historical discursive constructions that are in the process of constant change.

In addressing the general topic of communal identity formations and its relation to claims of entitlement to land we will utilise a case study approach. Our case study for inquiry is that of the Moravian mission community and the Tsitsikamma Mfengu communities adjacent to the Clarkson mission station. We will begin by asking questions such as what does it mean to be a member of the Moravian community, who were the Moravian missionaries, where did they come from, and how did they represent themselves to the indigenous converts at the Cape? We will also ask questions such as who were the Mfengu, where did they come from, how were they represented in colonial discourses and how did they represent themselves at different times and especially during the 1990s in relation to claims for restitution of their historical land? To begin answering these questions we will immerse ourselves in archival data collected on Moravian history in general; and on Moravian mission history at the Cape and at Clarkson in particular. At the level of discourse and representation we will follow the articulation of the Moravian narrative, and analyse how it was utilised to make dynamic connections between different groups of people, times, and places. Current day congregants of the Moravian Church in South Africa, including the Clarksoners, understand their communal identity in terms of this narrative dating back to the Unitas Fratrum - a religious group in Bohemia during the 1460s, and the Herrnhuters - a religious group in Germany during the 1720s. Detailed attention will be given both to the historical sequence of events and how the Moravian narrative evolved over time. Our aim will be to give a coherent and comprehensive account of the narrative construction of the Moravian identity that was transplanted by Moravian missionaries to the Cape during the 1700s, and imposed on indigenous peoples, in particular on indigenous converts including those Mfengu people who became members of the Clarkson Moravian mission station from 1839 onwards. At the same time we will provide a critical analysis of the ideological functions of this narrative and communal identities in establishing and sustaining relations of power and domination. This historical case study is thus located within the framework of a general social theory that explores the daily reproduction of social life within society through the interconnection between action, institutions, power, and domination.[45]

[45] John B. Thompson, Studies in the Theory of Ideology (Berkeley, University of California Press, 1984), pp. 126-128.

We collected and used numerous documents in our analysis of the constructed Clarksoner Moravian missionary and Tsitsikamma Mfengu identities and its relation to claims of entitlement to land. The data utilised in this study consists of both primary and secondary sources. From our archival research, the primary material obtained have included the diaries of missionaries, letters, newsletters, journals, newspapers, photographs, maps, petitions and pamphlets. In our documentary research valuable material were obtained from reports, memos, and correspondence relating to the Clarkson land claim and the return of the Mfengu peoples to the Tsitsikamma. Comprehensive Deeds Registry research was done on land held by the Moravian Church of Southern Africa. Extensive use was made of secondary source material on various relevant aspects of both South African and Moravian history.

Interviews were conducted with key representatives from the Legal Resources Centre (LRC), and selected leaders from the Moravian Church in South Africa. In-depth qualitative interviews were also conducted with a selected number of interviewees residing in the Tsitsikamma, Clarkson and on the Mfengu agricultural land during two field trips to the Tsitsikamma and the Clarkson mission station in the Eastern Cape. During the first field trip to Clarkson in April 1996, such interviews were conducted with a target group comprising of Clarksoner and Mfengu women and men who were sixty years of age and older. The interviewees were pointed out to us by the minister and local residents of Clarkson and Silvertown as "the big men and women of Clarkson".[46] The data collected from this first field trip remains significant, since we may not have been able to enter the "discursive circle" without hearing these initial stories during our stay at Clarkson. The second field trip to the Tsitsikamma and Clarkson occurred during May 2003. On this visit, fieldwork included a visit to one of the neighbouring Tsitsikamma Mfengu agricultural farms. Many of the respondents interviewed during 1996 had by now died. We observed the significant changes that Clarkson had undergone from being a mission station that had accommodated some returning Mfengu people following the restitution settlement in 1996, to its development into a rural town in 2003. Interviews focussed on key role players of the Clarkson Communal Property Association, and the Mfengu peoples residing on the agricultural land adjacent to Clarkson. A representative of the Tsitsikamma Development Trust (Mfengu) from East London was also interviewed. The data collected from both field trips, and in particular from these interviews, provided a source of primary material for our social historical and applied discourse analysis. We have chosen to cite the names of each interviewee where applicable, and thereby acknowledge the valuable contribution that each

person interviewed has made to the fullness and breadth of this study. This will be done while respecting the confidentiality and right to privacy of each interviewee. In so doing we have endeavoured to take all reasonable care to promote principles of respect, trust and effective communication when using the data collected from these interviews.

The data collected have been organised around the themes of the Moravian narrative, community identity, land, labour, spatial organisation, the management and control of water, and education. These themes have been carried through in both the socio-historical and discourse analyses of the study. We have at all times sought to accurately reflect the evidence provided for the arguments made in the study by citing all historical documents and other primary and secondary sources used in both the socio-historical and discourse analysis of the study. As a member of the Moravian Church of Southern Africa, with parents and grandparents all having territorial roots in Genadendal before moving on to the city and Mamre, another Moravian mission station in the Western Cape, I am aware of the unavoidable contribution of my personal and historical perspective as a researcher in developing my analyses and interpretations.

1.5 Limitations and Issues for Further Study

An important limitation in the research done stemmed from the effective limitation of the study to sources and literature that was available in English and Afrikaans. In addition a major collection of primary sources located in Germany was not available to us due to practical constraints. Effectively this means that the study is based on an incomplete collection of primary material on Moravian missionaries in South Africa, and at Clarkson in particular during the period 1839-1903. Even some of the available published sources printed in Gothic German script could not be effectively utilised. An in-depth analysis of key themes explored within the study, like the "seed" narrative, will require a comprehensive study of the full range of primary and secondary sources.

Only two field trips to the Tsitsikamma and Clarkson were done. Additional fieldwork was constrained by our limited financial resources and the time available within which to complete the project. The first field trip was done during April 1996 for a period of three weeks. The

[46] These senior citizens at Clarkson are referred to as "die groot mans en vrouens van Clarkson".

second took place during May 2003 for a period of one week. By not conducting in-depth interviews with a full range of residents, we acknowledge that valuable in-depth data that could have added to the richness of the completed study will have been overlooked.

In the social historical and discursive analyses of the more contemporary land restitution claims lodged during the 1990s the role of the LRC specifically and "land" related NGOs more generally have not been included in the dissertation. While we suggest that in many ways the LRC played an important role in the Tsitsikamma Mfengu's land restitution campaign, the limitation of our study here is that we have not given an account and critical analysis of what that role and its consequences were. Added to this, a major part of the dissertation has been characterised by a considerable emphasis on the importance of the wider contextualisation of local developments in Clarkson and the Tstiskamma. While much attention has been given to the general colonial context and relevant developments elsewhere which impacted locally, the same amount of attention and detailed social historical analysis has not been given to the more contemporary events and issues surrounding the restitution of land in the 1990s. In a sense the same approach would have required us to give an extensive account of the wider context of the South African transition from apartheid to democracy in the early 1990s, including the role of the ANC both nationally and locally. Instead our study has quite narrowly focussed on providing an account of the developments directly affecting Clarkson with a minimum of attention given to the broader national processes. Yet this limitation in the study has been a necessary one, since the inclusion of such a relevant analysis would have required substantial further research, which would be well beyond the scope of the current dissertation. Such limitations in the study, however presents opportunities for further research relevant to the topic and theme of this dissertation.

A further limitation in this study was the lack of well-established linkages between discourse theory and its systematic application to primary historical material. For the purposes of this study, we have applied John Thompson's analytical framework for the methodology of interpretation.[47] Major reasons for this are, first, that Thompson's analytical framework suggests how applied discourse analysis might be integrated into a general social theory in conjunction with contextualised social and historical analysis and, second, that it is specifically

[47] Thompson, Studies in the Theory of Ideology, pp. 123-147

concerned with the critical analysis of ideological discourse. This approach is thus especially suitable for any critical applied discursive analysis of identity formations that serves to systematically establish and sustain relations of power of various kinds. However, for our purposes of the conceptualisation of, and critical engagement with, communal identity formations Thompson's methodology of discursive analysis needs to be complemented with relevant insights derived from other developments in discourse theory. In this regard the theoretical approaches of Haydn White, Ricoeur, Foucault, Stuart Hall, Althusser and Pêcheux have been selectively utilised to complement Thompson's methodology of interpretation in our applied discourse analysis of the selected case study. This means that the theoretical basis of this study has a decidedly eclectic character and cannot pretend to the status of systematic theory. In that sense the study is not meant to provide a rigorous application of a specific discourse theory. Rather our approach has been to make use of relevant aspects of discourse theory where these are helpful for the purposes of applied analysis in our case study while we have not been concerned with pursuing theoretical issues for their own sake. As such, as an applied discourse analysis of a particular historical case study, the dissertation has a definite interdisciplinary character. Accordingly it does not readily fit into either of the disciplines of history or political theory. This study does not offer a straight forward history of Moravian mission, and Clarkson and Tsitsikamma Mfengu communities; but seeks to analyse this critically with the help of applied discourse theory. Furthermore, it also does not set out to construct a general theory of communal identities and claims to land but will be concerned with particular historical case studies of the Moravian Clarkson and Tsitsikamma Mfengu communities. While this interdisciplinary focus is bound to limit the strict historical or theoretical insights available to those disciplines it is hoped that the combination may also contribute fruitfully to perspectives of its own.

1.6 A Survey of Literature on the Themes of Mission History, Moravian History, Mfengu History, Land and Community within a South African Context.

1.6.1 South African Mission History

There is an extensive body of work on various elements of South African mission history. In our review of this literature we will be most concerned with publications which placed South African mission history within the context of colonial domination and dealt with problems of communal

identity in relation to claims on land. It was J. du Plessis' book entitled *A History of Christian Missions in South Africa* first published in 1911 that successfully began to link South African mission history with contemporary Cape history, and more widely with South African political history.[48] For such an early work to be located within the context of colonialism was significant. In her 1952 polemic titled *The Role of Missionaries in Conquest* Dora Taylor, using the pseudonym of N. Majeke, asserted that the church had been an instrument of oppression in South Africa. Majeke referred to missionaries as agents of colonial divide and rule who had acted as political advisors to colonial officials.[49] Majeke's book, albeit a polemic, made an important contribution by beginning to place South African mission history within the context of colonialism. Her theme of the mission as an instrument of colonial oppression has since then been picked up by various scholars and has emerged in different forms. In G.B.A. Gerdener's 1958 book entitled *Recent Developments in the South African Mission Field* some attempt was made to describe the political and economic conditions of indigenous peoples affected by the missionary enterprise.[50] Martin Legassick's PhD dissertation entitled *The Griqua, the Sotho-Tswana and the Missionaries, 1780-1840: The Politics of a Frontier Zone* was published in 1969. Herein Legassick explored the frontier zone as a terrain of colonial resistance and political conflict and, inter alia, placed South African mission history firmly within the context of South African political and economic history. This frontier zone encompassed both material and cultural exchanges, with the missionary movement being one aspect thereof.[51] Legassick later revised parts of this work in 1989, which was published as a chapter entitled *The Northern Frontier to c 1840: The Rise and Decline of the Griqua People.* Herein he emphasised the role played by missionaries in exacerbating colonial conflict and political rivalry within polities on the Northern frontier.[52] Jane Sales began her engagement with South African mission history with her 1971 published book entitled *The Planting of the Churches in South Africa.* She presented an analysis of the development of Christian missions in South Africa and their contribution to the country's social, historical and political complexities. By focussing on the Dutch Reformed Church she critically examined its support for racial, tribal, and linguistic fragmentation during

[48] J. du Plessis, A History of Christian Missions in South Africa (Cape Town, C. Struik, 1965).
[49] N. Majeke, The Role of Missionaries in Conquest (Cumberwood, ADDUSA, 1952).
[50] G.B.A. Gerdener, Recent Developments in the South African Mission Field (London, Marshall, Morgan and Scott, 1958).
[51] M. Legassick, 'The Griqua, the Sotho-Tswana and the Missionaries, 1780-1840: The Politics of a Frontier Zone' (Ph.D. dissertation, University of California, 1969).
[52] M. Legassick, 'The Northern Frontier to c. 1840: The Rise and Decline of the Griqua People' in Richard Elphick and Hermann Giliomee (eds.), The Shaping of South African Society, 1652-1829 (Cape Town, Maskew Miller Longman, 1989).

the seventeenth, eighteenth and nineteenth century.[53] Sales' later book published in 1975, entitled *Mission Stations and the Coloured Communities of the Eastern Cape 1800-1852* described the establishment and the demise of the Kat River Settlement. Her account of the Kat River mission settlement located this within the context of colonial expansion and dispossession. Sales demonstrated how colonial laws and policies affected the missionary community in the Kat River Settlement and undermined their successful attempts to farm productively. Most important for the purposes of our research, is her enquiry into the attempts made by the Kat River residents to defend their rights in land, their place at the settlement, and their human dignity in the face of British colonial dispossessions.[54] Norman Etheringham introduced a dimension of power relations to South African mission history in his book entitled *Preachers, Peasants and Politics* published in 1978, which focussed on the difficulties encountered by missionaries to convert indigenous peoples in a systematic and sustained way. The power exercised by missionaries in the garnering of converts was thus questioned. Janet Hodgson's contribution to South African mission history has directed attention to the religious history of the Christian converts that preceded their adoption of Christianity. In her book entitled *The God of the Xhosa,* published in 1982, Hodgson began to examine and reconstruct Xhosa religious history in relation to Christianity. A further contribution is her investigation of missionaries' interpretations of their encounters with Xhosa beliefs in a supreme being.[55] James Cochrane's 1987 book entitled *Servants of Power, the role of English-Speaking Churches in South Africa* has explicitly utilised a critical approach in its engagement with the history of the English speaking Churches in South Africa. Cochrane argues that in order to understand the role of these Churches in South Africa it remains necessary to understand the structure and historical nature of domination in South Africa; the relationship of the church to domination; and the implications this holds for the interpretation of church policy, practice, and theology. For the purposes of our dissertation it is important to point out that Cochrane identified land and labour as two important issues that should be addressed in South African mission history.[56] Richard Grove made a useful contribution for the purposes of our dissertation in that his publication *Scottish Missionaries, Evangelical Discourse and the Origins of Conservation Thinking in Southern Africa* (1989) examined missionary perceptions of land

---

[53] Jane Sales, The Planting of the Churches in South Africa (Grand Rapids, Eerdmans, 1971).
[54] Jane Sales, Mission Stations and the Coloured Communities of the Eastern Cape, 1800-1852 (Cape Town, A.A. Balkema, 1975).
[55] J. Hodgson, Servants of the Xhosa: A Study of the Origins and Development of the Traditional Concepts of the Supreme Being (Cape Town, Oxford University Press, 1982).
[56] James Cochrane, Servants of Power: the Role of the English-speaking Churches in South Africa (Johannesburg, Ravan Press, 1987).

conservation in the articulation of their Christianity. His analysis showed how land was utilised as a symbol of meaning and represented as a sacred space requiring Christian environmental control.[57]

The works of the anthropologists Jean and John Comaroff and their engagement with the Tswana speaking Barolong boo Rathshidi in their relations and conversations with missionaries has made a significant contribution to South African mission history. In 1985 Jean Comaroff published *Body of Power Spirit of Resistance: the Culture and History of a South African People.* Herein she introduced a method of ethnographic analysis that focussed on symbolic practices. She also constructed a model of historical processes that allowed her to reinterpret orthodox assumptions about the nature of power and rituals.[58] For the purposes of our dissertation we have found her analysis of symbolic practices exceptionally useful. The later two volumes by Jean and John Comaroff titled *Of Revelation and Revolution,* with volume one published in 1991 and volume two published in 1997, together provided a major historical anthropology of the missionary enterprise among the Southern Tshwana, a study of cultural confrontation, of dominance and reaction, struggle and innovation. Herein they have traced the processes by which missionaries sought to change the hearts and minds, signs and practices of the Southern Tswana people in a concerted "colonisation of consciousness", and also described the various ways in which the Southern Tswana people themselves struggled against and then appropriated some of these missionary signs and symbols.[59] The Comaroffs' work has evidently had a major impact on the historiography of Christian mission in South Africa, and even if their analyses are based on the Southern Tswana on the Highveld our own study of the Moravian mission in the Eastern Cape will directly draw on them.

The historian Clifton Crais also made a significant contribution to South African mission history. In *The Making of the Colonial Order* (1992) he boldly placed South African mission history within a context of colonial power and domination. Crais was principally concerned with questions of culture and dominance in the colonisation of the peoples of the Eastern Cape from the late eighteenth century onwards. He showed that the social and political system of the

---

[57] Richard Grove, 'Scottish Missionaries, Evangelical Discourse and the Origins of Conservative Thinking in South Africa, 1820-1900', Journal of Southern African Studies 15: 2 (1989), pp. 161-187.

[58] Jean Comaroff, Body of Power Spirit of Resistance: The Culture and History of a South African People (Chicago, University of Chicago Press, 1985).

[59] Jean and John Comaroff, Of Revelation and Revolution: Christianity, Colonialism and Consciousness in South Africa, vol. 1 (Chicago, University of Chicago Press, 1991) and Jean and John Camaroff, Of Revelation and

Xhosa on the Eastern Cape frontier posed a direct challenge to colonial expansion. The book engaged with both overt struggles and covert contests over power and identity through an analysis of power, discourse and representation. Crais showed that the Christian mission was a very important site of struggle over power and identity in addition to having been a place of conversion and a site of refuge.[60] In a later book entitled *The Politics of Evil* (2002) Crais investigated indigenous concepts of power, authority and evil and analysed how these shaped cross-cultural encounters and the making of a colonial order. Through examining the role of Christianity, he has been particularly concerned with how Christian ideas of good and evil, the devil and sin were combined with earlier ideas of magic and witchcraft into producing a form of social reality that comprised both forces of darkness and apocalyptic salvation.[61]

A significant trend in recent contributions to mission history has been a growing emphasis on indigenous agency in the works of, amongst others, Elizabeth Elbourne and Richard Gray. Elizabeth Elbourne completed her doctoral dissertation in 1992 titled *To Colonise the Mind.* Elbourne's account of mission history in the Eastern Cape is significant, especially for the purposes of this dissertation. In her doctoral research she focused on the London Missionary Society while giving voice to the Khoisan converts who, she effectively argued, had successfully manipulated missionary endeavours in order to secure allies against both the Dutch and the British colonial expansion and the growing social disintegration of their polities.[62] In a paper entitled *A question of Identity: Evangelical Culture and Khoisan Politics* (1992), Elbourne explored the role of missionaries in Khoisan politics in the Eastern Cape during the early part of the nineteenth century. In her focus on the politics of identity she examined Khoisan and missionary cultures and beliefs. Elbourne has made an important contribution to the growing body of work on South African mission history that has begun to place greater emphasis on indigenous agency, and sought to give converts a voice in relation to missionaries. Elbourne pointed out that the spread of Christianity among the Khoisan through the Eastern Cape was predominantly done by Khoisan preachers who interpreted the Christian message in an eschatological and millenarian framework in which God was presented as being on the side of the oppressed and disempowered. Conversion to Christianity served as a tool to

---

Revolution: The Dialectics of Modernity on a South African Frontier, vol. 2 (Chicago, University of Chicago Press, 1997).

[60] C. Crais, The Making of the Colonial Order: White Supremacy and Black Resistance in the Eastern Cape, 1770-1865 (Johannesburg, Witwatersrand University Press, 1992).

[61] C. Crais, The Politics of Evil: Magic, State Power, and the Political Imagination in South Africa (Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 2002).

gain access to power.[63] In a later book entitled *Blood Ground* (2002) Elbourne continued her work on the relationship between the London Missionary Society and the Khoisan of the Eastern Cape. Through her writing she created a platform for the voices of Khoisan converts to take precedence in this account of mission history. In *Blood Ground* she integrated mission history with general South African history by showing how communities were brought into contact with each other through colonialism. She examined how contesting communities in the Eastern Cape used the language of Protestant Christianity in competing ways, contributing to the formation of their respective identities. Elbourne has shown how the numerous Khoisan conversions influenced existing power relations at the Cape, and in time impacted on the grammar of the language of Protestant Christianity used in the created identity of "whiteness".[64] Richard Gray also made a contribution to South African mission history with a special focus on indigenous agency. In his book titled *Black Christians and White Missionaries* (1990) he argued that black evangelists were far more important than white missionaries in winning indigenous souls and minds. He noted that often the fundamental contributions of African Christians and African cosmologies have been ignored by scholars presenting arguments on Christianity as being merely part of the ideological superstructure of Western capitalism.[65]

Henry Bredekamp and Robert Ross' *Missions and Christianity in South African History (1995),* celebrated the 200th anniversary of the arrival of the first group of missionaries, the Moravians, who established a permanent church in South Africa in 1792. In this edited volume Bredekamp and Ross acknowledged both the heroic side of the history of Christianity in South Africa through its support of resistance and its justification for liberation, as well as the use of Christianity in justifying oppression. An important theme of the volume is that the lived experiences of Christianity have been moulded more by mission converts than by the missionaries. In the book Bredekamp and Ross' editorial argument has been that the history of Christianity in South Africa has been a history that involved a process of naturalization whereby the Christian faith became internalised. In response to the Comaroffs', they have noted that all true Christians have chosen to be Christians of their own free will with their conversion

---

[62] Elizabeth Elbourne, 'To Colonise the Mind: Evangelical Missionaries in Britain and the Eastern Cape, 1790-1837' (Ph.D. dissertation, Oxford University, 1992).

[63] Elizabeth Elbourne, *A Question of Identity: Evangelical Culture and Khoisan Politics in the Early Nineteenth Century Eastern Cape*, Collected Seminar Papers on the Societies of Southern Africa in the Nineteenth and Twentieth Centuries, vol. 18 (Institute for Commonwealth Studies, University of London, 1992), pp.14-30.

[64] Elizabeth Elbourne, Blood Ground: Colonialism, Missions, and the Conquest for Christianity in the Cape Colony and Britain, 1799-1853 (Montreal, McGill-Queens University Press, 2002), p. 7.

therefore not being imposed.[66] In some ways this theme can also be found in Paul Landau's book *The Realm of the Word (*1995), in which he provided a social and political history of Christianity among Botswana's Ngwato Kingdom from the 1850s up to its demise in the late 1940s. For Landau Christianity is rooted in the practices of actual people. He argued that Christianity cannot be understood apart from the reorganization of politics, gender, and status in the Ngwato Kingdom. In his book, Landau focused on how African Christians constructed a political realm of power through complex sets of social alliances between Ngwato royalty, clergy, Tswana women, and the administration of the British Protectorate.[67]

Leon de Kock's book *Civilising Barbarians* (1996) gives an account of South African mission history with a focus on the Lovedale missionary institution in the Eastern Cape. De Kock made visible some aspects of the discursive ordering of colonialism in South Africa. He described the Lovedale missionary institution as a particularly important centre of conversion and education that contributed significantly to the fashioning of narratives of identity. Selected examples of the ways in which some indigenous subjects subverted, internalized, and/or rewrote imposed narratives of identity have been examined.[68]

Richard Elphick and Rodney Davenport's edited volume titled *Christianity in South Africa* (1997) has been aimed at setting a new agenda for scholars engaged with South African mission history. Elphick and Davenport argued that while a large body of literature on various churches and missions exist, these have had little influence on mainstream historiography in South Africa. The combination of the histories of congregations and missions into one coherent macro narrative of South African Christianity has barely begun. This volume set out to develop just such an inclusive and comprehensive narrative of South African Christianity.[69] For the purposes of this dissertation an important set of contributors to this edited volume are those by Elbourne and Ross. Together they have shown how Christianity has been used as building blocks by some "coloured" groups for the re-invention of community, how church rituals have

---

[65] Richard Gray, Black Christians and White Missionaries (New Haven, Yale University Press, 1990) p. 61; N. Etherington, 'Recent Trends in the Historiography of Christianity in Southern Africa', Journal of Southern African Studies 22: 2 (June 1996), p. 209.

[66] H. Bredekamp. and R. Ross (eds.), Missions and Christianity in South African History (Johannesburg, Witwatersrand University Press, 1992).

[67] P.S. Landau, The Realm of the Word: Language, Gender, and Christianity in a Southern African Kingdom (Portsmouth, Heinemann, 1995).

[68] L. de Kock, Civilising Barbarians: Missionary Narrative and African Textual Responses in Nineteenth Century South Africa (Johannesburg, Witwatersrand Press, 1996).

[69] R. Elphick and R. Davenport (eds.), Christianity in South Africa: A Political, Social, and Cultural History (Berkeley, University of California Press, 1997).

been appropriated so as to express a new order and shared history based on the idea of a purified and reborn community.[70] The contribution by Janet Hodgson to the edited volume of Elphick and Davenport has also been useful for the purposes of this dissertation. Hodgson has explored the religious interplay between Xhosa religion and missionary conceptions of Christianity in connection with the political and socio-economic developments in the region during the nineteenth century. She has argued that even though the Xhosa had lost the struggle to retain political and socio-economic independence, the colonisation of their consciousness was never complete. The battle for sacred power has continued unabated, and resulted in the appropriation of Christian symbols and rituals. The Xhosa have created new ways of expressing their Christian faith, which have resonated with the totality of their African experience.[71]

The purpose of developing an inclusive and comprehensive narrative of South African Christianity which takes up its place in mainstream South African history has also been promoted by John de Gruchy. Together with other contributing scholars, de Gruchy has celebrated and remembered the legacy of the men and women of the London Missionary Society. For the purposes of our dissertation an important theme has been the impact of the civilising mission of the LMS on the process of Africanisation.[72] Following through on this brief assessment of South African mission history, this dissertation too will seek to make a contribution to the objective of combining the histories of congregations and missions into one coherent macro narrative of South African Christianity by critically engaging mission history within the context of colonialism, and by giving resonance to indigenous agency. Within this general purpose, we focus specifically on the history of the Moravian mission in South Africa.

1.6.2 Moravian Mission History within a South African Context

Moravian mission history in South Africa largely consists of writings published during the 1800s and 1900s by Moravians for internal purposes rather than by general or professional historians. There are a number of publications dealing with different aspects of the history of Moravian missions in South Africa, though these tend to be of a limited and specialised nature. These

---

[70] Elizabeth Elbourne and R. Ross, 'Combating Spiritual and Social Bondage: Early Missions in the Cape Colony' in Elphick and Davenport (eds.), Christianity in South Africa (1997), p. 50.
[71] Janet Hodgson, 'A Battle for Sacred Power: Christian Beginnings among the Xhosa' in Elphick and Davenport (eds.), Christianity in South Africa (1997), pp. 68-87.

publications provide some basic historical data at a descriptive level though usually presented in an uncritical way. However, a striking and relevant feature of these publications and their accounts of Moravian mission history is the extent to which they reproduced the key discursive elements of the Moravian narrative of the seed with constant reference to the "first-fruits and the "pear tree bears fruit" etc. In this respect these accounts are relevant to Moravian self-representations of communal and historical identity and provide significant material for a critical discourse analysis. It is for this reason that the literature survey will be especially concerned with the presence and function of these discursive elements in the documentation of Moravian mission history.

In writings published during the 1800s, authors such as Latrobe, J. Holmes, William Brown and Augustus Thompson gave seminal historical accounts of the commencement of the Moravian mission at the Cape. In 1821 Latrobe, a Moravian from England, published his *Journal of a Visit to South Africa, with some account of the Missionary Settlements of the United Brethren, Near the Cape of Good Hope.* In his journal he especially noted the "celebrated pear-tree, planted by the late venerable missionary, George Schmidt, in 1738".[73] Latrobe observed that the tree had grown to a vast size during the fifty-four years in which the mission had been suspended. He further noted that since 1792 the tree had served the Brethren with "the people and their children sitting under its wide-spreading branches".[74] Significantly Latrobe's account highlighted those elements of the "pear tree" and "its wide-spreading branches" constant with the Moravian historical narrative of the seed. In another early account, J. Holmes in a book entitled *Historical Sketches of the Missions of the United Brethren for Propagating the Gospel among the Heathen,* published in 1827, described the arrival of the first Moravian missionary at the Cape, George Schmidt, and how he baptised his first convert, Willem, in a river in 1742.[75] Holmes emphasised the "renewal of the mission" with the arrival of the second group of missionaries in 1792 at Baviaanskloof, the same place that Schmidt had previously occupied. Holmes recounted how the missionaries noticed "several fruit trees in the garden", and in particular "a large pear tree, under the shade of which they held their meetings for worship".[76] Holmes also

---

[72] John de Gruchy (ed.), The London Missionary Society in Southern Africa: Historical Essays in Celebration of the Bicentenary of the LMS in Southern Africa, 1799-1999 (Cape Town, David Philip, 1999).
[73] C.I. Latrobe, Journal of a Visit to South Africa, with some account of the Missionary Settlements of the United Brethren, near the Cape of Good Hope, 2nd edition (London, L.B. Seeley, 1821), p. 58.
[74] Latrobe, Journal of a Visit to South Africa, p. 58.
[75] J. Holmes, Historical Sketches of the Missions of the United Brethren for Propagating the Gospel Among the Heathen, from their Commencement to the Year 1817 (London, Nisbet and Simkin and Marshal, 1827), pp. 374-375.
[76] Holmes, Historical Sketches of the Missions of the United Brethren, p. 375.

described a meeting between the missionaries and "old Helena", who had been one of Schmidt's converts. She had "carefully preserved" the Dutch New Testament that Schmidt had given her with the Bible placed in a "leather bag" and wrapped in "two sheep skins".[77] Thus the earliest local account of the beginnings of the Moravian mission at the Cape already stressed the elements of renewal and continuity typical of the Moravian narrative of the seed and the first fruits, while stressing the significance of key discursive elements such as the "pear tree".

The same discursive elements featured in other Moravian histories from this period. A.G. Spangenberg published *The Life of Nicholas Lewis Count Zinzendorf* in 1838 wherein he described one of the objectives of the Moravians as "bearing testimony in other places ... that they might be able to sow the good seed elsewhere".[78] Spangenberg described the Moravian Church as being thought worthy of scattering the seed of the gospel in various parts of the world. He described Zinzendorf as protecting the scattered remains of the Church, and "preserved to them their ancient ecclesiastical regulations and discipline".[79] Here Spangenberg was specifically addressing the Moravian missionary project that was taken forward into various countries, including South Africa. It was the "sowing of the good seed" that took the various missionary projects forward. Significantly, the preserved "ancient" rules and regulations were the continuity between the Moravian mission work, the renewed, and the "ancient" Moravian Church. In William Brown's account published in 1864 and entitled *The History of the Christian Missions* brief mention was made of Schmidt's baptised indigenous converts. He also referred to the renewal of the mission at the Cape in 1792 by a group of three missionaries. Brown mentioned that these missionaries spotted "several fruit trees", which still grew in Schmidt's garden.[80] Unlike the Holmes account of 1827, Brown made no specific reference to the "pear tree", or to the first meeting of the missionaries with "old Helena". However, even in the absence of such discursive elements Brown's account still included the growing fruit trees as a variation of the seed metaphor, thus preserving the continuity of the Moravian narrative. In 1882 Augustus C. Thompson published a work entitled *Moravian Missions: Twelve Lectures* wherein he gave a more contextual account of the Moravian mission at the Cape. He described some of the problems that the missionaries as well as the indigenous peoples experienced due to the colonists' opposition to mission work among the indigenous peoples. In Thompson's

---

[77] Holmes, Historical Sketches of the Missions of the United Brethren, p. 375.
[78] A.G. Spangenberg, The Life of Nicholas Lewis Count Zinzendorf (London, Samuel Hodsworth and Amen-Corner, 1838), p. 45.
[79] Spangenberg, The Life of Nicholas Lewis Count Zinzendorf, p. 190.

account the first converts baptised by Schmidt are referred to as "the first-fruits of his faith and toil", and "the first-fruits of modern Christianity in Africa".[81] The use of the "first-fruits" notion is a variation of the seed metaphor central to the Moravian narrative and highlights the narrative theme of continuity and renewal. The "first-fruits" notion is distinctive to the Moravian tradition and, according to Thompson, appears in the inscription over the entrance to the graveyard at Herrnhut, the place from which the early Moravian missionaries came. On the outside over the entrance to the graveyard the inscription reads "Jesus is risen from the dead", and on the inside the inscription reads "He is become the first fruits of them that sleep".[82] Other than the notion of the "first-fruits" Thompson made no further reference to the metaphor of the seed. Unlike the Brown account, no reference was made to the "pear tree", or to "old Helena" in Thompson's account.

Many of the same discursive elements appeared in early 20th century accounts of Moravian history. In his book entitled A *History of Moravian Missions* (1922), J.E. Hutton gave an account of the Moravian missions at the Cape and described the arrival of the second group of Moravian missionaries to the Cape in 1792. Hutton narrated the first visit of these missionaries to Baviaanskloof and described how George Schmidt's pear-tree stood in the garden, heavily laden with fruit. He mentioned that the "link with the past" came in the form of the "old woman, Helena".[83] Like the Holmes account of 1827, Hutton included an account of the Dutch New Testament Bible that had been "kept inside a leather bag", which in turn was "kept inside a sheepskin".[84] Hutton's narrative is interesting in that, unlike the previous versions, he described how the "Dutch Bible" had been "carefully preserved in a box made of wood from the pear-tree".[85] In addition to his account of the "renewal" of the Moravian mission at the Cape, Hutton outlined the responsibilities of the Cape Moravian missionaries regarding land grants received from British colonial authorities. He presented these responsibilities as being the maintenance of discipline and order, enforcing the mission regulations, controlling access to the mission

---

[80] William M.D. Brown, The History of the Christian Missions of the Sixteenth, Seventeenth, Eighteenth, and Nineteenth Centuries, vol.1, 3rd edition (London, Thomas Baker, 1864), pp. 432-434.
[81] Augustus C. Thompson, Moravian Missions: Twelve Lectures (London, Hodder and Stoughton, 1882), p. 360.
[82] Thompson, Moravian Missions, p. 5.
[83] J.E. Hutton, A History of Moravian Missions, 2nd edition (London, Moravian Publication Office, 1909), p. 269. The Moravian John Valentine Haidt depicted the notion of the "first-fruits" in a painting. The painting itself entitled "First Fruits" dates back to 1747. According to Daniel Thorp, Haidt's painting celebrated the first Moravian converts among a number of African and American peoples, and thereby emphasised the willingness of the Church to include both groups among its members. See Daniel B. Thorp, 'New Wines in Old Bottles: Cultural Persistence among Non-White Converts to the Moravian Church', Transactions of the Moravian Historical Society, vol. 30 (1998), p.1.
[84] Hutton, A History of Moravian Missions, p. 269.
[85] Hutton, A History of Moravian Missions, pp. 268-269.

land, and general and religious education, which included teaching indigenous peoples about work and being industrious both at the mission and within the colony.[86] In 1962 A.J. Lewis published a book entitled *Zinzendorf the Ecumenical Pioneer*, in which he also narrated the commencement of the Moravian Cape mission as started by the missionary, George Schmidt. In this brief account Lewis mentioned that Schmidt "planted a famous pear tree" and baptised his pupil called Willem who became "the first fruit of African missions".[87]

The first South African work on Moravian mission history appeared in 1966 and was written by Bernard Krüger, who at the time was a missionary in the Western Cape Province of South Africa. Krüger's book, entitled *The Pear Tree Blossoms, a History of the Moravian Mission Stations in South Africa 1737-1869* was the first comprehensive description given of Moravian missions at the Cape.[88] The book was published a few years after the Moravian Church of the Western Cape Province of South Africa in 1960 was granted autonomy from the German Moravian Church.[89] This book was complemented by the 1984 publication of *The Pear Tree Bears Fruit, the History of the Moravian Church in South Africa Western Province 1869-1980*, which was written by Krüger and P.W. Schaberg. The famous pear tree appears in the title of both books, and has come to represent the commencement and the growth of Moravian missions in South Africa. The third volume to the pear tree series was written by W. Sigurd Nielsen, published in 1999, and entitled *The Twin of the Pear Tree Bears Fruit, the History of the Moravian Church Eastern Province in South Africa.* In the first two volumes of the pear tree series a detailed description is given of events pertaining to the establishment, suspension, and renewal of the Moravian missionary project at the Cape. Unlike previous writers, Krüger in his first volume in the pear tree series briefly reflects on the mission after its suspension following Schmidt's return to Herrnhut. He writes that even after 1756 Magdalena gathered the others occasionally under the "pear tree" in Schmidt's garden and read from the New Testament.[90] Krüger further recounts that when the second group of missionaries arrived to "renew" the Moravian mission at the Cape they visited Baviaanskloof and there "found the old Lena, the last survivor of Schmidt's baptised first-fruits".[91] In all three volumes of the pear tree series a

---

[86] Hutton, A History of Moravian Missions, pp. 277-281.
[87] A.J. Lewis, Zinzendorf the Ecumenical Pioneer: A Study in the Moravian Contribution to Christian Mission and Unity (Philadelphia, The Westminster Press, 1962), p. 85.
[88] B. Krüger, The Pear Tree Blossoms, the History of the Moravian Church in South Africa Western Cape Province 1737-1869 (Genadendal, The Moravian Book Depot, 1966).
[89] B. Krüger and P.W. Schaberg, The Pear Tree Bears Fruit the History of the Moravian Church in South Africa Western Cape Province 1869-1980 (Genadendal, The Moravian Book Depot, 1984), p. 152.
[90] Krüger, The Pear Tree Blossoms, p. 45.
[91] Krüger, The Pear Tree Blossoms, p. 52.

detailed account of Moravian missionary activity in the Cape colony was given and the authors provided significant new and original research. In these volumes the authors were not limited to merely reproducing the same basic historical themes reviewed above, but proceeded to describe the relationship between missionary and convert at the various mission stations in greater detail. The authors also recounted some of the conflicts at the various mission stations between missionaries and converts as a result of the ambiguity in rights to land that arose from the land grants received from colonial authorities. The three volumes in the pear tree series thus went beyond earlier recountings of the Moravian narrative of the renewal of the Moravian missionary project at the Cape and the first meeting between the second group of missionaries and old Lena. Most useful for purposes of this dissertation is the first volume in the pear tree series since this book includes a description of the initial settlement of Moravian missionaries in the Tsitsikamma.[92] Krüger's account of Clarkson was particularly useful for our purposes of exploring the formation of a Clarksoner Moravian missionary identity. Krüger included in his account the attempts made by Moravian missionaries to have some of the ambiguity surrounding the mission's rights in land clarified by colonial authorities. But the question of an emerging Moravian communal identity at the various mission stations was not explicitly problematised nor critically addressed by Krüger. It is only in the concluding chapter of the first volume of the pear tree series, *The Pear Tree Blossoms that* Krüger to a limited extent began to problematise the question of Moravian mission identity. He asserts that it was not the intention of Moravian missionaries to expand Herrnhutianism, though with the image of Herrnhut strong in the minds of missionaries who came to the Cape colony, the mission stations established by them resembled the Moravian settlement in Germany.[93] In addition, Krüger mentions two further factors that contributed to the mission stations in the Cape colony being cast in the image of Herrnhut. These were the support Moravian missionaries received from the British colonial authorities and the vacuum created by the disruption and breakdown of indigenous culture.[94] Krüger asserts that in the Western Cape Province, Moravian customs replaced the indigenous mode of living with the Moravian church history becoming their own history. He further asserts that those people who settled at the mission stations grew into new

---

[92] Even though the third volume in the pear tree series addressed the history of the Moravian Church in the Eastern Cape Province, the Clarkson mission station was not included in that study since it has always been under the administrative authority of the Western Province of the Moravian Church, see S.W. Nielsen, The Twin Blossom of the Pear Tree Bears Fruit, the History of the Moravian Church Eastern Province in South Africa (Port Shepstone, Baruk, 1999).

[93] Krüger, The Pear Tree Blossoms, p. 294.

[94] Krüger, The Pear Tree Blossoms, p. 294.

communities.[95] Krüger concludes that the task of the Moravian missionary was to preach the Gospel and to allow the Gospel to do its work in reshaping the lives of the heathen.[96] Krüger certainly raised some important issues regarding the Moravian missionary identity. However, no coherent critical argument is followed through regarding the formation of a Moravian missionary identity. Also the use of discursive themes and elements relevant to the Moravian narrative, like that of the pear tree, were uncritically reproduced in the three volumes of the pear tree series.

Up till this point all Moravian histories had been written by missionaries and from a missionary perspective. None of these accounts came from the local missionary communities themselves. In 1988 Isaac Balie, a local resident of the Genadendal Moravian mission station – previously called Baviaanskloof -- published his book entitled D*ie Geskiedenis van Genadendal, 1738-1988.* The publication is significant since it is the first contribution of its kind made by a member of the Moravian Church and not by a missionary. Balie himself is from the fourth generation of the Genadendal Moravian mission community. Balie made extensive use of oral traditions and histories as well as participant accounts in his study. Yet despite the wide-ranging use of material from these sources the overall perspective and structure remained that of missionary history. It was the different missionaries and indigenous church ministers who worked at Genadendal and not groups and individuals of the local mission community that propelled the chronology of events forward. Still, Balie's contribution to the body of work on South African Moravian mission history remains significant because he described the activities of the "inwoners" (i.e. the residents) of Genadendal and their changing mode of subsistence. Balie also described some of the festivals and rituals followed by the inwoners like the various Jubilee festivals, the "Liefdemaal" (also known as the Moravian Love-feast), "Kinderfees" (the Moravian children's festival), funerals, and the Baptism of children.[97] For the purposes of our study, Balie's work is also important as an account of the commencement of the Moravian mission at the Cape. Significantly this account by a contemporary member of the Moravian mission community also prominently features the same discursive elements of the Moravian narrative. In his account he described the first visit of the second group of missionaries to Baviaanskloof where they saw "a pear, an almond and an apricot tree still growing in what remained of Schmidt's garden". He wrote that when the missionaries stood under the pear tree

[95] Krüger, The Pear Tree Blossoms, p. 295.
[96] Krüger, The Pear Tree Blossoms, p. 295.
[97] Isaac Balie, Die Geskiedenis van Genadendal, 1738-1988 (Kaapstad, Perskor, 1988), pp. 85-88.

they felt as if they were standing on holy ground.[98] Reference was made to the meeting between the old woman Magdalena and this group of missionaries. Balie also referred to the New Testament Bible in Magdalena's possession and described how it had been "preserved" in "two sheepskins and a leather bag".[99] This gives some indication of the way in which these elements of the Moravian narrative have come to function in the historical self-understanding also of local members of the mission community.

When reviewing these different versions of Moravian mission history in South Africa, it is striking how certain narrative elements - like the pear tree, the old woman Magdalena, and the preserved New Testament Bible - were repeatedly used in the various historical accounts written during the 1900s. These iconic elements first appeared in the Holmes publication of 1827, but not all were sustained during the 1800s. We have not come across any study that attempts an interpretation or critical analysis of the significance of the various iconic elements utilised within the South African Moravian mission narrative, and its relation to the more general overarching Moravian narrative. It is only the work of H.C. Bredekamp that begins to critically engage with elements of the emerging Moravian mission narrative. In an article published in 1987, entitled *Verhettge Tikkuie, Alias Moeder Lena van Genadendal, 1739-1800*, Bredekamp amplified the rather limited account in Moravian mission history of the old woman, Magdalena or Lena, and of her first meeting with the second group of Moravian missionaries at the Cape colony. Bredekamp argued that as a historical figure her life was far more meaningful than merely being known as the old woman Lena that wrapped Schmidt's Dutch Bible in sheepskins.[100] In his article Bredekamp problematised the psychological dilemma that Verhettge Tikkuie, alias Magdalena, experienced as a result of her engagement with Moravian Christian principles and her conversion relative to the way in which she had previously made sense of her spiritual world in terms of Tsui/Gaub.[101] Bredekamp argued that for Verhettge Tikkuie the conversion process involved the inculcation of a deep sense of guilt due to the Moravian missionary's persistent declaration that only obedience and good behaviour showed godliness. Her feelings of guilt emerged from the ways in which the missionary labelled all Khoikhoi traditions, social activities and rituals as bad behaviour.[102] Deep personal feelings of guilt overcame Verhettge whenever she visited and danced with her people at their kraals. But

---

[98] Balie, Die Geskiedenis van Genadendal, p. 26.
[99] Balie, Die Geskiedenis van Genadendal, p. 26.
[100] H.C. Bredekamp, 'Verhettge Tikkuie, Alias Moeder Lena van Genadendal, 1739-1800', Quarterly Bulletin of the South African Library 41: 4 (June 1987), pp. 134-135.
[101] Bredekamp, 'Verhettge Tikkuie', p. 136.

this individual sense of sin and the prospect of damnation inculcated by her conversion ran parallel with her individual conviction of personal salvation: Tikkuie was seen kneeling and reading the Bible long after the missionary had left the colony.[103] Bredekamp continued this critical engagement with Moravian mission history in a later article of 1988. In this article Bredekamp emphasised the experiences of the Khoikhoi in relation to Schmidt's attempts to convert and transform their mode of subsistence.[104] He explored similar themes in a 1997 conference paper.[105] Bredekamp showed that significant changes in the Khoikhoi mode of subsistence had already taken place independent of and prior to the intervention made by Schmidt and the Moravian mission.[106] In his 1988 article Bredekamp referred to "the creation of a Moravian ethos", by the Moravian missionary through enforced discipline and the instilled fear of punishment.[107] The limitation of Bredekamp's contribution is that he did not describe the content of this "Moravian ethos" nor did he analyse the imposition thereof on (potential) indigenous converts.

A valuable contribution to and primary source for the study of Moravian mission history is "The Diaries of George Schmidt", the first Moravian missionary sent to the Cape, edited by Bredekamp and J.L. Hattingh and published in 1981. For the purposes of our dissertation it is relevant that Schmidt's daily account of his missionary endeavours at the Cape and his letters to Zinzendorf made no sustained reference to any of the iconic elements of the Moravian narrative. Nor was Magdalena specifically signalled out in his daily accounts or any stress placed on the specific planting of a pear tree and the gathering there under when teaching potential converts to read from the bible.[108] This indicated that these iconic elements do not so much reflect the original historical experience as structure the subsequent re-telling of the Moravian narrative. A subsequent publication in 1992 by Bredekamp, Flegg and Plüddemann, entitled *The Genadendal Diaries,* is a collection of diaries from 1792-1794 of the group of Moravian missionaries who had arrived at the Cape colony in 1792. The *Diaries* were now an

---

[102] Bredekamp, 'Verhettge Tikkuie', pp. 138-139.
[103] Bredekamp, 'Verhettge Tikkuie', pp 138-139.
[104] H.C. Bredekamp, 'George Schmidt se Poging tot Tansformasie van 'n Overbergse Khoikhoi-Gemeenskap, 1737-1743', Kronos 14 (1988), pp. 20-21.
[105] H.C. Bredekamp, 'De(con)struction of an Early Collective Khoekhoe Christian Identity in South Africa, 1737-1743', (Unpublished paper, Conference on Khoisan Identities and Cultural Heritage, University of the Western Cape, 1997), pp.1-27.
[106] Bredekamp, 'George Schmidt se Poging', p. 22. He explores this theme further in a conference paper, *De(con) Struction*, p. 7.
[107] Writing in Afrikaans, Bredekamp refers to "die skepping van a Morawiese etos". See Bredekamp, 'George Schmidt se Poging', p. 25.
[108] H.C. Bredekamp and J.L. Hattingh (eds.), Dagboek en Briewe van Georg Schmidt: Eerste Sendeling in Suid-Afrika (1737-1744), trans. J. du P. Boeke (Bellville, Die Wes-Kaaplandse Instituut vir Historiese Navorsing, 1981).

accessible primary source and can make a significant contribution to further work on Moravian mission history. For our purposes it is significant that these early missionaries described the ruins of Schmidt's mission settlement as having "several fruit trees".[109] In their diary they described how they met (potential) converts under the pear tree planted by Brother Schmidt.[110] They also wrote of the old woman called Lena and described the Dutch Bible that she had received from Schmidt.[111] *The Diaries* includes *a* linograph of *Mother Lena, the Missionaries and the New Testament, 1792.*[112] From the Genadendal *Diaries* it thus appears that at an early stage the discursive elements of the pear tree, the old woman Lena and the Dutch Bible were utilised by the Moravian missionaries themselves in accounts of their own missionary endeavours at the Cape.

The edited volume by T. Keegan entitled *Moravian Missions in the Eastern Cape 1828-1928* provides four accounts of Moravian mission work on the Eastern Cape frontier. Included are a piece by Bishop T. E. van Calker celebrating the centenary of the Shiloh Moravian mission station, a brief biography of Heinrich Meyer who was a pioneer missionary to the Hlubi, a personal story by a group of Moravian missionaries of the Transkeian rebellion of 1880-1881, and a piece by Meta Spear who was the youngest child of the Moravian missionary Samuel Baudert. This volume makes an important contribution in connecting the history of the Eastern Cape colonial frontier with Moravian mission history. For our purposes it may be noted that there does not appear to be any sustained reference to any of the discursive elements that make up the Moravian narrative.[113]

Karel T. August's doctoral dissertation and recently published book entitled *The Quest for Being Public Church* provides an account of the early Moravian history including the establishment and development of the Moravian mission and Church in South Africa. August, a descendant of Moravian converts from the Elim Moravian mission station, describes himself as a person who holds "my traditions as a Moravian very dearly". In both his doctoral dissertation and book, August covers the development of the Moravian history from the early Unitas Fratum, its re-emergence at Herrnhut, the establishment and decline of the Moravian mission

---

[109] H.C. Bredekamp and H.E.F. Plüddemann (eds.), The Genadendal Diaries: Diaries of the Herrnhut Missionaries H. Marsveld, D. Schwinn and J.C. Kuhnel, trans. A.B.L. Flegg (Bellville, University of the Western Cape Institute for Historical Research, 1992), vol.1, p. 57.
[110] Bredekamp and Plüddemann, The Genadendal Diaries, p. 65.
[111] Bredekamp and Plüddemann, The Genadendal Diaries, pp. 59-61.
[112] Bredekamp and Plüddemann, The Genadendal Diaries, p. 60.

at the Cape under George Schmidt, the renewal of the mission in 1792 and its growth leading into the establishment of the independent Moravian Church in 1960 and later the unification of the Moravian Church in South Africa. Unlike the accounts of previous scholars, August's study does not include any significant recording of the iconic elements of the Moravian narrative. However, in his account of the renewal of the Moravian mission at the Cape, August in passing notes that many of the indigenous peoples who joined the Moravians were descendants of Schmidt's former "first fruit" converts. He also mentions old Lena whom he notes was accompanied by her granddaughter. August described old Lena as the only living convert of Schmidt.[114] For our purposes, it is August's description of the elements contained within the Moravian ethos which has been most useful. He does not provide a critical analysis of the Moravian ethos nor does he set out to link its elements to the furthering of sustained relations of domination. August does refer to the important link between rights in land and community, and has noted that mission land ownership secured the necessary degree of permanency to mould a community according to the "true Moravian ethos", which became characteristic of all Moravian mission settlements in later years.[115] This connection between land and community has however not been further developed.

Very little research has been done on the Clarkson Moravian mission station. In 1994 W.C. Uithaler, a resident of Clarkson, published a booklet commemorating the establishment of the mission station from 1839-1989. A fairly detailed account of the activities of missionaries, ministers, and church councillors are given on an almost daily basis. Significantly, the impact of the numerous colonial and apartheid laws regarding land distribution/appropriation and group segregation on the Clarkson residents and the Moravian Church leadership are hardly mentioned.[116] The Anthropology Department of the University of Port Elizabeth has also produced a community profile of Clarkson. This was primarily a descriptive socio-economic survey of Clarkson.[117] In this study the Clarkson community was described as comprising of "descendants of both coloured and Mfengu members", whose access to land at the mission

---

[113] T. Keegan (ed.), Moravians in the Eastern Cape, 1828-1928: Four Accounts of Moravian Mission Work on the Eastern Cape Frontier, trans. F.R. Baudert (Cape Town, Van Riebeeck Society, 2004).

[114] K.T. August, 'The Quest for being Public Church: A Study of the South African Moravian Church in Historical and Contemporary Perspective' (Ph.D. dissertation, University of Stellenbosch, 2003), p. 70.

[115] August's book is a reworking of his doctoral dissertation, see The Quest for being Public Church: The South African Challenge to the Moravian Church in Context: 1737-2004, 1st edition (Cape Town, Moravian Printing Works, 2005).

[116] Uithaler, 'W.C. Clarkson: Honderd en Fyftig Jaar op Pad, 1839-1989', Geleentheidspublikasie no. 47 (Instituut vir Beplanningsnavorsing Departement, Antropologie Universiteit van Port Elizabeth, Oktober 1994).

[117] P.P. Jacobs and H.C. Pauw, "n Gemeenskapstudie van die Mense van Clarkson' (Instituut vir Beplanningsnavorsing Gelentheids Publikasie, Universiteit van Port Elizabeth, no. 52 December 1994).

station was subject to membership of the Moravian Church of South Africa.[118] Brief mention was made of the potential conflict over the land at Clarkson by the resettlement of some Mfengu in the area during 1991.[119] However, the community and land of Clarkson is largely represented as separate and independent from the Mfengu settlements. Very little connection is made with the Cape colonial policies, or of the impact of later South African policies and its brutal and divisive apartheid laws. The historical shifts within the Clarksoner communal identity is as a result overlooked, making their historical and political relationship with the land difficult to untangle.

Our dissertation is designed to address the historical and political relationship that the Clarkson Moravian mission community had with the land. By investigating such a relationship we will analyse the construction of a Clarkson Moravian missionary identity and therein trace the imposition of the Moravian ethos/ethic. In our analysis of this communal identity formation we will investigate to what extent the discursive elements, which featured so prominently and persistently in the available Moravian historiography, actually functioned significantly in the history of the Moravian mission communities at the time. It is possible that these discursive elements could be shown to be retrospective projections or historical "myths" generated and reproduced in the secondary literature which do not correspond to actual phenomena or events. In this regard it becomes important and relevant to investigate the ways in which these discursive elements were taken up in the accounts of the continuity and renewal of the Moravian community in the South African context. Furthermore, it is important to investigate whether similar discursive themes were reproduced in the basic Moravian narrative, which went back to the supposed origins of the Hernhutters in the Unitas Fratrum centuries before. Following on from such an investigation it becomes important to analyse what the function of these discursive elements of the Moravian narrative was and how they have contributed to the historical and contemporary discursive construction of the Clarkson Moravian mission communal identity. In addition it is relevant to critically investigate how these discursive elements possibly also served to justify relations of power and domination of different kinds. As mentioned before, the Clarkson mission station comprised of different peoples, including some Mfengu who had settled in the area at roughly the same time as the Moravian missionaries. Surveying the history and impact of Mfengu peoples in the history of Eastern Cape is an important component of our literature review.

[118] Jacobs and Pauw, "n Gemeenskapstudie', p. 29.
[119]Jacobs and Pauw, "n Gemeenskapstudie', p. 29.

1.6.3 The Mfengu: A Controversial History

It is of considerable significance for this study that the Moravian mission within the Eastern Cape frontier at Clarkson was located among the Mfengu in the Tsitsikamma. For the purposes of our study, it is worth mentioning that the actual origins and functions of the Mfengu people as an intermediary group have become a matter of considerable debate within South African historiography. On the one hand we have a collection of historians presenting a conventional received view on the origins of the Mfengu, or the rather the "Fingo" as named in the colonial record. On the other hand we have a more critical group of scholars presenting a revised account, which re-examined and cast doubt on the conventional "Fingo" story of origin.

1.6.3.1 The Received Conventional View

The received conventional account of the "Fingo" as presented by Theal, Godlonton and Ayliff described the "Fingo" as groups of refugees who had fled the Mfecane carnage in Natal.[120] These refugees came from groups of indigenous peoples like the Hlubi, Zizi, Bhele, Reliwane, and Khunene, all of whom were from the Mbo or Abambo people who had fled the Mfecane carnage.[121] They entered the Eastern Cape territory of the Thembu and Gcaleka as refugees, and were reported to have said "siyamfengusa" which means "we are wanderers seeking service". According to the received view, the Gcaleka Xhosa described these refugees as "umaMfengu", which means, "hungry people in search of work".[122] The refugees who had settled among the Gcaleka Xhosa during the 1820s and 1830s were named "amaMfengu" by

---

[120] The Mfecane refers to the supposedly self generated internal conflict, which occurred within the Northern Nguni societies south-west of Delgoa Bay after 1790. According to the received view this internal conflict intensified and culminated in the ascendancy of the Zulu nation under the rule of Shaka during the 1820s. Zulu expansionism resulted in the migration of groups of Nguni peoples into the interior fleeing the military might of Shaka. See J.D. Omer-Cooper, The Zulu Aftermath: A Nineteenth Century Revolution in Bantu Africa (London, Longmans, 1966); Julian Cobbing, 'The Mfecane as Alibi: Thoughts on Dithakong and Mbolompo', Journal of African History 29 (1988), pp. 487-519; J.D. Omer-Cooper, 'Debate: Has the Mfecane a Future? A Response to the Cobbing Critique', Journal of Southern African Studies 19: 2 (June 1993), pp. 273-294; Carolyn Hamilton, '"The Character and Objects of Chaka": A Reconsideration of the Making of Shaka as Mfecane Motor', Journal of African History, 33 (1992), pp. 37-63; J.B. Peires, 'Debate: Paradigm deleted: the Materialist Interpretation of the Mfecane', Journal of Southern African Studies 19: 2 (June 1993), pp. 295-313; Elizabeth A. Eldredge, 'Sources of Conflict in Southern Africa, c. 1800-1830: The Mfecane Reconsidered', Journal of African History 33 (1992), pp. 1-35.

[121] J. Ayliff and J. Whitehead, History of the Abambo Generally Known as Fingoes (Butterworth, Gazette, 1912), pp. 1-2; R. Godlonton, A Narrative of the Irruption of the Kaffir Hordes into the Eastern Province of the Cape of Good Hope, 1834-1835 (Cape Town, Menrant and Godlonton, 1836), pp. 140-143.

[122] Noel Mostert, Frontiers: The Epic of South Africa;s Creation and the Tragedy of the Xhosa People (London, Jonathan Cape, 1992), p. 722; T.R.H. Davenport, South Africa: A Modern History, 4th edition (London, Macmillan, 1991), p. 58

the Gcaleka Xhosa, which means "to wander about in search of service, employment and/or a home.[123] According to the Ayliff and Whitehead account of 1912, the "Fingoes" who had settled among the Gcaleka were treated as slaves. British colonial troops rescued them from their oppressed state of slavery in May 1835, and in turn called them "Fingo". Colonial authorities made them subjects of the Queen of Britain. Under the leadership of British colonial troops, the "Fingoes" crossed the Kei River and were resettled at Peddie, which is situated just above the Fish River. It is at Peddie that the "Fingoes" received their first grants of land from British colonial authorities. They subsequently remained allies of the colonists and participated in all the ongoing frontier wars and raids against the Xhosa and other indigenous peoples.[124] In essence many historians - including Moyer, Mostert and Thompson have drawn on the received conventional account of the "Fingo".[125]

In the 1930s indigenous scholars like J.H. Soga and D. Jabavu disputed that the "Fingoes" were slaves of the Gcaleka Xhosa during the 1800s. Soga asserted that colonial historians had falsely represented the conditions of the "Fingoes" who sought sanctuary in Gcalekaland.[126] Soga noted that the "Fingoes" who had settled among the Gcalekas had no experience of slavery since they had not lost their freedom, they were not controlled by Hintsa to the extent that they were bought and sold for material gain, nor were they not allocated land among the Gcaleka. On the contrary, Soga showed that under Hintsa's authority the "Fingoes" were given the freedom to observe the customs of his society as well as the right to maintain their domestic relations under their chief. [127] According to Soga, the "emancipation" of the "Fingo" by the British provided the colony with much needed economic support since it brought to it a large number of useful labourers.[128] D. Jabavu also wrote about the "Fingo slavery myth" during the 1930s.[129] Mqhayi in his book entitled "Itayala Lama Wele" described the humane way in which Hintsa treated the "Fingoes" even though they were in a subordinate position and dependent on the Gcaleka.[130] Like Soga, Mqhayi has argued that "Fingo" emancipation by the

---

[123] Mostert, Frontiers, p. 606.
[124] Ayliff and Whitehead, History of the Abambo, pp. 34-51.
[125] Davenport, South Africa (1991); R.A. Moyer, 'A History of the Mfengu of the Eastern Cape: 1815-1865' (Ph.D. dissertation, School of Oriental and African Studies, London University, 1976); Mostert, Frontiers (1992); L. Thompson, 'Co-operation and Conflict: The Zulu Kingdom and Natal', in M. Wilson and L Thompson (eds.), The Oxford History of South Africa: South Africa to 1870 (Cape Town, David Philip, 1982).
[126] H. Soga, The South-Eastern Bantu (Johannesburg, Witwatersrand University Press, 1930), pp. 179-180.
[127] Soga, The South-Eastern Bantu, p. 184.
[128] Soga, The South-Eastern Bantu, p. 186-188.
[129] D. Jabavu, 'The Fingo Slavery Myth', The South African Outlook, June 1935, p. 123.
[130] Mqhayi, *Itayala Lama Wele*, in R.A. Moyer, 'A History of the Mfengu of the Eastern Cape: 1815-1865', (Ph.D. dissertation, School of Oriental and African Studies, London University, 1976), p. 603.

British provided cheap labour to colonists, but added that the "emancipation" was due to colonial policies of divide and conquer. According to Mqhayi the "Fingoes" were of the *same* origin as the Xhosa.[131] This assertion was however not developed. Picking-up on the slavery myth, Colin Bundy in his book *The Rise and Fall of the South African Peasantry* noted briefly that the Mfengu may not have been subordinate to the Gcaleka.[132] Peires in his book *The House of Phalo* noted that the Mfengu have rejected the part of their story that describe them as having been slaves under the Gcaleka.[133]

1.6.3.2 The Revised Revisionist View

More recently Revisionists have questioned the conventional account of the origin of the "Fingo"/Mfengu. Scholars like Webster and Cobbing have done this through their critique of the received view of the Mfecane, which they argued, was the founding premise upon which the story of "Fingo"/Mfengu origin has been based. Through their revised view of the Mfecane, they have cast doubt on the supposed origins of the "Fingo"/Mfengu.[134] According to Cobbing the story of the Mfecane - as received from accounts produced by British colonists, colonial authorities, and missionaries - functioned as a reason for war and raids against the indigenous peoples of the Eastern Cape.[135] Cobbing suggests that the origin of the "Fingoes" might be linked to the captured indigenous peoples who were brought into the colony as forced labourers.[136] The revised theme of the origin of the "Fingo" peoples as being by and large Xhosa refugees was developed further by Webster. Webster has argued that there were four distinct and very different categories of "Fingo" peoples.[137] This comprised of various military groups, a group of collaborators who willingly co-operated with British colonial officials during the 1835 frontier war in exchange for land grants, missionary converts who had assembled at the Butterworth mission station, and numerous Xhosa peoples who had either been captured during the frontier war and raids, and who had been brought into the colony as forced

---

[131] Mqhayi, *Itayala Lama Wele*, p. 603.
[132] C. Bundy, The Rise and Fall of the South African Peasantry (London, Heinemann, 1979), p. 33.
[133] J. Peires, The House of Phalo: A History of the Xhosa People in the Days of their Independence (Johannesburg, Ravan Press, 1981), p. 225.
[134] Cobbing, 'The Mfecane as Alibi', pp. 487-519.
[135] Cobbing, 'The Mfecane as Alibi', pp. 487-519.
[136] Cobbing, 'The Mfecane as Alibi', pp. 487-519.
[137] A. Webster, 'Unmasking the Fingo: The War of 1835 Revisited' in C. Hamilton (ed.), The Mfecane Aftermath: Reconstructive debates in Southern African History (Johannesburg, Witwatersrand University Press, 1995), p. 256.

labourers; or who had voluntarily sought safety within the colony.[138] Expanding on Webster's account, Timothy Stapleton has argued that there were many Gcaleka Xhosa who joined the colonial army during the 1835 frontier war in response to promises of land. In addition, this group was joined by Gcaleka outcasts who resided around the mission station. More importantly, the many women and children who had been captured during the war significantly increased the size of this group of people whom colonial authorities named "Fingoes".[139] According to Stapleton, British colonial officials and missionaries like Ayliff invented the orthodox view of the "Fingoes", in order to disguise their aggression as philanthropy. Subsequently a distinct pseudo-ethnicity was produced, which became known as the "Fingo" identity. According to Stapleton, the oral evidence taken from such a pseudo-ethnicity cannot constitute a source separate from the colonial propaganda that produced it.[140] Stapleton insists on describing the "Fingo" people of the Eastern Cape Province as having a pseudo-ethnicity, since their group identity was both created and manipulated by colonial authorities during the nineteenth century.[141]

These revisionist accounts have not gone unchallenged. Alan Lester has engaged Webster and Stapleton's critique of the origin of the "Fingo" peoples. According to Lester it was not necessarily the case that the "Fingoes" were located in labour camps and from there sent to work on farms within the colony by authorities. He argues that there is very little evidence to show the systematic channelling of "Fingo" labour from the Queen Adelaide Province, or the ceded territory. However, there has been plenty of evidence to describe the uncontrolled fashion in which many "Fingoes" were entering the colony and threatening the security of colonists.[142] In Switzer's review of this debate, he has asserted that it seems quite probable that groups of refugees known as "Fingoes" were living in Xhosa communities before the 1834-35 frontier war.[143] It is probable that during the 1834-35 frontier war D'Urban's colonial army did encounter refugees who were not linked to missionaries like Ayliff and his group of followers at

---

[138] Webster, 'Unmasking the Fingo', p. 241; A. Webster, 'Land Expropriation and the Labour Extraction Under Cape Colonial Rule: The War and the Emancipation of the Fingo' (M.A. dissertation, Rhodes University, 1991), pp.134-144.

[139] T.J. Stapleton, Magomo, Xhosa Resistance to Colonial Advance 1798-1893 (Johannesburg, Jonathan Ball, 1994), pp. 90-91.

[140] Stapleton, 'Oral Evidence in a Pseudo-ethnicity: the Fingo Debate', History in Africa 22 (1995), pp. 359-366.

[141] T.J. Stapleton, 'The Expansion of a Pseudo-Ethnicity in the Eastern Cape: Reconsidering the Fingo "Exodus" of 1865', The International Journal of African Historical Studies 29: 2 (1996), p. 233.

[142] Alan Lester, 'Settlers, the State and Colonial Power: The Colonisation of Queen Adelaide Province, 1834-1837', Jounal of African History 39 (1998), pp. 221-246; Alan Lester, Imperial Networks: Creating Identities in Nineteenth-Century South Africa and Britain (London, Routledge, 2001).

[143] Les Switzer, Power and Resistance in an African Society: The Ciskei Xhosa and the Making of South Africa (Pietermaritzburg, University of Natal Press, 1993), p. 59.

Butterworth. However, Switzer maintains that it was most unlikely that all of them were impoverished Xhosa people, who could have converted overnight and claimed a new "Fingo" identity. Switzer has also questioned whether the "Fingoes" could be a mere figment of the colonial imagination when such a large part of the Eastern Cape population has identified themselves as such from 1835 onwards. He believes that the "Fingoes" had a history which pre-dated the 1834-35 frontier war.[144]

In a previous case study of the construction and appropriation of the "Fingo" identity, I differentiated between the earlier construction of a "Fingo" identity - in which the "Fingo" functioned as *object* of a colonial discourse, and the later appropriation of a "Fingo" identity - in which the "Fingo" were constituted as *subject* of an ethnic discourse.[145] I showed that the constructed "Fingo" identity as object of a colonial discourse began soon after the 1834-35 frontier war. Therein I argued that the unified beliefs and social practises of Xhosa society were fragmented through colonial representations of the "Fingoes" as "poor" human beings who "suffered to exist", as against the Xhosa who were "savages", "cruel and avaricious" and who did not have the potential to be civilised. On the one hand the "Fingoes" were constructed as "poor human beings" within the colonial discourse and were included within the colony as British subjects. On the other hand the Xhosa were represented as "the savage" other and were excluded. In this previous case study I have argued that distinctions such as these within the colonial discourse divided the Xhosa peoples, created a barrier between "Fingoes" and Xhosa, and successfully produced a group of intermediaries. In this way relations of colonial domination were established and sustained.[146] While I agree with Switzer that the "Fingoes" could not and did not convert overnight to claim a "Fingo" identity, in the case study I maintained that no such collective ethnic identity existed by 1835 other than what was constructed within the colonial "Fingo" discourse. In support of my argument I showed that the actual appropriation of a "Fingo" identity whereby the "Fingo" were constituted as subjects of an ethnic discourse occurred much later, from the end of the nineteenth century onwards.[147]

It was amongst this contested group of Fingo/Mfengu that the Moravian mission at Clarkson was established in 1839. Whatever the final outcomes of the received view and the revisionist

---

[144] Switzer, Power and Resistance in an African Society, pp. 59-60.
[145] Crystal Jannecke, 'The Fingo / Mfengu, a Case Study in Land and Identity' (B.Soc.Sci (Hons), Political Studies Department, University of Cape Town, February 1997), pp. 20-23.
[146] Jannecke, 'The Fingo / Mfengu', pp. 55-57.
[147] Jannecke, 'The Fingo / Mfengu', pp. 57-90.

critique on the identity of the Fingoes/Mfengu and their story of origin might be, it is clear that their position was significantly different to that of other pre-colonial indigenous communities residing beyond the frontier.

1.6.4 Land and Communal Identity in a South African Context

The evolving Mfengu communal identity and the emerging Moravian missionary identity in South Africa are fundamental to our unfolding study, which seeks to make a connection between historical claims of entitlement to land and communal identity. Our interest is in research done by scholars more specifically on the linking of land and community identity in a South African context. These studies do not directly concern either the (Moravian) mission communities or the Mfengu settlements but raise relevant issues and perspectives in the South African context.

Some of the main historical studies on land and communal identity concerned the Pedi and SeSotho peoples. The book by Peter Delius titled *The Land Belongs to Us: the Pedi Polity, the Boers and the British in the nineteenth Century Transvaal* (1983), examined the changing nature of power within the Pedi polity with a particular focus given to exploring the internal economic, political and ideological struggles therein.[148] Disputes over land within the Pedi polity are discussed as well as the colonial wars and conflicts waged during the 1870s, which led to the dispossession of land and the subjection of the Pedi to colonial rule. Delius' later book published in 1996 titled *A Lion Amongst the Cattle* is focussed on the experiences of Pedi communities living on land, more specifically in Sekhuneland, during the twentieth century. Delius showed that formulations like tribesmen, peasant or proletarian do not adequately capture the identities within, or the content of struggles and transformations taking place among the communities residing in rural Sekhuneland. He compared two revolts in Sekhuneland, one in 1958 and the other in 1986. The description of the fundamental shifts in the dynamic of the society from a determination to defend the land, livestock and chieftaincy in the 1950s to demands for changing the terms of participation in a common society with a reshaped national economy with land and cattle not featuring prominently in the 1986 revolt – is useful to reflect on for our purposes when conducting a social historical analysis based on the

[148] Peter Delius, The Land Belongs to Us: The Pedi Polity, the Boers and the British in the Nineteenth Century Transvaal (Transvaal, Ravan Press, 1983).

themes of land and identity.[149] Colin Murray's 1992 book titled *Black Mountain: Land Class and Power in the Eastern Orange Free State 1880s-1980s* comprises a detailed social historical study of struggles over land and power in the (old) Thaba Nchu district of the Eastern Orange Free State from the 1880s to the 1980s. Murray linked communities and families from the Thaba Nchu district to various historically contested portions of land. He also showed how rights in, and direct access to land by communities and individual land owning families were systematically constrained under colonialism and apartheid.[150] In a later contribution to Henry Bernstein's edited volume titled *The Agrarian Question in South Africa* (1996), Murray's chapter *Land Reform in the Eastern Free State: Policy Dilemmas and Political Conflicts*, highlights some of the policy dilemmas and political conflicts associated with land reform in some areas of the Free State. He describes three land restitution cases of Thaba Phatshwa, Bethany and Herschel, each reflecting different experiences of land dispossession. Firstly, the Thaba Phatshwa land claim submitted in 1993 to the former Commission on Land Allocation, overlooked the presence of "Coloured" people resident at Thaba Phatshwa who themselves had been repeatedly shifted in the course of their albeit different history.[151] For our purposes it is significant that the resulting inter-community conflict has become clouded with racial / ethnic conflict. Secondly, in the Bethany land claim, with its associated Berlin Mission Society, land dispossession was by default through title being vested in the Mission. Thirdly, the Herschel land claim involved a group of people who identified themselves as a Sesotho speaking ethnic group within the Transkei. This group had a strong sense of community identity connected to historical claims of their rights to compensatory land. Murray notes that there was much resentment from within Herschel in response to this group's attempt to invoke the remaining Sesotho-speaking people in Herschel as participants in their claim for restitution.[152] In all three cases the connection between community identity and historical entitlement to land is present, even though the emerging community conflicts are not located within broader and relevant social historical contexts.

Other recent studies have addressed issues of land and communal identity in the context of contemporary land restitution policies. Richard Levin and Daniel Weiner's edited volume titled

---

[149] Peter Delius, A Lion Amongst the Cattle: Reconstruction and Resistance in Northern Transvaal (Randburg, Ravan Press, 1996).

[150] Colin Murray, Black Mountain: Land, Class, and Power in the Eastern Orange Free State 1880s-1980s (Johanesburg, Witwatersrand University Press, 1992).

[151] Colin Murray, 'Land Reform in the Eastern Free State: Policy Dilemmas and Political Conflicts', in Henry Bernstein (ed.), The Agrarian Question in South Africa (London, Frank Cass, 1996), pp. 209-219.

"No More Tears" ... Struggles for land in Mpumalanga, South Africa (1997) deals primarily with land struggles in Mpumalanga. Relevant for the purposes of this dissertation are their recommendations that beneficiaries need to be clearly identified in the process of restitution in which rights in land are based on historical claims to land. For them questions like who constituted the community, and who made decisions therein required extensive research.[153] Henry Bernstein's article *Social Change in the South African Countryside? Land and Production, Poverty and Power* (1998) examined, amongst others, the link between land and justice. He noted that the complexities of the legal and administrative process of land restitution comprised of the histories of eviction and resettlement in which rival groups claim prior or superior rights to the same piece of land. For him the notion of community is potent and deeply contradictory. According to Bernstein the rural community has a corporate status that is both imposed and claimed, with the ethnic basis of collective action generated by structures of despotism being the common factor in land restitution claims.[154] Francie Lund's research report on the Riemvasmaak land restitution case described contesting groups within the Riemvasmaak mission community that had been forcefully removed from their land in the Northern Cape Province in 1973. After a period of more than twenty years attempts were made to reinvent the past unity of Riemvasmaak in order to get the dispossessed land returned. Lund differentiated between two groups within the Riemvasmaak community; the Nama who described themselves as having come to the area from Namibia and who resided at the mission, and the Xhosa who described themselves as having come to the area from Ciskei and who resided at the Molopo Mouth. According to Lund this division between the mission and the Molopo Mouth partially reflected a "so-called ethnic or cultural divide" that has been exacerbated after the return of land.[155]

The problem of defining "community" in the context of South African land reform was taken-up by Thembela Kepe in his 1998 paper titled *The Problem of Defining "Community: Challenges for the Land Reform Programme in Rural South Africa.* Herein Kepe examined the land rights in the Mkambati area of the Eastern Cape Wild Coast and therein explores the problem of

---

[152] Colin Murray, 'Land Reform in the Eastern Free State: Policy Dilemmas and Political Conflicts', in Henry Bernstein (ed.), The Agrarian Question in South Africa (London, Frank Cass, 1996), pp. 209-219.
[153] Richard Levin and D. Weiner (ed.), "No More Tear ..." Struggles for land in Mpumalanga, South Africa (Trenton: Africa World Press, 1997).
[154] Henry Bernstein, 'Social Change in the South African Countryside? Land and Production, Poverty and Power', The Journal of Peasant Studies 25: 4 (July 1998), pp.1-32.
[155] F. Lund, 'Lessons From Riemvasmaak for Land Reform Poliicies and Programmes in South Africa', vol. 2 (Programme for Land and Agrarian Studies and Farm Africa, 1998), pp. 19-53.

defining community.[156] In his paper he provided a brief history of the politics of land in Mkambati dating back to 1899. The Khanyayo people were forcefully removed from their land during 1920. However, in the current land restitution process, several local communities have lodged contesting claims for rights in land in the Mkambati Nature Reserve. Kepe noted that in one specific case "old" colonial pre-annexation links and social relations have been re-established to "add voice to their fight for Makambati".[157] He has cautioned government not to dismiss the complexities that exist within its usage of "community", since this may cause even more conflict. Kepe asserts that rightful beneficiaries of land restitution and tenure reform processes may best be established through historical documentation obtained from the archive.[158] For the purpose of our study the call for rigorous historical documentary research in addition to Deeds Registry research remains important. The book entitled *At the Crossroads: Land and Agrarian Reform in South Africa into the 21st Century* (2000) edited by Ben Cousins includes numerous articles on the unfolding land reform process in South Africa.[159] For our purposes the work by Andries du Toit is especially useful. In his chapter titled *The End of Restitution* he argues that a key difficulty of the current land reform process has been related to the conception of community within government policy and implementation programmes as being an entity assumed to be unified, organic and harmonious.[160] The contribution of Kgopotso Mogope in his chapter titled *Community and Diversity* can also be drawn on for our research purposes. Mogope asserts that many policy makers and implementers have perceived community in land reform processes as being composed of members who have a shared set of interests and goals, whereas community actually comprises of different interests, categorised at different levels.[161]

The theme of the role of NGOs and its consequences in land restitution processes has been taken up by Steven Robins in his article titled *Land Struggles and the Politics and Ethics of Representing "Bushman" History and Identity* (2000). In his article, Robins also brings to the fore important questions regarding representations of communal identities in South African land restitution claims. He is particularly concerned with the surfacing of tribal histories and fantasies in land restitution claims like the San land claim in the Kalahari Gemsbok National Park area;

---

[156] Thembela Kepe, 'The Problem of defining Community: Challenges for the Land Reform Programme in Rural South Africa' (Occasional Paper, Series no. 6, Programme for Land and Agrarian Studies, University of the Western Cape, 1998), pp. 1-16.
[157] Kepe, 'The Problem of Defining Community', pp. 11-12.
[158] Kepe, 'The Problem of Defining Community', p. 12.
[159] Cousins (ed.), At the Crossroads (2000).
[160] Andries du Toit, 'The End of Restitution' in Cousins (ed.), At the Crossroads (2000), pp. 75-91.

and the Tsonga speaking Makhuleke tribe's successful, but contested, land claim in the Kruger National Park during the 1990s. Robins notes that subaltern people have reinvented and re-appropriated colonial discourses on African tribes in pursuit of self-defined political agendas of land restitution and development.[162] This link between community identity and assertions of entitlement to land is very relevant for the themes examined in our dissertation. Robins argues that even though the South African courts do not recognise aboriginal or tribal rights in land, it demands clear unambiguous accounts of community dispossession. Lawyers in turn have emphasised cultural authenticity and tribal continuity to ensure that they meet the tough requirements of legal evidence, procedure and precedent. Claimants have been advised and encouraged to present their claims in terms of ahistorical and bounded definitions of tribal histories that in many ways are similar to those that were prescribed and sanctioned by the apartheid state.[163] Robins further pursued these themes in his 2001 article entitled *NGOs, Bushman and Double Vision: the ≠ Khomani San Land Claim and the Cultural Politics of Community and Development in the Kalahari.* Herein Robins deals specifically with the cultural politics of the successful ≠ Khomani San land Claim in the Northern Cape Province of South Africa. He focuses on the ambiguities and contradictions of donor and NGO development discourses in relation to local constructions of community, cultural authenticity and San identity. His discussion on social fragmentation and intra-community conflict between traditionalists and "Western Bushman" in the post-settlement period following the restoration of land is beneficial for our examination of communities' relations to land following the settlement of land restitution claims. Robins argues that these differences and conflicts were at the heart of the agendas of both donor and NGO development agencies, which contributed to the emerging intra-community divisions and conflict.[164]

It was Deborah James who began to introduce a different set of issues for investigation on notions of community into the prevailing body of work on community and land restitution claims in South Africa. In her article *After Years in the Wilderness: the Discourse of Land Claims in the New South Africa* (2000) she is particularly concerned with notions of community as these emerge from the interaction between different players including NGOs, lawyers and

---

[161] Kgopotso Mogope, 'Community and Diversity' in Cousins (ed.), At the Crossroads (2000), pp. 107-110.
[162] Steven Robins, 'Land Struggles and the Politics and Ethics of Representing "Bushman" History and Identity', Kronos 26 (2000), pp. 57-75.
[163] Robins, 'Land Struggles' pp. 57-75.
[164] Steven Robins, 'NGOs, "Bushmen" and the Double Vision: The ≠ Khomani San Land Claim and the Cultural Politics of Community and Development in the Kalahari', Journal of Southern African Studies 27: 4 (December 2001), pp. 833-853.

Government Commissioners. She examined the populist rhetoric evident in NGO publications that depict land as communally owned and communally defended and argued that the notion of uniform experience of injustice and shared resistance present in claims to land obscures a series of sharply differentiated historical experiences as well as widely divergent interests. For James this was most visible in the case of the former owners and tenants of the Doornkop farm. She asserted that an inclusivist communal discourse masks the sectional and individual interests that prevail in the pursuit of land restitution.[165] In her article *Hills of Thorns: Custom, Knowledge and the Reclaiming of a Lost Land in the New South Africa* (2000), Deborah James is directly concerned with the role of NGOs and donor organisations in, and their impact on, community formation in processes of land restitution in South Africa. She provides a detailed ethnographic exploration of the Doornkop land restitution case. She points out that after the forced removal the people of Doornkop had been scattered, and no longer constituted a close-knit community. Yet the notion of community had none the less been invoked by various role players like NGOs and lawyers who have worked to reclaim Doornkop and other farms. She argues that the knowledge about ownership and appropriate governance, of land brought to the fore in the process of reclaiming land, revealed a complex and often contradictory understanding of concepts like customs, community and power. Furthermore, populist ideas of "the people" and "the community" have underestimated the importance of differentiating power relations within populations who are targets of development.[166]

In our study we have not given a full account and critical analysis of what the role of NGOs like the LRC, and its consequences was in the restitution processes that involved both the Clarkson mission and Tsitsikamma Mfengu communities. This does not mean that such an enquiry is not relevant to our study. On the contrary such a research project is important, necessary, and will require substantial further research, which is not possible within the current scope of our dissertation.

1.7 Structure of Discussion and Overview of Dissertation

The structure of our discussion within this dissertation has been designed to examine the Moravian "historical past" as reconstructed in the Moravian missionary discourse. The

[165] Deborah James, '"After Years in the Wilderness": The Discourse of Land Claims in the New South Africa', The Journal of Peasant Studies 27: 3 (April 2000), pp. 142-161.
[166] Deborah James, 'Hills of Thorns: Custom, Knowledge and the Reclaiming of a Lost Land in the New South Africa', Development and Change 31 (2000), pp. 629-649.

transplantation and imposition of a Moravian missionary identity within the Cape colony is contextualised. The case of indentured labour within the Cape Colony and the emergence of a "Fingo" narrative within the colonial discourse are investigated. The settlement of groups of "Fingo" in Tsitsikamma by colonial officials and the grants of land obtained from the colonial office together with the land allocations made to Moravian Missionaries are examined. The ambiguities prevalent within the Clarkson land grant are explored. The conflicting grounds for entitlement to the Clarkson land between the Tsitsikamma Mfengu and the Clarkson Moravian mission communities are discussed. The implications and impact of the transformation of Clarkson from mission station to rural town are discussed.

Chapter two provides an analytical and complementing theoretical framework for contextualising our discursive analysis.

Chapter three provides a socio-historical account of the changing context of the Moravians. It also gives a discursive analysis of the construction of a Moravian (mission) identity. In this chapter the Herrnhuters and their origins with the Unitas Fratum, centuries before in the different context of (pre-) Reformation Europe, are described. This is done in order to investigate the ways in which discursive elements of continuity/renewal of the Moravian community in the South African context were taken up and reproduced. We explore the function of discursive elements utilised in the Moravian narrative, and show how these contributed to the historical and discursive construction of a Moravian mission communal identity. We examine how the constructed Moravian mission communal identity in the South African context served to justify relations of power and domination of various kinds.

Chapter four provides a socio-historical analysis of how the growth of missionary activity within and beyond the Eastern Cape coincided with British colonial expansion, and the increasing use of forced labour. We describe the establishment of the Moravian mission station at Clarkson. The colonial and various indigenous practices of land tenure are discussed. We problematise the Clarkson land grant and investigate the ambiguities contained therein. We compare the rights in land held by the Tsitsikamma Mfengu communities on the one hand, and the Moravian missionaries and Clarkson mission community on the other hand; and explore possible reasons for the success/failure of the Moravian missionary project in the Tsitsikamma. The contextual analysis prepares the way for a critical discursive analysis of the Clarksoner/Mfengu communal identities.

Chapter five does not attempt to provide a complete discursive analysis of the how the Clarksoner Moravian missionary identity was constructed in relation to the mission land. This is because we do not have an established discourse theory, and since the available primary material for the purpose of such an applied discursive analysis of the Clarksoner/Mfengu communities contained serious limitations. Given these constraints we examine the function of the use of certain discursive elements of the Moravian narrative, and the continuity it produced in the missionary discourse between Clarkson and the commencement/renewal of the Moravian mission station at Genadendal in the Southern Cape. We investigate how these particular discursive elements of the Moravian narrative contributed to the construction of the Clarkson Moravian missionary identity and Tsitsikamma Mfengu communal identity. We examine the mission narrative pertaining to Clarkson, and highlight the differences, similarities and continuity shown with the historical Moravian narrative. Throughout, our focus is on the historical connection between the constructed Clarkson Moravian missionary identity, the Tsitsikamma Mfengu communal identity and rights in land.

The chapter proceeds further with an application of relevant elements of discursive analysis from the comparative work of the Comaroffs on the Wesleyan missionary activities among the Tswana. The possible relevance of these elements is investigated in relation to our case study and its associated Clarksoner missionary and Tsitsikamma Mfengu communities. From the Comaroffs' study of the Tswana, we discuss the discursive elements of spatial organisation, water, and production. We explore how these were utilised in the Moravian missionary discourse to produce the constructed Clarksoner and Tsitsikamma Mfengu identities, and connected to issues of use of, access to, and rights in land.

Chapter six provides a socio-historical analysis of the period 1840 to 1900. The themes of land dispossession and indentured labour are threaded through a broader context of colonial domination. We examine the impact of indigenous resistance to colonial domination and show how these struggles for power influenced the shaping of communal identities in relation to land. We investigate how struggles against colonial domination brought to fore opposition by mission residents to the regulations, policies and practices imposed by Moravian missionaries at mission stations. We show how the Clarksoners and Tsitsikamma Mfengu responded in the context of such conflict. We describe how rights in land held by indigenous people within the colony were systematically constrained and examine its impact on producing an increase in the

supply of available indigenous labour. We investigate how restricted rights in land impacted on the shaping of communal identities amongst the Clarkson and Tsitsikamma Mfengu people.

Chapter seven provides an interlude for the period 1910 to 1975, in which some of the more significant laws and policies that shaped rights in land held by indigenous peoples are described. We discuss the territorial and spatial segregation laws that contributed to official racial and ethnic differentiation between peoples. The impact of such differentiation on the Clarkson mission and Tsitsikamma Mfengu communities are investigated.

Chapter eight describes the forced removal of the Mfengu communities from the Tsitsikamma in 1975. We explore the impact of such land confiscation and scattering of community on the inhabitants of Clarkson who remained largely in possession of their land. We examine the discursive process of identification in the constitution of a contemporary unified Tsitsikamma Mfengu community from 1990 onwards. In our discursive analysis we provide an interpretation of the position of the Clarkson mission community in the Tsitsikamma Mfengu ethnic discourse. We carry through our discursive themes of land and community identity when we analyse the successful return of land dispossessed by the State, and the land settlement agreements reached in negotiations with the Moravian church. These themes are also utilised in the examination of the transformation of Clarkson from mission station to rural town.

Chapter nine concludes the dissertation and presents the general arguments and interpretations of our study. It also discusses the general significance of the research and analyses done.

Chapter Two

Theoretical Framework: A Discursive Analytical Approach

2.1 Introduction

A historical analysis of the communal identities of the Clarksoners and the Tsitsikamma Mfengu cannot afford to be theoretically naïve. In this particular case the temptation might be to simply take these two different identities as fixed givens, i.e. to assume that *prior* ethnic identities explain the historical differentiation between "coloured" Clarksoners and "native" Mfengu. But contrary to these primordialist or essentialist assumptions the nature of these communal identities is by no means predetermined. Certainly in the 1830s the meaning of being "coloured" was still very fluid and indeterminate while the origin of the Mfengu is a highly contested matter. Our own use of the term "identity" takes it to be a social and discursive construction and is thus located within the analytical approach of discourse theory. Stuart Hall argues that individual and communal identities are not unified or singular, but multiple and in a process of constant change and transformation.[1] He further argues that claims to communal identity may at face value invoke a common origin and refers to a shared historical past, but analysis thereof will reveal the utilisation of resources of history, language and culture for different purposes. Following Hall's lead we will approach communal identity as a historical and discursive social construction through the mobilisation of various elements of meaning in particular social and historical contexts. Defining communal identity as a historical and discursive construction enables us to use the tools of analysis provided by discourse theory in deconstructing the complexities involved in the Clarksoner and Mfengu identities. Thus our analysis and interpretation of the construction of Clarksoner communal identity, for example, will proceed by unpacking the Moravian narrative linking groups otherwise separated by centuries and thousand of miles apart, through telling a shared story of a transplanted and imposed missionary identity. The significant question then is not simply who the Clarksoners were and are, but rather how did they represent themselves. More generally, we will utilise a discourse-analytical approach to clarify what is involved in the historical construction of the Clarksoner missionary and Tsitsikamma Mfengu communal identities and how these were linked to power struggles and claims of entitlement to land.

[1] Stuart Hall, 'Who Needs Identity?' in Stuart Hall and Paul du Gray (eds.), Questions of Cultural Identity (London, Sage Publications, 1996), p. 4.

2.2 An Analytical Framework for Contextualised Discursive Analysis

More specifically our analysis of the Clarksoner and Mfengu communal identities and their relation to land will utilise the analytical framework and methodology of interpretation provided by John B. Thompson.[2] One reason for this choice is that Thompson's analytical framework suggests how applied discourse analysis might be integrated into a general social theory in conjunction with contextualised social and historical analyses. Another reason is that it is specifically concerned with the critical analysis of ideological discourse,[3] making it especially suitable for an applied critical analysis of identity formations that serves to systematically establish and sustain relations of power of various kinds. Thompson insists that the discursive forms in which ideology is expressed cannot and should not be separated from the social and historical context within which they are produced. This analytical framework and methodology provides us with the tools with which to understand and interpret the significance of historical and discursive identity formation in relation to land.[4] In our discursive analysis of the constructed Moravian Clarkson missionary and Tsitsikamma Mfengu identities, and their historical and political relation to mission land, we will draw on Thompson's view that discourse is already an interpretation of events, actions and expressions realised in speech or writing.[5]

Thompson's analytical framework presents a method of interpretation allowing for three methodologically distinct phases of analysis. These are (i) a social historical analysis, (ii) a discursive analysis, and (iii) a critical interpretation.[6] Accordingly our inquiry into how the communal identities of the Clarksoners and Tsitsikamma Mfengu were represented will thus firstly require a detailed historical and social contextualisation of the Moravian missionary

---

[2] John B. Thompson, Studies in the Theory of Ideology (Berkeley, University of California Press, 1984), pp. 133-147.

[3] Thompson defines the critical concept of ideology as "the ways in which meaning serves, in particular circumstances, to establish and sustain relations of power which are systematically asymmetrical – called relations of domination". See John B. Thompson, Ideology and Modern Culture: Critical Social Theory in the Era of Mass Communication (Cambridge, Polity Press, 1990), p. 7.

[4] Hermeneutics concerns the theory of interpretation in order to understand the significance of human actions, utterances, products and institutions, see Alan Bullock, Oliver Stallybrass, and Stephen Trombley (eds.), The Fontana Dictionary of Modern Thought, 2nd edition (London, Fontana Press, 1988), p. 380. The object of an interpretation is discourse, which is already an interpretation. The analysis of discourse is therefore an interpretation of an interpretation. Heidegger has noted that this reinterpretation of a pre-interpreted domain is the manifestation of the "hermeneutical circle". See the discussion in Thompson, Studies, p. 133.

[5] Thompson, Studies, p. 133.

[6] Thompson, Studies, pp. 134-139.

discourse and the constructed Clarksoner missionary identity, on the one hand, and colonial discourse and the constructed Mfengu identity, on the other hand. The social historical processes through which the communal identity of the Moravian Clarksoners and Tsitsikamma Mfengu were forged will especially focus on the important relation of these communal identity formations and land. Following Thompson's analytical framework our inquiry will, in the second place, take the form of a discursive analysis of the historical construction of the Clarksoner and Tsitsikamma Mfengu communal identities, inter alia of the Moravian narrative of the seed as constitutive of missionary communal identity. In the third place, the final phase of Thompson's methodology of interpretation involves a critical interpretation of discourse i.e. a "re-interpretation of a pre-interpreted domain" as a manifestation of the "hermeneutical circle".[7] A significant feature of Thompson's analytical framework is the way in which it integrates discourse analysis as part of a more general social theory. Language and discourse are understood as a social phenomena enmeshed in relations of power, situations of conflict and processes of social change.[8] Social relations with other individuals and/or groups are infused with power and marked by contestation in which struggles take place through the use of words, symbols and/or physical force.[9] During the course of our daily lives our language as much as our actions knowingly or unknowingly sustain, or resist, relations of power and domination with others in the social world.[10] Discourse analysis thus requires an adequate theoretical conceptualisation of power and domination. Thompson defines power as a phenomenon that is realised on three levels of abstraction relative to the relation between structure and agency. The levels are those of action, social institutions and social structure.[11] At the level of action, power is the ability of a person to act in pursuit of her aims and objectives.[12] At the institutional level, power is an institutionally endowed capacity that enables persons to make decisions and pursue and realise their interests. It is the structural conditions of institutions as well as those of society at large that limit this capacity of power.[13]

These analytical distinctions are directly relevant to the first phase of analysis, i.e. that of a social historical analysis. Thompson identifies three levels of social historical analysis corresponding to the different levels of abstraction. The first is at the level of individual and

---

[7] Thompson, Studies, p. 133.
[8] Thompson, Studies, pp. 6-7.
[9] Thompson, Ideology and Modern Culture, pp. 7-10.
[10] Thompson, Ideology and Modern Culture, pp. 9-10.
[11] Thompson, Studies, pp. 128-129.
[12] Thompson, Studies, p. 129.
[13] Thompson, Studies, p. 129.

collective action where we seek to identity the "situationally specific" contexts within which persons act and interact in pursuit of their aims.[14] The second level of social historical analysis concerns the social relations and interactions specific to institutions while the third level involves analysis of the structural elements which determines the conditions for the continuance of institutions. When relations of power at an institutional level are systematically asymmetrical an unequal distribution of power among individuals and/or groups within these institutions prevails. Thompson calls these systematically asymmetrical relations of power, domination. At an institutional level the differential inclusion and exclusion of individuals and/or groups of people thus amounts to domination.[15] On this perspective communal identities may thus be analysed, not as organic unities, but in terms of relations of power and domination. Similarly, in Hall's view, constructed identities emerge within specific modalities of power which produce representations of difference as a basis for including some individuals and/or groups while excluding others from participation and access to resources like land, schooling and education. The unity claimed for communal identities is thus not a given, but produced within relations of power through difference and exclusions in the face of a constructed other.[16]

Using these analytical distinctions we may therefore trace the different levels at which power operated in the colonial context of the Cape with the development of Moravian mission settlements, and in the interactions of emergent groups of Mfengu labourers with land-owners. At the level of individual action missionaries were insecure and outnumbered by indigenous peoples. But at Moravian mission stations in the Cape Colony, these missionaries had the institutionally endowed capacities that enabled them to decide who among the (potential) indigenous converts, previously dispossessed from their traditional lands, would be included in, or excluded from, the mission station. The Moravian missionaries utilised their control of access to mission land and education as coercive tools in the construction of missionary communities. It was in this social and historical context that representations of difference would construct a missionary identity among converts at the Cape. The connections between discourse, power and domination - systematic asymmetrical relations of power - will be the central concern of our analysis of missionary discourse and how the Clarksoner Moravian missionary identity and Tsitsikamma Mfengu were constructed in relation to claims on land.

---

[14] Thompson, Studies, p. 135.
[15] Thompson, Studies, p. 130.
[16] Hall, 'Who Needs Identity?', p. 5.

2.3 Ideological Discourse and Discursive Mechanisms for Mobilising Meaning

Thompson's analytical framework is specifically designed with a view to the critical analyses of ideology and ideological discourse. He locates the analysis of ideology within the ambit of a broader concern with action, interaction, relations of power and domination, and social transformation. He defines ideology, which serves to establish and sustain relations of domination, in terms of the mobilisation of meaning.[17] To study ideology is thus to examine the way in which meaning serves to establish and sustain relations of domination.[18] The critical analysis of ideology explores the dynamic interrelation between discourse and power by examining the ways in which meaning serves to establish and sustain relations of power and domination. More specifically, Thompson distinguishes three levels of power at which forms of discourse may be studied. He is concerned with the different mechanisms involved in the mobilisation of meaning like that of narrative, argumentative and syntactic structures. Thompson argues that representations of sustained relations of power and domination often assume a narrative form that justifies and legitimates the status quo.[19] Another mechanism identified by Thompson as involved in the mobilisation of meaning is the argumentative structure of a discourse. An analysis of the argumentative structure of a discourse may assist us in highlighting the contradictions, inconsistencies and silences prevalent within the discourse, and could reveal the strategies of dissimulation utilised therein.[20] Thompson also identifies the syntactic structure of a discourse as a further mechanism by which meaning is mobilised. An analysis of the syntactic structure of a discourse may assist us in the identification of nominalisation, the use of pronouns, and the tense structure that underlies processes of reification within a discourse.[21] An analysis of the function of these different mechanisms relating to the forms of discourse will enable us to identify how meanings have been mobilised by Moravian missionaries to produce a Moravian missionary identity that was imposed on indigenous converts at the Cape Colony, and by colonial officials to construct a colonial Mfengu identity that facilitated the use of indentured labour within the colony. Thompson is specifically concerned with the ideological function of these specific features of discourse, i.e. how meaning is mobilised to establish and sustain relations of domination by means of representations of legitimation, strategies of dissimulation and processes of

---

[17] Thompson, Studies, pp. 130-131. See also Thompson, Ideology and Modern Culture, pp. 6-10.
[18] Thompson, Studies, pp. 130-131.
[19] Thompson, Studies, p. 136.
[20] Thompson, Studies, pp. 136-137.
[21] Thompson, Studies, p. 137.

reification.[22] Representations of legitimation presented as just, and worthy of support are based either on (1) rational grounds in which the legality of enacted rules and laws are appealed to; (2) traditional grounds in which the sanctity of time immemorial traditions are evoked; or (3) charismatic grounds in which the exceptional character of an individual person exercising authority is appealed to.[23] Strategies of dissimulation on the other hand conceals, obscures, denies, and deflects attention away from existing relations of power and domination. Processes of reification involve representing a temporary historical situation as if it were permanent, natural and existing outside of time. Such processes involve the elimination of the social and historical character from the event. When Groups within society are presented as being "without history" through the deletion of agency and the constitution of time as an extension of the present, then a contribution is made to establishing and sustaining relations of power and domination.[24] In our critical analysis of the Moravian missionary discourse we will explore the ways in which the imposed Moravian missionary identity contributed towards and sustained relations of colonial domination. It will be shown that the discursive mechanism of narratives is of particular importance when problematising the historical origin of the Clarksoner Moravian missionary identity as constructed within the Moravian narrative. We will thus explore how resources of history, language and culture were utilised by Moravian missionaries to reconstruct a shared history and common origin with the historical Moravian narrative. We will also analyse how the Moravian Ethic functioned to construct a communal identity fashioning indigenous converts as "docile", "obedient", "good", and "loyal" labourers instilled with a new work ethic. Significantly the social and historical analysis locates these discursive processes within the context of colonial land dispossessions and colonial demands for the use of indigenous labour at the Cape.

2.4 Complementing the Analytical Framework: Fairclough, White and Foucault

Thompson's analytical framework is not specifically concerned with historical processes and thus needs to be complemented in this regard for the purposes of our historical case studies. Discursively constructed communal identities are not timeless and unchanging constructs but products of historical processes functioning in changing and different social and political contexts. We thus need to consider the ways in which constructed communal identities may

---

[22] Thompson, Studies, pp. 136-137.
[23] Thompson, Ideology and Modern Culture, pp. 60-61.
[24] Thompson, Ideology and Modern Culture, p. 65.

become naturalised or how ascribed and imposed identities may in course of time become appropriated. Of particular relevance to our historical case studies is Hall's argument that constructed identities may function as naturalised representations, which have become taken-for-granted as common-sense assumptions.[25] Norman Fairclough similarly argues that the naturalisation of meaning is a very powerful weapon when utilised to establish and sustain relations of domination and that "commonsense" can have ideological functions.[26] Fairclough describes "common sense" as a reflection of the dominant discourse that people have come to perceive as natural and legitimate. He argues that it is when the meaning and assumptions of a discourse becomes taken-for-granted by people who are either not consciously aware of them, and/or who do not formulate these meanings explicitly, that naturalised ideologies are most effective in the guise of "common sense". This naturalisation of ideology contributes to the socialisation of persons in society and circumscribes the construction and formation of social identities in a given society.[27] In our historical case studies one of the aims of our discursive analysis will be to trace the process through which the constructed missionary identity of indigenous converts in time is transformed into the taken-for-granted communal identity of the Clarksoners; similarly we will be concerned with the historical shift from an ascribed "Fingo" ethnic identity in colonial discourse to the later appropriation of a Mfengu identity and the eventual mobilisation by the Tsitsikamma Mfengu of this identity as a discursive resource in support of their claims for restitution of their historical land in the context of post-apartheid South Africa.

Likewise, in our analysis of the significance of the Moravian historical narrative on the construction of the Moravian communal identity, the theoretical approach of Hayden White will be used to complement Thompson's analytical framework. White asserts that the content of a discourse consists of its form as well as the information obtained from our interpretation thereof. He argues that while it may not change the information contained in a narrative if we change the narrative form of a discourse, this may well modify and change its discursive meaning.[28] The historical narrative transforms a mere list or sequence of historical events into a story with a plot and of a particular genre and gives it the kind of meaning that we ordinarily

---

[25] Hall, 'Who Needs Identity?', pp. 4-5.

[26] Norman Fairclough, Language and Power (London, Longman, 1989), p. 92.

[27] Fairclough's conception of ideology as involving the naturalisation of meaning complements Thompson's conception of ideology in terms of the mobilisation of meaning that serves to establish and sustain relations of power by the meanings mobilised being taken for granted and naturalised. Fairclough, Language, p. 92

[28] Hayden White, The Content of the Form: Narrative Discourse and Historical Representation (Baltimore, John Hopkins University Press, 1987), p. 42.

would only find in myths and literature. White describes a historical narrative as "allegorical", since it says one thing while meaning another.[29] The structuration of time is an important component of the historical narrative. White reflects on three kinds of representation of time identified by Ricoeur. These are "within-time-ness" in which events take place, "historicality" whereby emphasis is placed on recollecting the past through repetition, and "deep temporality" which is the unity of the future, the past, and the present.[30] According to White, these aspects of time are represented in such a way in the narrative that endings appear to be linked to beginnings, thereby forming continuity within difference. White's theoretical approach to the study of historical narratives provides us with a checklist of elements for application in our analysis of the Moravian historical narrative. These are: a proper beginning in time, a proper middle, a proper conclusion that links the beginning with the ending, the dominating forces, the recurring themes, the gaps, the social centre, the subject and the central organising principle, and finally the geographical centre/location.[31] These narrative elements combine and contribute towards maintaining the narrative's coherence and comprehensiveness.[32] In our discursive analysis of the historical Moravian narrative we will explore the continuity, coherency and comprehensiveness of a narrative that connects different historical time-periods, events, and localities together into one complete "story".[33]

The different mechanisms involved in the discursive mobilisation of meaning identified by Thompson is complemented by Michel Foucault's concept of modern forms of social discipline replacing pre-modern means of violent and coercive control.[34] In *The Order of Discourse* Foucault identified some key discursive procedures of subjection exercised in the production of discourse. Thus Foucault uses the example of an education system, which carries with it knowledge and power, while at the same being an apparatus through which speech is ritualised, the roles of speaking subjects are fixed, and doctrinal groups are constituted.[35] Of particular relevance to our analysis of the historical construction of a missionary communal identity is Foucault's notion of the discursive procedures of subjection involved in ritual,

---

[29] White, The Content of the Form, pp. 43-45.
[30] White, The Content of the Form, pp. 51-52; Paul Ricoeur, Time and Narrative, trans. K. Mclaughlin and D. Pellauer, Vol. 1 (Chicago, University of Chicago Press, 1983), pp. 59-64.
[31] White, The Content of the Form, pp. 6-23.
[32] White, The Content of the Form, pp. 16-17.
[33] White, The Content of the Form, p. 52.
[34] Michel Foucault, Discipline and Punish: the Birth of the Prison, trans. Alan Sheridan (New York, Vintage Books,1979).
[35] Michel Foucault, 'The Order of Discourse' in Robert Young (ed.), Untying the Text: A Post Structuralist Reader (Boston, Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1981), p. 64.

doctrine, and the social appropriation of discourses.[36] Foucault defines ritual as the gestures, behaviour, and the set of signs that accompany a discourse. He defines the discursive constraint of doctrine as the set of rules and regulations commonly held and accepted by a discourse community, consisting of a finite number of individuals, with which they define their reciprocal allegiance. Foucault asserts that commitment to a doctrine functions to extract general social conformity from a discourse community by their shared recognition and acceptance of a set of rules and regulations. Their reciprocal allegiance to the doctrine binds them to, and forbids them from, specified actions and pronouncements. The doctrine, as a discursive procedure of constraint, thus mobilises the discourse community and binds them together as a group while differentiating them from the constructed other.[37] Significantly Moravian missionaries did not rely on violence or coercive power in "converting" indigenous people to become members of missionary communities; instead the Moravian Ethic as a form of social discipline defined the meaning of good conduct and loyalty to those in positions of authority by seeking to control the gestures and behaviour of (potential) indigenous converts. Excluded were people, like those amongst the Tsitsikamma Mfengu communities, who refused to follow the rituals proclaimed by these missionaries. In the case of Clarksoners and Tsitsikamma Mfengu, the mission school was the discursive apparatus through which the Moravian missionaries taught (potential) indigenous converts about the dignity of labour, the importance of being industrious, and the pre-requisites of good conduct and so obtained conformity to missionary order and discipline. In the Moravian missionary discourse missionaries' exacted conformity to a set of rules and regulations or "ordininge" of the Moravian Ethic, from indigenous converts who came to constitute a discourse community by their acceptance of the Moravian doctrine. Together, these three discursive constraints of Foucault complement Thompson's methodology of interpretation and provide additional tools of analysis for revealing the ideological legitimation of relations of power and domination prevalent within the constructed Moravian missionary community.

However, one of the central issues of our historical case studies will be concerned with what may be termed the dialectical development of communal identities. If, to begin with, the Moravian missionary community was a case of *imposed* identity, a model case of the

[36] Foucault, 'The Order of Discourse', pp. 61-64.
[37] Foucault, 'The Order of Discourse', p. 64.

"colonisation of consciousness",[38] then this was by no means the end of the story. In course of time this imposed identity of the Moravian missionary community became naturalised to become an *appropriated* identity, a common sense given or assumption, for subsequent generations of Clarksoners. Likewise the origins of the ascriptive term "Fingos" can be shown to be in colonial discourse from the 1830s which at the time did *not* (yet) correspond to a particular ethnic group or historical community.[39] But by the 1860s, it was beginning to be appropriated for certain political purposes, significantly involving claims to rights and land. In the context of post-apartheid South Africa it functioned as a main source for communal mobilisation by the Tsitsikamma Mfengu in support of their claims for restitution of their historical land. These dialectical developments raise two interrelated theoretical questions. On the one hand there is the question of the construction of communal identities as *discursive objects;* and on the other hand there is the question of how the *subjects* of these discursive processes are hailed or interpellated.[40] We need to consider each of these in turn.

2.5 Communal Identities as Discursive Objects

The question of how the Moravian Clarksoners and Tsitsikamma Mfengu were represented, and/or represented themselves, in relation to their historical claims to land involves complex discursive processes. The construction of community is about creating conditions of belonging so that individuals come to see themselves as members of a collectivity.[41] This can happen in different kinds of contexts and at different levels. Since Tönnies, the distinction between *Gemeinschaft* and *Gesellschaft*, i.e. between traditional rural and local communities and modern urban industrial society, has become a commonplace of history and social theory.[42] This general distinction has important implications for the more specific significance of individual and communal identities. Benedict Anderson relies on the distinction between local, concrete, face-to-face communities and more abstract, mass, anonymous collectivities for his seminal notion of the nation as an "imagined community". Anderson argues that the difference

---

[38] Jean and John Comaroffs, Of Revelation and Revolution: Christianity, Colonialism and Consciousness in South Africa, vol. 1 (Chicago, Chicago University Press, 1991), and Of Revelation and Revolution: The Dialetics of Modernity on a South African Frontier vol. 2 (Chicago, Chicago University Press, 1997).

[39] Jannecke, 'The Fingo/Mfengu: A Case Study in Land and Identity' (B.Soc. Sci. (Hons.), Department of Political Studies, University of Cape Town, 1997), pp. 58-90.

[40] Ian Parker, Discourse Dynamics (London, Routledge, 1992).

[41] Stuart Hall, 'The Question of Cultural Identity', p. 296.

[42] Adam and Jessica Kuper (eds.), The Social Science Encyclopedia 2nd edition (London, Routledge, 1996), p.114.

between nations and local communities lie in the different ways in which their communal identities are imagined and constructed.[43]

In general communities, whether at local or national levels, continue to be represented as unified and their communal identities are expressed as being "one people". This is assumed to be rooted in some organic unity such as that of ethnicity. As against such essentialist or primordialist approaches the social identity of communities should rather be read as discursive objects constructed in or through difference, and constantly destabilised by what it leaves out.[44] Ethnicity commonly refers to shared cultural features like language, religion, custom, traditions, and feelings for place.[45] But communities are seldom actually unified under any one set of descriptions. According to Hall, a range of differentiated cultural features can be utilised as symbolic markers to set discursively constituted ethnic communities apart.[46] The use of culture in this instance, functions as a source of meanings, a focus of identification, and a system of representation. It is through the memories of the past, the desire to live together, to belong, and to perpetuate a communal heritage that a community's social identity is imagined and discursively constituted.[47] The communal unity, the internal homogeneity, which the process of identification treats as foundational is actually a constructed but naturalised form of closure.[48] Representations of communal identity typically ignore and repress internal differences within the community. Thus the unity and internal homogeneity produced through the process of identification within the Tsitsikamma Mfengu ethnic discourse in the context of communal mobilisation for the restitution of their historical land in the 1990s, omits to acknowledge the significance of the three distinct historical Mfengu communities that resided at Doriskraal, Snyklip and Wittekeibosch before the forced removals during the 1970s. The discrepancies between the unity of communal identity as a discursive object, as against the differentiated nature of the actual collectivity may have important political and social consequences. In the reconstitution of the contemporary Tsitsikamma Mfengu community in 1994, the omission and exclusion of this historical differentiation among Mfengu peoples in the Tsitsikamma persistently destabilised the constructed unity and homogeneity of the constituted community in the form of an opposing "concerned group" of Tsitsikamma Mfengu.

---

[43] Benedict Anderson, Imagined Communties: Reflections on the Origin and Spread of Nationalism (London, Verso, 1983).
[44] Hall, 'Who Needs "Identity"?', p. 5.
[45] Hall. 'The Question of Cultural Identity' in S. Hall and D. Held (eds.), Modernity and its Futures (Cambridge, Polity Press, 1992), p. 297.
[46] Hall, 'The Question of Cultural Identity', pp. 296, 298.
[47] Hall, 'The Question of Cultural Identity', pp.297-298.
[48] Hall, 'Who Needs "Identity"?', p. 5.

This dissertation will be concerned with a case study in the historical and social construction of communal identities as discursive objects. How did it come about that people separated by three or four centuries and living many thousands of miles apart came to conceive of themselves as members of the same missionary community and sharing a communal identity? In the case of the Moravians this involves linkages between the Unitas Fratrum in 15th century Bohemia, the Hernhutters in 18th century Moravia and indigenous converts in the 19th century Cape Colony. The Fingo/Mfengu, who actually shared the same locality and some 150 years of historical interaction with the Clarksoners, remained a distinct community even if some of them at different times did become converts. What representational strategies and discursive mechanisms are deployed to construct our commonsense views of belonging to a community, and what makes these effective in some cases, but not in others? Hall provides us with five main elements. The first is the narrative of the community as it is told and retold. A set of stories, images and landscapes, historical events, symbols and rituals are used to represent a shared set of experiences, sorrows and triumphs and disasters giving meaning to belonging to a community. Members of this imagined or discursive community see themselves as sharing this narrative, which lends significance to their existence and connects their daily lives.[49] The second element is an emphasis on origin, continuity, timelessness and tradition. The identity of the community is represented as primordial, unified and continuous. The third element involves the invention of tradition, which arises from the repeated use of rituals and so implies continuity with a suitable historical past. The fourth element is the foundational myth, and is a story that locates the origin of the community. Myths of origin convert disarray into community, and provide a narrative in terms of which an alternative history or counter-history that pre-dates the ruptures of colonization, can be produced. The fifth element is the symbolic grounding of the idea of an original community of people, which belongs together.[50] These five different representational strategies provide an array of resources to be applied in our later accounts of the discursive construction of the Clarksoner and Tsitsikamma Mfengu communal identities.[51]

An underlying theoretical issue in this regard is whether the use of such representational strategies to construct communal identities should always be considered to have an *ideological* function. This depends on the specific conceptualisation of ideology. The theoretical literature

[49] Hall, 'The Question of Cultural Identity', p. 294.
[50] Hall, 'The Question of Cultural Identity', pp. 294-295
[51] See discussion in chapter 8 of this dissertation.

on ideology can be characterised in terms of a distinction between a *critical* concept of ideology, derived from the Marxist tradition, and a *neutral* concept of ideology, associated with American social and behavioural science.[52] In Thompson's own critical conceptualisation of ideological discourse, meaning is mobilised *to serve and sustain the interests of domination* of the ruling class. On this account, however, the use of much the same representational strategies, but to serve the purposes of individual and collective emancipation, would *not* be ideological since it is not aimed at establishing and maintaining relations of domination. In this regard the ethnic Tsitsikamma Mfengu discourse of the 1990s would count as a non-ideological discourse.[53] André du Toit suggests that a critical interpretation be applied to non-ideological discourses as well as ideological discourses with an accompanying awareness that these form part of a "single field of inquiry".[54]

A similar complication relates to exclusion as the inevitable counterpart of the process of identification in the construction of communal identities. According to Hall, the construction of communal identities as discursive objects involves an accompanying politics of exclusion. When we rearticulate the relationship between individuals and discursive practices, this involves the question of identification.[55] As a process of articulation, identification operates across difference and entails the discursive work of marking symbolic boundaries and binding that involves the recognition, connection, association, and classification of objects within discourses.[56] Constructed in this way identification creates an allegiance, or an association, and establishes a marked symbolic boundary and natural closure of solidarity.[57] Identification requires this symbolic boundary in relation not only to what is included but also in relation to what is left outside, which is its "constitutive outside", to consolidate the process.[58] For the Tsitsikamma Mfengu, the Clarkson mission community marked the symbolic boundary against which their own process of identification occurred. In this regard the constitutive outside in the process of Tsitsikamma Mfengu ethnic identification was the Clarkson mission community. The binding and connectedness of the community that is produced through this process of

---

[52] Thompson, Studies, pp. 91-122
[53] André du Toit, 'On Ideology', South African Journal of Philosophy 13: 3 (1994), p. 116.
[54] Du Toit, 'On Ideology', p. 116.
[55] Hall, 'Who Needs "Identity"?', p. 2.
[56] Hall, 'Who Needs "Identity"?', p. 3.
[57] Hall, 'Who Needs "Identity"?', p, 2.
[58] Hall, 'Who Needs "Identity"?', p. 3.

identification is naturalised and commonly perceived as a constituted unity, comprising of an all inclusive sameness with no internal differentiation.[59]

2.6 Hailing the Subjects of Discourses about Communal Identities

The discursive articulation of communal identities involves a dual set of processes: on the one hand it refers to the construction of determinate communal identities as discursive *objects*, and on the other hand it refers to processes which construct us as *subjects* of particular discourses. As basic as the question how communal identities are constructed as discursive objects is the complementary question how discursive practices interpellate or hail us into place as social subjects of particular discourses. The condition of belonging, of being a member of a community and of sharing a communal identity is about allegiance, bonding and symbolic identification. According to Hall, identification also requires the (successful) articulation or chaining of the subject into the flow of the discourse.[60] Such questions concern, for example, the ways in which people who had resided at Doriskraal, Snyklip and Wittekeibosch, but not the residents of Clarkson, were constituted as subjects of an appropriated (ethnic) Tsitsikamma Mfengu discourse. The appropriation of an ethnic Tsitsikamma Mfengu communal identity involved the hailing or interpellation of people as Tsitsikamma Mfengu. When individuals responded to this call a discursive community was formed.

Althusser was seminally concerned with theorising about the interpellation of individuals as ideological subjects. Althusser played on the fundamental ambivalence in the meaning of "subject", i.e. that of being an agent, or independent source of actions, claims and knowledge and that of being subordinated to others, the law and authority. The submission to a higher authority on the one hand and the free acceptance of this submission on the other hand, captures the double meaning of the Althusserian subject.[61] The function of ideology is to transform individuals into subjects by interpellation or hailing – "hey you there": the constitution of the individual as ideological subject is both an action of the individual in responding to being hailed ("who me"?), but also assumes that this identity had already somehow been pre-determined. [62] Following Althusser it is obvious or common sense that individuals are "always

---

[59] Hall, 'Who Needs "Identity"?', p. 4.
[60] Hall, 'Who Needs "Identity"?', pp. 5-6.
[61] L. Althusser, 'Ideology and Ideological State Apparatus (Notes Towards and Investigation)' in L. Althusser (ed.), Lenin and Philosophy and Other Essays, trans. B. Brewster (New York, Monthly Review Press, 1972), p. 169.
[62] Althusser, 'Ideology and Ideological State Apparatus', p. 163.

already" subjects, i.e. persons who are not independent but still freely accept their submission to another power. Althusser's use of the term "obviousness" and stress on the "always already" character of ideological subjects corresponds to what Fairclough describes as the ideological function of common-sense.[63] Individuals may however not be consciously aware that they are subjects of ideological discourses.

According to Pêcheux a discourse or ideological formation consists of non-discursive elements as well as one or more inter-related discursive formations. These determine the subject-position for the discourse, i.e. what can be said from a given position under a particular set of socio-historical conditions. According to Pêcheux, ideological formations encircle the whole of discourse and relate perceived contradictory discourses to each other.[64] An interpellation is effective when the subject identifies with the constructed object of a dominating discursive formation.[65] An example hereof is the identification of certain indigenous groupings within the Eastern Cape frontier with the constructed representation of "Fingo" in the colonial discourse by the mid-19th century. Furthermore each discursive formation is situated within a structured whole of discursive constructions, or interdiscourse, which in turn rests within a range of complex ideological formations.[66] In this sense the emerging ethnic Tsitsikamma Mfengu discourse in the 1990s is part of a more comprehensive structured interdiscourse of post-apartheid South Africa, which seeks to mobilise meaning so as to establish and sustain relations of power that will ensure the restitution of land, and additional access to and use of land.

Pêcheux contends that while the subject is always rooted within a particular discourse, the interdiscourse is not visible to the subject. He calls this lack of clarity or exclusion the "forgetting", which he maintains is inaccessible to the subject and creates the illusion that the subject precedes discourse.[67] In this way the subject comes to be perceived as being the origin of its own meaning and discourse, whereas that subject was produced by the dominating discursive formation. Theoretically Pêcheux distinguishes between discursive *articulation* and the *pre-constructed.* [68] Following Pêcheux, then, the subject is "always already there", along with that which is pre-constructed in a discursive formation. Significantly, however, the subject

---

[63] Fairclough, Language and Power, p. 102.
[64] Diane Macdonell, Theories of Discourse: An Introduction (Oxford, B. Blackwell, 1987), p. 43-47.
[65] Roger Woods, 'Discourse Analysis: the Work of Michel Pêcheux', Ideology and Consciousness 2 (1977), p. 62.
[66] Woods, 'Discourse Analysis', pp. 62-63.
[67] Thompson, Studies, p. 236.
[68] Woods, 'Discourse Analysis', p.62.

does not recognise its subordination or the pre-constructed in a discursive formation since it takes itself to be responding independently and freely to the interpellation.[69] The articulation of an interdiscourse constitutes the subject in its relation to meaning, which represents and determines the domination of the subject-form in an interdiscourse.[70] This identification of the subject with the dominating inter-discourse is an imaginary identification, which may exist in three different modalities. The first modality of i*dentification* is that of the "good subject", in which the subject freely and spontaneously consents to its subjectivisation. An example hereof was the adherence of converts to the transplanted and imposed Moravian Ethic at the Clarkson mission station. The second modality of identification is that of the "bad subject", and is termed the *counter-identification* in which the subject adopts an opposing position and contradicts the meaning imposed on it by the dominating interdiscourse. Meaning herein is only negated, not created. An example hereof was the opposition to missionary authority and the elements of the imposed Moravian Ethic at the mission stations of Mamre, Elim, and Genadendal at the Cape. The third modality is that of *dis-identification* in which a new discursive practice is formulated by the reordering of words and expressions. An example hereof was the reformulation of historical meanings and experiences of trauma and suffering used in the constituted contemporary Mfengu identity during the 1990s Here aspects of meaning in the interdiscourse were appropriated and rearranged, thereby causing a rupture with the identification in the interdiscourse.[71] The set of stories, images and landscapes, historical events, symbols and rituals that were used to represent a shared set of experiences, sorrows and triumphs and disasters which grounded and gave meaning to the belonging to (membership of) the contemporary Tsitsikamma Mfengu community – together involved the reordering of words and expressions. It also involved the appropriation and rearrangement of selected aspects of meaning of the representation of the "Fingo" as a discursive object in the inter-colonial and Moravian missionary discourses. This dis-identification gave rise to a new discursive practice namely the Tsitsikamma Mfengu ethnic discourse, in which the Clarkson mission community was constructed as the "constitutive outside" in the process of identification of the contemporary Tsitsikamma Mfengu community

[69] Woods, 'Discourse Analysis', p. 63.
[70] Woods, 'Discourse Analysis', p. 63.
[71] Woods, 'Discourse Analysis', pp. 66-67.

2.7 Conclusion

The methodology of discursive analysis and interpretation discussed in this chapter comprises of both a descriptive and critical analysis. This method of analysis will be applied to our case study in order to clarify what is involved in the historical construction and appropriation of the Clarksoner Moravian mission and Tsitsikamma Mfengu communal identities; and how these were linked to power struggles and claims of entitlement to land. In our discussion we indicated that our critical approach to applied discourse analysis will consider both non-ideological discourses like the Tsitsikamma Mfengu ethnic discourse; as well as ideological discourses like the colonial and apartheid discourse since both form part of a single field of inquiry. In the following chapters we will apply the varied aspects of discourse theory as discussed above in our analysis of the historical case study of the Clarkson Moravian mission and Tsitsikamma communal identities and its relation to claims of entitlement to land.

Chapter Three

The Historical and Narrative Origins of the Moravian Missionary Community

3.1 Introduction

In this chapter we will be tracing the construction of a particular communal identity, that of a Moravian missionary settlement in the Eastern Cape, linking different groups of people in widely dispersed times and places. Our account will take us from the Unitas Fratum, a religious group in Bohemia in the 1460s, to the Herrnhuter community established on the Estate of Count Zinzendorf near Dresden in the 1720s, thence to the first and second Moravian missions to the Cape Colony, around 1737 and again from the 1790s, with the (renewed) founding of the Moravian mission at Genadendal, and eventually also to the founding of the mission of Clarkson in the Eastern Cape in 1839.[1] What is the bond between these diverse groupings over a period of more than 400 years and many thousands of miles apart? In what sense or way could this have brought about the construction of a particular communal identity? As we will see there are, of course, specific historical connections between these different times and places, at least in the persons and through the actions of the Moravian missionaries themselves. But how, and in what sense, could the Clarksoners in the nineteenth and twentieth century conceive of their communal identity, first on the Eastern Cape frontier and later in apartheid South Africa, as essentially constituted through their Moravian origins in far Europe several centuries before? Even more than the often complex and sometimes tenuous historical connections via various intermediary individuals and institutions, it is a shared story, a particular historical narrative, which binds these diverse peoples and places together over vast stretches of time. This chapter will outline the relevant historical and social contexts, explore the origins and development of the Moravian narrative and analyse its role in the construction of what eventually became the communal identity of the Clarksoners. We will explore its outlines both backwards to early modern Europe and forwards to colonial South Africa until we are in a position to analyse the narrative construction itself.

[1] Clarkson is located along the Southern Cape Coast of South Africa, below the Gamtoos River. The Moravian Mission Society had by 1869 included the Clarkson mission station within its administration of the Western Cape region. See discussion in chapter 6 of this dissertation.

The missionaries set out to convert the "heathen" by transforming their social, religious, political, economic and spatial landscape. This "conversion" to the distinctive Christian practices of the Moravian missionaries at the Cape meant adherence to the defined discipline, conduct, rules and regulations, work practices, and economic and agricultural activities. Together, these elements formed a Moravian Ethic, which both defined the missionaries own identity and was imposed on and appropriated by indigenous peoples. In this way the Moravian missionary identity of indigenous converts was produced in relation to the constitutive mission identity of the Moravian missionaries at the Cape Colony, and imposed through the transformative conversion process. In this chapter, our main interest is in the imposed missionary identity against the background of the constitutive mission identity.

This chapter will deal with two different levels of analysis, namely a social historical analysis and a discursive analysis. We begin by giving a general socio-historical account of the changing context of the Moravians by describing how a religious community came to be established at Herrnhut. This is followed by a discursive analysis of the Moravian narrative of the seed. We further describe the establishment of the first Moravian missionary settlement at the Cape within a colonial context. On the level of discourse analysis we will explore the metaphors utilised in the historical Moravian narrative of the seed, and aim to show how these informed the narrative connections between the "ancient" and the "renewed" Moravian communities, as well as with the "mission" community in the Cape Colony. We will examine the constructed Moravian missionary identity at the first Moravian mission station by analysing a selection of its core elements including the mode of production, spatial organisation, and the Moravian Ethic.

3.2 The Moravian Communal Identity in Socio-historical and Discursive Context

3.2.1 Herrnhut and the Moravian Ethic

The early Moravian missionaries came to the Cape colony carrying with them their experiences and memories of the Herrnhut religious community. The Herrnhut settlement had been established in 1727 on the estate of Count Zinzendorf in Dresden, Germany. The map in figure 3 below shows the location of Herrnhut.

Figure 3: A map showing the location of Herrnhut in relation to Bohemia

[Source: The Teachers of the Fulneck Academy, The Moravian Atlas, 1853].



The people who initially settled at Herrnhut were refugees from Moravia and Bohemia in Czechoslovakia, who had fled the Counter-Reformation during the early 1700s, and sought refuge on the Zinzendorf estate.[2] The location of Moravia and Bohemia in relation to Herrnhut can be seen on the map in figure 3 above. At the outset the Herrnhut settlement consisted of different religious groups including, amongst others, the Unitas Fratrum, Lutherans, Pietists, Anabaptists and Roman Catholics. However, under the protection and authority of Count Zinzendorf these refugees became constituted as a distinctive religious group within the Lutheran Church, commonly known as "the Herrnhuters".

3.2.1.1 Pietism and Protestantism: Distinctive Features of the Herrnhut Community

The formation of distinctive religious groups, like the Herrnhuters, within an official church, is a distinguishing feature of Protestant Pietism. Such religious groups consciously separated themselves from others in society and formed communities of refuge in which their particular religious traditions, beliefs and practices were taught.[3] While some emphasised their independence and asserted their group identity through distinctive religious practices, other Pietist communities, like the Herrnhuters, existed as a contained group within the official Church. Some Pietist groups did however secede from the official Lutheran Church, establishing themselves as independent churches. The Herrnhut community formally separated from the Lutheran Church after the death of Zinzendorf in 1760. Under the leadership of Spanenberg a constitution and set of regulations were adopted, which validated its growth into an independent Moravian Church and international evangelical denomination.[4] The Methodists, a Pietist group in England also separated from the official Church of England during the 1780s, and established an autonomous Methodist Church.[5]

A distinctive characteristic of Pietism was the methodical exercise of social discipline as an activity of the Church to achieve and maintain spiritual and ethical reform within a religious

---

[2] A.J. Lewis, Zinzendorf the Ecumenical Pioneer: A Study in the Moravian Contribution to Christian Mission and Unity (Philadelphia, The Westminister Press, 1962), pp. 47-52. The Church was also known as the United Brethren, or simply the Brethren.

[3] Hartmut Lehmann, 'Pietism and Nationalism: The Relationship between Protestant Revivalism and National Renewal in Nineteenth-Century Germany', Church History 51: 1 (March 1982), p. 42.

[4] J.C.S. Mason, The Moravian Church and the Missionary Awakening in England: 1760-1800 (Suffolk, The Boydell Press, 2001), pp. 11-27.

community. The responsibility for social discipline was therefore not a function of the police or government but rather an important function of the Church.[6] Communal discipline and good conduct were regulated through the Church. However, this did not mean that Pietists were opposed to State authority. On the contrary, silent loyalty to those in positions of authority, including government officials, and an acceptance of the prevailing social order were important characteristics of Pietism.[7] Zinzendorf exercised considerable power and authority within the Herrnhut community. Not only was he owner of the land on which the settlement was established, he was also a prominent religious leader.[8] According to Rimius, residents of Herrnhut responded with meekness and obedience to Zinzendorf's authority.[9]

Another defining Pietist feature was the active participation of lay members in the organisation and administration of the religious community. The management of the Herrnhuter community and the maintenance of social discipline were not the sole responsibility of the priest but also of the body of elders.[10] A final but significant characteristic was its proselytising nature: the Moravians were characterised by the persistent attempts of members to convert others to establish further groups of fellowship. This led to its missionary project of converting the "heathen". A tension however existed between this outward vision of seeking to convert others, and the inward vision of directing concern towards the well-being and the unity of the religious community.[11]

We first consider the application of the inward vision in terms of the development of a Moravian Ethic among the local community itself. From the outset the Herrnhut community was noted for the emphasis they placed on social discipline. The refugees who had settled at Herrnhut with their different religious traditions were unified into a coherent religious community through the social regulations and guidelines implemented by Zinzendorf. These regulations were

---

[5] Ernst Troeltsch, The Social Teaching of the Christian Churches (London, George Allen and Unwin, 1931), vol. 2, pp. 714-715. On the Methodists separation from the official Church of England see L. Tyeman, The Life and Times of Rev. John Wesley (London, Hodder and Stoughton, 1871).
[6] Troeltsch, The Social Teaching, pp. 716-717.
[7] Troeltsch, The Social Teaching, p. 717.
[8] Quoted in Henry Rimius, A Candid Narrative of the Rise and Progress of the Herrnhuters: Commonly Called Moravians or Unitas Fratum, with a Short Account of their Doctrines Drawn from their Own Writings (London, A. Linde, 1753), p. 22.
[9] Rimius, A Candid Narrative of the Rise and Progress of the Herrnhuters, pp. 21-22.
[10] Troeltsch, The Social Teaching, p. 717.
[11] Troeltsch, The Social Teaching, pp. 718-720.

contained in two administrative documents.[12] The first document was similar to that of a village constitution and was called the "Herrschaftliche Gebote und Verbote" or the "Manorial Injunctions and Prohibitions".[13] This document contained a set of compulsory public rules and regulations, which were binding on all residents of Herrnhut. Each resident was compelled by Zinzendorf to sign this document in 1727, thereby displaying their compliance with the public rules and regulations governing the settlement. The second document was called the "Brotherly Union and Compact".[14] This document was a pledge and contract by which each resident voluntarily committed her/himself as member of the unified Herrnhut religious community.[15] A ceremony of acceptance was held annually on the 13th of August to commemorate this pledge and commitment aimed at constituting a unified Christian community.[16] On the whole, such village constitutions and guidelines were not unusual during this period, and similar agreements were enforced on other estates in Germany at the time. A staunch critic of the Herrnhuters, Henry Rimius, observed that they had successfully established a discipline among themselves that unified their community.[17]

As with Pietist groups in general, all Herrnhuters were involved in the management and administration of their community. Members elected representatives from among themselves onto a "body of elders", which was responsible for the management and administration of the community.[18] These elected representatives, together with Zinzendorf, also ensured that the public rules and regulations of Herrnhut, as contained in the "Herrschaftliche Gebote und Verbote", were regularly observed.[19] Those in positions of authority maintained strict order within the settlement. Their tasks included, amongst others, granting permission to refugees to settle and build houses in Herrnhut,[20] collection of rates and taxes from residents, maintenance of buildings and streets, care of the poor, aged and sick, education of children,

---

[12] W.G. Addison, The Renewed Church of the United Brethren, 1722-1930 (London, Society for the Promoting of Christian Knowledge, 1932), p. 16.
[13] Addison, The Renewed Church, pp. 40-41.
[14] Addison, The Renewed Church, pp. 41-42.
[15] G.L. Gollin, Moravians in Two Worlds: A Study of Changing Communities (New York, Columbia University Press, 1967), p. 27.
[16] Annually in South Africa all Moravian congregations, including Clarkson, commemorate this festival of communal unity known as the Festival of the 13th August, or "die Dertiende Augustus Fees". Local rural and urban Moravian communities in South Africa become unified with Moravians across the world in their commemoration of the constitution of the unified Herrnhut community.
[17] Rimius, A Candid Narrative of the Rise and Progress of the Herrnhuters, pp. 8-9.
[18] Gollin, Moravians in Two Worlds, p. 27.
[19] Augustus C. Thompson, Moravian Missions: Twelve Lectures (London, Hodder and Stoughton, 1882), pp. 52-54.

approval of marriages, and the expulsion of thieves and drunkards from the settlement. Superstition and forms of popular entertainment were prohibited within the settlement.[21] In general those in positions of authority strictly controlled all spontaneous and undisciplined actions.[22] The acceptance of the rules, regulations and communal discipline imposed by Zinzendorf and the Body of Elders and obedience thereto was a requirement for qualifying to settle at Herrnhut and being provided with a portion of residential and gardening land. This indicated a crucial connection between the Herrnhut communal identity formation and land. This particular connection between land and communal identity brings to the fore how the control of access too, and use of land functioned in the origins of the Herrnhut community. The same mechanism was later used at Moravian mission settlements in the Cape Colony.

The application of this Pietist inward vision was marked by the belief that productive labour was an important and necessary ingredient for the maintenance of a Christian community. Typical of the Protestant work ethic, the Herrnhuters understood labour as "serving to increase the glory of God". According to Weber the Herrnhuters, like other Protestants, "glorified the loyal and faithful worker" and opposed all forms of "idleness", believing that "wasting of time" was a "deadly sin".[23] This work ethic also underpinned engagement in commercial enterprise. The Body of Elders strictly regulated all trade and business activity within Herrnhut, and aimed to secure the interests and wellbeing of each member. Those in authority insisted on consultation before the start of any new business, rigorously prohibited any competition in trade, and maintained that each resident be employed and paid a reasonable wage.[24] It was in the functioning of this comprehensive Pietist inward vision that the Moravian Ethic emerged. But its imposition at Herrnhut does not adequately account for the development of a Moravian communal identity. The formation of the Moravian communal identity also involved a key historical dimension and concerned the origins of the Herrnhut community in relation to the Unitas Fratrum as articulated through the Moravian narrative of the seed.

The Pietist outward vision was distinguished by an emerging emphasis placed on the establishment of foreign missions among the "heathen". During the eighteenth century, the

---

[20] Gollin, Moravians in Two Worlds, p. 27.
[21] Lewis, Zinzendorf the Ecumenical Pioneer, pp. 75-76.
[22] Max Weber, The Protestant Ethic and the Spirit of Capitalism (London, Unwin University Books, 1930), p. 167.
[23] Weber, The Protestant Ethic, pp. 133-178.
[24] Lewis, Zinzendorf the Ecumenical Pioneer, pp. 75-76.

Pietist leader August Hermann Francke who taught at the University of Halle in Germany was instrumental in the establishment of, amongst others, a charity school, home for the poor, a printing office for the publication and distribution of Christian literature, and a foreign mission during 1706 at Tranquebar in the East Indies.[25] It was this outward vision that accounted for the origins of the early Protestant missionary projects as well as the later missionary endeavours of the Herrnhuters from the 1730s onwards. These involved local proselytising and the establishment of Moravian Societies in Germany as well as in England, Holland, Denmark, and Russia. The Societies established in these countries were referred to as the Moravian Diaspora and were distinguished from the foreign missions established among the "heathen". The first Moravian missionary project commenced in 1732, five years after the establishment of the Herrnhut settlement, in a Danish Colony of the West Indies called St Thomas. Two further missionary projects were initiated in 1735, one among the indigenous peoples of America and the other among slaves in the Dutch Colony of Guiana situated in the North Eastern coastal area of South America, which is now called Surinam.[26] The missionary project at the Cape of Good Hope commenced in 1737.

Selected candidates from the Herrnhut community were trained for its foreign missions among the heathen. Zinzendorf led special missionary classes and all candidates were compelled to attend these. In these classes they studied, amongst others, the experiences of the Danish Halle mission and the work of Hans Egede in Greenland. Zinzendorf had very clear and practical ideas on what missionaries should do in the field when working amongst the "unconverted".[27] He divided his approach to missionary work into three categories, namely the personal conduct of the missionary, the missionary as theologian and the missionary as politician. His underlying beliefs were that the "heathen" were "by nature weak". He believed that nothing but personal example could "raise" them from "the mire". "Bad example" would "ruin" them; only "good example" could "save" them.[28] He asserted that while all "heathen" knew that there was a God, they did not know that "Jesus Christ came into the world to save sinners".[29] Zinzendorf's teaching emphasised that missionaries should firstly seek to live humbly among the people and not dominate them. Secondly, the focal point of their preaching

---

[25] J.R. Weinlick and A.H. Frank, The Moravian Church Through the Ages: The Story of a Worldwide Pre-Reformation Protestant Church (Bethlehem, The Moravian Church in America, 1996), p. 50.
[26] Weinlick and Frank, The Moravian Church Through the Ages, pp. 75-80.
[27] Weinlick and Frank, The Moravian Church through the Ages, p. 78.
[28] J.E. Hutton, A History of the Moravian Missions (London, Moravian Publication Office, 1922), p. 176.

should be the crucified Christ. Thirdly, they should not aim to convert the whole nation all at once, but rather to engage individuals and smaller groups of people. Fourthly, they should earn their own living and teach by example the dignity of work. Fifthly, they should maintain strict personal obedience to both the civil and priestly laws of the countries in which they worked and not participate in its political affairs nor in any controversial issues such as employer-employee relationships.[30] This approach drew on core elements of the Moravian Ethic. Essentially the Moravian missionary project meant imposing a Pietist discipline onto the social life of (potential) indigenous converts, moulding their religious, social, political, economic, and spatial landscape largely in imitation of the Herrnhut community.[31] The Herrnhuter's inward Pietist vision contributed to a comprehensive formulated Moravian Ethic that was applied through its outward vision when proselytising and establishing Moravian Societies among the Diaspora and heathen.

3.2.2 The Ancient Unitas Fratum and the Renewed Moravian Church

The articulation and consolidation of the inward vision at Herrnhut in the form of the Moravian Ethic contributed much to the construction of Moravian communal identity. The linkage between land and communal identity, through Zinzendorf and the Body of Elders, provided another part. But this does not yet provide the full story or an adequate account. The Pietist beliefs of social discipline, loyalty to those in positions of authority, and the Protestant ethic of labour serving to increase the "glory of God", certainly sustained the general coherence of the religious community at Herrnhut. However, the underlying social and religious differences between the various groups of refugees remained. Why, given the composite nature of the settlement at Herrnhut did a specifically Moravian communal identity become visible with refugees from Moravia emerging as the dominant religious group?[32]

Shortly after Zinzendorf's death in 1760 the Herrnhut Pietist group separated from the official Lutheran Church and established themselves as a new and independent Moravian Church. In forging an identity for this "new" Church, members asserted a specific founding story or

---

[29] Hutton, A History of the Moravian Missions, pp. 175-181.
[30] Weinlick and Frank, The Moravian Church through the Ages, pp. 78-79; J.R. Weinlick, Count Zinzendorf (New York, Abingdon Press, 1956), pp. 99-101; Hutton, A History of the Moravian Missions, pp. 176-180.
[31] The imposition of the Moravian missionary identity will be closely discussed and analysed in chapter 5 of this dissertation.

narrative of origin: the traditions of the Herrnhut Moravians were claimed to derive from the Unitas Fratrum.[33] August Gottlieb Spanenberg, who took over leadership of the Moravian Church after Zinzendorf's death, described the Church as "even the most ancient of the Protestant Religions".[34] By connecting with the "ancient" history of the Unitas Fratrum a seamless web was woven between past and present.[35] Under Spanenberg's leadership landmark ceremonies and rituals celebrating the history of the Church and its missions were introduced, known as memorial days or commemorations. It had the important role of cementing a sense of solidarity between members of the Moravian Church throughout the world.[36] The continuity between the ancient and the renewed church was that both were founded or built on a "gemeinschaft, unitat, and/or brotherhood".[37] The Moravian doctrine of discipline and conduct was compiled by Spanenberg in 1780 as *Idea Fidea Fratrum: An Exposition of Christian Doctrine as Taught in the Protestant Church of the United Brethren or the Unitas Fratrum*, which became the doctrinal statement of the Church.[38] The title of the book clearly connected the newly established independent Moravian Church with the teachings of the much older Unitas Fratrum.

The independent Moravian Church thus aligned and identified itself with the religious traditions of the Unitas Fratrum. This religious group had emerged during the proto-nationalist struggles waged in Czechoslovakia against German domination during the 1400s.[39] It initially existed as a dissenting tendency within the official Roman Catholic Church and established itself in 1457 as a religious community at Kunewald, a village about 100 miles northeast of Bohemia. According to Lewis, members of the Unitas Fratrum at the Kunewald settlement observed a Christian obedience and accepted instruction, warning, and discipline from one another in the spirit of "brotherly goodwill".[40] The foundation of "gemeinschaft" or community among members of the Unitas Fratrum had like the Herrnhuters, been built on principles and practices of social discipline. Similarly the notion of community among different groups of refugees in the Kunewald community emerged from their acceptance of a doctrine of discipline and conduct,

---

[32] B.P. Smaby, The Transformation of Bethlehem (Philadelphia, University of Pensylvania Press, 1988), p. 8.
[33] Addison, The Renewed Church, pp. 48-51.
[34] Mason, The Moravian Church, p. 7.
[35] Mason, The Moravian Church, p. 7.
[36] Mason, The Moravian Church, pp. 6-9.
[37] Addison, The Renewed Church, p. 59.
[38] Spanenberg, Idea Fidei Fratrum, p. v.
[39] Lewis, Zinzendorf the Ecumenical Pioneer, pp. 35-36.
[40] Lewis, Zinzendorf The Ecumenical Pioneer, p. 36.

which sought to regulate its communal social, economic, and religious activities.[41] One of the principles around which the Kunewald community mobilised was the belief that all "men" were equal before God and had equal access to God. Unable to tolerate the corruption and practices of the official Roman Catholic Church, the Unitas Fratrum declared its autonomy and formed an independent church in 1467.[42] State officials rejected its religious autonomy, destroyed the Kunewald settlement, imprisoned, killed and persecuted many prominent leaders and members.[43] A further upsurge of persecutions occurred in 1548. In Moravia and Bohemia neither the Lutheran nor the Reformed Churches were allowed to exist. Many Brethren fled to Poland where the organisation and episcopacy could be maintained,[44] since Poland was not covered by the 1648 treaty of Westphalia that outlawed all religious organisations within the Roman Empire.

3.2.2.1 The Moravian historical narrative of the seed: A discourse analysis

The analogy with the Unitas Fratrum more than one hundred and fifty years earlier provided a model for the new Moravian Church. In constructing a historical narrative for the "new" Moravian Church, some members claimed that the 1727 regulations of Herrnhut were similar to the "Ratio Disciplinae" of the Unitas Fratrum. The 1727 regulations began to be interpreted as the "renewal of the Brüderkirche" or the "renewed Church", while the Unitas Fratrum's "Ratio Disciplinae" was interpreted as representing the code of conduct of "the ancient Church".[45] In a sense the Unitas Fratrum of the 15th century represented the "seed" of the later Moravian Church, a seed which had remained "hidden" during the intervening more than 150 years but now bore fruit again at Herrnhut. By using metaphors like "the seed" and "the hidden seed" the emerging narrative produced a thread of continuity from the "ancient" Church through to the "renewed" Moravian Church.[46] The Moravian narrative of the seed thus played a key part in the construction of a communal identity at Herrnhut, and is a later community-based understanding and threading together of traumatic experiences and historical events. As we will see below this same narrative would also serve to articulate the missionary identity in the

---

[41] Addison, The Renewed Church, p. 59.
[42] Lewis, Zinzendorf the Ecumenical Pioneer, pp. 35-36; Peter Brock, The Political and Social Doctrines of the Unity of the Czech Brethren in the Fifteen and Early Sixteen Centuries (London, Mouton, 1957), pp. 70-75.
[43] Thompson, Moravian Missions, pp. 22-25.
[44] Weinlick and Frank, The Moravian Church Through the Ages, pp. 33-34.
[45] Addison, The Renewed Church, pp. 47-48.
[46] Thompson, Moravian Missions, p. 31; Smaby, The Transformation, p. 5.

Cape colony. When the Moravian Church began its missionary activities in the Cape Colony from 1737 onwards, the metaphor was again invoked to capture the growth of the Church within the colony. The "seed" was planted, "blossomed" into a "pear tree", and produced its "first fruits" in the Cape Colony.[47] In this way selected historical events and episodes of the Unitas Fratrum during the 1400s, the Herrnhut Moravians of the 1700s, and the Moravian missionary activities in the Cape Colony from 1737 onwards, were drawn together into one unified historical narrative.

The traumatic events of persecution, exile and refuge of members of the Unitas Fratrum during the 1400s and the 1600s are mirrored by similar experiences of other groups of people who also sought refuge on the land owned by Count Zinzendorf during the 1700s. The narrative that connects these two different sets of events starts with the return of the Unitas Fratrum bishop, Amos Comenius, to Czechoslovakia.

> "... The last bishop of these older brethren's church, Comenius, was obliged to leave his retreat, the castle of a friendly Bohemian Baron. With part of his flock he migrated to Poland in 1627... He returned for a farewell look upon the region, which had become an Aceldama. He kneeled with his fellow exiles, and offered up his fervent prayer, beseeching God not to suffer the light of divine truth to go out in those countries they were leaving, but that he would there preserve a *seed* to serve him."[48]

In terms of this Moravian narrative, then, those who remained "hidden" in Bohemia in 1627 are connected to those who sought refuge on the estate of Count Zinzendorf in 1727. The historical narrative continued.

> "... The breathing of the Holy Spirit touched Christian David, a carpenter in the village of Senftleben. He was a superstitious Roman Catholic, had soul-troubles, which no penances or invocation of saints could relieve. At twenty years of age he had not seen the bible. But coming into acquaintance with some of the Protestants who, inspite of imprisonment would pray and sing ... he was savingly taught of God ... he began to make journeys to Moravia

---

[47] The function of this same narrative of the seed in the Cape colonial context for constructing the communal identity of the missionary settlement will be dealt with later in this chapter. Writing in the 1960s Bernard Krüger uses the metaphor of the "pear tree blossoms" in the title of his book. See Krüger, The Pear Tree Blossoms, The History of the Moravian Church in South Africa 1737-1869 (Genadendal, The Moravian Book Depot, 1966), pp. 52-53; I. Balie, Die Geskiedenis van Genadendal, 1738-1988 (Kaapstad, Perskor, 1988), p. 26.

[48] Thompson, Moravian Missions, pp. 29-30.

> that he might communicate truths which had brought life to his soul ... he became acquainted with the family Neissers ... they desired to immigrate. Christian David searched long to find an asylum for them. Finally he was directed to Count Zinzendorf who promised to receive immigrants on his estate at Betheldorf ... One group after another effected their escape. The sacred stream, which to all public observation was completely dried up, had only disappeared beneath the surface. Only to come to light again at Herrnhut the Plymouth Rock of the Moravians".[49]

In following the continuity of this narrative, selective historical events and episodes of the Unitas Fratrum, also known as the Unity of Brethren, emerged as important components of the constructed Moravian communal identity. These include the migration to Poland while preserving a seed in Bohemia, the conversion of Christian David from Catholicism to the ancient practices of the Unitas Fratum, the search for an appropriate asylum for refugees from Bohemia and Moravia, the presence of the "sacred stream" to water the "preserved seeds", and Herrnhut, the place of refuge for the Moravians.

In narrative terms the continuity between the ancient and the renewed Church was represented as the hidden seed which remained dormant and later flourished once more. Seeds represent elements of potential life, and are usually preserved when the harvest is gathered in, and then used again at a later time during the sowing season. It is thus from the seed of a previous plant that another plant grows. By using the metaphor of the seed as a core element of the historical Moravian narrative, the exiled members of the Unitas Fratrum were represented as calling on God to preserve the very core and life force of their principles, practices and traditions. Underlying the apparent absence of a flourishing community during the time of exile, their beliefs, practices and traditions were actually preserved as seeds for a time in the future when these could be sown again. The re-growth of their beliefs and practices would then take on a form of its own, blossom and bear fruit. The function of the Moravian narrative of the seed was to construct a communal Moravian identity that linked people together from different places and across time around meanings of community/unity, uniformity of conduct, and social discipline. Both the Unitas Fratrum and the Herrnhuters constituted themselves as Christian communities. In the case of Herrnhut, access to land for residential, agricultural, and business purposes was made conditional on obedience to the prescribed

[49] Thompson, Moravian Missions, pp. 32-36.

conduct and social discipline of the Body of Elders and marked the link of an emerging Moravian communal identity with acquired rights in land. The Moravian historical narrative of the seed was later extended to incorporate a reconstructed account of the activities of the early Moravian missionaries at the Cape Colony. But what was the colonial social historical context of the Cape Colony when the first Moravian missionary arrived to start his missionary project amongst groups of indigenous peoples there?

3.3 The Moravian Mission in the Cape Colony: A Social Historical Context

3.3.1 Dutch Settlement at the Cape

The Dutch had been trading in spices collected from the East through the Dutch East India Company (DEIC) from the early 1600s. Its trade route was enhanced by the establishment of a refreshment station in 1652 at the Cape. By the 1700s this refreshment station had been transformed into a Dutch colony.[50] Whatever its former status, in practice by the time the first Moravian missionary, George Schmidt, arrived at the Cape in 1737 the expansion of the Cape colonial settlement had resulted in many indigenous people being dispossessed of their land and cattle. Some leading figures and churchmen in the Netherlands, including Hieronymus van Alphen and Franco de Bruin, became aware of the plight and impoverished position of the "heathen" at the Cape Colony. They requested Zinzendorf to extend the Herrnhut missionary activities among the "heathen" Khoisan at the Cape. In response George Schmidt was selected for the task, he became the first missionary at the Cape Colony from 1737 onwards.[51]

The Dutch East India Company settlement at the Cape supplied passing ships from Europe on their way to Asia with meat and agricultural products. This service was rendered through trade in cattle with the indigenous peoples of the Cape. Heren XVII's directive to Jan Van Riebeeck, founder and Governor of the new settlement, was aimed at ensuring friendly relations with the indigenous people so as to encourage trade in cattle.[52] The Khoisan pastoralists were however hesitant to trade large numbers of their cattle, which resulted in regular conflict with colonists.[53] Access to land, cattle, and water, were crucial elements in the pastoral and hunter-gatherer

---

[50] André du Toit and Herman Giliomee, Afrikaner Political Thought: Analysis and Documents, 1780-1850 (Berkeley, University of California Press, 1983), vol. 1, p. 1.
[51] Krüger, The Pear Tree Blossoms, p. 12.
[52] Du Toit and Giliomee, Afrikaner Political Thought, p. 1.

economy of the indigenous Khoisan and San peoples.[54] The territorial expansion of the Cape colony was driven by the colonists' needs for land, indigenous labour, and cattle. Slaves were brought into the colony from 1658 onwards, and subsequently the colonial economy was based on slavery and forced labour practices.[55] Territorial boundaries shifted constantly, not always in favour of the colonists. Despite the persistent resistance of indigenous peoples to colonial expansion and its accompanying acts of brutality they lost large herds of cattle, and their previous largely unconstrained access to and use of land and water became severely restricted.[56] During the ensuing decades more land around the Cape was forcibly and systematically appropriated by colonists, with land and water resources being claimed as their private property under colonial law. This understanding of ownership was in direct opposition to the beliefs held by indigenous Khoisan peoples who regarded land and water as shared resources to be used in moderation by each passing hunter-gatherer and/or pastoral group.[57] In response to these colonial encroachments many Khoisan participated in raids, counter-raids and frontier wars against the Dutch colonial settlement from the late 1650s onwards and throughout the 1700s in efforts to reclaim their stolen cattle, recover their dispossessed land, and restore access to water resources.[58] Some Khoisan pastoralists reverted to hunter-gatherer practices after their cattle had been appropriated and their social coherency disrupted. [59] Their bold and courageous struggles in defence of their rights and unhindered access to land and water did not succeed in putting a stop to colonial encroachment into the interior, nor to the disruption and marginalisation of their formerly autonomous communities. Other Khoisan groups moved into the more arid areas of the Cape, while some preferred to stay on the fringes of their former land, increasingly employed as servants by colonial farmers.[60] By the time the Moravian missionary, George Schmidt, arrived at the Cape in 1737,

---

[53] R. Elphick and V.C. Malherbe, 'The Khoisan to 1828' in R. Elphick and H. Giliomee (eds.), The Shaping of South African Society, 1652-1840, 2nd edition (Connecticut, Wesleyan University Press, 1979), pp. 11-13.
[54] Elphick and Malherbe, 'The Khoisan to 1828', pp. 18-19.
[55] Leonard Thompson, A History of South Africa, revised edition (New Haven, Yale University Press, 1995), pp. 33-38.
[56] N. Penn, 'Labour, Land and Livestock in the Western Cape during the Eighteenth Century: The Khoisan and the Colonists' in Wilmot G. James and M. Simons (eds.), Class Caste and Colour: A Social and Economic History of the South African Western Cape (New Brunswick, Transaction Publishers, 1992), pp. 1-5.
[57] L. Guelke and R. Shell, 'Landscape of Conquest: Frontier Water Alienation and Khoikhoi Strategies of Survival, 1652-1780', Journal of Southern African Studies 18: 4 (December 1992), p. 805. See also M. Wilson, 'The Hunters and Herders' in M. Wilson and L. Thompson, The Oxford History of South Africa (Oxford, Clarendon Press, 1969), vol. 1, pp. 58-59.
[58] Shula Marks, 'Khoisan Resistance to the Dutch in the Seventeenth and Eighteenth Centuries', Journal of African History xiii: 1 (1972), pp. 69-71.
[59] Guelke and Shell, 'Landscape of Conquest', pp. 820-822.
[60] Guelke and Shell, 'Landscape of Conquest', pp. 811-812.

the Khoisan peoples had largely been dispossessed of their land. Some however retained their independence from colonists by moving between the remaining open spaces of established colonial farms. In this way Khoisan pastoralists, like those residing at Hartebeeskraal in the Overberg, retained some of their mobility within the colony, albeit now considerably limited and on the outskirts of colonial farms.[61]

3.3.2 The Moravian Missionary Project at the Cape

The Khoisan community at Hartebeeskraal was in close proximity to the Zoetemelksvlei cattle post, about a half hour walk away.[62] Shortly after Schmidt's arrival during 1737 in the Cape Colony, some colonial officials requested that he travel with them to their post at Zoetmelksvlei.[63] DEIC cattle posts had been established in the area at Zoetemelksvlei, Tygerhoek, and Ziekenhuis along the Rivier Zonder Einde. By this time the Khoisan communities residing in the Rivier Zonder Einde area had been dispossessed of most of their land by colonists settling under the colony's loan-farm tenure system. While the Hartebeeskraal community still had limited access to land of their own, the threat of dispossession remained. Their land was eventually disposed of as a loan farm by Dutch colonial authorities towards the end of the 1700s.[64] The Captain of the Zoetemelksvlei garrison, J.T. Rhenius, recommended that Schmidt begin his missionary activities among the Hartebeeskraal Khoisan community. He described them as a group of people who lived fairly "peacefully" within the colony.[65] After arriving at the Zoetemelksvlei cattle post, Schmidt set out to visit members of the Khoisan community. He observed that there was one Khoisan family who lived in a colonial-style house, about a half and hour from the cattle post. He acquainted himself with its owner, a man called Africo who was also leader of the Hartebeeskraal Khoisan community.[66] Schmidt observed that initially the Khoisan were cautious of him, believing that he had come to trade with them in cattle. However their confidence in him was gradually established once they realised that he was not there to trade or rob but "to serve them". He

---

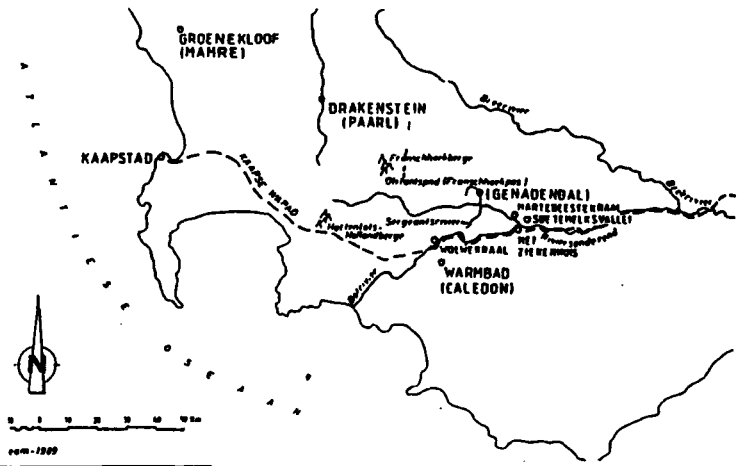
[61] Krüger, The Pear Tree Blossoms, p. 26.
[62] H.C. Bredekamp, 'De(con)struction of an early Collective Khoikhoi Christian Identity in South Africa, 1737-1743', Conference paper, Khoisan Identities and Cultural Heritage, University of the Western Cape, 1997, pp. 2-4.
[63] Krüger, The Pear Tree Blossoms, p. 20.
[64] Bredekamp, 'De(con)struction', pp. 2-4.
[65] Bredekamp, 'De(con)struction', p. 6.
[66] H.C. Bredekamp and J.L. Hattingh (eds.), Dagboek en Briewe van George Schmidt: Eerste Sendeling in Suid-Afrika (1737-1744), trans. J. du P. Boeke (Bellville, Die Weskaaplandse Instituut vir Historiese Navorsing, 1981), p. 45.

noted in his diary that they became more open to visit him - "the people thought that I came to take their cattle and sheep. Now that they see that I wish to serve and help and want nothing from them, their confidence has grown and one after the other told others so that the whole area knows about me and sometimes 2,3,4 come to visit me".[67] Some of the Hartebeeskraal Khoisan people had begun adopting a rudimentary colonial way of life, which included speaking the Dutch language.[68] Schmidt's presence afforded them an opportunity to familiarise themselves with his Moravian way of life and beliefs in Christianity so different from their own beliefs in Ticqua and Gaunab.[69] He began giving Dutch literacy classes, and delivered religious sermons to all those from the community who wished to attend. Africo, who also attended these classes regularly translated the sermons.[70]

Not comfortable with his proximity to the colonial post at Zoetmelksvlei, Schmidt moved from Hartebeeskraal in 1738, and settled in the colonial district of Stellenbosch in a place called Baviaanskloof, later named Genadendal.[71] See map in figure 4 indicating the location of Genadendal in relation to Hartebeeskraal.

Figure 4: shows the geographical location of Genadendal in relation to both Hartebeeskraal and Zoetemelksvallei.

[Source: H.C. Bredekamp, 'George Schmidt se Poging tot Transformasie van n Overbergse Khoikhoi-Gemeenskap, 1737-1743.' Kronos 14 (1988), p. 31].

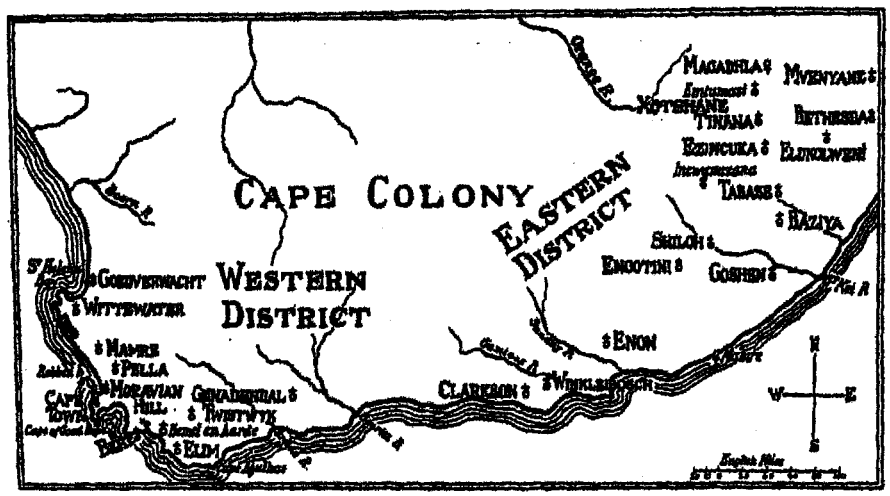


[67] Bredekamp and Hattingh, Dagboek en Briewe, p. 45. In the Afrikaans translated text this appears as "Die mense het ten dele gedink dat ek net gekom het om 'n klompie beeste en skape van hulle te kry. Noudat hulle egter sien dat ek hulle wil dien en help en niks van hulle verlang nie, het vertroue gekry en die een na die ander het vir die ander gesê, sodat die hele omliggende gebied tyding van my is en soms kom 2,3,4, ens. saam om my te besoek".
[68] Bredekamp, 'De(con)struction', p. 6.
[69] Bredekamp, 'De(con)struction', pp. 9-10.
[70] Krüger, The Pear Tree Blossoms, pp. 20-21; Bredekamp and Hattingh, Dagboek en Briewe, pp. 45-69.
[71] Krüger, The Pear Tree Blossoms, pp. 21-22; H.C. Bredekamp, 'George Schmidt se Poging tot Transformasie van 'n Overbergse Khoikhoi-Gemeenskap, 1737-1743', Kronos 14 (1988), p. 24.

He was able to occupy land allocated to him in 1738 by the Governor, which had been granted specifically for missionary purposes. He was now no longer a visitor on the land of the Hartebeeskraal Khoisan community.[72] Schmidt began to establish a Moravian mission settlement at Baviaanskloof by proclaiming the rules and regulations for maintaining good conduct, and by making attendance of his Dutch literacy/religious classes a condition for portioning off land to (potential) converts.[73] At Baviaanskloof his authority was increased by the control he now exercised over rights in land. See map in figure 5 showing the geographical location of Genadenal in relation to Cape Town and Clarkson.

Figure 5: A map showing the geographical location of Genadenal in relation to Cape Town and Clarkson.

[Source: Periodical Accounts Relating to the Missions of the Church of the United Brethren Established among the Heathen, vi: 61 (March 1905) p. 24].



[72] Bredekamp, 'George Schmidt se Poging', p. 24; Krüger, The Pear Tree Blossoms, p. 21. Isaac Balie describes various contested claims of entitlement to the Genadendal land between some Genadendal residents and the Moravian missionaries. The mission station was registered in 1858 with the Deed of Grant given by colonial authorities in the name of the Superintendent of the United Brethren or Moravian Missionary Institution. See Isaac Balie, Die Geskiedenis van Genadendal, pp. 80-82.

[73] Bredekamp, 'De(con)struction', p. 8.

Settlement at Baviaanskloof thus marked the start of a new set of power relations between himself as missionary and the new Khoisan residents - his potential converts. After a year at Bavianskloof, Schmidt allocated individual garden plots in 1739 to his most faithful followers. Each received a measured portion of land.[74] Such allocated portions of land differed completely from any kind of rights in land previously held by indigenous Khoisan people, which typically involved collective uses of land for transhumant pasturage. The colonial model of private property and permanent occupation of land was very different to Khoisan beliefs in caring for the land, whereby pastoralists regularly moved their cattle and sheep from one grazing area to another, allowing parts of the land to temporarily rest.[75] Even though Schmidt had made permanent land allocations to potential converts at Bavianskloof, the traditional transhumant mode of subsistence of the Khoisan pastoralists impelled them to continuously seek out suitable grazing land and access to water resources for their cattle within the confines of Dutch land colonisation. Schmidt was often confronted with the presence, then absence, and then return of different groups of Khoisan peoples at Baviaanskloof. Those attending his Dutch (Bible) reading classes were never constant, even though he insisted and preached in his daily sermons that good conduct involved regular attendance of classes and permanent occupation of land at Baviaanskloof.[76]

Khoisan access to land at the Moravian mission required adaptation to notions of private property and permanent occupation: only individuals had rights to an allocated portion of land, from which the larger Khoisan community was then excluded. Even so, this form of leasehold did not have the same status within the Cape Colony as the loan farms held by colonial Dutch farmers.[77] More importantly, those Khoisan people who were not identified as potential converts were excluded from this land allocation process. Missionary control of access to land was thus used as both a coercive and an exclusionary tool; while including some as members of the new missionary community by giving them land it excluded others who did not meet these requirements. In this way the missionary intervention produced new lines of difference amongst the Baviaanskloof Khoisan community. The Moravian missionaries who later followed Schmidt to the Cape in the 1790s also used this practice of inclusion and exclusion based on

---

[74] Bredekamp, 'De(con)struction', p. 16; Bredekamp and Hattingh, Dagboek en Briewe, p. 75.
[75] Krüger, The Pear Tree Blossoms, p. 22.
[76] Krüger, The Pear Tree Blossoms, pp. 21-22; Bredekamp and Hattingh, Dagboek en Briewe, pp. 83-89.

land allocations within the mission settlement, creating a distinction between the "heathen" and (potential) converted indigenous peoples in relation to secured rights in land.

Schmidt's missionary work at the Cape Colony culminated in the baptism of the first five converts during 1742. When baptised, each person was renamed with their indigenous names replaced by biblical Christian names, signifying their conversion to Christianity.[78] Schmidt baptised Wilhelm first and renamed him "Joshua".[79] The biblical meaning of the name "Joshua" represents the successor to the prophet Moses who had led Israel from the desert to the "Promised Land". The name "Joshua" had also been given to the Herrnhuters' first baptised convert at St. Thomas, the very first Moravian mission to be established.[80] Schmidt baptised Africo and renamed him "Christian".[81] In the historical Moravian narrative the name "Christian" was derived from Christian David, the founder of the Herrnhut community.[82] Schmidt baptised Kybbodo and renamed him "Jonas".[83] Schmidt also baptised two women and gave them biblical names, Verhettge Tikkuie was renamed "Magdalena". The other woman convert was renamed "Christina".[84] Their baptism increased their status within the Baviaanskloof community. They regularly held special meetings with Schmidt, who excluded those who had not been baptised. These baptised converts received additional training in reading, spelling and writing so that they could be equipped to teach others.[85] This group of five baptised Khoisan converts were thus set apart from the general community of Baviaanskloof. In his diary Schmidt addressed each individual baptised member as Brother and Sister. The act of baptism was used as a discursive tool by the missionary to differentiate the social identity of the five baptised converts from that of the surrounding Khoisan peoples. Schmidt addressed each baptised member as Sister Magdalena, Sister Christina, Brother Joshua, Brother Christian, and Brother Jonas respectively. It also established a relation of power of baptised converts over their excluded Khoisan peers. But their baptism did not necessarily make them steadfast in their newly adopted Christian faith. In reports sent to the Brethren at Herrnhut, Schmidt wrote that "his flock was like reeds, swinging to and fro in the wind; the baptised

---

[77] Bredekamp, 'De(con)struction', p. 16.
[78] Krüger, The Pear Tree Blossoms, p. 33.
[79] Bredekamp and Hattingh, Dagboek en Briewe, p. 343.
[80] Bredekamp, 'De(con)struction', p. 20.
[81] Bredekamp and Hattingh, Dagboek en Briewe, p. 343.
[82] Bredekamp, 'De(con)struction', p. 20; Weinlick and Frank, The Moravian Church Through the Ages, pp. 51-52.
[83] Bredekamp and Hattingh, Dagboek en Briewe, p. 347.
[84] Bredekamp, 'De(con)struction', pp. 20-21; Bredekamp and Hattingh, Dagboek en Briewe, p. 345-347.
[85] Bredekamp, 'De(con)struction', pp. 20-21.

members being no better".[86] Their poor and inconsistent attendance as well as the colonists' opposition to the very idea of his mission depressed him. He finally left the Cape Colony in 1744.[87] The original Moravian mission at the Cape had apparently ended in failure.

From later and retrospective perspectives, Schmidt's missionary work at the Cape was re-interpreted as the beginning of the Moravian mission that was re-established at the Cape from 1792 onwards. After he abandoned his work in Baviaanskloof in 1744 he returned to Holland and in 1747 submitted a request to the Dutch Reformed Church that he be ordained as a minister of the Reformed Church in order to return to the Cape Colony. This was refused. He eventually settled at the Moravian settlement in Niesky, where he died in 1785. Schmidt himself never used the Moravian metaphor of the seed when describing his missionary activities in his diaries and letters. However his diaries are filled throughout with references to the Moravian Ethic. In the reconstructed historical Moravian mission narrative, Schmidt's story concluded with he "died during the time allotted to him ... praying for his flock at the Cape".[88]

3.3.3 The Dutch Colonial Response to the Moravian Mission

The inconsistencies of baptised converts were not the only reasons for Schmidt's frustration and departure from the Cape Colony. On the whole Dutch colonists at the Cape and the local clergy of the Dutch Reformed Church during the 1700s opposed missionary work among the indigenous peoples. In particular they found Khoisan conversion to Christianity unacceptable.[89] Many colonists argued that it was inappropriate to convert and baptise the "heathen" since it implied equality within the colony. They asserted that as Christians their privileges could not be applied to the "heathen". [90] The dominant view among Dutch colonists at the Cape was that Schmidt had no right to baptise the five Khoisan converts. In response to objections against the baptisms, a member of the Governing Council responsible for law and order in the colony, Fiscal Pieter van Reede from Oudtshoorn, interrogated two of the baptised converts. Schmidt was called in to attend the meeting and ordered not to engage in any further Khoisan baptisms until further notice. Officially he was, however, still encouraged to continue his missionary work

[86] Krüger, The Pear Tree Blossoms, p. 40.
[87] Krüger, The Pear Tree Blossoms, p. 40.
[88] Krüger, The Pear Tree Blossoms, p. 44.
[89] Krüger, The Pear Tree Blossoms, pp. 36-46.

at Baviaanskloof.[91] The Christian religious practices of baptism, confirmation, and marriage had immense social and symbolic significance to these early colonists at the Cape. As Christians they believed in having the exclusive right to practice religious rituals of baptism and confirmation in relation to the indigenous "heathen" who were not Christian and therefore not entitled to practice such religious rituals. Their conception of Christianity did not require any duty to engage in mission work among the "heathen" but to sustain themselves as a Christian community amid the "heathen".[92] This Dutch colonial communal identity was exclusive, had no proselytising dimension, and set them apart from the indigenous "heathen". The colonial ritual of baptising the children of Christians specifically excluded non-Christian indigenous children.[93] The social status of being included within colonial society by virtue of being Christian was reinforced by the judicial system, which gave a different legal weight to the testimony brought to court by a Christian, than that brought forward by a "heathen".[94] The majority of Dutch colonists and DEIC officials at the Cape claimed Christianity and literacy as their own, believing these to be key attributes of civilisation which differentiated them from slaves, "heathens" and "aliens".[95] In terms of the basic legal-status hierarchy operating in the 18th century Cape Colony slaves, the Khoisan and the Xhosa belonged to a very different and inferior civic and legal category to that of the colonists.[96]

The colonists thus vehemently opposed Schmidt's missionary project at Baviaanskloof even though his teachings incorporated such aspects of the Moravian Ethic as that of loyalty to those in positions of authority, the dignity of work, and good conduct which might otherwise have been seen as contributing to the creating of the "docile workforce" so sought after by them. But Schmidt was not prepared to submit to their authority nor to the creed of the Reformed Church. He asserted that the accreditation of his work did not rest with clergy of the

---

[90] Bettina Schmidt, Creating Order: Culture as Politics in Nineteenth and Twentieth Century South Africa (Nijmegen, Third World Centre, University of Nijmegen, 1996), p. 20.
[91] Krüger, The Pear Tree Blossoms, pp. 33-34.
[92] André du Toit, 'No Chosen People: The Myth of the Calvinist Origins of Afrikaner Nationalism and Racial Ideology', The American Historical Review 88: 4 (October 1983), pp. 920-952. While Dutch colonists at the Cape were for the most part disinterested in proselytising in the eighteenth century, there remains the case of M. Vos and others who embarked on an active missionary drive from Cape Town during the late eighteenth century.
[93] Elizabeth Elbourne, 'Early Khoisan Uses of Mission Christianity', Kronos 19 (1992), p. 5.
[94] Elbourne, 'Early Khoisan Uses of Mission Christianity', pp. 5-6.
[95] Robert Shell presents some evidence that men who chose to present their children by slave/indigenous women at baptismal ceremonies were making claims about their potential inclusion/incorporation into colonial society. See Robert C.H. Shell, Children of Bondage: A Social History of the Slave Society at the Cape of Good Hope, 1652-1838 (Johannesburg, Witwatersrand University Press, 1994).
[96] Du Toit and Giliomee, Afrikaner Political Thought, p. 10.

DEIC at the Cape. He insisted that he was an ordained minister and demanded that if he was not granted the necessary freedom in his missionary work he would return to Holland and thereafter to Herrnhut. Since his wish was not granted, he left the Cape in 1744.[97]

3.3.4 The Moravian Mission Renewed

Following Schmidt's departure from the Cape Colony in 1744, Moravian missionary activity within the colony was terminated, and was only resumed fifty years later during the 1790s. During the interim the Moravians were actively involved in establishing foreign missions in the West Indian Islands in places like St John in 1741, Antigua in 1756, Barbados in 1765, St Kitts in 1777, and Tobago in 1790.[98] It was on a return visit from these West Indies Moravian missions in 1787 that the Moravian Bishop, Johann Reichel, met a Dutch Reformed minister of the Cape and heard from him that "some of Schmidt's converts were still alive, preserving the New Testament, which he had distributed".[99] On his return to Germany Bishop Reichel proposed to the 1789 Synod in Herrnhut that the Moravian mission at the Cape be renewed.[100] The proposal was accepted and an application was submitted to the Council of Seventeen to renew the Moravian mission at the Cape. This application was approved on condition that they did not establish a mission settlement where a Christian congregation already existed. Three Brethren were selected to renew the Moravian mission at the Cape. They were Hendrik Marsveld, a Dutch tailor from Gouda in the Netherlands, Daniel Schwinn, a German cobbler from Odenwald in Germany, and Christian Kühnel, from Herrnhut. They were given permission by the Council of Seventeen to settle at Baviaanskloof, the place previously occupied by Schmidt.[101]

The Moravian missionaries Marsveld, Schwinn and Kühnel arrived in the Cape Colony in 1792. By this time most of the indigenous people living in the Colony and around Baviaanskloof had become even more impoverished and dependent on employment as servants by colonial farmers in the surrounding area. While some individuals within Khoisan communities still

---

[97] Krüger, The Pear Tree Blossoms, pp. 31-40.
[98] Weinlick and Frank, The Moravian Church Through the Ages, p. 80.
[99] Krüger, The Pear Tree Blossoms, pp. 47-48.
[100] Krüger, The Pear Tree Blossoms, p. 48.
[101] H.C. Bredekamp and H.E.F. Plüddemann (eds.), The Genadendal Diaries: Diaries of the Herrnhut Missionaries H. Marsveld, D. Schwinn, and J.C. Khünel, trans. A.B.L. Flegg, Series B4 (vol.1, Bellville, University of the Western Cape Institute for Historical Research, 1992), vol. 1, p. 53.

owned a few cattle, their ability to graze their cattle, hunt and gather food had become almost completely constrained by the encroaching colonial farmers.[102] The demand by colonial farmers for labour increased, as their production expanded in wheat, wine, meat and other agricultural products. After the British occupation of the Cape Colony from 1795 onwards, the demand for these products increased substantially, with farmers requiring more labour to meet market demands. Colonial farmers sought to exert greater access to and control over indigenous labour. An indentured labour and pass system was introduced to ensure the coercive employment and control of Khoisan peoples, especially its women and children.[103] It is within this context that the Moravian mission station was (re) established in the Cape Colony from 1792 onwards. The mission station was now increasingly perceived by many Khoisan peoples as a place of safety and security within a world of social turmoil. Some deserted the farms on which they were "employed on contract" and settled at the mission station on condition that they would abide by the rules and regulations of the Moravian missionaries.[104]

3.4 Reconstructing the Moravian Mission Narrative

The new Moravian missionaries, also settled at Baviaanskloof, like Schmidt fifty years earlier. They described their arrival in their meticulously kept diaries, showing special interest in traces of Schmidt's sojourn fifty years before, especially in the fruit trees he had planted:

> "We arrived at Baviaanskloof ... a good number of walls of his house were still there and in his garden were several trees which we thought he must have planted, also three oaks. In another kraal we heard that three trees remained which he had planted, i.e. an almond, an apricot, and a pear tree. There were also some ruins of hottentot houses (of some people) who had lived with him. As may be imagined the garden looked like a wilderness".[105]

During their trip to Baviaanskloof they were also taken to Sergeants River, the area where they were told women, including Magdalena, who had been baptised by Schmidt, lived. The missionaries described their discussion with Magdalena.

---

[102] Krüger, The Pear Tree Blossoms, p. 53.
[103] Du Toit and Giliomee, Afrikaner Political Thought, pp. 2-12.
[104] Krüger, The Pear Tree Blossoms, p. 67.
[105] Bredekamp and Plüddemann, The Genadendal Diaries, pp. 57-58.

"She said that she still had a book from Schmidt. A woman quickly ran to fetch it. It was well wrapped in two sheepskins and placed in a leather bag. It was a Dutch New Testament, which she had been able to read, but now her eyes were too weak. But another women ... about thirty years old had been taught to read by her father who had been (one of the) baptised ... [The first group of Khoikhoi they met were ministered to] "under the pear - tree planted by Brother Schmidt which is quite large by now we commended the dear Saviour to them".[106]

The hold of the Moravian narrative is evident from the way in which the second group of missionaries were intent on discovering traces of Schmidt's earlier activities at Baviaanskloof. They observed the ruins and remaining walls of the house that Schmidt had built, and the remains of the garden that looked like a wilderness. They also observed the ruins of houses of those indigenous converts who had lived with Schmidt at Baviaanskloof. These Moravian missionaries thus began their missionary project within the Cape Colony by reconnecting with traces of Schmidt's past missionary activities as "preserved seeds" that could still bear fruit. Schmidt's aborted mission at Baviaanskloof was thus never described as a "failure" in the Moravian narrative, but rather as a seed for future development. That was the significance of the fruit trees that Schmidt had planted, which had remained even in his absence, and could now blossom into the Moravian mission at the Cape.[107]

This was to become the established view of the origins of the Moravian mission at the Cape. In the official versions of Moravian missionary history Schmidt's activities at the Cape were later recounted as part of a reconstructed Moravian missionary narrative. The story of the first successful Khoisan conversions at the Cape and the emergence of missionary institutions in the colony were incorporated into the reconstructed historical Moravian narrative. Thus Krüger narrated in *The Pear Tree Blossoms* (1966):

"...Schmidt ... moved to Bavianskloof ... he made a garden and a water furrow, and continued his daily lessons ... His most eager pupils were Africo , another married man Kubido by name, a married woman, called Verhettge, and a young man called Wilhelm ... The daily work gave him an opportunity to preach the gospel in a practical way ... When he pruned peach-trees for Africo, he explained that man was like a tree, which must be pruned ... His flock increased and became used to an ordered life and acquainted with the Saviour ... Coming to a stream, they knelt down and, ... there and then he [Schmidt]

[106] Bredekamp and Plüddemann, The Genadendal Diaries, pp. 61-65.
[107] Krüger, The Pear Tree Blossoms, p. 52.

> baptised him [Wilhelm] by the name of Joshua ... Within two weeks he baptised another four of his flock ... Africo became "Christian", Verhettge "Magdalena", [and] Kubido "Jonas" ... Schmidt left in 1743 ... Even after 1756, she [Magdalena] gathered the others occasionally under the pear tree in Schmidt's garden, reading from the New Testament and praying with them ... waiting for Schmidt's return".[108]

From the perspective of the latter continuation of the Moravian mission from the 1790s onwards, this episode lent itself to the narrative of the "seed". According to this part of the historical Moravian narrative, a "seed" had been brought to the Cape colony and "sown" with the arrival of George Schmidt. The planting of the "pear tree" represents and describes the missionaries' work among the indigenous people residing at the Cape. Later symbolic phrases used by Moravians at the Cape like the "pear tree blossoms", the "pear tree bears fruit", and the twin of the pear tree, represented and described the "growth" of Moravian mission institutions elsewhere in the Cape Colony during the 1800s, as at Clarkson in the Tsitsikamma.[109]

The renewal of their missionary work at Baviaanskloof was conceived as a reconstruction of the missionary community that had been created earlier by Schmidt. In their diaries, they note how they heard from a kraal of indigenous Khoisan people of the remaining three fruit trees, which included the famous pear tree. It was from the responses of the indigenous people whom the missionaries met on their first visit to Baviaanskloof that the iconic elements of the fruit trees, the pear tree, old Lena, and the Dutch Bible came forth in the Moravian narrative. The incorporation of (potential) indigenous "converts" into the missionary community could be construed not as a novel process of acculturation, but rather as the reconstruction of the earlier missionary community. In this way the continuity in some (potential) indigenous "converts" could be represented as having a core of stability over time similar to that of the "hidden seed" of the Moravian narrative. The group of Moravians who came to the Cape to renew the Herrnhut missionary project had heard from a Kraal of Khoisan people that three trees remained in Schmidt's garden – these included an almond, an apricot and a pear tree. Of these three remaining trees the "pear tree" was the most significant since the first group of

---

[108] Krüger, The Pear Tree Blossoms, pp. 21-45.

[109] The metaphors the "pear tree blossoms" and the "pear tree bears fruit" are titles of two books written by Moravian missionaries in South Africa. See Krüger, The Pear Tree Blossoms (1966); and B. Krüger and P.W. Schaberg, The Pear Tree Bears Fruit, The History of the Moravian Church in South Africa Western Cape Province 1869-1980 (Genadendal, The Moravian Book Depot, 1984).

potential "converts" had met under this tree.[110] In the Moravian narrative Magdalena, the old Khoisan woman with her "preserved" Dutch Bible represented one of the "first fruits" of the "pear tree", which had been "sown" by Schmidt and that had been preserved in his garden. The "pear tree" and "Magdalena with her Dutch Bible" are the "seeds" of continuity that connected the Moravian historical narrative of the "seed" to the Cape Colony and to Baviaanskloof in particular.

With this we have come to an important moment in our account of the origins of the communal identity of the Moravian missionary community and its narrative reconstruction. We have shown that the Moravian missionary project had been informed by the Pietist belief and practice of "converting" individuals and forming groups of fellowship. We have so far described how the Moravian communal identity was depicted in terms of a particular historical narrative wherein it's sustained continuity despite apparent discontinuities was represented by the "seed" metaphor. We argued that the metaphor of the "seed" represented the core principles, practices and traditions of the Moravians, which were legitimated by their proclaimed connection with the ancient Unitas Fratrum. These principles and traditions were reformulated by Moravian missionaries in the Cape Colony and constituted as the Moravian Ethic. This contributed to the formation of their own missionary identity, which they imposed on communities of indigenous "converts" while seeking to transform the everyday experiences and perceptions of these indigenous "converts". Critical elements of this imposed missionary identity were the changing mode of subsistence and beliefs in their relation to the land. We have shown that the Cape Moravian mission was not immediately, nor continuously successful since the missionary project was initially aborted in 1744 and only re-established from 1792 onwards. Yet the Moravian narrative does not reflect the failure of the first attempt by Moravians to establish a missionary settlement at the Cape. Furthermore, the beginning of the second attempt at re-establishing a Moravian mission at the Cape was connected not to Schmidt's failures, but rather to the ruins and remnants of the "first-fruits" that remained long after his departure. We have shown that in their re-establishment of the Moravian mission at the Cape, missionaries conceived of their own work as a reconstruction of the earlier missionary community. More significant was the way in which the iconic elements of the Moravian narrative were utilised to represent the Moravian communal missionary identity as

[110] Bredekamp and Plüddemann, The Genadendal Diaries, p. 57.

having a core of stability over time that connected Ganadenal and the groups of indigenous converts living there to the Herrnhuters in Germany and the Unitas Fratum of Czechoslovakia.

3.4.1 Interpretation and Analysis of the Moravian and Missionary Narratives

Discourse theory suggests relevant perspectives for analysing the narrative construction of communal identities. According to Hayden White, a historical narrative transforms a mere list of historical events into a story that has a well defined beginning, middle and ending.[111] Time is an important element in the construction of a historical narrative. In the narrative the different aspects of time, i.e. within-time-ness, historicality, and deep temporality are represented in such a way that endings appear to be linked to beginnings, thereby forming continuity within difference.[112] We will describe the plot of the historical Moravian narrative, and explore the significance of the different temporal and geographical locations with reference to the use of the metaphor of the "seed" in the Moravian narrative. According to David Apter the function of metaphor in identity formations is to bind individuals together and promote a "political" or discursive community".[113] In this section we will analyse the discursive functions of the Moravian narrative in the construction of the Moravian communal identity. We will show that at the most basic level the Moravian narrative functioned in binding together different groups of people, in diverse locations, over great lengths of time, as members of a discourse community involved in the same story.

The Moravian missionary narrative is not just a sequence of events unfolding from 1457 or 1627 to 1792, but the narrative is recounted by the Moravian missionary community from the eighteenth century onwards as a retrospective (re-)construction. As a historical narrative it has a plot with a proper beginning in time, middle, and a conclusion. The core narrative begins with the migration of Amos Comenius and his followers from Czechoslovakia to Poland in 1627. On leaving Czechoslovakia these members of the Unitas Fratrum "beseeched God" to "preserve a

---

[111] Hayden White, The Content of the Form: Narrative Discourse and Historical Representation (Baltimore, John Hopkins University Press, 1987), pp. 43-45. See also our applied theoretical discussion of White in Chapter 2 of this dissertation.
[112] White, The Content of the Form, pp. 51-52.
[113] David Apter (ed.), Ideology and Discontent (New York, The Free Press, 1964), pp. 18-20.

seed to serve him" in the country they were being forced to leave.[114] The middle of the plot consists of a series of historical events involving some families residing in Moravia, Czechoslovakia, seeking asylum. Through Christian David they successfully arrange their immigration from their country of birth to Germany in 1727. This exodus to Germany occurred one hundred years after the first exodus to Poland. The emigrants are granted refuge on the estate of Count Zinzendorf in Dresden. In a sense this serves as the conclusion of the core narrative, though significantly this conclusion was then retrospectively connected not just to the migration of Comenius in 1627 but also to the origins of the Unitas Fratrum in 1457. The narrative also continues with the growth of this religious community through the "sowing of many seeds".[115] Missionaries are sent too many places including the Cape Colony. The "seed", symbolised by the "pear tree" planted by George Schmidt, are "sown" in the Cape Colony when Schmidt baptised some indigenous people in 1742. He renamed each convert and gave each one a Dutch Bible. One such convert, a woman called Verhegte, was renamed Magdalena. The narrative continues fifty years after the departure of Schmidt from the Colony with the arrival of a group of three new Moravian missionaries at the Cape in November 1792. The three missionaries return to the land previously occupied by Schmidt. Here they found a pear tree planted, and the ruins of buildings constructed by him, as well as the old woman that was renamed Magdalena when she had been baptised by him.[116]

The plot concludes with old Magdalena remembering the teacher who had baptised her and who had given her a Dutch New Testament Bible. She shows the three missionaries how she had "preserved" this Book by wrapping it in a leather bag and proceeds to read them a passage from it appropriate for their time of year, the story of the Saviour's Nativity.[117] The careful "preservation" of the Bible by Magdalena shows that the "seed" of beliefs as practised by the "Brethren" had been safeguarded during all that time since the departure of Schmidt. And so the beginning of the Moravian narrative, when Comenius and his refugees beseeched God to "preserve a seed" to serve Him in the country of their birth, is linked to the conclusion of the missionary narrative when Magdalena demonstrates the "preservation of the seed" by

---

[114] Thompson, Moravian Missions, p. 30.

[115] The Unitas Fratrum refugees in Poland in 1627 are placed alongside the refugees from Moravia in Dresden, Germany in 1727 in the narrative. According to White it is the impulse to rank events in terms of their significance for a particular group that is telling its own story that allows for a narrative representation of real events. White, The Content of the Form, p. 10.

[116] Krüger, The Pear Tree Blossoms, pp. 52-53.

[117] Bredekamp and Plüddemann, The Genadendal Diaries, p. 61.

unwrapping the Bible which she had kept and preserved for the past fifty years, thus linking the colonial missionary community to its Moravian origins. With this closure the narrative also exemplifies the higher moral meaning of preserving the Moravian identity through time and advancing the Christian beliefs, practices, and traditions of the "United Brethren".

An important element in the construction of any narrative is the articulation of its spatial locations.[118] The Moravian narrative links three geographical locations. These changing geographical centres coincide with key events in the unfolding plot of the narrative. The beginning of the narrative is located in Moravia (Czechoslovakia), the country from which the first group of refugees fled to Poland. This geographical location represents the "ancient" Church. The second geographical location is that of the conclusion of the core narrative and is that of the estate of Count Zinzendorf in Germany. The settlement established on Zinzendorf's estate was called Herrnhut, with the community settled there often referred to as the Herrnhuters. This geographical location represents the "renewed" Church. The third geographical location is that of the mission narrative and is situated at Baviaanskloof, later called Genadendal, in the Cape Colony. This third change in location occurs when residents of the Herrnhut community are selected to do missionary work amongst the indigenous people at the Cape.

The three geographical locations are certainly very different from each other. Yet within the narrative these are all connected into an integrated whole of "preserving" and "sowing" the "seeds" of a Moravian Ethic. Through this discursively constructed continuity between places, a common identity and shared historical past is produced. The beliefs and practices of the "ancient" Unitas Fratrum are preserved in Czechoslovakia for a hundred years, "renewed" in Herrnhut on the estate of Zinzendorf and constituted as the Moravian Ethic, and were brought to fruition at the missionary settlements amongst indigenous peoples at the Cape. The flow of this narrative from beginning to end evokes a sense of common origin, which eventually also includes all Moravian converts at the Cape. It is this constructed sense of common origin and shared destination, embedded within the historical Moravian narrative, which utilises the narrative's resources of history to construct a Moravian identity that comes to include the converts. The result of this construction is that the history of the indigenous members of the

[118] White, The Content of the Form, p. 17.

Moravian missionary community at the Cape was represented as beginning in time with the arrival of the Herrnhut missionaries. This history did *not* include whatever had happened to them or their ancestors prior to the arrival of the missionaries. Instead the history of the missionary community was reconstructed backwards to include the Herrnhut settlement and the early Unitas Fratrum. On their own, the indigenous peoples at the Cape were represented in the Moravian narrative as a people "without a history". This reification of meaning mobilised, produced and sustained the relations of power of the Herrnhut missionaries over indigenous people, like the Khoisan, living on the mission stations in the Cape Colony. These people were dislocated from their local history, social beliefs, norms and practices, and then taken up within the context of Dutch and British colonialism through the narrative of the "seed" linking their identity to those of other groups of people many thousands of miles away and hundreds of years before.

The historical events and the order within which these appear in the Moravian narrative, is positioned and placed in relation to each other through the constitution of the missionary community as a "discourse community".[119] The activities of the missionary community are centered around the Sunday sermons, the Bible classes and school lessons. Here it is not only the Gospel that is preached or the Bible that is studied but the Moravian narrative is told and re-told, commemorating the key events and exploring the significance of the core metaphors of the seed, etc. It is this narrative and its discursive elements which the missionary comes to share and adopt as its own. In the historical Moravian narrative the emigration of (Unitas Fratrum) refugees from Czechoslovakia to Poland was commemorated in terms of their plea that "God should there preserve a seed to serve Him". The different events, which occur at different moments in time, are discursively connected together in a thread of continuity through the "discursive community" of those recounting the narrative.

The different historical events are ordered around the organising principle of "temporality", that is the reflection of experiences and representations of time. According to Ricoeur, historicity is the manner of organising experiences and representations of time within a historical narrative.[120] "Repetition" is one such manner of organising and representing time, the

---

[119] White, The Content of the Form, p. 16.

[120] Paul Ricoeur, Time and Narrative, trans. K. Mclaughlin and D. Pelleuer (Chicago, University of Chicago Press, 1983), vol. 1, pp. 59-64.

recollection of the past within the historical narrative so that the ending of the narrative is seen to be linked to the beginning. In the Moravian narrative the "repetition" of the "seed" metaphor draws a thread of continuity throughout the narrative, from beginning to ending. Events are recollected from the "birth" of the Unitas Fratrum, through to the renewal of the Ancient Church and the "extension" of this tradition and Christian beliefs within the Cape Colony. In this way a thread of continuity within difference is formed within the historical narrative.[121] Through the "historicity" of the narrative, the separateness of, and discontinuity between, each historical event are drawn together into a comprehensive whole, which connects the beginning to the end of the narrative.

Significantly the narrative excludes historical events between 1627 and 1727 as well as between 1744 and 1792 with no reference made to the (Unitas Fratrum) refugees' settlement in Poland from 1627, nor is any reference made to what happened to the missionary community at the Cape after Schmidt's departure in 1744. This gap of one hundred years between 1627 and 1727, and the gap of fifty years between the 1740s and 1790s become insignificant in the temporality of the narrative, which loops a thread of continuity through the events contained at the beginning and end of the historical narrative. Another omission from the narrative is the lack of any description of the religious background of other Herrnhuter immigrants to Germany. It is only from additional historical research that we are able to ascertain that all these immigrants were not members of the "ancient" Unitas Fratrum. The refugees at Herrnhut consisted of people from various churches and religious groups in addition to the Brethren from Moravia though some did have an actual historical connection with the Unitas Fratrum.[122] Much conflict prevailed among the many different religious groups at Herrnhut, conflict which also does not appear in the narrative. This conflict was only resolved after Zinzendorf presented a constitution to the community for each individual to commit herself and himself too. A further omission from the narrative is the lack of reference to the rather strict regulation of the Moravian Ethic both at Herrnhut and at the Cape. The organic "preservation" and "sowing" of the "seed" was in historical practice rigorously administered. It is through the stringent supervision of the Moravian Ethic that a communal identity was constructed in relation to land used and occupied, and imposed on the "first fruits" of Schmidt's missionary enterprise. A distinction can therefore be made between the discursive continuities

[121] White, The Content of the Form, pp. 51-52.
[122] Krüger, The Pear Tree Blossoms, p. 13.

and communal identity constructed through the Moravian narrative, and the social and other dynamics at work in the actual imposition of the Moravian Ethic on "converts" among the indigenous people in the colonial context. By making such a distinction difficult questions at a theoretical level are raised. What is the relation between the narrative construction of communal identity and the social and cultural dynamics involved in the transformation of a mode of production, transforming the spatial organisation of the indigenous landscape and the imposition of the Moravian Ethic as social discipline? Certainly we should not take the organic metaphor of the seed and its growth and fruition at face value; this may serve to mask the relations of power and domination involved in the missionary project. The Moravian narrative of the seed created a unity and a thread of continuity over different time zones, between different places, and among different groups of people. In the Moravian narrative of the missionary project at the Cape the remaining fruit trees that were referred to, and the identification of old Lena as the woman whom Schmidt had baptised, by the indigenous people whom the missionaries met on their first visit to Baviaanskloof,[123] indicates that aspects of the Moravian narrative had already become taken-for-granted as common-sense assumptions and naturalised by some groups of Khoisan peoples at the Cape. The process of naturalisation of the Moravian narrative of the seed involved a process of conversion in which compliance with the Moravian Ethic as taught by Schmidt was a requirement so that (potential) "converts" transformed their "idle" mode of subsistence from pastoralism to utilising their labour productively by cultivating the land and thereby "serving to increase the glory of God".

3.5 The Imposition of the Moravian Ethic

We have selected specific elements of the Moravian Ethic for attention and in-depth investigation – labour and transformed modes of subsistence, spatial landscapes, and social discipline – that relates more specifically to relations of power and domination in the construction of a Moravian missionary identity.

3.5.1 Labour and Transformed Modes of Subsistence

Schmidt and the Moravian missionaries who followed him promoted a set of Christian norms and principles constituting the Moravian Ethic. These Moravian missionaries sought to convert

[123] Bredekamp and Plüddemann, The Genadendal Diaries, p. 59.

the indigenous peoples through teaching by example the application of their religious and social beliefs, norms and principles. One such belief central to the Moravian Ethic was their understanding that their labour "served to increase the glory of God", and that "idleness" and the "wasting of time" was a "deadly sin".[124] According to J.M. Coetzee, the preachers of Post-Reformation Germany regarded work as a divine edict that all men were to obey. "Idleness" showed disobedience to this edict. Coetzee notes that the Moravian Brethren at Herrnhut in Germany were representative of this Post-Reformation age and wrote into their statutes the requirement that every person who joined the Herrnhut community was compelled to labour for his own bread.[125] Idleness was regarded as sinful. It was believed that through labour and enterprise man should cultivate and thereby become master of the world. Coetzee shows how these Post-Reformation beliefs were incorporated in the Cape colonial discourse and were reflected in the colonists' representations of the Khoisan people.[126] The discourse of the Cape contained numerous descriptions of the Khoisan as "idle" and "lazy" people who "never till the soil".[127] Of course this depended on a particular cultural definition of what counts as labour: in colonial eyes the hunting and gathering and herding activities of the Khoisan did not amount to productive labour but was part of their "idleness". Coetzee argues that once we moved outside the categorical Cape colonial discourse then the Khoisan suddenly appeared to be "busy people".[128]

Moravian missionaries, like Schmidt, who came to the Cape colony, were similarly motivated by their belief in the significance of productive labour as opposed to the traditional practices of local hunting and gathering and herding communities and their subsistence economies. They consciously set out to transform this outlook and mode of production. From the outset Schmidt sought to engage the participation of indigenous people in labour on the land through the cultivation of gardens, both as individuals and as a community, by selectively providing privileged ownership and access to the land to the "converts" who accepted the social discipline of the Moravian Ethic.

---

[124] Weber, The Protestant Ethic, pp. 133 -178.
[125] J.M. Coetzee, 'Idleness in South Africa', Social Dynamics 8: 1 (1982), pp. 1-13.
[126] Coetzee, 'Idleness in South Africa', pp. 4-5.
[127] Coetzee, 'Idleness in South Africa', p. 3.
[128] Coetzee, 'Idleness in South Africa', p. 6.

After being introduced to the Hartebeeskraal community by Africo, Schmidt observed that this Khoisan community was already in the process of selectively appropriating various aspects of Dutch colonial culture. Africo was living in a "hartebeeshuisie", a colonial style dwelling, and he was also in the process of preparing a piece of land for agricultural cultivation.[129] This opened the way for Schmidt to engage Africo as leader of the Khoisan group, showing by example the beliefs, norms and principles that he upheld. It is within this context that Schmidt offered advice on the layout of Africo's garden and the cultivation of the land, which included giving Africo seeds to sow in his garden.[130]

From the outset Schmidt ensured that all those who followed him from the Hartebeeskraal community to Baviaanskloof and wished to settle on his land for an extended period of time, were prepared to accept his supreme power over all activities on this land. They had to abide by his rules and regulations. This approach was not very different to the established power relations between the Herrnhut community and Zinzendorf, with which Schmidt was familiar.[131] Schmidt systematically introduced the indigenous community on his property to an agro-pastoral mode of subsistence, which was also typical of colonists at the Cape. For a period of one year they were only allowed to observe and assist the missionary in the building of his house and the laying-out of his garden.[132] Hereafter, some people, amongst others Africo and Wilhelm, were allocated plots of land by Schmidt, which they were to use for gardening. They grew vegetables and within a few months were able to show their fellow Khoisan community members the literal "fruits" of their labour. Vegetables like carrots could be grown near their huts as opposed to roots having to be gathered in the veld.[133] The small group of emerging indigenous farmers also began to grow wheat. Towards the end of 1739 they were able to harvest their wheat and lay out a communal threshing floor on which horses were used to do the threshing. This first year of harvest certainly made a great impression on other members of the Baviaanskloof community.[134] Schmidt gradually introduced the settled Khoisan community at Baviaanskloof to a fixed seasonal agricultural pattern. The missionary's conversation with selected members of the Khoisan community was aimed at installing intense feelings of guilt

[129] Bredekamp, 'De(con)struction', pp. 6-7.
[130] Bredekamp, 'De(con)struction', pp. 6-7.
[131] Bredekamp, 'De(con)struction', p.12.
[132] Bredekamp, 'De(con)struction', p. 16.
[133] Bredekamp, 'De(con)struction', p. 16.
[134] Bredekamp, 'De(con)struction', pp. 16-17.

within them if his rules and regulations were not obeyed or if they performed some of their "old" cultural and religious practices.[135]

The "first fruits" of Moravian missionary endeavours and "labours" were thus not limited to the formal "conversion" and "baptism" of some indigenous people, but also directed at the systematic transformation in the mode of subsistence of the indigenous people residing at Baviaanskloof from pastoralism to an agro-pastoral mode of subsistence. This was represented by the cultivated vegetable and fruit gardens at Baviaanskloof and the surrounding wheat and barley fields.[136] Agro-pastoralism progressively became a common taken-for-granted mode of production, in the practice of the Moravian missionary, and among the few indigenous people who had formal access to plots of land at Baviaanskloof.[137]

As these new members of the missionary community cultivated their gardens, and gradually managed and controlled the land - "serving and increasing the glory of God" -- the missionary applauded them. In the process they were not themselves "cultivated" and transformed into "loyal and faithful" workers, demonstrating that they were not "idle" nor "wasted time". In 1805 the colonial official, W.S. van Ryneveld, wrote "consider the ordinary free labour already here [in the Cape Colony] ... Hottentots ... will never do ordinary farming work of digging the land ... for any length of time. They prefer to spend their time in laziness and idleness, to suffer want and poverty than to be employed for this work".[138] The Moravian missionaries who followed Schmidt were, like him, determined to reform the "idleness" and the labour practices of the indigenous Khoisan people residing at Baviaanskloof/Genadendal. By encouraging them to cultivate their allocated portion of land productively at the mission station, missionaries gradually transformed their pastoral, hunting and gathering and herding mode of subsistence to "doing ordinary farming work of digging the land for any length of time".[139] The missionaries'

---

[135] Bredekamp, 'De(con)struction', p. 13.

[136] The Comaroffs analysis of the "politics of production" in their case study of the Tswana is relevant to the Moravian missionaries' endeavours to transform the indigenous mode of production of the Khoisan converts. Jean Comaroff and John L. Comaroff, 'The Colonisation of Consciousness in South Africa', Economy and Society 18: 3 (August 1989), pp. 267-296.

[137] Bredekamp, 'De(con)struction', p. 17.

[138] Du Toit and Giliomee, Afrikaner Political Thought, p. 52.

[139] In the case of the Wesleyan missionary project among the Tswana, Jean and John Comaroff have argued that this missionary project was geared towards the transformation of the everyday experiences and perceptions of the lived world of indigenous Tswana communities. The Comaroffs' analysis of the "Protestant work ethic" in their case study of the Tswana is relevant to the Moravian missionaries' endeavours to produce industrious disciplined indigenous workers. See Comaroffs, 'The Colonisation of Consciousness', pp. 277-279.

inculcation of the Moravian Ethic of "good conduct", "obedience to those in positions of authority", "loyalty and faithfulness", and "dignified workers" on their Khoisan converts had an ambiguous relation to the colonial demands for a docile labour force. On the whole the colonists saw the mission stations as unwelcome places of refuge obstructing their potential supply of labour; on the other hand the missionaries were actually engaged in inculcating a "work ethic" into their converts which might make them into a more docile and willing labour force. The mission stations certainly did not set out to provide a pool of available cheap "ordinary labour" to colonists. But to the extent that acceptance of the Moravian Ethic required indigenous Khoisan converts to be "good" labourers who were "docile", "obedient" and "loyal", this was in line with the perceptions held by colonists of the Khoisan as an available source of "ordinary free labour" within the colony. Their systematic "conversion" to the colonial mode of production with its accompanying form of management and control of the land, legitimated the colonial usage and domination of the (dispossessed) land. It is through this aspect of "conversion" that the Moravian missionary discourse contributed towards sustaining relations of colonial domination.

3.5.2 Transforming the Spatial Organisation of the Indigenous Landscape

Spatial organisation and built forms are the visible everyday symbols within a society concretely representing the embodied meanings and values of that social system.[140] Any changes in the form, shape and structure of buildings, and/or any changes in the spatial organisation of a society or community indicate that the meanings and values within a social system are being reformed.[141] At the time of Schmidt's arrival and introduction to the Hartebeeskraal community, this indigenous group of people were already in the process of exploring and including building forms similar to those used by colonists. There were also some people within this indigenous community, who were experimenting with the laying out of gardens.[142] Schmidt engaged this group of indigenous people concerning changes to the form, shape and structure of their buildings, using those established within colonial society as reference point. He systematically introduced them to the practice of colonial architecture. He

---

[140] Jean Comaroff's analysis of the "politics of spatial organisation" in her case study of the Tswana is relevant to our investigation of the Moravian missionaries' endeavours to transform the indigenous spatial landscape. See Jean Comaroff, Body of Power Spirit of Resistance: The Culture and History of a Southern African People (Chicago, University of Chicago Press, 1985), p. 124.

[141] Comaroff, Body of Power Spirit of Resistance, p. 124.

invited those indigenous people who had settled around him to first observe, and then assist him in the building of his square-shaped house that was made of clay. In response, some indigenous people like Africo and Wilhelm began assisting each other in the measuring and laying out their own square-shaped clay houses.[143]

Schmidt's contributions to this "conversation" were however guided by his primary missionary task, which was to establish a permanent, land-bound, religious community at Baviaanskloof. He thus persistently encouraged people to build structures of stone and/or clay with firm foundations. For example, Schmidt assisted Africo in measuring and laying out a kraal for his cattle, which was to be made of clay. Using a piece of string they measured the dimensions of the kraal and built a firm foundation.[144] Through the building of square-shaped structures made of stone or clay, the spatial organisation of the commonly known indigenous landscape was steadily transformed. A number of square-shaped buildings existed alongside customary round shaped houses by 1740, only three years after Schmidt's arrival at the Cape. In addition the now fairly settled community made rafters and beams, a communal oven made of clay, and a barn made of clay, in 1741.[145] According to Jean Comaroff, the distribution and design of buildings as introduced by the missionaries, can also express the division between the sacred, and the secular, as well as the division between the public and the private. In addition, the construction of distinct units for agricultural activity, schooling, and so on, reflects the different domains of the missionary civilising project of "conversion".[146] In so far as each domain represented a particular segment of the "face of the clock", the constructed Moravian missionary discourse produced buildings as discursive symbols depicting the schedules and routines of the mission as regulated by the missionary. The impersonal clock is fundamentally the instrument used in industrial capital and colonial production as the tool for internalising the organisation of work. For labour to be compensated independently of the value it generates, time became the measure equitable to money, and thus the impartial yardstick for a "fair wage".[147] The constructed Moravian missionary discourse with its buildings and spatial organisation represented the regulated schedules and routines of the mission aimed at "converting" or, more appropriately, "reforming" the "idleness", "laziness" and "inherent

---

[142] Bredekamp, 'De(con)struction', p. 7.
[143] Bredekamp, 'De(con)struction', p. 17.
[144] Bredekamp, 'De(con)struction', pp. 17-18.
[145] Bredekamp, 'De(con)struction', pp. 17-18.
[146] Comaroff, Body of Power Spirit of Resistance, p. 142.

undisciplined" indigenous people to become "loyal", "punctual", "faithful", and "hardworking" labourers. In this way the "converts" who constituted the missionary community at the Genadendal mission station became "good" workers who were "loyal", dedicated to completing their task, and subservient to those in positions of authority, not only at the mission station but also within the larger colonial society at the Cape.

The contrast between the characteristic round-shaped houses and buildings of Khoisan society, and the square-shaped houses and buildings of the mission and the larger colonial society, represented the differentiation in the "conversation" among indigenous people between the two opposing social systems. Each had its own distinctive form of spatial organisation and building structures.[148] A double set of power relations thus prevailed. On the one hand missionaries established and sustained relations of power over the converted indigenous peoples, while on the other hand those converted indigenous people residing at Genadendal were in relative positions of privilege in relation to other Khoisan people within the colony who did not have security and stability of access to, and use of mission land and other resources as they had at the Genadendal mission station.

3.5.3 A Regulated Social Discipline

Schmidt's method of introducing Moravian beliefs and practices into the "conversation" with indigenous people at the Hartebeeskraal, and later with the missionaries who followed him to Baviaanskloof, was through his literacy/religious classes. These lessons involved the reading and memorising of extracts from the Bible, with each extract accompanied by a sermon comprised of spiritual and moral messages.[149] It is after moving to Baviaanskloof that Schmidt's teachings began placing emphasis on the gathering together of a religious community.

As pastoralists, the Khoisan were used to moving around with their cattle looking for suitable grazing land and water, and gathering roots and herbs for themselves. Even though Schmidt encouraged them to remain permanently at Baviaanskloof if they wished to attend his

---

[147] Comaroff, Body of Power Spirit of Resistance, p. 142.
[148] Comaroff, Body of Power Spirit of Resistance, p. 142.
[149] Bredekamp, 'De(con)struction', p. 12.

literacy/religious classes, the periodic movement away from, and then back to Baviaanskloof persisted and remained a huge problem for Schmidt. In his view their periodic non-attendance of his classes amounted to "disobedience" to his authority and to a lack of "good conduct". The missionary responded by removing the ABC Dutch literacy books from those who were "disobedient", suspended them from attending his classes, and banished them from Baviaanskloof. Some of these indigenous people had however become eager to attend his classes. After being banished by Schmidt, some returned, but their suspension was only lifted after they had demonstrated their repentance and committed themselves to adhering to the missionary's defined "good conduct".[150] The literacy/religious classes and Schmidt's controlled access thereof, was a tool used by the missionary to construct, introduce and sustain the Moravian Ethic of "good conduct" and "obedience to those in positions of authority". On another occasion Schmidt found Africo and some others drunk, having consumed too much liquor. At the literacy/religious class, which followed this incident, Schmidt insisted that all those who wished to continue drinking alcohol and wine had to leave Baviaanskloof immediately.[151] On yet another occasion when some cattle of the indigenous people settled at Baviaanskloof entered Schmidt's enclosed fields, he suspended the literacy/religious classes until two herdsmen had been appointed to look after their grazing cattle.[152]

Schmidt had been exposed to some of the Khoikhoi's religious beliefs in "good and evil" during the first few months of time spent at the Hartebeeskraal. Yet his understanding thereof, throughout his stay in the colony, remained thin and weak. Bredekamp points out that there is very little evidence available about the actual nature of the spirituality of indigenous people at the Cape during the late 1730s. What is clear, however, is the disintegration of the social cultural and spiritual world of the Khoisan during this time amidst bloodshed, colonial carnage and rampant land dispossession.[153] Schmidt continuously urged the group of Khoisan who had followed him to Baviaanskloof to distance them from, and break ties with, all those "other" people from their Khoisan community who were not at all interested in adhering to his set of rules and regulations and becoming orderly and obedient.[154]

---

[150] Krüger, The Pear Tree blossoms, p. 22.
[151] Krüger, The Pear Tree blossoms, pp. 29-30.
[152] Krüger, The Pear Tree blossoms, pp. 29-30.
[153] Bredekamp, 'De(con)struction', pp. 8-10.
[154] Bredekamp, 'De(con)struction', p. 13.

When the second group of Moravian missionaries arrived in 1792, they found, from the indigenous people they met in the surrounding areas of Baviaanskloof, an expectation of wanting to learn. On their first trip to Baviaanskloof the man who had shown them the way was asked, "... whether he had heard that some people were here again who wanted to teach them. He said, yes, the farmers had told them that people would come to teach them".[155] On another occasion, two people working at the Post, was asked by a farmer whether they wished to learn from the missionaries. They answered "yes master". The farmer responded by saying, "... you just wait. You will be beaten up. I have heard these people beat you cruelly. They have brought a whole trunk of rods ... for beating you". The two people whom the farmer was speaking to responded "... we have seen that when the farmer's children have not wanted to learn they were beaten up, so too will we have to put up with beatings".[156] To some indigenous people then, the expectation of wanting to learn was also accompanied by an acknowledgement that "not wanting to learn" or their "lack of good conduct" to the learning process, as determined by the missionaries, would result in some form of punishment. Given their experiences with colonial farmers, they expected such punishment to take the form of inflicted physical bodily harm. But the learners who were "disobedient", and/or who acted without "good conduct", were punished by the missionaries in a similar way that Schmidt had punished his group of learners. They were suspended from attending classes and/or banished from Baviaanskloof, but on no occasion were they beaten or their bodies physically harmed by the missionaries.[157] From the onset then, the Moravian missionaries at the Cape were committed to instilling social discipline as an alternative means of control to that of violent corporal punishment.

Moravian missionaries sought the obedience and good conduct from their groups of learners by installing feelings of fear and guilt in them through their daily sermons, and announcing threats of punishment from God or from the servants appointed by God on those who were not loyal, faithful, or obedient to his teachings and social discipline. Together these properties, which included loyalty to those in positions of authority, and a set of social regulations, constituted the Moravian Ethic. This Moravian Ethic was imposed by missionaries to define and regulate the gestures, behaviour, and the changing circumstances of their learners and

[155] Bredekamp and Plüddemann, The Genadendal Diaries, p. 58.
[156] Bredekamp and Plüddemann, The Genadendal Diaries, p. 72.
[157] Krüger, The Pear Tree blossoms, pp. 57-59.

potential "converts". Moravian missionaries utilised the Moravian Ethic as a form of ritual, which determined the particular properties and stipulated roles for the speaking subjects within the missionary community.[158] In this way they exercised their power in discursively controlling, regulating and constraining the Moravian missionary discourse. The regulated behaviour of these speaking subjects, as constructed within the Moravian missionary discourse, were, amongst others, not being drunk by consuming wine and alcohol, not moving around from place to place, not being absent from the literacy/religious classes, not allowing the grazing cattle to trespass on private property occupied and used by the missionary, not dancing, not playing cards, and not partaking in any immoral act, and not being idle. These became naturalised moral codes and forms of behaviour which over time were taken-for-granted as common-sense rules and modes of discipline, and defined the behaviour of residents at the growing number of Moravian mission stations at the Cape.

3.6 Conclusion

The Moravians were the first religious community to establish a mission station for indigenous Khoisan people at the Cape during the 1730s. In this chapter we described how the early Moravian missionaries who came to proselytise at the Cape constructed a missionary identity for themselves, utilising "resources of history" drawn from their experiences and memories of the religious community at Herrnhut in Germany, from where they came. In the formation of their missionary identity various narrative elements from their Herrnhut experience were brought together to define the Moravian Ethic. It was this set of elements that these early Moravian missionaries imposed on potential "converts" among the indigenous Khoisan people at the Cape as a requirement for their "conversion" to Christianity. We have shown that in the colonial context of land dispossession, indigenous people like the Khoikhoi and San were left landless and destitute. The Moravian mission station at Genadendal represented security not only from the brutality of colonists, but also in access to land. Missionaries allocated each indigenous "convert" a portion of land for residential and garden use. The imposed Moravian missionary identity was thus combined with the secure right to occupy and use of a portion of mission land thereby connecting the formation and imposition of the Moravian missionary identity with entitlement to mission land. The acceptance of, and the adherence to, the

---

[158] Michel Foucault, 'The Order of Discourse' in R. Young (ed.), Untying the Text: A Post Structuralist Reader (Boston, Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1981), p. 61.

Moravian Ethic by indigenous "converts" became part of an overall process of conversion to Christianity.

The activities of these early Moravian missionaries at the Cape were included in the Moravian historical narrative. Metaphors like the "pear tree" and the "first-fruits" described the early Moravian missionary project at the Cape, and are variations of the seed metaphor that is so significant in the historical Moravian narrative. In our analysis we showed that a thread of continuity was produced in the narrative by using the metaphor of the seed connecting the ancient Unitas Fratrum of Czechoslovakia during the 1400s and 1620s, to the Moravian religious community at Herrnhut in Germany during the 1720s, to the missionary project at the Cape. The inclusion of Khoisan into the Moravian missionary community in the historical Moravian narrative of the seed is significant in that it provided people who had been brutally disconnected from their occupation and use of land, their social practices and their communal identity - with a historical past with which they could claim continuity. This connection with historical Moravian narrative through the metaphor of the seed contributed to the formation and imposition of a Moravian missionary identity at the Cape. An important part of our investigation of this constructed missionary identity will be to ascertain to what extent the narrative of the seed has been sustained throughout the different stages of Moravian history in South Africa and at Clarkson in particular.

Chapter Four

The Colonial Context: Land Dispossession and Forced Labour in the Origins of the Clarkson Moravian Mission Station and the Tsitsikamma Mfengu Settlements

4.1 Introduction

In chapter three we presented an account of the Moravian historical narrative as asserting the continuity between the "ancient" church, the "renewed" church, and the missionary project in the Cape colony. We saw that the continuity over time, linking very different historical events and widely dispersed groups, were represented in narrative terms as that of the "hidden seed" which later flourished. Utilising the narrative's historical resources this served to construct and sustain a Moravian communal identity. In the Cape colony the Moravian missionaries utilised the Herrnhut beliefs and practices comprising the "Moravian Ethic" to fashion a discursive Moravian missionary community incorporating the converted who were allowed access to mission land. Schmidt's initial settlement at Baviaanskloof was later re-established in 1792 by missionaries and named Genadendal, and became the main Moravian mission settlement in the Southern Cape.

Moravian missionaries began to extend their work amongst indigenous peoples on the Eastern Cape frontier from as early as 1818. This began with the establishment of the Enon mission station in the Uitenhage district. They also established mission stations at Shiloh, Goshen, and Ngotini, all of which were situated within the Eastern Cape frontier. The Clarkson mission station was established in 1839 and was situated on the Southern Cape coast, just below the Gamtoos River. See the map in figure 5 for the location of these mission stations. In this chapter we will show how the growth of missionary activity on the Eastern Cape frontier coincided with British colonial expansion into the Eastern Cape, the dispossession of land from indigenous peoples, and the increasing use of forced labour in the colony.

Part of the colonial strategy on the Eastern Cape frontier was the introduction of a dense belt of colonisation consisting of mission stations with groups of indigenous peoples interspersed among colonial farms. We will show how the growth of missionary activity on the Eastern Cape frontier was made possible by the issuing of land grants for mission stations by colonial

authorities, and the relation of this to the loss of land held by indigenous peoples. The nature of entitlements to land by groups of indigenous peoples at the Cape, including the Mfengu people, varied greatly. In this chapter we will describe the spectrum of such entitlements to land and how these impacted on land granted by colonial authorities for missionary purposes.

Land dispossession and forced labour are important themes in Eastern Caper frontier history, and were firmly connected to the emerging constructed colonial "Fingo" identity in the aftermath of the 1835 frontier war in particular. In the later sections of this chapter we will explore the gathering together of groups of indigenous peoples found wandering within the Cape colony during and after the 1835 frontier war, as well as their eventual placement as indentured labourers in the service of colonists. We will also describe the issuing of colonial land grants in the Tsitsikamma to the Moravian Mission Institution on the one hand, and to various groups of Mfengu peoples on the other hand. Some of the complications arising from such land allocations will be explored. We will hereafter investigate the emerging relationship from 1840 to 1900 between the residing Clarkson mission station community and the surrounding Tsitsikamma Mfengu communities to the land each occupied, used, and had rights in.

4.2 Land: Dispossession and Colonisation

The Cape colony founded by the Dutch East India Company in 1652 as a refreshment post at Cape Town had expanded some hundreds of kilometres to the East and North by the end of the 18th century, in the process dispossessing the San and KhoiKhoi communities who had long been the indigenous inhabitants of the Western and Southern Cape. Dutch colonial rule came to an end when the Colony was taken over during the British Occupation from 1795 to 1803 and permanently thereafter from 1806 onwards. British colonial officials at first moved to consolidate the colonial order of landed settlement and labour regulation with the Caledon Code of 1809, but then introduced many changes into Cape colonial society. These reforms culminated in Ordinance 50 of 1828 which opened the way for dispossessed Khoisan peoples to acquire property rights in land within the Colony. In this section we will sketch the background developments in the colonisation of land which provided the context for the earliest missionary settlements in the Cape Colony.

4.2.1 Resistance to Land Dispossession on the Closing Frontier

The colonial frontier is best conceived not as a fixed boundary or circumscribed territory but in terms of the process of colonisation. The frontier may be defined as a zone of interspersed settlement in the absence of effective institutional authorities.[1] Over time the frontier moved from the vicinities of Cape Town and the Western Cape into the interior, and it changed from sparse pioneering settlements to more institutional forms of colonising the land. Analytically we can distinguish an opening and a closing phase of the frontier process.[2] The frontier opened with the arrival of the colonists in a given territory of interspersed settlement with indigenous peoples and closed when a single political authority established its hegemony over that territory.[3] The frontier zone thus involved the co-existence of two or more communities with contesting but unresolved claims to land.[4] This contestation for access to material resources like water and land was greatly complicated by the fact that colonial and indigenous conceptions of entitlement and property rights differed in fundamental ways. Furthermore decisions taken by members of any one of the co-existing frontier communities were not sanctioned nor legitimated by any of the other groups/polities of peoples.[5] The absence of a single legitimate authority resulted in fluidity in relationships of conflict and co-operation.[6] In the context of the open frontier all holdings of land were typically contested, with clearly demarcated boundaries only becoming possible once the frontier had closed. Unsurprisingly the open frontier was the scene of endemic violence though also of barter and co-operation cutting across communal lines. During the closing of the frontier relationships became significantly polarised and was marked by increasing effectiveness of colonial social and economic control. Colonial control and domination in the closing of the frontier, according to Davenport, was characterised by the substitution of the rule of law i.e. written laws for the arbitrary powers of commandos, by the registered control of all landed properties based on

---

[1] H. Giliomee, 'The Eastern Frontier, 1770-1812' in R. Elphick and H. Giliomee (eds.), The Shaping of South African Society, 1652-1820, 2nd edition (Connecticut, Wesleyan University Press, 1979).
[2] H. Giliomee, 'The Eastern Frontier', pp. 291-299.
[3] L. Switzer, Power and Resistance in an African Society: The Ciskei Xhosa and the Making of South Africa (Pietermaritzburg, University of Natal Press, 1993), pp. 43-53.
[4] Giliomee, 'The Eastern Frontier', pp. 291-299; N. Penn, 'Labour, Land and Livestock in the Western Cape during the Eighteenth Century: The Khoisan and the Colonists' in W. James and M. Simons (eds.), Class Caste and Colour (New Brunswick, Transaction Publishers, 1992), p. 2.
[5] Giliomee, 'The Eastern Frontier', pp. 296-299.
[6] Susan Newton-King, 'Primitive Accumulation and the Cape Frontier – A Case of Mistaken Identity', (Unpublished paper, Workshop on Precolonial History, University of Cape Town, 1986), pp. 1-4.

official surveyance and by the orderly regulation of indigenous labour based on contract.[7] But this also meant that the indigenous peoples within the colony were subjected to colonial law and confined to operating within an identified demarcated geographical boundary.[8]

Resistance by Khoisan peoples to such colonisation of the land and to the ensuing colonial relations of domination at the Cape took various forms including, amongst others, violent attacks, reluctance to enter colonial employment as servants, deliberate loafing as well as desertion, theft, destruction of property, etc.[9] Susan Newton-King cautions us not to take at face value the repeated complaints of colonists concerning the inertia, moral debasement, and vagrant disposition of their servants.[10] Every stage of colonial expansion into the hinterland was met with fierce and bitter resistance from Khoisan peoples. Henry Bredekamp and Susan Newton-King have argued that the so-called "Bushmen Wars" were a manifestation of the continued resistance by the Khoisan jointly, to the dispossession of their land and livestock.[11] As encroaching colonists gradually pushed the indigenous peoples off their land, many Khoisan reluctantly entered the service of colonists as servants. However, a significant number chose to remain on the periphery of colonial society, and continued living as pastoralists. According to Bredekamp and Newton-King, their changed conditions of living made it difficult for them to sustain any stable form of community. However, these indigenous frontier communities formed new patterns of social organisation, established new kinds of leadership, and formulated new strategies for survival.[12] Individuals and/or groups who deserted employment on the colonial farms moved within the empty spaces of unoccupied land within the colony.[13] Some groups of Khoisan successfully withstood inclusion in the colony's relations of labour and domination over a considerable period of time.[14] By the early nineteenth century a landless class consisting largely of dispossessed Khoisan peoples lived within the Cape Colony. It is by no means the case that they were all in the service of colonists.[15] Numerous Khoisan had remained pastoralists and hunter gatherers on remnants of unappropriated land, in kloofs, and secluded

---

[7] Davenport, South Africa: A Modern History, 4th edition (London, Macmillan, 1991), p. 111.
[8] Giliomee, 'The Eastern Frontier', pp. 291-299; Newton-King, 'Primitive Accumulation', pp. 1-4.
[9] Penn, 'Labour, Land and Livestock', 1992, p. 18.
[10] Susan Newton-King, 'The Labour Market of the Cape Colony, 1807-28' in S. Marks and A. Atmore (eds.), Economy and Society in Pre-industrial South Africa (London, Longman, 1980), p. 197.
[11] H.C. Bredekamp and Susan Newton-King, 'The Subjugation of the Khoisan during the 17th and 18th Centuries', (Unpublished paper, Conference on Economic Development and Racial Domination, University of the Western Cape, 1984), pp. 13-14.
[12] Bredekamp and Newton-King, 'The Subjugation of the Khoisan', p. 13.
[13] Bredekamp and Newton-King, 'The Subjugation of the Khoisan', pp. 16-17.
[14] Penn, 'Labour, Land and Livestock', p. 14.
[15] W.M. Macmillan, The Cape Colour Question: A Historical Survey (London, Faber and Gwyer, 1927), p. 148.

parts of colonial farms.[16] To the extent that this was the case it also meant the persistence of different conceptions of access and entitlement to land, those of the different indigenous communities along with the new imposed colonial order.

4.2.2 Entitlement to Land: Indigenous versus Colonial Conceptions

We can reconstruct a range of differing pre-colonial and indigenous conceptions and practices of access to and entitlement of land. Thus the Xhosa understanding of land was by no means the same as that held by the San and Khoikhoi. The San were a hunter-gatherer society, and unlike the Xhosa did not have power centralised in the position of the chief. San society was far more egalitarian with no member having exclusive rights in material resources. Each member of the San society had equal access to the wider Cape landscape. The San believed that each adult male "had a wind associated with him" and when this wind blew it erased the footprints from where his body had been, "as if identity ultimately resided in the shifting land around him".[17]

The Khoikhoi on the other hand were pastoralists and were always in search of fresh water and good grazing land for their livestock. The various Khoikhoi groups often consisted of extended families with members claiming descent from a single male ancestor. Like the San, the Khoikhoi believed that all members of their group had equal rights of access to all available grazing land and water.[18]

For their part the pre-colonial Xhosa were pastoralist-cultivators. This society consisted of a quasi-federal alliance of clans, a varying number of autonomous political units under chiefs who were members of the same royal lineage. An important task of each local chief was to regulate the access to, and use of, the land. While every adult (married) male had rights in land, their right to use the land was held in trust by the local chief. In each Xhosa political unit the local chief had autonomous control over access to land even though the paramount chief was the recognised head of the Xhosa peoples.[19]

---

[16] Macmillan, The Cape Colour Question, pp. 147-148.
[17] C.C. Crais, The Making of the Colonial Order: White Supremacy and Black Resistance in the Eastern Cape, 1770-1865 (Johannesburg, Witwatersrand University Press, 1992), p. 14.
[18] Crais, The Making of the Colonial Order, pp. 14-15.
[19] Switzer, Power and Resistance in an African Society, pp. 34-36.

The process of colonisation brought these different indigenous communities with their varying conceptions of access to and entitlement of land into increasing conflict with colonial notions and practices of landed property rights. It is of considerable significance that during the early period of colonisation in the course of the 17th and 18th centuries this primarily involved the Khoikhoi and San peoples. It was only from the end of the 18th century, when the Eastern frontier opened, that Xhosa society became centrally involved.

4.2.3 Indigenous Claims to Land under the Colonial System

All of these various indigenous conceptualisations of land differed fundamentally to those imposed during the process of colonisation of land. During Dutch colonial rule at the Cape, trekboers were issued with grazing permits by the DEIC based on a loan farms system.[20] Under this land tenure system, large portions of colonial land were allocated to the trekboers. The smallest of these loan farms were about six thousand acres in size and extent.[21] Under British colonial rule the loan farm tenure system was phased out and replaced in 1813 with a quitrent land tenure system.[22] In this land tenure system, the size and extent of any allocated new farm was not to be more than six thousand acres. Colonial farmers were now obliged to cultivate at least some of the land owned. Under this land tenure system colonial authorities were compelled to survey, register, and issue each allocated portion of land with a Deed of Grant. In addition, landholding colonial farmers were also given the right to sell their property.[23]

In general, these colonial systems of land tenure applied only to the land holdings of the colonists. Colonisation of land did not only mean that the indigenous Khoikhoi and San peoples were effectively dispossessed of their land and could no longer sustain their customary practices of access to and use of the land; it also meant that these indigenous peoples could not gain legitimate claims on land within the Colony. They could not obtain loan farms

---

[20] The loan farm system of the DEIC was an informal system of land tenure introduced in the early 18th century. Farms granted to burghers at a nominal rental on the loan farm system recognised the farmer as occupier of the land with no rights to subdivide or alienate the land by sale or testamentary bequest. The DEIC maintained the right to again take up a farm after one years notice but this was seldom, if ever done. See R.J.M. Jones, Conveyancing in South Africa, 3rd edition (Cape Town, Juta, 1985), p. 4.

[21] Switzer, Power and Resistance in an African Society, p. 42.

[22] In 1813 Sir John Cradock attempted to regulate and begin controlling the Cape colonial system of land tenure. He issued a proclamation that ordered all loan farms to be surveyed with new grants issued. In addition the size of a farm was limited to 3000 morgen and an annual quarterly rental of 250 rix-dollars had to be paid. This annual sum was significantly higher than the annual payment made under the loan farm system. See Jones, Conveyancing, p. 5.

[23] Switzer, Power and Resistance in an African Society, p. 83.

according to the colonial system of land tenure. Only to a very limited extent did some indigenous Khoisan communities manage to obtain colonial recognition of land holdings within the colony or to gain recognition of traditional occupation. In 1803, the Batavian Governor Janssens offered the Khoisan leader, Stuurman, a portion of dispossessed land within the colony, along the Gamtoos River.[24] Colonial authorities also acknowledged the possession of land between the Bushman River and the Sunday's River by indigenous peoples like the Gqunukwebe. However, the official view was that the Fish River was the identified colonial boundary, and all indigenous peoples not in the service of colonists were to reside beyond the frontier.[25] Still, the agreements made with the Gqunukwebe and others indicate that there were historical moments when some colonial recognition of indigenous entitlement to land within the Eastern Cape frontier zone were acceded by colonial officials.[26] These constituted an anomaly in so far as these particular indigenous peoples resided within the frontier far below the Fish River boundary, but were not subject to the colonial domination nor were they forced to enter the services of colonists. Certainly this was not generally accepted by the colonists. The Gqunukwebe and others who continued to hold rights in, access to, and use of, their own land within the colony were described by colonists as "restless wanderers".[27] It remains important to note that such selective recognition of Khoisan rights in land did not confer individual ownership rights as those held by colonial farmers within the colony. In the aftermath of the 1811-12 frontier war, Governor Cradock sealed off the frontier and expelled all indigenous peoples beyond the Fish River boundary, including these previously accepted indigenous landholders. The war of 1811-12 had effectively brought about the closing of the Eastern Cape frontier with the Fish River as official boundary.[28]

4.2.4 The Caledon Code and the Consolidation of the Colonial Land Order

In an important sense the ongoing dispossession of the indigenous peoples during the 17th and 18th centuries and the concomitant colonisation of land was formalised at the outset of the 19th century. British colonial authorities sought to regulate the access to, and use of land by indigenous Khoisan through the Caledon Code, which was promulgated in 1809. Herein colonial authorities asserted that "for the benefit of this Colony at large, it is necessary, that not

---

[24] John Milton, The Edges of War: A History of Frontier Wars, 1709-1878 (Cape Town, Juta, 1983), pp. 46-51.
[25] Milton, The Edges of War, p. 48.
[26] Milton, The Edges of War, p. 58.
[27] Milton, The Edges of War, p. 58.
[28] Giliomee, 'The Eastern Frontier', pp. 291-299.

only the Individuals of the Hottentot Nation, in the same manner as other Inhabitants, should be subject to proper regularity in regard to their places of abode and occupations".[29] The Caledon Code stipulated that all Khoisan should have a "fixed place of abode" and that their dwellings were to be registered. In terms of the Caledon Code they were also prohibited from owning land (with one important exception involving the mission stations to which we will return below). Accordingly the "fixed place of abode" within the colony could not be on land owned by the Khoisan themselves. Registered "places of abode" could only be obtained on colonial farms in the service of colonists, or by the membership of a mission station. Alternatively the choice could be to remain outside the law, as "vagrants" within the colony.[30] In this regard the Caledon Code stipulated that "every Hottentot neglecting [to have a fixed place of abode] shall be considered a Vagabond, and treated accordingly".[31] The enforcement of this proclamation of vagrancy and contracts of hire compelled many Khoisan within the Cape Colony to seek refuge on a mission station if they did not want to enter the service of colonial farmers. Some Khoisan chose the alternative of persisting in their customary migratory practices, and were treated by colonial officials as vagrants. In this context the mission stations did offer the only available measure of land tenure security and personal safety to Khoisan peoples.

Prior to the Caledon Code the process of colonial expansion had been essentially a de facto and informal process. Through various coercive means the Khoisan and other indigenous peoples were pushed off their land and effectively dispossessed while the colonists were able to acquire legitimate title deeds to their farms under colonial authority and law. In so far as this was a gradual and incremental process the indigenous people were effectively left with ever diminishing portions of land not (yet) taken by colonists – but what was left in this way de facto remained *their* land. The Caledon Code significantly changed this position by formally dispossessing the Khoisan peoples of access to and use of all land within the colony. The prohibition of such access to land within the colony turned what had been a de facto process of effective dispossession into a legalised process of land appropriation. With the promulgation of

---

[29] G.W. Eybers (ed.), 'Vagrancy and Contracts of Hire', Proclamation No. 14, 1 November 1809 in Select Constitutional Documents illustrating South African History, 1795-1910 (London, Routledge, 1918), p.17.

[30] Macmillan, The Cape Colour Question, pp. 161-164. Colonial authorities persisted with the efforts to control the indigenous peoples within the colony, including the Khoikhoi. In 1879 they passed Act 23 for the Prevention of Vagrancy and Squatting. This Act was aimed at controlling indigenous people who were unemployed, roaming about without proper control, without sufficient means of support, and those people who were residing on Crown and other lands. In terms of this Act if persons could not give satisfactory accounts of themselves, then they were deemed and taken to be an idle and disorderly person. See Act 23 of 1879.

[31] Eybers, 'Vagrancy and Contracts of Hire', p.17.

the Caledon Code the dispossession and colonisation of Khoisan land had thus been formally consolidated.

However, within two decades the colonial order of colonising the land excluding the indigenous Khoisan peoples was to be overturned – not indeed by returning to pre-colonial systems of land tenure, but by enabling the Khoisan to obtain landed property rights within the new colonial order. Ordinance 50 was promulgated in July 1828 and repealed the Caledon Code regulations. The colonial system with its restrictive and controlled form of land ownership excluding indigenous peoples from land rights formally came to an end. While the new legislation freed indigenous Khoikhoi people from the carrying of passes,[32] it also affirmed the rights of Khoisan peoples to own land within the colony.[33] Colonial authorities envisaged that by recognising the right to freedom of movement, establishing a free labour market and allowing Khoisan to become property owners the apathy and 'lack of industry', theft and desertion would be substantially reduced. John Philip asserted that for "the natives to choose their own masters ... and ...secure to them ... the right which God had given them ... to bring their labour to a free market ... farmers will no longer have occasion to complain of a want of servants".[34] The purpose of the ordinance was to stimulate the colonial economy by encouraging indigenous peoples to enter the colonial labour market.[35] Through Ordinance 50 colonial authorities were also set on establishing a prominent group of Khoisan farmers who in celebration of their emancipation would willingly support the frontier colonists in defence of the colony against the Xhosa on the Eastern Cape frontier.[36] Colonial officials foresaw that mission institutions would no longer be needed as places of refuge, since the law now made provision for the purchase and holding of land by Khoisan peoples.

It was in this context that the Kat River Settlement was established by colonial officials in 1829.[37] The political significance of the Kat River Settlement was that it represented a salient case of Khoisan people exercising landed property rights within the colony. The Kat River Settlement comprised of land, which colonial authorities had appropriated from Chief Maqoma

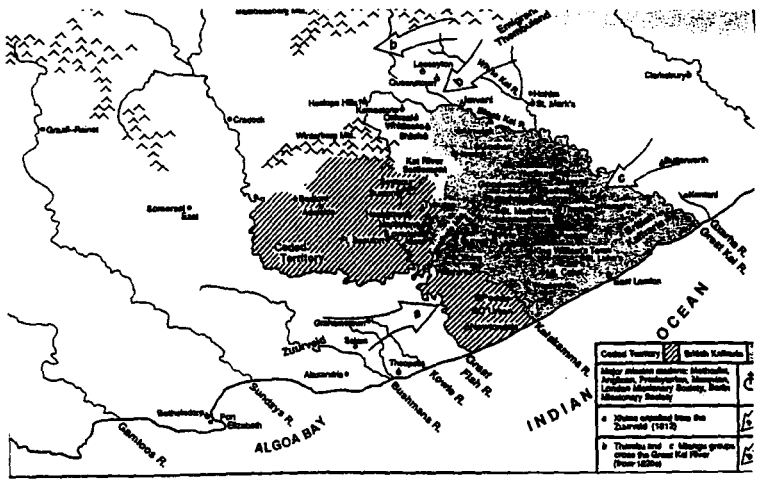
---

[32] Switzer, Power and Resistance in an African Society, p. 84.
[33] Newton-King, 'The Labour Market of the Cape Colony, 1807-28', pp.196-197.
[34] John Philip, Researches in South Africa (2 volumes, London, James Duncan, 1828), p. 329.
[35] Switzer, Power and Resistance in an African Society, 1993, p. 84.
[36] Newton-King, 'The Labour Market of the Cape Colony, 1807-28', p. 199.
[37] Newton-King, 'The Labour Market of the Cape Colony, 1807-28', p. 199.

following his forced expulsion from the area in 1827.[38] A map in figure 6 below shows the location of the Kat River Settlement within the Cape Colony.

The settlement was incorporated into the colony as a buffer against the Xhosa on the open Eastern Cape frontier.[39] In establishing the Kat River Settlement in 1829, colonial authorities moved people to the settlement from the districts of Somerset and Graaf Reinet, the Bethelsdorp and Theopolis mission stations, as well as from the Moravian Mission Station at Enon. Herman Matroos and his following of Gqunukwebe families were later moved from the Fish River to the Kat River Settlement where they were granted land by colonial authorities along the Blinkwater River.[40] Commissioner-General Stockenström divided the settlement into five separate locations. Initially, there were 640 allottments, of erven, each about 6 acres in size and extent. The allotments were granted to individual owners and held in perpetual quitrent. Each portion of land was capable of irrigation with grazing rights for as many cattle as local regulations permitted.[41] There was also the available commonage land. Inhabitants of the settlement received land grants subject to their acceptance of certain regulations, which included a commitment to cultivate the land to its full extent. Initially Stockenström made military service a condition of obtaining land tenure in the settlement. This particular condition was later waived.[42]

Figure 6: Map of the Kat River Settlement within the Cape Colony.
[Source: Switzer, Power and Resistance in an African Society, p. 55].



[38] Davenport, South Africa, p. 44.
[39] Switzer, Power and Resistance in an African Society, p. 56.
[40] Tony Kirk, 'Progress and Decline in the Kat River Settlement, 1829-1854', Journal of African History XIV: 3 (1973), p. 415.
[41] Kirk, 'Progress and Decline in the Kat River Settlement', pp. 413-414.
[42] Kirk, 'Progress and Decline in the Kat River Settlement', p. 414.

In all these respects the Kat River Settlement represented a new beginning for the dispossessed Khoisan who could now gain recognised land rights within the colonial order. For these reasons, too, the fate of the Kat River Settlement with the "rebellion" in 1850 would -- as we shall see below – have momentous significance for the political future of the dispossessed Khoisan communities. It was not to be the Kat River Settlement which would prove able to sustain new kinds of communities for the dispossessed Khoisan within the colony, but rather the mission stations.

4.3 Missionary Settlements within the Colonial Land Order

When missionary settlements were established in South Africa from the 18th century they had to be accommodated within the emerging colonial land order while they also had to take account of customary notions of access to land among the indigenous peoples. Missionary stations had an ambivalent position within the colonial system of land tenure. While colonial land grants for missionary purposes allowed the establishment of missionary settlements these also constituted an important exception in the colonial land order in so far as they provided a way of getting access to land to the indigenous Khoisan peoples. At the same time the missionaries insisted that members of the indigenous communities' allocated land on the missionary settlements had to forego their customary land practices.

The process by which missionaries obtained land for missionary purposes from colonial authorities were largely similar to the process followed by colonists to obtain farms as individual property. The Baviaanskloof land was initially granted to Moravian missionaries by the DEIC to be used for missionary purposes. However, the land grant was not based on the loan farm system. In 1794 Moravian Missionaries who had settled at Baviaanskloof made representations to the Landdrost of Stellenbosch to transform the insecure land tenure of Baviaanskloof into a more secure loan farm.[43] They were not successful at the time. This showed that officials did not consider mission land to be private property. The rights in land of the early Moravian missionaries and the protection afforded to them and their converts during the early 1790s were thus seriously challenged when confronted by the displeasure of colonists and company officials. As more and more land became dispossessed from indigenous peoples at the Cape,

[43] Krüger, The Pear Tree Blossoms, The History of the Moravian Church in South Africa 1737-1869 (Genadendal, The Moravian Book Depot, 1966), pp. 65-66.

British colonial officials sought to standardise the rights in land held by missionaries and those indigenous peoples living on mission land. Already in the 1820s the regulation of rights in land by colonial authorities was used by some missionaries like the Moravian missionary, Hallbeck, as an opportunity for the mission institution to acquire formal rights in land. Hallbeck was particularly concerned with the encroachment of colonial farmers onto mission land and the land surrounding it. This land had in most cases been historically occupied and used by indigenous peoples, many of whom were now settled at the various mission stations.[44] The Moravian Mission Society obtained Deed of Grants to various portions of land in the Tsitsikamma occupied and used by them for mission purposes. It was only in 1858 that Genadendal was eventually issued with a Deed of Grant under the quitrent land tenure system. According to this Deed of Grant the land was granted in perpetual quitrent to the United Brethren or Moravian Missionary Institution for the use of, and in trust for, such persons that may from time to time be lawfully resident at Genadendal.[45] The land was to be used for missionary purposes but with a qualification that the land was not to be alienated, and that it could not be sold on the colonial property market.[46] The limitation placed on the buying and selling of mission land on the colonial property market reinforced the restrictions placed on the Khoisan within the colony to only own land on, and not outside, the mission stations. The qualification placed on mission land granted in perpetual quitrent suggests that such mission land might have had some intermediate status between colonial private property and communal ownership in customary law.

The promulgation of the Caledon Code in 1809 represented a historical landmark in establishing the position of missionary settlements within the colonial land order in relation to members' of the dispossessed Khoisan peoples. On the one hand the Caledon Code stipulated that the Khoisan might legitimately own and lease land under colonial authority and law – but restricted this right in land to the mission stations. On the other hand the Caledon Code formally dispossessed them of access to and use of all land outside of the mission stations. It was through the Caledon Code that a general linkage between mission land and the dispossessed Khoisan communities was established. While they were unable to obtain individual title deeds to colonial farmland, they could obtain individual and communal access to

---

[44] Hallbeck, 'Brief Sketch of the Origin, Progress, and Present State of the Missions of the United Brethren in the Colony of the Cape of Good Hope', Genadendal, 14 November 1823, no. 2 in Draft Settlement of the Lands at Missionary Institutions in South Africa, British Parliamentary Papers vol. 20, pp. 317-321.
[45] I. Balie, Die Geskiedenis van Genadendal, 1738-1988 (Kaapstad, Perskor, 1988), p. 82.

mission land. This amounts to a crucial linkage between mission stations and indigenous communities based on access to land controlled by missionaries.

The mission stations, which were established throughout the Cape colony during the early decades of the nineteenth century, introduced a new type of community. Those dispossessed Khoisan people and ex-slaves who joined these mission stations formed landed settlements under the authority of the missionary. Within these missionary communities very little consideration was given, and almost no reference was made, to historical kinship relationships, nor were the traditional rituals and ceremonial activities bonding people and reinforcing social ties allowed to be practised under the missionary authority. The missionaries proscribed the observance of customary practices and rituals, such as *lobola* (bridewealth), circumcision, beer drinking, and dancing from mission stations. Instead, new social practices were introduced like literacy classes, Bible readings, baptism and confirmation. The social structures of these growing mission communities thus stood in strong contrast to the historical chiefdoms or hunter gatherer communities where power structures were rooted in kinship obligations.[47]

Over time various groups of Khoisan people settled on missionary establishments, responded to the missionary gospel, and for different reasons converted to Christianity. Some were young women and widows who were unwilling to participate in customary arranged marriages, or follow the custom of marrying their brother-in-law. Others were physically disabled; diviners who rejected their vocation, or people who had been expelled for allegedly committing the crime of witchcraft. Many Khoisan people who settled around the missionaries were refugees - orphans, the sick, the aged and the homeless - from the recurrent frontier wars. At each mission station the missionary assumed a position of authority by allocating plots of land and linking this with obedience to the codes, rituals and beliefs of their particular order of Christianity.[48] As described above, those Khoisan people who chose to remain within the colony were restricted by the Caledon Code that prohibited them from access to, use of, and ownership of, land within the colony except on mission stations. Until 1828 and the promulgation of Ordinance 50 dispossessed Khoisan people were not officially allowed to own

[46] Elim Title Deed T18759/1959, Goedverwacht Title Deed T26909/1965, Pella Title Deed T9989/1936, Wittewater Title Deed T8760/1959, Clarkson Title Deed T3168/1959.
[47] B. Schmidt, Creating Order: Culture as Politics in the Nineteenth and Twentieth Century South Africa (Nijmegen, Third World Centre, University of Nijmegen, 1996), p. 55.
[48] Switzer, Power and Resistance in an African Society, p. 115.

land within the colony other than mission land.[49] Access to mission land did not only depend on their conversion to Christianity, but was also subject to them adhering to a set of requirements, rules and regulations as defined and administered by the missionaries. While the mission stations thus provided a significant "escape valve" to dispossessed Khoisan peoples and functioned as effective places of refuge to those unwilling to be forced into labour on colonial farms, missionary control of such access to land as was available to the Khoisan within the colony also served as a powerful means to inculcate new forms of community and conversion to Christianity.

In principle the missionary monopoly of access to land for dispossessed Khoisan peoples within the Colony came to an end with the promulgation of Ordinance 50 in 1828. The "Hottentot Magna Charta" meant that, as at the Kat River Settlement, indigenous peoples no longer had to rely on missionary authorities as their only means for access to land within the Colony. However, by the mid-19th century the colonisation of land and the ensuing landlessness of indigenous people within the Cape colony was largely complete. From the 1830s there was also another major change in the colonial context of missionary activity as the Eastern Cape frontier opened beyond the Fish River and the Colony began incorporating substantial numbers of Xhosa and other non-Khoisan peoples. At the same time missionary settlements also began to be established well beyond the colonial boundaries on the Eastern Cape frontier. Henceforth missionary settlements would relate not only to dispossessed landless Khoisan peoples within the Colony but also to Xhosa and other communities with different customary land practices and whose land had also not yet been colonised to the same extent. This brought about major changes in the dynamics of the emerging new missionary communities.

4.3.1 The Closing Frontier as Context of Missionary Settlements

For more than fifty years after 1776, which was also the period when missionary activities in the Cape Colony were initiated, the Fish River had been designated as the official boundary on the Eastern Cape frontier. In practice the Eastern Cape frontier was a zone of interspersed colonial, Khoisan and Xhosa settlements. In this it differed from the Western and Northern parts of the colony which did not yet include substantial numbers of Xhosa people and where the

[49] Davenport, South Africa, pp. 41-44.

main interaction involved colonists, trekboers and dispossessed Khoisan people. This meant that the contexts of missionary settlements differed significantly on the Eastern Cape frontier compared to other parts of the Colony in that missionaries were bound to take more cognizance of the land practices of indigenous communities and not only of the colonial land tenure system.

Pre-colonial and customary practices of land tenure in relation to missionary settlements thus varied during different periods of colonisation and in different regions of the Colony. The pre-colonial San and Khoikhoi practices of land tenure had already been effectively disrupted and destroyed through colonial expansion and dispossession by the time the earliest Moravian missionaries came to the Cape. In the case of the dispossessed Khoisan communities' customary practices of land tenure had become of mere historical significance and could be largely disregarded and/or overridden by missionaries when establishing control over access to land at mission stations. A possible exception might be the case of George Schmidt in his initial interactions with Africo and the Hartebeeskraal Khoikhoi community as discussed in chapter three. But it appears that the Hartebeeskraal community may no longer have been typical of pre-colonial Khoikhoi pastoral and migratory practices since they were in some stage of transition towards a more settled landed existence. On the whole, these customary practices no longer effectively applied to missionary settlements within the Cape Colony among the dispossessed Khoisan peoples.

In the case of the independent pre-colonial communities beyond the frontier, the converse applied, since missionaries were forced to take serious cognisance of, and adapt to, customary practices of land tenure. Mission stations established beyond the frontier were on land under the uncontested control of indigenous societies and the early missionaries established their mission stations on land, which had been allocated to them by chiefs.[50] The implication was that the local chief had the power and authority to grant missionaries permission to use the land and thus that missionaries seeking to establish mission settlements beyond the frontier had to take cognisance of customary conceptions of land tenure. This did not mean that the missionaries occupying such land were subject to chiefly authority apart from requiring their permission to settle on the land.[51] However, this left relatively less scope and opportunity for

[50] Switzer, Power and Resistance in an African Society, pp. 43-53.
[51] Switzer, Power and Resistance in an African Society, p. 113. The granting of such permission to use the land for missionary purposes by the local chief was not compatible with the colonial conception of land tenure held by

missionaries to introduce their own control of access to land at such mission settlements beyond the frontier.

Missionaries who established settlements on the Eastern Cape frontier with the aim of converting the indigenous Xhosa people were positioned between two very different conceptions of land. The first being the Xhosa understanding that each individual male (usually married) had the right to be allocated land held in communal trust by the Chief. The second was the colonial notion of private property. This was the context of the earliest missionary settlements on the Eastern Cape Frontier by missionaries of the London Missionary Society such as Dr. van der Kemp and John Read.[52] The most complex case involved the disrupted and intermediate "refugee" groupings *within* the Eastern Cape frontier as in the case of the Mfengu at the Clarkson Moravian mission station where missionaries took cognisance of, and acknowledged both customary and colonial practices of land tenure. We will return to this case in greater detail below.

The missionary enterprise only began to take significant effect in the Eastern Cape after 1812 once British colonial power had been established and sustained on the Eastern Cape frontier. But it was especially from the 1830s that the dynamics in the relations of missionaries and indigenous peoples became more complex in various ways. On the one hand the expansion of colonial territory beyond the Fish River incorporated a range of further indigenous groupings within the Colony along with their customary notions and practices of access and use of land. On the other hand these communities were now subject to colonial law and authority and were no longer able to sustain political independence. From 1835 onwards chiefs, both on and beyond the Eastern Cape frontier, became more amenable to the missionaries, with the hope that they would intercede on behalf of indigenous people against the forceful expansion of the growing colonial community and their persistent demands for more land.[53] In an attempt to

---

missionaries who regarded the land used as their private property over which they had exclusive and sovereign control. A crucial question can be asked in relation to converts wishing to settle on the mission land – to what extent would customary notions of land tenure allow access to, and use of, the mission land to be dealt with as a "private" relation between missionaries and converts? This seems to open up all sorts of difficult and complex questions. We will however not address these questions since our case study concerns a Moravian mission settlement located *within* the Eastern Cape frontier and not *beyond* it.

[52] Elizabeth Elbourne notes that both the Anglicans and the Moravians had Episcopal hierarchies. In both churches many believed in the spiritual value of order and submission to authority within the church. See 'Early Khoisan Uses of Mission Christianity', Kronos 19 (1992), p. 5. See also E. Elbourne, 'A Question of Identity: Evangelical Culture and Khoisan Politics in the Early Nineteenth-Century Eastern Cape', Collected seminar papers,the Societies of Southern Africa in the Nineteenth and Twentieth centuries, vol. 18, no. 44.

[53] Switzer, Power and Resistance in an African Society, p. 113.

maintain their power and sustain their interests, chiefs received missionaries as a means of furthering their perceived political prestige and ensuring that a regular communication channel existed between themselves and the colonial authorities.[54] For their part colonial officials, in response to the expansion of the colony and the increasing number of missionary settlements, some of whom had earlier been beyond the frontier, attempted to standardise and limit the access to, and use of, land previously allocated to missionaries by chiefs. This resulted in a dual set of authority relations governing access to land on the Cape Eastern frontier. In mission stations established within the Eastern Cape frontier, the authority to allocate land ultimately rested with colonial officials. But those missionaries, who were requested by colonial authorities to establish mission stations among indigenous peoples beyond the Eastern Cape frontier, were compelled to engage the chief who held rights in land.

By the middle of the nineteenth century the Eastern Cape frontier spanned the Ciskei region between the Fish and the Kei Rivers. Numerous mission stations had been established on both sides of the frontier, both within the colony and outside it. Mission stations which were established between the Fish and the Kei Rivers were located within the Eastern Cape frontier. Mission stations, on the other hand, that were established across the Kei River were located beyond the Eastern Cape frontier. In the Eastern Cape the missionary settlements within the frontier were located on dispossessed land under the hegemony of British colonial authorities that granted land for missionary purposes to the various mission societies. Mission stations that were established beyond the Eastern Cape frontier were situated on land under the authority of the chief of the area.[55] The location of some mission stations situated *within* and *beyond* the Kei River of the Eastern Cape frontier can be seen on the map in figure 6 above. The Wesleyan Methodists already established mission stations beyond the Eastern Cape frontier from 1823 onwards, among the Gqunukhwebe Xhosa at Wesleyville east of the Keiskamma River. The Wesleyan missionary, William Shaw, envisaged establishing a chain of mission stations to Port Natal. Several Wesleyan mission stations were established with this vision in mind.[56] Some colonial authorities supported and endorsed this vision of establishing a chain of mission stations "from Salem to Port Natal". In addition to the Wesleyville mission, further mission stations were established beyond the Eastern Cape frontier at Mount Coke among the Ndlambe, at Butterworth among the Gcaleka, at Clarkebury among the Tembu and Buntingville

[54] J.B. Peires, The House of Phalo: A History of the Xhosa People in the Days of their Independence (Berkeley, University of California, 1981), p. 76.
[55] Switzer, Power and Resistance in an African Society, pp. 43-53.

among the Pondo.[57] The Wesleyans were supported in their endeavours by the Glasgow Missionary Society, which established Lovedale within the Eastern Cape frontier in 1824. The Berlin Missionary Society also joined the Wesleyans in their missionary activities beyond the Eastern Cape frontier. The London Missionary Society eventually also established permanent mission stations beyond the Eastern Cape frontier, at Butterworth and Clarksbury. The Anglicans were assisted by colonial authorities in their missionary activities and began establishing mission stations from the 1850s onwards. The Moravians established mission stations within the Eastern Cape frontier from 1818 onwards at Enon, Shiloh, Goshen, and Ngotini. These Moravian missionaries received land grants for the purpose of establishing mission stations amongst selected groups of indigenous people.[58] The Moravian mission station among the Mfengu at Clarkson in the Tsitsikamma was established later, in 1839. Clarkson, lies securely in the colony on the Southern Cape coast, below the Gamtoos River. See the map illustrating the location of Clarkson in Figure 4.

4.3.2 The Founding of Missionary Communities on the Eastern Cape Frontier

In Chapter 3 we considered the origins of the earliest Moravian missionary community at Genadendal in the Western Cape and the role played by missionary control of access to mission land in relation to the dispossessed Khoisan people. On the open frontier of the Eastern Cape where colonisation of land had not yet been consolidated and the customary land practices of indigenous communities could still to some extent be sustained the positions of the missionaries in founding new missionary communities was much more complex. In different ways the founding of new missionary communities could not rely only on control of access to mission land but also had to take cognisance of the customary land practices of the indigenous communities concerned.

In the historical context of the Eastern Cape frontier the relationship between the missionary and indigenous peoples occupying the land came to echo the trust relationship so characteristic of communal property relations in indigenous Xhosa society. According to Switzer, missionaries took on a chiefly role in the perceptions of indigenous peoples by allocating land to converts subject to their obedience to the behaviour, codes, and rituals of

---

[56] Switzer, Power and Resistance in an African Society, p. 113.
[57] J. Du Plessis, A History of Christian Missions in South Africa (Cape Town, Struik, 1965), pp. 174-175.
[58] Switzer, Power and Resistance in an African Society, pp. 113-114.

Christianity, as taught by them.[59] It was the position of authority held by missionaries, and the control they exercised within mission stations that so resembled the role of chiefs in indigenous society. It was in their position of authority at the mission station, like the chief within indigenous society, that the missionary held the right to grant membership to, and allocate land on, the mission station. This was certainly the case at the various Moravian mission stations, including Clarkson. While the relationship between missionary and convert was very different to that between Chief and member, the essence of a trust relationship as contained in the contractual agreement entered into by (married male) converts with Moravian missionaries could be said to be similar. This contractual agreement involved the allocation of portions of land - a garden plot and a residential plot of land - to converts. The continued security of access to, and use of, this land by converts, was subject to their persistent "good behaviour", "good conduct", and their obedience to those in positions of authority. On the one hand, the authority to allocate land by the missionary thus appears to be similar to the authority held by chiefs who held the right to grant access to and use of the land.[60] On the other hand, the use of specific demarcated portions of land that were allocated to individual (married male) converts affirmed and legitimated the colonial notion of private property.

The relationship to land of intermediary groups like the Mfengu however differed. It is of considerable relevance and significance for this study that the Mfengu, amongst whom the Moravian mission at Clarkson was founded, was not a long established pre-colonial indigenous community. In chapter one we reviewed accounts of the Mfengu in the literature and there indicated that the origins of this group have become a much-contested historical controversy and are in fact closely connected with colonial land grants. Whatever the final outcomes of this debate, it is clear that their position was significantly different to that of traditional and pre-colonial indigenous communities on and beyond the frontier. The question is what were the implications of this for the nature of their interactions with missionaries and the construction of new communal identities at Clarkson? In particular a key question would be whether the Mfengu, like the indigenous communities beyond the frontier, were in control of access to land according to customary practices? If they were, then the missionaries would have had to obtain the consent and permission of the local chiefs in order to initiate a missionary settlement

[59] Switzer, Power and Resistance in an African Society, p. 115.
[60] 'Minutes of Evidence, Cape Native Laws Commission, 1883' in T.R.H. Davenport and K.S. Hunt (eds.), The Right to the Land (Claremont, David Philip, 1974), pp. 34-35.

Communal Identity and Historical Claims to Land in South Africa: The Cases of the Clarkson Moravian Mission and the Tsitsikamma Mfengu

by

CRYSTAL JANNECKE

Dissertation presented for the degree

of

Doctor of Philosophy

Department of Political Studies in the Faculty of Social Science and Humanities

University of Cape Town

September 2005

(Supervisor: Prof. André du Toit)

Table of Contents

Acknowledgements v

Declaration vii

Abstract viii

List of Figures ix

Chapter One

Historical Claims of Entitlement to Land and the Construction of Clarksoner and Mfengu Identities 1

1.1 Introduction 1

1.2.1 The Tsitsikamma Mfengu Claims of Historical Entitlement to Land: Dispossession and Restitution 3

1.2.1.1 Legal versus Historical Rights to the Land 7

1.2.1.2 The Mfengu Campaign: Historical and Legal Claims to Land Rights 8

1.2.2 The Moravian Community at Clarkson and their Historical Claim to Land 10

1.2.2.1 Terminological Differentiation of "Coloured" and "Native" 11

1.3 Problem Statement and Research Question 14

1.4 Research Approach and Design 17

1.5 Limitations and Issues for Further Study 20

1.6 A Survey of Literature on the Themes of Mission History, Moravian History, Mfengu History, Land and Community within a South African Context 22

1.6.1 South African Mission History 22

1.6.2 Moravian Mission History within a South African Context 29

1.6.3 The Mfengu: A Controversial History 41

1.6.3.1 The Received Conventional View 41

1.6.3.2 The Revised Revisionist View 43

1.6.4 Land and Communal Identity in a South African Context 46

1.7 Structure of Discussion and Overview of Dissertation 51

Chapter Two

Theoretical Framework: A Discursive Analytical Approach 55

2.1 Introduction 55

2.2 An Analytical Framework for Contextualised Discursive Analysis 56

2.3 Ideological Discourse and Discursive Mechanisms for Mobilising Meaning 59

2.4 Complementing the Analytical Framework: Fairclough, White and Foucault 60

2.5 Communal Identities as Discursive Objects 64

2.6 Hailing the Subjects of Discourses about Communal Identities 68

2.7 Conclusion 71

Chapter Three

The Historical and Narrative Origins of the Moravian Missionary Community 72

3.1 Introduction 72

3.2 The Moravian Communal Identity in Socio-historical and Discursive Context 73

3.2.1 Herrnhut and the Moravian Ethic 73

3.2.1.1 Pietism and Protestantism: Distinctive Features of the Herrnhut Community 75
3.2.2 The Ancient Unitas Fratum and the Renewed Moravian Church 80
3.2.2.1 The Moravian historical narrative of the seed: A discourse analysis 82
3.3 The Moravian Mission in the Cape Colony: A Social Historical Context 85
3.3.1 Dutch Settlement at the Cape 85
3.3.2 The Moravian Missionary Project at the Cape 87
3.3.3 The Dutch Colonial Response to the Moravian Mission 92
3.3.4 The Moravian Mission Renewed 94
3.4 Reconstructing the Moravian Mission Narrative 95
3.4.1 Interpretation and Analysis of the Moravian and Missionary Narratives 99
3.5 The Imposition of the Moravian Ethic 104
3.5.1 Labour and Transformed Modes of Subsistence 104
3.5.2 Transforming the Spatial Organisation of the Indigenous Landscape 108
3.5.3 A Regulated Social Discipline 110
3.6 Conclusion 113

Chapter Four
The Colonial Context: Land Dispossession and Forced Labour in the Origins of the Clarkson Moravian Mission Station and the Tsitsikamma Mfengu Settlements 115

4.1 Introduction 115
4.2 Land: Dispossession and Colonisation 116
4.2.1 Resistance to Land Dispossession on the Closing Frontier 117
4.2.2 Entitlement to Land: Indigenous versus Colonial Conceptions 119
4.2.3 Indigenous Claims to Land under the Colonial System 120
4.2.4 The Caledon Code and the Consolidation of the Colonial Land Order 121
4.3 Missionary Settlements within the Colonial Land Order 125
4.3.1 The Closing Frontier as Context of Missionary Settlements 128
4.3.2 The Founding of Missionary Communities on the Eastern Cape Frontier 132
4.4 Labour: Colonial Forced Labour Practices and Missionary Settlements 135
4.4.1 The Commando System and Indentured Labourers 135
4.4.2 Labour Control and the Caledon Code 136
4.4.3 The "Mantatees" as Indentured Labourers 137
4.4.4 Ordinance 49 and the Introduction of Xhosa Labourers into the Colony 139
4.5 The Origins of the Mfengu in the Context and Aftermath of the 1835 Frontier War 140
4.5.1 "The Flight of the "Fingo" Nation" 140
4.5.2 Reports of Wanderers and Refugees in Flight 142
4.5.3 Collaborating Chiefs, Peace Treaties, and British Subjects 144
4.6. The Colonial Land Grants to the Tsitsikamma Mfengu 145
4.6.1 The Clarkson Land Grants and the Differentiation of the Mission and Tsitsikamma Mfengu Communities 150
4.7 Conclusion 155

Chapter Five

Elements of the Discursive Construction of a Clarksoner Moravian Missionary Identity and its Relation to Land **157**

5.1 Introduction 157
5.2 The Moravian Narrative and the Communal Identity of the Clarksoners / Mfengu 158
5.2.1 The "Nucleus of Converts", a "Seed" of Continuity 159
5.2.2 Our People, the Clarksoners 162
5.2.3 Rituals of (Re) naming 163
5.2.3.1 Appropriation of Names and Metaphors 166
5.2.4 The Moravian Ethic and the Constructed Clarksoner Missionary Identity 169
5.2.5 Membership and Representations of Clarksoner/Mfengu 171
5.3 Elements of Missionary "Conversation" 177
5.3.1 The Politics of Spatial Organisation and the Changing Spatial Landscape 179
5.3.2 The Politics of Production and the Cultivation of the Land 185
5.3.3 The Politics of Water 192
5.4 Conclusion 196

Chapter Six

Resistance, Rebellion and Collaboration, 1846-1900: A Social Historical Context for the Appropriated Clarksoner and Tsitsikamma Mfengu Communal Identities **198**

6.1 Introduction 198
6.2 Rebellion Resistance and Collaboration on the Eastern Cape Frontier 200
6.2.1 The Kat River Settlement Revisited 200
6.2.2 The Kat River Rebellion and its Aftermath 203
6.2.3 The Impact on the Moravian Mission Communities 206
6.2.4 The Cattle Killing Movement and its aftermath for the Mfengu 210
6.2.4.1 Developments among the Mfengu in the Tsitsikamma Mfengu 216
6.3 From Colonial "Fingos" to "Natives" and/or Mfengu 220
6.4 Consolidating and Opposing the Colonial Framework 221
6.4.1 From Missions to "Locations" 223
6.4.2 Political Organisation and Protest: The Franchise and Land 225
6.4.3 Growing Political Awareness at Moravian Mission Stations 229
6.5 Conclusion 236

Chapter Seven

Interlude: The Shaping of Rights in Land and of Official Identities: 1910-1975 **239**

7.1 Introduction 239
7.2 Land and Labour: Consolidating the Legal Framework 240
7.2.1 From "Natives" to Official "Ethnic" Units and Customary Land Rights 244
7.2.2 Scrapping the Remaining Historical Land Rights 245
7.3 Racial Classification, Ethnic Categorization and their Impact on Indigenous Land Rights 248
7.4 The Impact of Apartheid Policy and Legislation 251
7.5 Conclusion 254

Chapter Eight

The Contemporary Clarkson and Tsitsikamma Mfengu Communities: From Dispossession and Forced Resettlement to the Contested Restitution of Land Rights **255**

8.1 Introduction 255
8.2 The Tsitsikamma Forced Removals 256
8.2.1 The Clarkson Mission Community Left Behind in Possession of their Land 259
8.3 Reconstructing a "Community" for the Dispersed Tsitsikamma Mfengu Peoples in Relation to their Land Claims 262
8.3.1 A Petition to the Government for the Restoration of Land Rights in the 1980s 262
8.3.2 Calling the Dispersed Tsitsikamma Mfengu Peoples Together to Claim their Land 264
8.3.3 A Unified Homogenous Contemporary Tsitsikamma Mfengu Ethnic Community as Basis for the Claims to Land Restitution 272
8.4 The Contested Clarkson Mission Land and the Construction of the Clarksoner Mission Community as the "Constitutive Outside" in the Ethnic Tsitsikamma Mfengu Discourse 281
8.4.1 The Moravian Church and the Clarkson Mission Community 281
8.5 The (re)Shaping of Communal Identity at Clarkson as a Rural Town 292
8.6 Conclusion 297

Chapter Nine

Conclusion **301**

9.1 General Arguments and Interpretation of Study 301
9.1.1 Community through Racial and Ethnic differentiation 302
9.1.2 Moravian Mission Identity and Land 303
9.1.3 The Tsitsikamma Mfengu Identity and Land 305
9.1.4 Land, Communal Identity and Community 306
9.2 General Significance of the Study 308
9.3 Conclusion 310

Bibliography **312**

Acknowledgements

This research project and its unfolding process have in many ways come to an elegant end with the completion this dissertation. I have learnt to try and try again, to be patient with myself in entering a different mode of writing and thinking critically about my world and the data I wished to engage myself with, to listen with humility, and to tell and critically interpret stories of the past and present as fully as I can. I went off and immersed myself in archival and documentary detail and then emerged astounded at the possibilities. I wish to thank André du Toit my academic supervisor, whose calmness, depth, humility, consistency, critical engagement, and attention to detail has contributed significantly to the completion of this project. I also wish to thank Austin Joemat who initially introduced me to problems of land entitlement, development, identity and conflict at the various Moravian mission stations at my B.Soc.Sci. graduation party ten years ago. At this event he convinced me that I cannot end the party without deciding what my Honours research project should be on for the following academic year. I was intrigued by the political dynamics of the Clarkson Mfengu story that Austin told. It was then that I selected Clarkson and the Tsitsikamma Mfengu as a case study, and I have not been moved away from it since then. The project that I designed at the beginning was very big. But following the sound advice of André du Toit, the initial Honours research project became its pilot study. It is through this dissertation that I have now been able to complete the whole project, albeit with acknowledged limitations.

I wish to thank Angeline Swart of the Moravian Church for allowing me access to the Moravian Archives; Rev. Cloete at the Moravian Archives for speedily providing me with archival material on Clarkson when the time I had available to work in the archives was constrained by attending to the needs of my new-born then toddler son; and Sister Brenda, the librarian at the Moravian Seminary, for alerting me to some of the latest arrivals on Moravian history. The assistance given by Isaac Balie at the Moravian Archive in Genadendal, and Rev. Mcubusi at the Clarkson Church office is also appreciated. A special thanks to Bishop Schlimm who tried to assist from Germany as well as to Bishop Temmers, Bishop Ulster, and Bishop Lottering in South Africa. I also wish to thank Kobus Pienaar for the assistance received. My first visit to Clarkson was in 1996 and for this I wish to thank Richard Griggs who arranged for me to accompany his research team on their way to the Eastern Cape. They dropped me along the way on the Southern Cape Coast, at Clarkson and picked me up three weeks later.

For this initial visit to Clarkson in 1996 I wish to thank Rev. Moos for the assistance given during my stay there, especially the prior accommodation arrangement with Ouma Maria Ruiters with whom I stayed while at Clarkson. I drank fresh cow's milk for the first time in my life in her kitchen over the three weeks that I was there. She not only mothered me but also enthusiastically discussed her life and the history of Clarkson and the Tsitsikamma as she saw it with me. It was with her that I became part of the Clarkson activities – accompanying her to funerals, meetings, church services, and the traditional Easter Saturday grave cleaning at Clarkson. Ouma Maria Ruiters has now passed away but her memory will remain with me. In completing this project I celebrate her energy, enthusiasm for life and her honesty. I also thank Oom Andreas Swazi of Clarkson. I first met him in 1996 soon after arriving in Clarkson. He was then already an old man, but worked diligently in his garden planting and harvesting his vegetables and fruit. I was impressed. I read him as a man who was deeply connected to Clarkson and its soil. He even tasted the ground occasionally. He too shared his life story and the history of Clarkson and

the Tsitsikamma with me. I met him again in 2003 when I returned to Clarkson. Bed ridden he had no energy to speak to me other than to say that he is finished with this world and is just waiting for his Maker to fetch him. He died soon after I left Clarkson in 2003. With the completion of this dissertation I celebrate Oom Andreas' Christian spirit, his rootedness and deep connection to the soil of Clarkson. In 2003 I entered Clarkson with a husband and a two year old son on either side. For our accommodation on this visit I wish to thank George Burrows and his wife for their hospitality and care. I also wish to thank William Uithaler for showing us the historical sites and broken buildings around Clarkson as well as Oom Hendricks; Sister Chrissie Sedeku and her sister; Oom Matheus and his wife; Vrede Vrye and her husband (both have now passed away); Broer Walter, Wilson Wolfkop, Rev. Jantjies, Rev. Mcubusi, Isaac Tembani and his wife, Rev. Moos, Florence Mtambo, Sister Lawak, Miriam Gamede, and Sister Wentzel for sharing part of their life stories of Clarkson and the Tsitsikamma with me.

I wish to thank the Center for Women's Studies at the Australian National University (ANU) in Canberra for welcoming me into their fold as a visitor in 1997-1998. It was during this time that I immersed myself in Moravian Church history and emerged holding the thread of the Moravian historical narrative that I then pulled through all the way to South Africa and the mission stations at Genadendal and Clarkson. I also wish to thank Rashidi Molapho as well as Premesh Lalu of the History Department at the University of the Western Cape for including me at short notice in the department's contemporary history seminar series. The enthusiasm shown and encouragement given by Karel T. August, Steven Robins, and Mark Everingham for this project, is appreciated.

Then there are the words of encouragement received from numerous people to complete this project and complete it well. From among these I wish to acknowledge Richard Newman, my husband, for his care, gentleness, and unending support; my son Phillip for asserting that his mother is not to be disturbed while writing her book; my parents; my Godparents - Momsy and Popsy; Auntie Gracie; my brothers David and Mark Jannecke; my sister Joy Chetty and her husband Lazareth Chetty. There is also Patricia Domingo, Sharon and Pastor Ron Roberts, and Charmaine Marshall whom I wish to thank for their ever ready support in ways that cannot be mentioned here. I wish to give a special thanks to Auntie Jean who entered the lives of my family at a time when we needed her presence most. Her unconditional care and love in attending to our very basic needs has contributed much to getting this dissertation finished within the envisaged time. My own spirituality and faith has deepened as this project has grown and come to its end. Having a family with an enthusiastic energy filled new-born, then toddler, and now school going son has added its own set of difficulties. Amidst all the frustration, joy, anger, happiness, intense pain, tantrum upon tantrum, tiredness, and extreme stress my prayer has been for clarity of mind, courage, strength and perseverance to bring this research project to an elegant end.

Finally, I acknowledge the financial support received from the National Research Foundation (formally the CSD); and the scholarships awarded from the UCT Scholarships Committee, and Swiss Africa.

I dedicate this thesis to my son, Phillip Richard Jannecke Newman, whose presence has made me aware of, and excited about, small things.

Crystal Jannecke, September 2005.

Declaration

I, Crystal Jannecke, hereby declare that the work contained in this dissertation is my own original work and that I have not previously in its entirety or in part submitted it at any university for degree purposes.

Signature Signed by candidate .....

Date 26 September 2005 **Place** Kuilsriver

Communal Identity and Historical Claims to Land in South Africa: The Cases of the Clarkson Moravian Mission and the Tsitsikamma Mfengu

Crystal Jannecke

Abstract

In this thesis we examine the case of the Clarkson Mission and Tsitsikamma Mfengu communities on the Southern Cape Coast of South Africa, and highlight some of the ambiguities prevalent in their contested claims of entitlement to the Clarkson mission land. Their respective notions of communal identity are investigated, and the ways in which these are historically linked to land entitlement are examined. The analyses of the constructed communal identities of the "coloured" Clarksoner and the "native" Mfengu are located within the critical analytical approach of discourse theory, an important component of which is a socio-historical analysis. Primary data were obtained through archival, documentary, comprehensive Deeds Registry research, as well as fieldwork and in-depth interviews. Central themes in this study are colonial land dispossessions, the use of forced indigenous labour, resistance, rebellion and collaboration. The study shows that aspects of "coloured", "native", "tribal", "ancestral", Mfengu, and Moravian, used in contemporary communal identity formations are not fixed givens, but rather historical discursive constructions that are in a process of constant change. In the case of the Clarksoners we show how the Moravian historical narrative together with the Moravian Ethic had been transplanted and imposed by the early Moravian missionaries at the Cape and how these have over time come to be taken-for-granted and appropriated by members of Moravian Church, and Clarksoners in particular. We trace the origin of the Moravian narrative and show the similarities, differences, and continuity at both Genadendal in the Southern Cape and Clarkson. In the case of the Tsitsikamma Mfengu we show how the emerging colonial "Fingo" narrative and constructed colonial "Fingo" identity are firmly connected to land dispossession and forced labour in the aftermath of the 1835 Eastern Cape frontier war. We show how elements of both the "Fingo" narrative and constructed identity were appropriated and re-ordered in contemporary processes of Tsitsikamma Mfengu community identification. The study endeavours to make visible the dynamic changing history and relations of power and domination surrounding processes of communal identification that are connected to historical rights in land.

List of Figures

Figure 1.	Map showing the location of Clarkson along the Southern Cape Coast of South Africa	p. 5
Figure 2.	Diagram illustrating the location of Clarkson in relation to the adjacent Mfengu land in the Tsitsikamma	p. 10
Figure 3.	Map showing the location of Herrnhut in Germany	p. 74
Figure 4.	Map showing the location of Genadendal in relation to Hartebeeskraal and Zoetemelksvallei	p. 88
Figure 5.	Map showing the location of Genadendal in relation to Cape Town and Clarkson.	p. 89
Figure 6.	Map showing the location of the Kat River Settlement within the Cape Colony	p. 124

Chapter One

Historical Claims of Entitlement to Land and the Construction of Clarksoner and Mfengu[1] Identities

1.1 Introduction

This dissertation investigates a particular case study of some of the complex interactions between claims to land and the fashioning of communal identities in the colonial and post-colonial context of South Africa. The South African political landscape is littered with historical narratives of land dispossession, forced removals and the brutal relocation of communities. More recently, in the context of the transition to a post-apartheid South Africa, such narratives of land dispossession have been utilised for communal mobilisation aimed at restitution of land. In this dissertation we describe and explore the relation between communal identity and historical claims to land in South Africa through the cases of the Clarkson Moravian mission and Tsitsikamma Mfengu communities. The origins of these narratives of land dispossession can be traced back to the early Dutch, and later British, colonial settlements at the Cape and the consequent colonial wars of conquest and dispossession. During this period the history of loss of land by many indigenous communities brought about their disbandment, decimation and forced incorporation into the colonial order. The Natives Land Act of 1913 legitimated the dispossession of land during the colonial period, and gave it legal force. This Act restricted indigenous peoples to scheduled land or reserves amounting at the time to 7.5% of the total land area of the Union.[2] Following the Union of the four colonies (Cape, Natal, Orange River and Transvaal) in 1910, the South African government sought to systematically stifle the growth of an emerging independent indigenous peasantry while at the same time creating a large pool of cheap labour for, amongst others, the mining industry and commercial farms. The land reserved by the 1913 Land Act for the use and occupation by indigenous peoples was extended by the Development and Trust Land Act of 1936. This Act permitted the allocation of

[1] The terms Mfengu and "Fingo" are used alternately in this dissertation to refer to the same group of people in different historical and political contexts. The term "Fingo" or "Fingos" was introduced by missionaries and colonists during the 1830s and later appropriated by members of the group themselves. The name Mfengu was only used by group members from the 1960s onwards. During the 1990s members of the Tsitsikamma group used both "Fingo" and Mfengu in the context of communal mobilisation for land restitution. In general we will use the term Mfengu throughout this dissertation. We have tried as much as possible to limit our use of the terms "Fingo" or "Fingoes" only when based on the historical context of the discussion.

[2] Elaine Unterhaler, Forced Removal: The Division, Segregation and Control of the People of South Africa (London, International Defence and Aid for Southern Africa, 1987), pp. 4-7.

land for occupation and use by indigenous groups to gradually increase to 13% of the total land area of the country.[3] After 1948 the National Party government introduced numerous apartheid laws that facilitated the consolidation of the "homelands" designated racial group areas, and legalised the forced removals of communities from "black spots". Apartheid policies and legislation also entrenched earlier systems of land tenure, thus reinforcing and intensifying the unequal distribution of land.[4] The Apartheid state thus secured territorial sovereignty over land on the basis of the historical and ideological notions of racial and ethnic identity. At local levels this history of colonial dispossession of land followed by apartheid relocation and forced resettlement brought about a sustained assault on communal identities. But in many cases it did not sever the historical linkages between land and rural communities. Although the apartheid ideology and policies of "homelands" for racially and ethnically defined communities have been completely discredited, the complex historical linkages between land and the construction of communal identity remain as deeply contested issues. In post-apartheid South Africa the restitution of land to dispossessed communities has become a major means towards communal restoration and reconciliation. It is the point of departure of this dissertation that at the local level the political demise of the imposed apartheid framework has re-opened the asking of basic, but important, questions regarding the (re)construction of communal identities in their claims to historical entitlement to land. For the purposes of this study the historical fashioning of the identities of the Clarksoner and Tsitsikamma Mfengu communities in the Eastern Cape will be considered in detail. In complex but interlinked ways the former missionary community of Clarkson and the "refugee Fingo" community in the Tsitsikamma jointly emerged in the crucible of the Eastern Cape frontier from the 1830s; their claims to contiguous land in a shared locality both joined and separated these two historical communities as they endured the vicissitudes of apartheid and post-apartheid South Africa.

In the "new" or post-apartheid South Africa the apartheid legacy of imposed ethnic "homelands" is being reversed. During the 1990s land reform has been marked by the promulgation of the 1991 Abolition of Racially Based Land Measures Act which repealed, amongst others, the Land Acts of 1913 and 1936, and the Group Areas Act 36 of 1966. The post-apartheid land reform

---

[3] A.J. Van der Walt, 'Land Reform in South Africa Since 1990 – An Overview', South African Public Law 10: 1&2 (1995), p.2.

[4] In South Africa the various types of land tenure, which includes labour tenancy, communal tenure, trust tenure, quitrent, lease holding and freehold tenure, allow varying degrees of access to and ownership of land. Since 1994 the South Africa government have been concerned with changing existing unequal patterns of land ownership and land occupation rights. The Communal Property Association's Bill of 1995 and the Land Tenure Act of 1996 are legislation, which makes some types of land occupation more secure.

programme seeks to redistribute the land more equitably and make the tenure rights of communities' resident on land more secure, but subject to strict limitations. Post-apartheid land reform in the 1990s furthermore includes the Restitution of Land Rights Act of 1994, which is specifically aimed at enabling the restitution of land to individuals, groups, and/or communities who had been forcefully removed from their land. Such individuals, groups, and/or communities were entitled to lodge their land restitution claims with the state by no later than December 1998, provided that the dispossession of their land had not occurred before June 1913. To begin with this policy of land restitution has had only limited and uneven success.[5] While overt racial discrimination was removed from the overall system of land tenure in 1991, the unequal patterns of access to, use, occupation, and ownership of land entrenched by the past colonial and apartheid land laws remain largely intact.[6] Restitution of land also involves other more complex underlying dilemmas and complications in the discursive politics of communal identity. These may be brought to the fore when various groups assert their communal claims of entitlement to land. The deep historical linkages between the fashioning of communal identities and claims to land are demonstrated when groups assert their historical and communal claims of entitlement to land. Notably such communal claims for land mobilise "tissues of meaning"[7] derived from colonial, missionary, and/or racial legacies and discourses. This dissertation involves a study of the process by which the communal identities of the Clarkson and Mfengu communities emerged in relation to land; how these identity formations were sustained and transformed over time; and the different historical contexts in, and purposes for, which they were utilised.

1.2.1. The Tsitsikamma Mfengu Claims of Historical Entitlement to Land: Dispossession and Restitution

The Mfengu and the Clarksoner communities resided and intermingled in the Tsitsikamma since the 1830s, but their more recent histories of claims to land and the outcomes of their struggles to sustain communal identity have been strikingly different. While the Mfengu community was one of many in apartheid South Africa to be forcefully removed from their land during the 1970s,[8] the contiguous Clarksoner community was not subjected to such forced

---

[5] Ruth Hall, Peter Jacobs and Edward Lahiff, 'Final Report' (Programme for Land and Agrarian Studies, University of the Western Cape, September 2003), p. 11.
[6] Abie Ditlhake, 'Land Reform Programme: A Nemesis of the Rural Poor?', Land Update (March 1998), pp. 14-15.
[7] Ian Parker, Discourse Dynamics (London, Routledge,1992), p. 5.
[8] Laurine Platsky and Cheryl Walker, The Surplus People: Forced Removal in South Africa (Johannesburg, Ravan Press, 1985), pp. 189-190.

removal from the mission station. Nor were those Mfengu who were living in Clarkson itself at this time forcefully removed from the mission station.[9] In a classic instance of apartheid forced removals the Mfengu of the Tsitsikamma were resettled without compensation some 300 km away at Keiskammahoek in the Ciskei. Their dispossessed land was purchased by "white" farmers in 1983.[10] But if under apartheid the Mfengu, but not the Clarksoners, lost their land in the Tsitsikamma, the 1990s saw this process in a sense reversed. The post-1990 Mfengu campaign for the "return of our land" was among the first of the claims lodged. But this Mfengu campaign also had implications for the Clarkson community and the Moravian mission station. Indeed the Mfengu made two different land claims; the first was directed towards the South African Government and involved the restitution of land forcefully removed from them in the 1970s. The second land claim was directed towards the Moravian Church and involved the Clarkson mission land held on behalf of, and in trust for, the Mfengu by the Moravians since 1839. A map indicating the location of the Clarkson Moravian mission station in the Tsitsikamma area on the Southern Cape Coast of South Africa[11] is shown in figure 1 below.

The first of the Mfengu land claims involved negotiations between the Mfengu representatives, the South African Government through the procedures of the Land Claims Court, and the nineteen racially classified "white" farmers who in 1983 had bought their dispossessed land from the State. These negotiations commenced in 1991 and were finally settled in April 1994 with the return of ±6000 ha of agricultural land to the Tsitsikamma Mfengu community.[12] In the absence of any law on land restitution at the time, the Mfengu land claim settlement was made in terms of the restitution clause of the interim constitution of South Africa.[13] The restitution of their historic land to the Tsitsikamma Mfengu community was widely hailed as a significant

---

[9] Legal Resource Centre, *Draft proposal on motivation for gravesite to be declared historical monuments*, no date, p. 1.

[10] The terms "white", "European", "kafir", "coloured", "non-native", "native" and "Bantu" are official colonial, Union, and apartheid government racial and ethnic classifications used only in its historical context in this dissertation when discussing the official introduction and usage of these terms in relation to land dispossession and policies of segregation.

[11] We have used the informal reference to describe more accurately the location of Clarkson in the Tsitsikamma as situated along the Southern Cape Coast of South Africa. The official designation of the location of Clarkson and the Tsitsikamma has been that these places lie within the Eastern Cape Region of the Cape Colony, Union of South Africa, and Republic of South Africa. More recently, since 1994, the official demarcation has included Clarkson and the Tsitsikamma as lying within the Eastern Cape Province of South Africa. This official designation has been somewhat misleading since Clarkson, and more generally the Tsitsikamma, is located very far from the historic Fish River boundary and rests just below the Gamtoos River. In this dissertation we use both informal and formal designation of the location of Clarkson and the Tsitsikamma where appropriate and with reference to historical contexts.

[12] The National Land Committee, 'Mfengus Return Home After 17-Year Struggle', Land Update (May-June 1994), p. 15.

In terms of the land claim settlement, the State bought the nineteen farms at market price from the respective nineteen farmers and transferred the land back to the Mfengu community. The returned land received by the Mfengu from the State was hereafter held on behalf of the Mfengu community by an appointed board of trustees, called the Tsitsikamma Development Trust (Mfengu) or TDT (Mfengu).[15] An important task of the TDT (Mfengu) was to administer and manage the return of the Mfengu community to the Tsitsikamma in a way that would ensure the continued productivity and development of the agricultural land.[16] This requirement was in conflict with that of sustaining the Tsitsikamma Mfengu communal identity. In executing their task the trustees signed long term leases with the very farmers from whom the returned land had been bought by the State. In practice this resulted in the paradox of the returning Tsitsikamma Mfengu community being denied access to the land that officially had been returned to them.[17] Access to the returned Mfengu land was prohibited by the TDT (Mfengu) so as to avoid the agricultural development of the land from being jeopardised in any way.[18] The primary concern of the TDT (Mfengu) became the establishment of a residential settlement for returning members of the Tsitsikamma Mfengu community.[19] This had direct implications for the Clarkson Moravian mission station, especially since the TDT (Mfengu) had identified Clarkson as the most suitable residential site in the Tsitsikamma for the settlement of the families of its returning members.

The second land claim made by the Tsitsikamma Mfengu and their representatives in 1991 was directed against the Moravian Church. It involved the demand that the Clarkson mission land which had historically been held in trust for the Mfengu by the Moravian Church since 1839 be returned back to the Tsitsikamma Mfengu people.[20] This second land claim was not directed towards the State. It involved negotiations between representatives of the Mfengu community and the Moravian Church of Southern Africa. This land claim thus involved a set of negotiations separate from those entered into with the South African Government, and did not concern land from which the Mfengu had been forcefully removed during the 1970s but raised claims of historic entitlement going back to the early 19th century. Significantly, the claim of entitlement to

---

[15] The National Land Committee, 'Mfengus Return Home', p. 16.
[16] The National Land Committee, 'Mfengus Return Home', p. 16.
[17] 'Growing Bitterness Over Land Restitution', Business Day, 13 March 1996.
[18] Tsitsikamma Development Trust (Mfengu), *The Resettlement of the Mfengu Community to the Tsitsikamma Region*, November 1995.
[19] Legal Resource Centre, *Documents of Algoa Regional Services Council,* 1994.
[20] Legal Resource Centre, *Report on Visit to Rev. Wessels,* no date.

the Clarkson land made by the Mfengu pre-dates the 1913 Land Act. Strictly speaking it is not covered by the specific set of historic dispossessions that are highlighted and addressed through the process of land restitution in post-apartheid South Africa as outlined in the Restitution of Land Rights Act of 1994. Technically the Mfengu claim of entitlement to the Clarkson land against the Moravian Church was invalid in terms of the Restitution of Land Rights Act of 1994 since the claim pre-dated the 1913 Land Act and since the State was not the transgressor in the land claim. This highlights a first major limitation of the post-1994 attempts at restitution of dispossessed land in South Africa.

1.2.1.1 Legal versus Historical Rights to the Land

If the post-apartheid era has thus seen the beginnings of an unprecedented reversal in the long history of communal dispossession and an attempt at the restoration of communal identities, there is also a major limitation on the historical framework within which the official policy for such restitution of land has been conceived. The process of land restitution in post-apartheid South Africa is explicitly limited to a specific set of dispossessions of legal property rights relative to the 1913 Land Act.[21] In particular, claims of entitlement to land concerning any pre-1913 displacement of individuals, groups, and/or communities do not fall within the ambit of the current land reform programme. As a result the complex colonial and missionary history pre-1913 and pre-Union is largely disregarded. In a sense land reform in the post-apartheid era has legitimated the 1913 Land Act as a historical marker with reference to which land restitution is currently being deliberated. This restrictive conception of the land restitution process requires us to distinguish between land claims based on the individual, group, and/or community's limited *legal* right to land on the one hand, and their *historical* right to land on the other. *Historical* land rights would also include the complex and controversial pre-colonial, colonial and missionary histories involved in certain communal claims of entitlement to land. This dissertation will not limit its investigation of the linkages of communal identity and land to legal rights only, but will also be concerned with questions raised by the more basic historical claims of communal entitlement to land.

As the Mfengu case will show the official mediation and adjudication of present land restitution claims in post-apartheid South Africa are largely based on the *legal* land rights of individuals, groups, and/or communities. The legal framework underpinning the adjudication of these land

claims has been termed a "rights enquiry paradigm" and emerged from discussions among land reform policy makers during 1994-1996.[22] According to this paradigm an assessment of land claims is primarily made in terms of the legal rights and interests of individuals, groups, and/or communities to the land. Conflicting land claims are described within this legal framework as "complex situations" of "overlapping claims".[23] This description does not envisage or provide for any attempt to resolve conflicting land claims by investigating the historical and political relationship which individuals, groups, and/or communities have with the land, especially where these relations are rooted in the pre-1913 period. In this dissertation we will argue that this legal rights paradigm is inadequate for dealing with the full ramifications of communal identities bound up with historical claims of entitlement to land. In our focus on communal claims of entitlement to land we will argue that the present *legal* approach to land rights does not fully take into consideration the political and historical relationships, particularly those pre-dating 1913, which some communities have with the land.[24] We will be especially concerned with the case study of one such set of historical and political relations to the Clarkson land involving the conjoined Tsitsikamma Mfengu and Clarksoner mission communities.

1.2.1.2 The Mfengu Campaign: Historical and Legal Claims to Land Rights

In this regard it needs to be noted that, significantly, the Mfengu struggles for land restitution in the 1990s were not limited to claims on the State in terms of the 1994 Restitution of Land Act implicitly and explicitly based on the legal framework of the 1913 Land Act. In the context of the post-1994 "new South Africa" the Mfengu also found ways of reviving their *historical* land claims to the Tsitsikamma though not directed at the State but at the Moravian Church. In their claim of entitlement to the Clarkson land, representatives of the Mfengu, including staff from the Legal Resources Centre, negotiated with the Moravian Church. In these negotiations the Church was held accountable to the South African Council of Churches' Rustenburg Declaration of 1990. As signatory to the Rustenburg Declaration, the Moravian Church was held to be answerable to representatives of the Mfengu community for the principle and moral

---

[21] Van der Walt, 'Land Reform in South Africa', pp. 11-20.
[22] Land Tenure Core Group, 'Land Tenure Reform Document', 13 May 1996, pp. 10-11; Mark Everingham and Crystal Jannecke, 'Land Restitution and Democratic Citizenship in South Africa', Journal of Southern African Studies 32: 2 (2006) forthcoming.
[23] Land Tenure Core Group, 'Land Tenure Reform Document', pp.10-11.
[24] 'Whose Land Is This', Mail and Guardian, 17 February 1995. The Bathlaping were forcefully removed from their land in 1968.

obligation to return church land to the "*original owners.*"[25] An initial agreement involved the settlement of fifty Mfengu families on a portion of land at Clarkson in terms of the Less Formal Township Act 113 of 1991.[26] By 1993 a settlement, called Silvertown, had been established at the mission station and mirrored the spatial landscape of Clarkson. All residents of Silvertown were to be subject to the rules and regulations of the Clarkson Moravian mission station.[27] Further negotiations paved the way for the remaining Mfengu who wished to return to the Tsitsikamma to be settled at Clarkson. While such preparations were underway, the agricultural land that was successfully returned to the Mfengu by the State was released to some of its previous racially advantaged farm owners. During these negotiations emphasis was placed on the integration of peoples at Clarkson. Agreement was reached on the re-development and transformation of Clarkson from mission station into a rural township. Negotiations culminated in 1996 in the establishment of a Clarkson Communal Property Association in 1996 and the approval of a housing development scheme at Clarkson.[28] This did not by itself amount to a restoration of the historical Mfengu community but rather to an integration with the Clarkson community in the modern format of a shared township. The elected Communal Property Association Trust, comprising of members from the previous Clarksoner mission and Mfengu communities, became responsible for the management of Clarkson including the allocation of houses and of residential sites.[29]

In the context of the 1990s the Mfengu were thus doubly successful, not only in terms of claims based on their legal rights but by mobilising on the basis of historical entitlements in order to recover land. In their claims against the State they secured *legal* rights to agricultural land in terms of the 1994 Restitution of Land Act. In their negotiations with the Moravian Church their historical claims of entitlement to the mission land was recognised. In the latter case they regularly referred in their campaign to their part in the Eastern Cape frontier wars and the sacrifice of their lives for the Queen of the British colony.[30] This fight and sacrifice had been in support of the Cape Colony during the Eastern Cape frontier wars from the 1830s onwards in return for which they had received land grants. In effect, in the case of the Mfengu their *historical* land claims were not actually rooted in pre-colonial settlements, but involved earlier

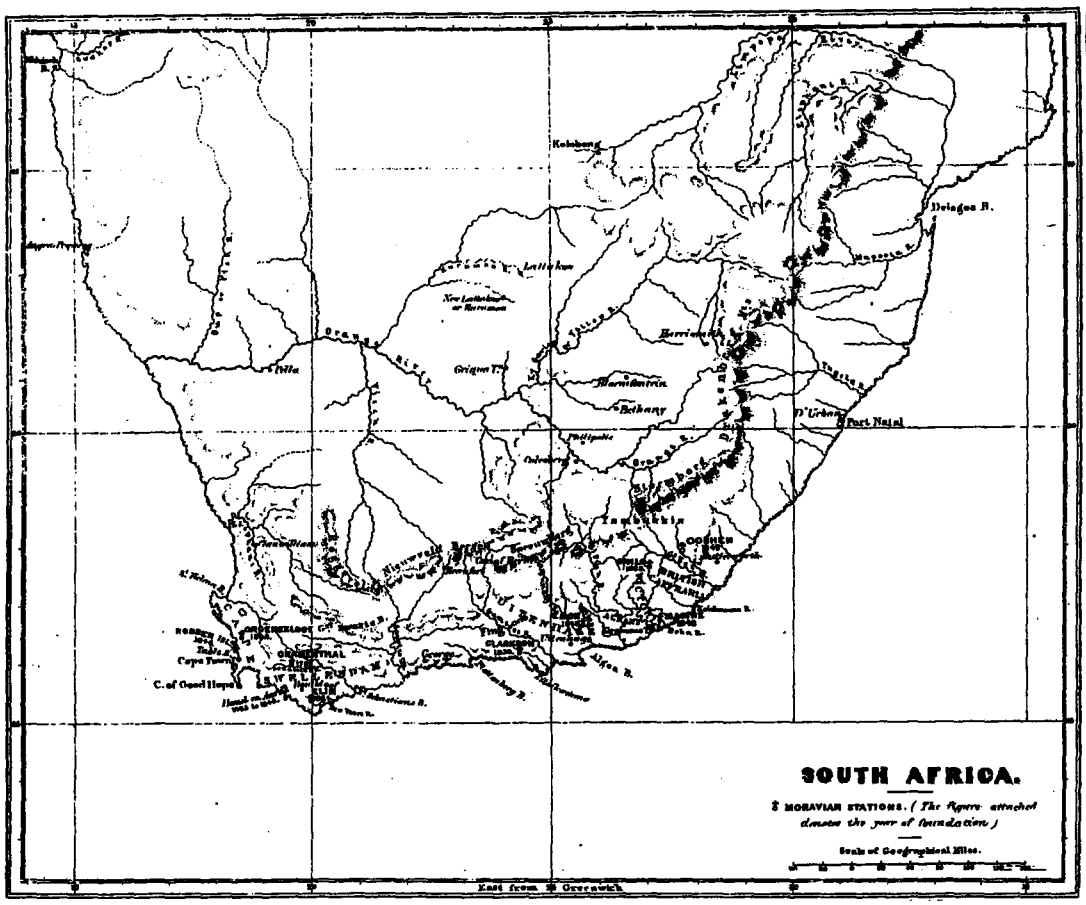
---

[25] South African Council of Churches, *Rustenburg Declaration*, 1990.
[26] Legal Resource Centre, *Motivating Memorandum, Application for the Designation of Land for Less Formal Settlement* (Chapter 1: Less formal Township Establishment Act, 1991 [Act 113 of 1991]), December 1992; Tsitsikamma Exile Association, *Return to Our Land*, September 1991.
[27] Legal Resource Centre, *Motivating Memorandum*, 1992.
[28] Legal Resource Centre, *Chronology of Events: Clarkson Development Project*, January 1996, p. 16.
[29] *Notarial Deed of Trust Establishing the Clarkson Communal Property Association*, 16 August 1996.

political breakthrough, symbolic of the new post-apartheid South Africa's break with its past of dispossession and forced resettlements. In the interim, however, the use of the Mfengu land had been transformed after 1983 from subsistence cultivation to forestry and dairy farming through a programme of high capital investment implemented by these nineteen farmers who had been supported by large government subsidies.[14]

Figure 1. **A map indicating the location of Clarkson on the Southern Cape Coast of South Africa.**

[Source: Teachers of the Fulneck Academy, The Moravian Atlas (1853), map 11.]



[13] The National Land Committee, 'Mfengus Return Home', p. 16. The Restitution of Land Rights Act was passed by government in 1994, soon after the settlement of the Mfengu land claim.
[14] D. Cooper, *Report on Trip to Tsitsikamma*, October 1991, pp. 1-3.

amongst them. However, if the Mfengu did not have independent access to land, then they were beholden to missionary authorisation to gain access to land.

The land granted by colonial authorities was often accompanied by a set of conditions as in the case of Genadendal. In the case of Clarkson such conditions stipulated that the land was to be held in trust for and on behalf of the Mfengu, and furthermore that the land should not be alienated or disposed of without the permission of colonial authorities.[61] The origins of the dispensation that the Clarkson mission land be held in trust for the Mfengu, is of considerable significance for our primary questions regarding contested claims of historical entitlement to the Clarkson land. Unlike some of the other cases we have referred to where mission and its adjacent land had been historically occupied by indigenous peoples, many of whom were now settled at the various mission settlements, the position of the Mfengu at Clarkson and in the Tsitsikamma were different. They were "refugees" from elsewhere who could not lay historical claim to having occupied or used the Tsitsikamma land in pre-colonial times. But if the idea of a Mfengu land trust was not based on historical entitlements to land derived from pre-colonial times, then what was its origin? In the first instance colonial authorities had rewarded the Mfengu with land for services rendered in the frontier wars. In the case of the Tsitsikamma these land grants were coupled to the establishment of the Clarkson mission station, which effectively gave rise to a double set of power relations - on the one hand between converts and missionaries, and on the other hand between the Mfengu and missionaries as local stand-ins for colonial authorities. This double set of power relations indicate that there were two kinds of communities living alongside each other at Clarkson. On the one hand there was the missionary community with conversion as a requirement for membership and access to land, which involved a trust relationship with the missionary as a quasi-customary authority. On the other hand there was the Tsitsikamma Mfengu community where conversion was not a required condition for membership or for access to land. This relation of trust actually involved colonial authorities, with missionaries functioning as local-stand-ins. Even if the Mfengu had not been a prior ethnic group, this would open the way to a different kind of community compared to that of the mission settlement, one in which the Moravian ethic would not be central. The colonial land grants would be the founding fact for this community. In either case it is clear that

[61] See the Clarkson Deed of Grant, Uitenhage Freehold 9: 7 (15 December 1841) and the Clarkson Title Deed T3168/1959. In 1841 the land was granted to the Moravian Missionary Society of the United Brethren, which was subsequently transferred to the established indigenous Moravian Church in the Western Cape, South Africa in 1959.

the position of the Tsitsikamma Mfengu peoples was significantly different to that of traditional and pre-colonial indigenous communities residing beyond the frontier.

4.4 Labour: Colonial Forced Labour Practices and Missionary Settlements

If missionary settlements had a special role and significance in the colonial land order, much the same was true of their place in the colonial order of labour relations. For almost two centuries the colony had developed as a slave society until the slave trade was abolished in 1807 and the slaves emancipated in the 1830s.[62] However, the formal emancipation of the slaves did not bring about the end of "slavery", i.e. of different forms of forced labour practices ranging from the relatively institutionalised use of indentured labour to de facto "slave raids" by commandos on the open frontier.[63] In Chapter 3 we already commented on the unwillingness of the dispossessed Khoisan to enter service on colonial farms evoking an endless colonial litany regarding the "idleness of the Hottentots" as a justification for the widespread resort to forced labour practices. On the Eastern Cape frontier and especially from the 1830s this perennial colonial "labour problem" developed important new configurations. This section will briefly survey these developments with a view to their significance for the role of missionary settlements on the Eastern Cape frontier.

4.4.1 The Commando System and Indentured Labourers

One source of the colonial forced labour practices on the open frontier was a by-product of the commando system.[64] The commando system was the major institution for corporate self-defence developed by trekboer society in the absence of effective policing or state security, but it was also the means through which indigenous peoples were captured, brought into the

---

[62] Robert Ross, 'Oppression, Sexuality and Slavery at the Cape of Good Hope', Historical Reflections 6: 2 (1979), pp. 421-433; Robert Ross, 'The Rule of Law at the Cape of Good Hope in the 18th Century', Journal of Imperial and Commonwealth History ix: 1 (October 1980), pp. 5-16; Robert Ross, Cape of Torments: Slavery and Resistance in South Africa (London, Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1983); R.C.H. Shell, 'Slavery at the Cape of Good Hope' 2 vols. (Ph.D. dissertation, Yale University, New Haven, 1986); R.C.H. Shell, 'The Family and Slavery: The Cape Slave Society, 1680-1838' in M. Simons and W. James (eds). The Angry Divide: Social and Economic History of the Western Cape (Cape Town, David Philip, 1989), pp. 20-39; R.C.H. Shell, 'The Changing Functions and Effects of the Domestic Slave Market at the Cape, 1652-1833', International Journal of African Historical Studies 25: 1 (1992), pp. 285-336; N. Worden, 'Violence Crime, and Slavery on Cape farmsteads in the 18th Century', Kronos 5 (1982), pp. 43-60.

[63] Elizabeth A. Eldredge and Fred Mouton (eds.), Slavery in South Africa: Captive Labour on the Dutch Fontier (Boulder, Westview Press, 1994).

[64] Penn, 'Labour, Land and Livestock', pp. 13-14.

colony, and then used as "indentured" labourers or "*inboekselinge*".[65] The victims of such forced labour were most often indigenous children who had been captured during a raiding expedition. From 1775 onwards, colonial authorities approved the indenture of Khoisan and slave children on colonial farms as "*inboekselinge*", or apprentices. Colonists claimed that this was a paternalist measure in the interest of the orphans or refugees resulting from frontier wars but as often as not children were removed from the care of their parents and community, held captive, and rendered dependent on their colonial masters.[66] Colonial regulations stipulated that these forced child labourers were bound to live and work on colonial farms until the age of twenty-five. Under British colonial rule this system of "inboekselinge", i.e. indentured child labour, continued in an amended form.[67] As part of the British Empire, Cape colonial authorities were compelled to prohibit slave trading at the Cape from 1807 onwards. Despite this, practices of indentured child labour persisted, and intensified, becoming one of the principal sources of labour for decades thereafter.[68]

4.4.2 Labour Control and the Caledon Code

In response to colonists' outcry over the shortage of labour following the official abolition of the slave trade in 1807, British colonial authorities enforced a set of regulations that were directed at exerting more effective control over the non-slave labour within the colony. The Caledon Code was promulgated in 1809 with the aim of regulating Khoisan labour within the colony.[69] It stipulated that all Khoisan persons found within the colony were to enter the service of colonial farmers. In addition, when travelling within the colony they were compelled to carry a pass, issued by designated colonial authority. Failure to carry and produce such a pass could result in the person being apprehended as a "vagrant" and heavily fined, imprisoned, and/or subject to forced labour for government purposes.[70] The enforcement of the Caledon Code compelled Khoisan residing within the Cape Colony to either become a member of a mission station, or enter the service of colonists. Alternatively they could persist in choosing the life of an "outlaw" within the colony as "vagabond".

---

[65] Penn, 'Labour, Land and Livestock', 1992, p. 14.
[66] Morton, 'Slavery in South Africa', 1994, pp. 251-261.
[67] Eldredge, 'Slave Raiding Across the Cape Frontier', 1994, p. 98.
[68] Eldredge, 'Slave Raiding Across the Cape Frontier', 1994, p. 97-108.
[69] Macmillan, The Cape Colour Question, p. 161.
[70] Macmillan, The Cape Colour Question, pp. 161-162; Eybers, 'Vagrancy and Contracts of Hire', p.17.

Still, despite the Caledon Code the number of indigenous Khoisan labourers within the colony continued to be too small to meet the ever-increasing demands for labour by colonists.[71] Even before 1820 colonists were concerned about the serious shortages in indigenous labour and blamed this on the effect of the mission stations; they perceived the Khoisan people as "hiding behind the artificial barriers created by mission stations".[72] These perceptions were shared by British settlers from the 1820s who also perceived the removal of substantial numbers of potential indigenous wage labourers from the broader colonial society by allowing them to settle on the mission stations, as placing them outside the control of civil colonial authorities.[73]

4.4.3 The "Mantatees" as Indentured Labourers

The employment of non-Khoisan peoples on farms within the colony appears to have changed from 1825 onwards. Until this time colonial law did not allow the employment of Xhosa or other indigenous peoples from beyond the frontier in colonial service. One reason for this change may have been the effects of the Mfecane taking place in the interior at this time. Col. Henry Somerset, the senior officer in command of the British forces in the Eastern Cape, reported, in a dispatch dated 31 March 1825, that there had been an influx of refugees over the past 12 months from war-torn lands beyond the Orange River. Somerset evidently saw this as an opportunity to relieve colonial labour needs by recruiting the refugees as indentured labourers. He described how "many of these have since wandered into the Graff-Reinet district and it has become a question how to dispose of them ... I have taken upon me to direct that they should be apprenticed to the English settlers ... according to their ages".[74] Somerset reported four months later in 1825 that there are now some 300 "Mantatees" in the districts of Graaff-Reinet and Somerset East, who were in a state of dreadful want and emaciation.[75] After 1826 colonial legislation permitted the apprenticeship of "Mantatees" to "respected and dependable persons" within the colony. In this way the precedent had been set of formally extending the colonial labour order to incorporate non-Khoisan people as indentured labourers.

---

[71] Switzer, Power and Resistance in an African Society, p. 83.
[72] Crais, The Making of the Colonial Order, p. 130.
[73] Crais, The Making of the Colonial Order, p. 130.
[74] Quote in Newton-King, 'The Labour Market of the Cape Colony, 1807-28', p. 192.
[75] Newton-King, 'The Labour Market of the Cape Colony, 1807-28', p. 192.

"Mantatees" was a term used by colonists to refer to the SeSotho refugees who were fleeing the Mfecane wars, and who had found work on colonial farms.[76] Some historians have questioned this description, and have rather argued that the "Mantatees" consisted largely of indigenous women and children captured by local commando groups and colonial slave raiding parties.[77] At the time colonists claimed that they employed Individuals and groups of refugees who had fled into the colony.[78] They did not see this as an unmixed blessing solving their labour problems. The refugee labourers frequently deserted the employment of colonial farmers and proceeded to occupy unused or unclaimed land within the colony. Colonists perceived such actions as a violation of their private property rights and described the labourers as "living in a state of idleness".[79] According to a colonist's account, as cited by Dundas, "they [the refugee labourers] showed an invincible determination not to make themselves useful to their employers".[80]

A key and much-contested event in this context was the battle of Mbolompo. In August 1828, Colonel Somerset led a large commando, against Chief Matiwane's Ngwane in Mbolompo. In correspondence with Bourke on 29th August 1828, Somerset described his victory at Mbolompo as "I directed the whole of my force, particularly the mounted part to collect all the women and children they [could] find".[81] The captured women and children were taken by British colonial troops to Fort Beaufort. It was from there that the Mbolompo prisoners were indentured to colonial farmers.[82] In the story of the "Aged Fingo", recorded by a settler many years later and published in 1877, Platje Mhlanga presented a participant account of his experiences during the Mfecane including the battle of Mbolompo. Mhlanga was amongst those who escaped and who went back to the country of the Basutos.[83] Mhlanga must have been one of the many indentured labourers who had been captured during commando expeditions and raids by colonists and became an indentured labourer with a colonial master. The "market" for Mantatees ended with the promulgation of Ordinance 49 in 1829, which sought to regulate the anticipated entry of Xhosa labourers into the colony.

---

[76] Mason, 'Fortunate Slaves and Artful Masters', 1994, p, 90.
[77] Switzer, Power and Resistance in an African Society, p. 84. See Julian Cobbing's revisionist argument in 'The Mfecane as Alibi: Thoughts on Dithakong and Mbolompo', Journal of African History, vol. 29 (1988), pp. 489-499.
[78] Mason, 'Fortunate Slaves and Artful Masters', p, 90.
[79] Crais, The Making of the Colonial Order, pp. 130-131.
[80] Crais, The Making of the Colonial Order, p. 131.
[81] Quoted in Cobbing, 'The Mfecane as Alibi', p. 503.
[82] T.J. Stapleton, Magomo, Xhosa Resistance to Colonial Advance 1798-1893 (Johannesburg, Jonathan Ball, 1994), pp. 55-56.
[83] 'A Story of Native Wars by an Aged Fingo', Cape Monthly Magazine, New Series XIV (January – June 1877), pp. 248-252.

4.4.4 Ordinance 49 and the Introduction of Xhosa Labourers into the Colony

The sudden growth in the colony's settler population, of about 5000 British settlers who were brought to the Cape colony in 1820, amplified the already widespread demand by colonists for additional land and labour.[84] A number of these colonial settlers responded to the demand of the British textile industry for raw wool, and became exporters thereof. Settled in the Eastern Cape, a few became prosperous commercial farmers owning large colonial farms.[85] These influential settler farmers needed more labour to meet the demand of the growing export market for raw wool. In some cases colonists became involved in the capture of largely Xhosa women and children whom they encountered during raiding expeditions on the Eastern Cape frontier.[86]

This labour crisis was greatly exacerbated when the promulgation of Ordinance 50 in 1828 repealed the Caledon Code of 1809, including the laws that had authorised the apprenticeship of Khoisan children. The colonial system of labour controls, premised on the assumption that, apart from those on mission stations, the Khoisan peoples must at all times be in employment, had now formally come to an end.[87] Ordinance 49 was promulgated in the following year, in 1829, and provided the legal force through which to address colonists' appeals for solutions to their labour shortage.[88] In terms of Ordinance 49, Xhosa labourers could henceforth be entered into service on colonial farms but were prohibited from moving within the colony without a pass. More importantly, Ordinance 49 effectively served to legitimate the forceful procurement of indigenous labour through employment of "refugees" within the Colony and labour raids beyond it.[89] Though Xhosa society beyond the Eastern Cape frontier for the time being retained its political independence and social cohesion under the authority of various chiefs the door had been opened for incorporation of Xhosa labourers in the colonial labour order.

---

[84] Davenport, South Africa, p. 39.
[85] Crais, The Making of the Colonial Order, p. 134.
[86] Eldredge, 'Slave Raiding Across the Cape Frontier', p. 93.
[87] Switzer, Power and Resistance in an African Society, p. 84.
[88] Newton-King, 'The Labour Market of the Cape Colony, 1807-28', p. 196-197.
[89] Stapleton, Maqomo, Xhosa Resistance to Colonial Advance, p. 55; Switzer, Power and Resistance in an African Society, pp. 52-56.

4.5 The Origins of the Mfengu in the Context and Aftermath of the 1835 Frontier War

Governor D'Urban's solution to the Eastern Cape frontier security was to extend imperial sovereignty and push the Eastern Cape boundary further east, beyond the Fish River to the Kei River. This involved crushing Xhosa resistance and extensive land dispossession.[90] Hintsa, Paramount Chief of the Gcaleka Xhosa, refused to enter the war in support of the British colonial armed forces. They in turn launched a full-scale war against the Gcaleka Xhosa, which ultimately resulted in the brutal death of chief Hintza.[91] It was in this volatile context that the "Fingoes"/Mfengu first appeared as an intermediary grouping on the colonial scene of the Eastern Cape frontier. Significantly the "Fingoes" were to prove loyal and dependable military allies of the colony in subsequent Eastern Cape frontier wars.[92] For our purposes the incorporation of the "Fingoes" into the colony was the single most important consequence of the war. As we saw in the literature survey in the Introduction it is a matter of considerable historical controversy whether their ultimate origins should be sought in the context of the Mfecane, or not. We will not attempt to pursue that controversy here. Instead our concern is with the immediate origins of the Mfengu on the colonial scene of the Eastern Cape frontier itself. Of that, too, there are different versions on record.

4.5.1 "The Flight of the "Fingo" Nation"

The colonial version of the immediate origins of the people, as recorded in official documents and missionary narratives, tells a story of the "emancipation" by British troops of a substantial community of "refugees" which had been held in bondage, if not slavery, by the Gcaleka Xhosa in the course of the 1835 frontier war. In a celebrated eyewitness account the traveller J.E. Alexander described how "dark masses of Fingo warriors were seen advancing down the hills" on 24th April 1835 to join the British colonial troops in the frontier war.[93] Subsequently a

---

[90] Timothy, J. Keegan, Colonial South Africa and the Origins of Racial Order (Cape Town, David Philip, 1999), p. 143.

[91] Davenport, South Africa, pp. 117-118; Stapleton, Maqoma, Xhosa Resistance to Colonial Advance, p. 90; Peires, The House of Phalo, pp. 109-111; Webster, 'Unmasking the "Fingo": the War of 1835 Revisited' in C. Hamilton (ed.), The Mfecane Aftermath: Reconstructive Debates in Southern African History (Johannesburg, Witwatersrand University Press, 1995), pp. 250-251; P. Lalu, 'The Grammar of Domination and Subjection of Agency: Colonial Texts and Modes of Evidence', History and Theory 39 (2000), pp. 45-68.

[92] Keegan, Colonial South Africa and the Origins of the Racial Order, p. 147.

[93] J.E. Alexander, Narrative of a voyage of Observation among the Colonies of Western Africa in the FlagshipThalia and of a Campaign in Kaffir-Land on the Staff of the Commanderin Chief in 1835 (London, Henry Colburn, 1837), Vol. 2, p. 110.

colonial military detachment under the command of Captain Warden with about three hundred "Fingo" warriors set out to rescue and escort the missionaries and traders from the Clarkebury mission station to their camp at the Butterworth mission station.[94] In this dramatic fashion the "Fingo" had joined forces with the British forces and their missionary allies in the midst of the ongoing frontier war. At stake, though, was a more substantive alliance. A notice in the colonial government gazette dated 3rd May 1835 described how eight "Fingo" chiefs had requested the British colony "...to receive them under British protection as subjects of the King of England, that they might return to the colony with the troops, and be settled in or near it".[95] This notice included a response from the Commander-in-Chief who stated "that ... the emancipation of 6000 human beings from the very lowest state of slavery ... would obviously assist his measures in the present war and render ... a most important benefit to the colony ... he, therefore ... received them as free British subjects".[96] Within days this was followed by the emancipation of the people from the very heart of Xhosaland by British troops. In his eyewitness account Alexander also described the "flight of the "Fingo nation" from "Amakosa bondage", guarded by British troops on 7th May 1835. Altogether this group amounted to a total of seventeen thousand people who were escorted "across the Kye River to find a new country under British protection".[97] According to a colonial government sub-enclosure dated 15 May 1835, "the Fingo nation having being liberated out of bondage by his Excellency Sir B. D'Urban ... counted 2000 men, 5 600 women, and 9 200 children".[98] Altogether this amounted to a total sum of 16800 persons. A report from the D'Urban Papers dated 18 May 1835, connects the "Fingo" communal identity with the death of Hintza by noting that immediately after Hintza's death "... one hundred and fifty Fingo families amounting to about one thousand souls [who] here placed themselves under my protection".[99] This is a considerably lower estimate of the total number of "Fingoes" who were supposed to have placed themselves under British protection. In any event a large group of people were settled by colonial authorities around Fort Peddie, which is situated just above the Fish River, where they received their first land grants from British colonial authorities.[100] Here they resided under the protection of the colonial government in what was otherwise officially described as "the present uninhabited worse than useless district between the Fish River and the lower Keiskamma River. They will soon

---

[94] Alexander, Narrative of a voyage of Observation among the Colonies of Western Africa, pp. 111-113.
[95] CA 1/AY8/24, Notice, Headquarters Camp Dabakazi, 3 May 1835.
[96] CA 1/AY8/24, Notice, Headquarters Camp on the Dabakazi, 3 May 1835.
[97] Alexander, Narrative of a voyage of Observation among the Colonies of Western Africa, pp. 144-145.
[98] British Parliamentary Papers, Vol. 21, Sub-Enclosure in Enclosure No. 8, 15 May 1835.
[99] CA ACC519/2, (No. 18), 18 May, 1835.
[100] J. Ayliff and J. Whitehead, History of the Abambo Generally Known as Fingos (Butterworth, Gazette, 1912),

...furnish the best of all barriers against the entrance of the Kaffirs into the Fish River".[101] In short, according to the colonial account, after being "liberated" from the oppressive Gcaleka, the "Fingoes" were henceforth considered to be subjects of the Queen of Britain.

4.5.2 Reports of Wanderers and Refugees in Flight

A rather different version of the immediate origins of the "Fingoes" in the context of the 1835 frontier war may be gleaned from various contemporary accounts and reports of different groups of "wanderers" and "refugees" within the colony, sometimes described as "Fingoes". Colonists and missionaries sent numerous reports to the colonial office, concerning the entry and movement of armed groups from beyond the frontier into the colony. The reports of colonists included the "Fingoes" as one category of people who were found "wandering" about the colony in armed groups but also indicated that they were not the only such group. Thus in June 1835 the Civil Commissioner's office in Grahamstown received reports about the many "Fingoes" who were "roaming about the country and ...they are not easily distinguished from the caffres by the inhabitants".[102] In this report, and in many others sent to the colonial office, colonists complained about their inability to distinguish between the Xhosa who were at war with the colony and the "Fingoes" who were under the protection of the colony. In a further report dated 22 July 1835 a colonist referred to the "Fingoes" who have become colonial subjects", and questioned whether Ordinance 49 could be applied to them.[103] He voiced his apprehension about the implications of this confusion in a report, and stated that some Xhosa "may slip into the colony under the denomination of "Fingoes" stating that "it is difficult to find out whether those wandering about ... belong to that class or not".[104]

---

p. 1.

[101] CA 1/AY8/24, Notice, Headquarters Camp on the Dabakazi, 3 May 1835; Alan Lester, 'Settlers, the State and Colonial Power: The Colonisation of Queen Adelaide Province, 1834-1837', Journal of African History, vol. 39 (1998), p. 227; Davenport, South Africa, p. 58.

[102] CA 1/AY8/86, Civil Commissioner's Office, Grahamstown, 14 June 1835.

[103] CA 1/AY8/55, Colonial Office, Somerset, 22 July 1835.

[104] CA 1/AY8/55, Colonial Office, Somerset, 22 July 1835.

In further correspondence with the colonial office, a colonist stated:

> "the Fingoos are entering this part of the colony [the Winterberg] in vast numbers, there have been passing my house within the last month at least six hundred, the men of which are armed with assegais, one party which passed consisted of upwards of seventy ... it gives the Kafirs an opportunity of coming among us and passing for Fingoos the difference is so trifling that it is difficult to distinguish the one from the other".[105]

On 4 December 1835 the colonial office received a report that the "Graaff Reinet ... districts ... [are] so full of wandering frontier tribe people ... These people are Mantatees, Bechuanas and Fingoes who will not take service and whose flocks increase while those of the farmers diminish".[106] From these reports we can infer that these colonists were aware that an indigenous grouping called the "Fingos" had been recognised as colonial subjects unlike the Xhosa, but had considerable difficulty in differentiating between armed groups of "Fingoes" and Xhosa peoples moving about the colony in the absence of an armed colonial escort. Contrary to the official story of the simultaneous "flight" and single exodus on the 7th May 1835 of 16 800 people of the "Fingo nation" these reports rather indicate the presence of numerous and diverse groups who were wandering about within the colony, and who may, or may not, have been "Fingoes".

There are also other reasons to be suspicious of the official statistics regarding the "Fingo migration" since the various numbers just don't add up. Following a census taken of all "Fingoes" located at Fort Peddie by October 1835 commissioner Bowker announced that "the bulk of the "Fingo" people have dispersed, or otherwise deserted the territory allotted to them".[107] In the October 1835 census, Bowker recorded that the remaining number of "Fingoes" at Fort Peddie were less than one thousand people. Yet colonial officials had reported that the single "flight of the Fingo nation", had numbered 16 800 people in total. It is highly unlikely that more than 16000 people could either have been relocated within the colony and/or deserted the Peddie location within four months of arriving there. It is also unlikely that it was this dramatic "flight of the Fingo nation" which was the sole source fulfilling the official colonial promise that the "Fingoes ... will besides, afford to the colonists a plentiful supply of excellent

---

[105] CA 1/AY8/86, Civil Commissioner's Office, Winterberg, 7 September 1835.
[106] CA ACC519/3, Colonial Office, 4 December 1835.
[107] ACC 519/3, Report of the Commissioner for Locating the Fingo Tribes, 5 October 1835.

hired servants"[108] in the aftermath of the 1835 war. From where then did colonists obtain their supply of labour?

4.5.3 Collaborating Chiefs, Peace Treaties, and British Subjects

In the aftermath of the 1835 war there were certainly some Xhosa chiefs who were collaborating with the British colonial authorities.[109] At the end of the war, these collaborating Chiefs and their peoples were allowed to remain in the annexed territory, renamed the Queen Adelaide Province. The annexation of Queen Adelaide Province was annulled in 1836 under Governor Glenelg. In consequence some of the collaborating chiefs once again found themselves among the Xhosa peoples in the Eastern Cape frontier conflict. A new Treaty System was devised by Lord Glenelg and implemented by Stockenström as Lieutenant-Governor, and so post-dated the repeal of the annexed Queen Adelaide Province.[110] Colonial authorities envisaged the Peace Treaty system as substitute for the annexation of territory. It was through these Peace Treaties that a number of chiefs and their respective chiefdoms became British subjects.[111] According to the treaties the contracting Xhosa chiefs, "Fingoes and Tambookies had rights of occupancy in the Queen Adelaide Province or Ceded Territory, with each chief placed in a location under the authority of a colonial appointed resident agent as well as a *pakati* or police.[112] From a colonial census published in February 1836, the total number of Xhosa located in the ceded territory of the Queen Adelaide Province numbered 73 800. This number excluded the total number of "Fingoes" who had been escorted into, and placed at the margins of the colony.[113]

The aim of the colonial government was to establish a "new order of things" that would create a "barrier" of loyal groups of intermediaries. This constructed group was to have a shared "common interest", which consisted of the security of the colony, education, the Christian

---

[108] CA 1/AY8/24, Notice, Headquarters Camp on the Dabakazi, 3 May 1835.
[109] CA 1/AY8/24, W.H. Dutton to the Civil Commissioner of Albany, 2 May 1835; Lester, 'Settlers, the State and Colonial Power', p. 225.
[110] Lester, 'Settlers, the State and Colonial Power', p. 225. The official reason for the Treaty System was that "the only effectual defence of the colony is a barrier of kafirs but under the influence of British law and attached to the colony by their having a common interest and a common feeling with British subjects" (CA ACC519/3, Skeleton of a Plan for the Arrangement of Facts Calculated to Exhibit the True State of Colonial Affairs to Uninformed Prejudiced Persons in England, William Boyce, 12 October 1835).
[111] CA LCA 4/9, Vol. 3, 1837, Proclamation, 5 December 1836; CA LCA 4/9, Vol. 3, 1837, Treaties, 5 December 1836; Davenport, South Africa, p. 118; K. Watson, 'The Kafir Police on the Eastern Cape Frontier: 1835-1850' (B.A. (Hons.), Department of History, University of Cape Town, 1981), pp. 5-20.
[112] Watson, 'The Kafir Police on the Eastern Cape Frontier', pp. 5-20.

religion with its accompanying rituals, and rights in land under British colonial rule.[114] This ambitious scheme of colonisation was not realised. In the process, though, some intermediary groupings did remain within the Colony and continued as allies of the colonial forces in ensuing frontier conflicts. These residual intermediaries became known as the "Fingo" and were to be involved in highly controversial collaborative roles on the Eastern Cape frontier. As longer term colonial residents two basic questions still had to be resolved: what was to be the nature of their communal identity, and what was the nature and basis of their land rights?

4.6. The Colonial Land Grants to the Tsitsikamma Mfengu

This thesis is not concerned with the general history of the Mfengu in the course of the 19th and 20th centuries, but more specifically with that of a particular grouping, the Tsitsikamma Mfengu. In general the Mfengu were given land by colonial authorities for their participation in, support for, and collaboration with, the British during the 1835 Eastern Cape frontier war. Their presence within the Eastern Cape frontier between the Fish River and the Keiskamma River as envisaged by colonial authorities was to serve as an effective buffer on the frontier between colonists and the Xhosa. More importantly they were to "become ... the best militia for the protection of that tract of country, which for the last 25 years has been the vulnerable part of the colony, to the entrance of the savages".[115] They would also be a "supply of hired servants ... especially for farming purposes ... [which] will be of the greatest benefit to the [colonial] community".[116]

This was also the context of the emergence of the Tsitsikamma Mfengu as a particular community. During 1837 Lt. Governor Stockenstrom ordered the Commissioner of the Uitenhage District to relocate a group of Mfengu from Peddie to the Tsitsikamma region of the Eastern Cape.[117] The origins of the Tsitsikamma Mfengu may thus be found in this colonial land grant and official intervention relocating them in the Tsitsikamma. However, in their

---

[113] Lester, 'Setters, the State and Colonial Power', p. 227.
[114] CA ACC519/3, 'Skeleton of a Plan for the Arrangement of Facts calculates to Exhibit the True State of Colonial Affairs to Uninformed Prejudiced Persons in England', William Boyce, 12 October 1835; CA ACC519/4, Address given by Smith, Enclosure no. 15, 7 January 1836.
[115] British Parliamentary Papers vol. 20, 'Copy of a Despatch from Governor Sir B. D'Urban to the Earl of Aberdeen', 19 June 1835, Sub-enclosure no. 3, in Enclosure no. 8.
[116] British Parliamentary Papers, vol. 20, 'Copy of a Despatch from Governor Sir B. D'Urban to the Earl of Aberdeen', 19 June 1835, No. 3 Sub-enclosure in Enclosure 8.
[117] R.A. Moyer, 'A History of the Mfengu of the Eastern Cape 1815-1865' (Ph.D. thesis, School of Oriental and African Studies, London University, 1976), pp. 355-366.

communal self-conception a much stronger bond with the land became articulated. Krüger asserts that the Tsitsikamma Mfengu called the land on which they were settled "blood-ground", since it had been granted to them by colonial authorities as compensation for the blood that they had shed in their support of the colony during the Eastern Cape frontier wars.[118] It is a question for research whether these historic claims of entitlement to the land as "blood ground" were articulated in colonial times or only emerged retrospectively in the later context of the 1990s.[119]

What the historical records show is that in 1837 some Mfengu were moved from Peddie by colonial troops, resettled in the Tsitsikamma, and there granted government or "crown" land.[120] Colonial officials anticipated that some of these "escorted" Mfengu might not be taken into the service of colonists. In addition, they also took into account the refusal from some of the relocated Tsitsikamma Mfengu to being employed by colonists. Colonial officials envisaged that the Tsitsikamma land granted to the Mfengu would ensure that those not employed in colonial service, either permanently or temporarily, would have a "fixed place of abode". In this way any perceived "wandering" about the colony could be controlled and prohibited.[121]

The government land granted in 1837 was only surveyed and registered during October 1858. The first Tsitsikamma land grant was at Snyklip. See diagram of the location of Snyklip, Doriskraal and Wittekleibosch in relation to Clarkson in figure 2. This portion of land was 1500 morgen or about 1285ha in size and extent, and was to "be held by the Civil Commissioner of Uitenhage in trust for the "Fingoes of the tribe of Umblatze and those who are descendants from him".[122] The diagram of the Deed of Grant stipulated that the land was to be held by Umblatje and his descendants "by ticket of occupation".[123] In addition the occupation of land by Umasayediva and his descendants, who had established themselves at Wolvekop, was not to

---

[118] Krüger, The Pear Tree Blossoms, p. 199.

[119] Tsitsikamma Exile Association, *Clarkson Memorial Service: We are Returning to Our Land*, Poster, August 1991; Tsitsikamma Exile Association, *Return to Our Land*, Pamphlet, September 1991; 'Onmin oor Hervestiging van Fingos by Clarkson', Die Burger, 18 December 1995. These historic claims of entitlement to land are described and problematised in chapter one, and examined further in chapter eight of this dissertation.

[120] LG 592, Hudson to Civil Commissioner of Uitenhage, Grahamstown, 31 August 1837; LG 592, Hudson to the Civil Commissioner of Uitenhage, 18 September 1837; LG 592, Hudson to Civil Commissioner of Uitenhage, 27 September 1837.

[121] LG 592, Hudson to Civil Commissioner of Uitenhage, 27 September 1837.

[122] Uitenhage Freeholds 11: 3 (30 October 1858).

[123] Uitenhage Freeholds 11: 3.

be affected by the Snyklip land grant.[124] The second Tsitsikamma land grant was at Doriskraal. This portion of land was 490 morgen or about 420ha in size and extent, and was to "be held by the Civil Commissioner of Uitenhage in trust for the tribe of Uzweebe who are now resident there and their descendants".[125] The land was also to be held "by ticket of occupation".[126] The third portion of land was at Palmiet Rivier. This portion of land was 660 morgen or about 565ha in size and extent, and was to "be held by the Civil Commissioner of Uitenhage in trust for Platje Geduld alias Uthloa, and those "Fingoes" who are descendants from him together with any other tribe of Makupula". The land was to be held "by ticket of occupation".[127] The fourth portion of land was at WittekleiBosch. This portion of land was 1800 morgen or about 1542ha in size and extent, and was to "be held by the Civil Commissioner of Uitenhage in trust for Matomela, and those Fingoes who are descendants from him".[128] Here the land was also to be held by ticket of occupation. It was amongst these groups of Tsitsikamma Mfengu that the Clarkson mission station was established in 1839. Some of the land in the Tsitsikamma that had been set aside for the Mfengu was subsequently entrusted to the Moravian missionaries by colonial authorities for the purposes of establishing a Moravian mission station.

It was in response to a request from Governor Napier that Moravian missionaries sought to establish a mission settlement in the Tsitsikamma among the relocated Mfengu communities. They positioned themselves in the midst of these Mfengu communities who lived dispersed over large portions of land in the Tsitsikamma, and proceeded to establish the mission station on the farm Koksbosch, later renamed Clarkson. On their arrival the missionaries were welcomed by the Mfengu community residing on the Koksbosch farm, and in particular by their chief, Manqoba, known to colonists as Bladje. A formal deed of grant was not issued to this group of Mfengu. There was also a small Khoisan settlement on the Koksbosch farm. The question is what were the implications of this Mfengu community having prior occupation of "government" land; both for the nature of their interactions with the Moravian missionaries as well as with regard to the construction of their communal identity. In particular a key question would be whether in the self-conception of the Mfengu access to the Tsitsikamma "crown" land were determined by colonial law or according to customary practices? If the latter, then the

---

[124] Uitenhage Freeholds 11: 3. The Wolvekop group of Mfengu were different to the settled Snyklip group of Mfengu. This difference was however not acknowledged in the contemporary restitution of land claim made in the 1990s. See discussion of the 1990s Tsitsikamma Mfengu land restitution claim in chapter eight of this dissertation.
[125] Uitenhage Freeholds 11: 1 (30 October 1858).
[126] Uitenhage Freeholds 11: 1.
[127] Uitenhage Freeholds 11: 2 (30 October 1858)
[128] Uitenhage Freeholds 11: 4 (30 October 1858).

Moravian missionaries would have had to obtain the consent and permission of the local Mfengu chiefs residing in the Tsitsikamma in order to initiate a missionary settlement amongst them at Clarkson. However, if the Mfengu did not have independent access to the Tsitsikamma "government" land, then they were beholden to missionary authorisation to gain access to land within the frontier.

According to Krüger's account, chief Manqoba expressed the wish to have the missionaries present at their settlement.[129] This suggests that Moravian missionaries not only responded to the request by the Governor Napier, but also themselves requested permission from the chief and local community to settle and establish a mission station on their land (as would typically be the case with indigenous communities beyond the Eastern Cape frontier). This acknowledgement of the authority of the local chief occurred within the Eastern Cape frontier, in a context where the Mfengu did not have the final decision on entitlement to land.[130] Irrespective of the technical position in colonial law this implied that in practice a somewhat ambiguous position may have been reached regarding the recognition of entitlements to the land. On the one hand Moravian missionaries were granted land for mission purposes on the Koksbosch farm in the Tsitsitkamma by the colonial authorities. On the other hand the local "Fingo" chief granted them permission for the same purpose. The colonial Governor at the Cape requested that the Moravian mission station established on the Koksbosch farm be named Clarkson, in honour of the British abolitionist - Thomas Clarkson.[131]

The Mfengu settlements in the Tsitsikamma were dispersed on a landscape that was very different to the mission settlements previously established by the Moravians at places like Genadendal. The new missionary community also involved different kinds of indigenous members. The Moravian missionaries brought with them to Clarkson a "nucleus of converts" from the Moravian mission community of Enon, a mission station established in 1818 within the Eastern Cape frontier.[132] Enon and Shiloh, as well as the Elim Moravian mission station in the Western Cape, had been established in a similar way, with missionaries bringing with them a

---

[129] Krüger, The Pear Tree Blossoms, 1966, p. 200.
[130] These two different conceptions of land are discussed in section 4.3 of this dissertation.
[131] Krüger, The Pear Tree Blossoms, pp. 202-205.
[132] Krüger, The Pear Tree Blossoms, pp. 200-202. The Methodist, Anglican and Presbyterian mission societies did not appear to have utilised a similar "nucleus of converts" when first entering indigenous societies to establish mission stations. These mission societies however ordained "African" clergy. Most of these ordinations occurred during the later part of the nineteenth century. See Switzer, Power and Resistance in an African Society, pp. 122-127.

"nucleus of converts" gathered together from the older Moravian mission stations.[133] Five families from Enon arrived at Clarkson in February 1839 together with the missionaries Küster and Halter.[134] Together, as was the practice at other Moravian mission stations at the Cape, they started the Clarkson mission station. From the outset they held regular church services each Sunday, one in Xhosa for the visiting Mfengu and the other in Dutch for the "nucleus of converts". A Mfengu interpreter, who had previously worked for a British missionary, assisted them. According to Krüger, he admonished "others not to plague the missionaries with requests for better pasture, but to be grateful for the opportunity to hear the word of God".[135] Krüger describes how one of the interpreters regularly gathered his neighbours and repeated the sermons that he had heard at Clarkson to them.[136] The Moravian missionaries realised that the Mfengu would continue to live in their kraals, dispersed across the Tsitsikamma. However, they believed that some of them could become members of the Clarkson congregation. The "first fruits" were baptised in 1840 during the Easter celebrations.[137] Chief Manqoba and some other "Fingoes" were baptised towards the end of that same year.[138]

In addition to the Enon group of converts who had come to Clarkson, a number of ex-slaves and Khoisan peoples were also permitted to settle at Clarkson provided that "they showed an earnest desire to hear the gospel".[139] It is this expanded group including the converted Mfengu that established themselves as the Clarkson Moravian missionary community. Over time, many of the original "nucleus of converts" from Enon moved on to settle at the Shiloh mission station and other places.[140]

However, not all aspects of the missionary settlement at Clarkson were equally successful or harmonious. Some of the Mfengu residing in the vicinity of Clarkson as well as those from the surrounding Tsitsikamma areas were offended by attempts of the Moravian missionaries to intervene in their customs and social practices.[141] They became hostile to the activities of the missionaries, and blamed them for making their children rebellious. In response, Chief

---

[133] Krüger, The Pear Tree Blossoms, p. 201.
[134] W.C. Uithaler, 'Clarkson: Honderd en Fyftig Jaar op Pad, 1839-1989', Geleentheidspublikasie no.47 (Instituut vir Beplanningsnavorsing, Departement Antropologie, Universiteit van Port Elizabeth, Oktober 1994), p. 2.
[135] Krüger, The Pear Tree Blossoms, p. 201.
[136] Krüger, The Pear Tree Blossoms, p. 203.
[137] Krüger, The Pear Tree Blossoms, p. 203.
[138] Krüger, The Pear Tree Blossoms, p. 203.
[139] Krüger, The Pear Tree Blossoms, pp. 200-204.
[140] Krüger, The Pear Tree Blossoms, p. 252.
[141] Krüger, The Pear Tree Blossoms, p. 203.

Manqoba resolved with his councillors in 1841 that the time had come for them to return to Peddie since the missionaries were undermining his authority as Captain of his Mfengu.[142] Their move back to Peddie preceded the outbreak of the seventh Eastern Cape frontier war in 1846. [143] The Mfengu participated in this war as allies of the colonial forces, including some of the Tsitsikamma Mfengu. From a letter received by the missionary Kolbing in 1846, the missionary B. Schmidt recalls that "from Clarkson and the Zitzikamma 120 or 130 Fingoes had been drafted to the army".[144] Chief Manqoba returned to Clarkson a few months later. He was then quite ill and died soon after returning to the mission station.[145] A more detailed description of the Tsitsikamma Mfengu and the making of community in the context of rebellion, resistance, and collaboration within the Cape Colony will be given in chapter 6. The move away from and then return to Clarkson by Chief Manqoba and some of his followers was repeated on other occasions by the Mfengu living alongside Clarkson. Some became part of the mission station, accepted its rules and regulations as well as the authority of the Moravian missionary. But on the whole the relationship with Clarkson and its land remained ambivalent and inclusive.

4.6.1 The Clarkson Land Grants and the Differentiation of the Mission and Tsitsikamma Mfengu Communities

In this section we will be concerned with the complex status of the Clarkson land granted to the Moravians and the specific conditions and stipulations that applied to different parts of this colonial land grant. More specifically we will be interested in the particular issue pertaining specifically to Clarkson i.e. the distinction between the "Fingo" trust land from the core mission land granted to the Moravians under colonial law. This is not so much a matter of different conceptions or interpretations of land tenure, but rather a question of what the relation between the "Fingo" trust land and the Moravian mission land grant at Clarkson was in law. For this purpose we will leave aside the ambiguous significance of the welcome/permission given by the "Fingo" chief and community residing on the Koksbosch farm.

In response to the Governor's original request to establish a mission station among the relocated "Fingoes" the Moravian Missionary, Rev. D. Hallbeck, had proposed a set of

---

[142] Krüger, The Pear Tree Blossoms, p. 204.
[143] Krüger, The Pear Tree Blossoms, pp. 228-230.
[144] Schmidt, 'Extracts of the Diary of Genadendal and Periodical Accounts proving the Loyalty of the Missionaries and its Congregation', no date, p. 1.
[145] Krüger, The Pear Tree Blossoms, p. 204.

conditions to the colonial government on 12 November 1838. These conditions stipulated the jurisdiction of the core mission land granted to the missionaries. The Hallbeck conditions were almost all accepted by the Cape colonial authorities. The colonial official, John Bell, responded and qualified the land granted to the Moravians for mission purposes in a letter dated 14 November 1838.

> "You will undertake the formation of a missionary institution at Koksbosch ... amongst the Fingo settlements at Tzitzikama ... with those conditions in general, that ... the missionary to be employed at the proposed institution shall be permitted to maintain the discipline of the United Brethren's Church within the same [institution], without hindrance or molestation on the part of this government, or any of its officers or servants ... A portion of land of about 500 morgen in extent ... shall be set apart for the institution, with a view to its being granted to Superintendent of the Brethren's mission society in this Colony, on behalf of that Society, for the express purpose ... for the erection thereon of all necessary buildings ...It shall not be in the power of the said Society to sell ... or otherwise dispose of the said land, if the Society [wishes to] relinquish the institution, the lands ... shall revert to the Government ... the government land adjacent to the institution shall ... be reserved for the use of the Fingoes principally and for such other natives of colour as shall be duly authorised to reside in the neighbourhood of, and shall be acknowledged in connection with the institution ... the missionaries shall have the right to admit to the institution such labourers and tradesmen and their families, as the superintendent shall see fit, they being Hottentots or other natives of colour ... the missionaries shall be at liberty to extend their labour to other natives of colour besides the Fingoes, or even any other colour of the neighbouring population".[146]

Significantly the Bell letter referred explicitly to the "Fingo" settlements in the Tsitsikamma, and the Moravian mission institution that was to be established amongst them on the Koksbosch farm. It is also important to note that the Bell letter stipulated that only a portion of the Koksbosch land, about 500 morgen in extent, was to be set aside for Moravian missionary purposes. Bell thus distinguished between colonial crown land allocated for "Fingo" settlement, and land allocated to the mission institution specifically for missionary purposes. This may be taken to mean that in terms of this original land grant the Moravian missionaries were not granted similar control over the remaining Koksbosch farm land, nor were they granted similar control over the land adjacent to Koksbosch on which "Fingo" communities resided. The

[146] Bell, 'Letter to Reverend D. Hallbeck', Fingo Reserve Deed of Grant, Uitenhage Freehold 10 -16A, surveyed on 19/12/1848 and registered on 15/11/1851. The Title Deed of the Fingo Reserve merely certifies that the land is to be "reserved" for the use of the "Fingoes" "principally" and subject to the arrangements set out in the Bell letter.

Tsitsikamma land grants made by colonial authorities to the "Fingoes" thus had a distinct status from that of the land grant made to the Moravian Mission Society.

As far as that part of the land granted to the Moravians for missionary purposes was concerned, the Bell letter authorised them to control and dispense of access to land specific to the established mission institution. This included allocating portions of land on the mission station to indigenous converts including local "Fingoes", Khoisan or other "natives of colour", as well as freed slaves. The Moravian Missionaries sought from the outset to ensure that access to the mission station would not be restricted to the "Fingoes" from the surrounding area only. The Bell letter however very clearly stipulated that Clarkson mission land was not to be sold or disposed of by the Moravians, thereby limiting their authority over, and rights in, the land. With only a portion of the Koksbosch land set aside for mission purposes upon which Clarkson was established, and the remainder of the Koksbosch land set aside for "Fingo" settlements principally this amounted to a *dual* land grant. The conditions stipulated in the Bell letter thus added to the ambiguities already prevalent in the historical claims to the Clarkson land.

The Clarkson land was officially registered in the name of the Moravian Missionary Society in 1841.[147] In some vital respects the stipulations of the Clarkson Deed of Grant differed from those set out in the Bell letter. The Deed of grant stipulated that Clarkson was granted in freehold to the superintendent, for the time being, of the Moravian Missionary Society in the Cape Colony. More specifically the Clarkson land was granted "with full power and authority to possess [the land] in perpetuity". However the permission for the Moravians to dispose of the land or alienate the land had been crossed out. It is important to note that whatever the legal status of this kind of "freehold in trust", in practice it meant that the Moravian Missionary Society was put in a position to control the actual access to, and use of the Clarkson land.[148] The Moravian Missionary Society thus held the land in trust with full power to possess the land in perpetuity, while their right to dispose of or alienate the land was withheld.[149] Significantly the Deed of Grant also stipulated that the land was *to be held on behalf of and in trust for the "Fingoes"* now residing at the institution of Clarkson which was characterised as "a piece of ground ... containing about 1038 morgen" or 889ha in size and extent.[150] The Clarkson Title Deed of 1841 thus did not differentiate between portions of land on Koksbosch set aside for

[147] See the Uitenhage Freehold 9: 7 (15 December 1841).
[148] See discussion in section 4.3 of this dissertation on the allocation of mission land.
[149] Clarkson Deed of Grant, Uitenhage Freehold 9: 7 (15 December 1841).

missionary purposes as against that set aside principally for "Fingo" settlement, as had been specified in the Bell letter. The whole of the Koksbosch farm land, 889ha, was now to be held on behalf of, and in trust for, the "Fingoes". This was quite an ambiguous change in the nature of the land grant. On the one hand, the size of the Clarkson mission station had now increased considerably to encompass the whole farm. On the other hand, all of this extended missionary land was now deemed to be held in trust for the "Fingoes". In terms of the Clarkson Deed of Grant the adjacent "Fingo" land was no longer comprised of the remaining portion of the Koksbosch farm. The territorial boundary had been shifted by the Deed of Grant, and was now between the Clarkson Moravian mission station on the one hand and the adjacent "Fingo" land comprised of Snyklip, Doriskraal, and Wittekleibosch on the other hand.[151] A diagram illustrating its location in relation to Clarkson is shown in Figure 2 above. The adjacent land of Snyklip, Doriskraal, Wittekleibosch were granted to different "Fingo" communities, with each portion of land held in trust by the Civil Commissioner of Uitenhage.[152] The Clarkson Deed of Grant thus resulted in quite a significant shift from the 1838 Bell letter and the conception of a dual Clarkson land grant. In effect it amounted to a discrepancy or tension between the legal determinants of the Clarkson Deed of Grant and the prior political historical arrangements.

Colonial officials subsequently also granted an additional portion of land called Charlottenburg, which lies adjacent to the Clarkson land, to the Moravian Missionary Society. This portion of land was formally registered in 1851 and granted to the superintendent for the time being of the Moravian Missionary Society. The land was also to be held on behalf of and in trust for, the "Fingoes" resident at the institution of Clarkson.[153] The size and extent of the Clarkson mission station was further increased when the Moravian missionaries acquired an additional third portion of land in 1875. This portion of land was registered as the Moravian Mission, and was initially held subject to the payment of a quarterly rental commonly known as quitrent. 1843 colonial land policy made provision for all crown land held under quitrent to be converted to freehold or redeemed quitrent by the payment of a fixed sum.[154] In the Deed of Grant of the

---

[150] Clarkson Deed of Grant, Uitenhage Freehold 9: 7.

[151] Snyklip, Uitenhage Freehold 11: 3 (30 October 1858); Doriskraal, Uitenhage Freehold 11: 1 (30 October 1858); Wittekleibosch, Uitenhage Freehold 11: 4 (30 October 1858).

[152] Snyklip Uitenhage Freehold 11: 3 (30 October 1858). The Snyklip farm was held in trust by the Civil Commissioner for the "tribe of Umblatze"; Doriskraal, Uitenhage Freehold 11: 1 (30 October 1858). The Doriskraal farm was held in thrust by the Civil Commissioner of Uitenhage for the "tribe of Uzweebe"; Wittekleibosch, Uitenhage Freehold 11: 4 (30 October 1858). The Civil Commissioner of Uitenhage held the Wittekleibosch farm in trust for the "tribe of Matomela".

[153] See Uitenhage Freeholds 10: 16 (15 November 1851).

[154] Jones, Conveyancing in South Africa, p. 5.

Moravian Mission, the land was "let to the ... Superintendent of the Moravian Missionary Society in South Africa".[155] The Moravian Mission was thus not held on behalf of, nor was it held in trust for the "Fingoes" as in the case of Clarkson and Charlottenburg. According to oral accounts from residents at Clarkson, the land known as the Moravian Mission was commonly called "Koopgrond", since residents at the time had made a substantial monetary contribution towards the purchase of this property.[156]

For our purposes the significance of the dual land grant involved in the origins of the Clarkson Moravian missionary settlement and the Tsitsikamma Mfengu relocations is above all in the implications for the construction of their respective communal identities. As far as the initial land grant at Clarkson for missionary purposes was concerned the Moravian missionaries could exercise their right, as stipulated in the Bell letter, to "admit to the institution such labourers and tradesmen and their families as the superintendent shall see fit". This was comparable to the conditions applying in the construction of the original missionary community at Genadendal as discussed in Chapter 3. However, this did not apply in relation the adjacent "Fingo" communities who could rely on their own land grant. The growing Christian community of converts at Clarkson was thus differentiated from, and lived separately to, the adjacent "Fingo" communities. Over time this led to a growing distinction between a Moravian mission community known as the Clarksoners and the Tsitsikamma Mfengu communities.

The origins of the dispensation that the Clarkson mission land be held in trust for the "Fingoes"; is of considerable significance for our primary questions regarding contested claims of historical entitlement to the Clarkson land. Unlike some of the other cases we have referred to where missionary settlements occurred on land that had been historically occupied by indigenous peoples, the position of the Mfengu in the Tsitsikamma were different. They were "refugees" from elsewhere who could not lay historical claim to having occupied or used the Tsitsikamma land in pre-colonial times. But if the idea of a "Fingo" land trust was not based on historical entitlements to land derived from pre-colonial times, then what was its origin? In the first instance the Mfengu were rewarded by colonial authorities with land for services rendered in the frontier wars, which in the case of Clarkson was coupled to the establishment of an adjacent mission station. This dual colonial land grant thus effectively gave rise to a double set of power relations on the one hand between converts and missionaries and on the other hand

---

[155] Lease Number 72, dated 15th November 1875, in the Division of Humansdorp.
[156] Translated "Koopgrond" means purchased land.

between the Mfengu and missionaries as local stand-ins for the colonial authorities. This double set of power relations indicates that there were two kinds of communities living alongside each other at Clarkson. On the one hand there was the missionary community with conversion as a requirement for membership and access to land involving a kind of trust with the missionary as a quasi-customary authority. On the other hand there were the Tsitsikamma Mfengu communities where conversion was not a required condition for membership or for access to land. Here the relation of trust formally involved the colonial authorities with missionaries functioning as local-stand-ins. Even if the Mfengu had not been a prior ethnic group, this would open the way to a different kind of community compared to that of the mission settlement, one in which the Moravian ethic would not be central. The dual colonial land grants thus served as the founding fact for these communities.

4.7 Conclusion

In our discussion we have shown that a varied spectrum of rights in land prevailed at the Cape, with the pre-colonial and customary practices of different indigenous peoples affected in varying degrees by the colonisation of land. While indigenous peoples beyond the frontier were still able to sustain their customary land practices the Khoisan peoples were both effectively dispossessed of their traditional lands and proscribed from acquiring landed property within the colonial system of land tenure. The only exception was in relation to access to mission land, though subject to the missionary controls and conditions. In this way a special bond between mission land and the new missionary communities attracting dispossessed Khoisan was established. For our purposes the position of intermediate groups like the Mfengu, and the Tsitsikamma Mfengu in particular, was also of special interest. While rights in land of most indigenous peoples had been eroded through, or was under increasing threat by, colonial expansion and dispossession; intermediate groups drawn from among the Mfengu were granted large portions of land for services rendered in supporting the British colony in its frontier wars against the Xhosa. In the Tsitsikamma groups of Mfengu were settled by colonial officials in 1837 on land at Snyklip, Doriskraal and Wittekleibosch. A Mfengu community was also settled on the Koksbosch land, a portion of which was shortly thereafter re-allocated to the Moravian Mission Society. It was on this same portion of land that the Clarkson mission station was established in 1839, creating intricate historical and political complexities and ambiguity in recognising grounds of entitlement to the Clarkson land.

The ambiguity surrounding rights in the Clarkson land were augmented by two important official colonial documents i.e. the Bell letter of 1838 and the 1841 Deed of Grant – each containing a set of conditions specific to the Koksbosch/Clarkson land. In terms of the 1838 conditions only a portion of the Clarkson land was to be set aside for missionary purposes. The remainder of the land was to continue being used by the group of "Fingoes" who were settled there shortly before the arrival of the Moravians. The duality in the land grant was however not confirmed in the 1841 Clarkson Deed of Grant. In terms of the Clarkson Deed of Grant the entire farm was granted to the Moravian Missionary Society to be held on behalf of and in trust for the "Fingoes". As a result the territorial boundary of the adjacent "Fingo" land shifted from being within Clarkson in relation to the allocated portion for mission purposes, to being outside of Clarkson. The adjacent "Fingo" land now comprised of Snyklip, Doriskraal, and Wittkleibosch. This realignment of what constituted the adjacent Mfengu land in relation to Clarkson added to the ambiguity and historical and political complexities surrounding claims of entitlement made to the Clarkson land.

One of the 1838 qualifications stipulated that the land was to be reserved "principally" for the "Fingoes". At the same time the Moravian missionaries were given the right to admit "other natives of colour" to the Clarkson mission station. This meant that membership to the Clarkson mission station was not limited to the Mfengu from the surrounding Tsitsikamma areas. Nor were the Mfengu excluded from residing under the imposed discipline of the Moravian missionaries. The emerging differentiation between Moravian mission Clarkson community and the Tsitsikamma Mfengu communities from the adjacent Mfengu land was to significantly influence the Moravian missionary discourse and the representations produced therein of both the Tsitsikamma "Fingoes" and the Moravian missionary community in relation to the Clarkson mission station.

Chapter Five

Elements of the Discursive Construction of a Clarksoner Moravian Missionary Identity and its Relation to Land

5.1 Introduction

In chapter two we introduced Thompson's analytical framework allowing an integrated approach while differentiating between distinct levels of socio-historical analysis and a discursive analysis. In chapter four we discussed the different practices of land tenure in the Cape colony, within, and beyond, the Eastern Cape frontier. This discussion of the different colonial practices of land tenure formed part of the socio-historical analysis of the colonial and frontier contexts. While such an analysis in chapter four is of considerable significance to our investigation of the development of the Clarkson Moravian mission and Tsitsikamma Mfengu identities and their relation to land, it by no means constitutes a full analysis. To this end we propose in this chapter to investigate the discursive construction of a Clarksoner Moravian missionary identity differentiated from the Tsitsikamma Mfengu identity within the Moravian missionary discourse.

We will not attempt to provide a complete discursive analysis of the construction of the Moravian missionary and Mfengu identities. Instead some elements of its discursive construction will be focussed upon. There are a number of different reasons for limiting the scope and aims of the analysis in this manner. Firstly, there is the lack of a well-established discourse theory, which can form the basis for a systematic discourse analysis of communal identity in relation to claims on land. At best we have, e.g. in the work of the Comaroffs on the history of missionary activities in South Africa, some suggested elements of an applied discursive analysis. However, their analyses concern the missionary activities of the Wesleyans among the Tswana speaking Barolong boo Rathshidi, and not the Moravian missionaries among the Mfengu in the Eastern Cape, and may thus at best provide an opportunity for some comparative applications. Secondly, there are significant gaps and limitations in the primary

material available for the purpose of an applied discursive analysis of the Clarkson mission and Tsitsikamma Mfengu communities.

The second part of this chapter will take the form of applying selected discursive elements from the Comaroffs' analyses of the Wesleyans among the Tswana speaking Barolong boo Rathshidi in the nineteenth century to our case study of the Clarksoner missionary and Tsitsikamma Mfengu communities. In particular, the discursive elements selected from the work of the Comaroffs for this analysis will involve what they have termed the politics of water, of production and of spatial organisation. The gaps and limitations in the primary material related to this study are to some extent remedied by drawing on the available secondary literature and Moravian historiography. In chapter three we saw that this literature, too, was characterised by the Moravian narrative. Accordingly, we propose to take this material as a starting point for further investigations of the more specific relevance and significance of the Moravian narrative in the construction and appropriation of the Moravian Clarksoner mission communal identity. Taken together these various components might begin to constitute an account of some elements in the discursive construction and appropriation of a Clarksoner Moravian mission identity.

5.2 The Moravian Narrative and the Communal Identity of the Clarksoners / Mfengu

We still need to establish how the imposed Moravian missionary identity was represented in the missionary discourse. In chapter three we discussed how the constructed Moravian missionary identity was linked to the way in which Moravian missionaries represented themselves utilising resources of history drawn from their own experiences and memories of the religious community at Herrnhut from where they came in Germany. This connection to the religious community at Herrnhut was very important in the formation of a Moravian missionary identity, which they imposed on their converts at Genadendal. An important element of the Moravian historical narrative was the metaphor of the seed. In chapter three we investigated the significance of the metaphor of the seed as it appeared in the Moravian narrative. We showed that the seed metaphor was used to produce a thread of continuity between peoples in different places and over different time periods, connecting the Unitas Fratrum in Czechoslovakia and Herrnhut in Germany with the first Moravian mission settlement at Genadendal in the Cape Colony. In the same chapter we have shown how variations of the seed metaphor were utilised in the missionary discourse regarding Genadendal. We showed how the missionary community

at Genadendal was included in the Moravian historical narrative, and presented with a discursive historical past with which they could claim continuity.

In this section we will investigate the meaning of the Moravian historical narrative in the construction of the Clarksoner Moravian missionary identity, and in particular the numerous variations that the metaphor of the seed took in the Moravian missionary discourse regarding Clarkson. We also explore the contribution that the metaphor of the seed and the Moravian ethic made in establishing a relation between the constructed Moravian mission identity and the Clarkson land.

5.2.1 The "Nucleus of Converts", a "Seed" of Continuity

We begin our discursive analysis by investigating the relevance of elements of the Moravian historical narrative in the construction of the Clarksoner Moravian missionary identity. One such element is the journey made by Moravians to establish a new settlement. In the case of Clarkson a "nucleus of converts" travelled with the Moravian missionary, Br. Küster in 1839 to the Tsitsikamma to found the new mission settlement. Br. Küster described his journey to Clarkson in 1839.

> "We left Enon accompanied by 23 persons ... the first wagon ... advanced near the sea. We asked our Hottentots whether the second wagon was following ... Sunday ... two days after our arrival we were visited by many people of our neighbourhood. Eight Fingoes were present at the first kaffer sermon which we delivered here in the afternoon ... Last Sunday ... some families of Boers about twenty eight hottentots and apprentices were present at the Dutch sermon, and about 100 Fingoes in the afternoon who were eager to listen to the word of God. ... We keep meeting everyday in both languages, about sunset for the Fingoes and after supper for the Hottentots".[1]

There were no Mfengu who accompanied the missionaries on their journey to the Tsitsikamma from Enon, only a group of twenty-three people many of whom were Khoisan. At Koksbosch this nucleus of converts constituted the beginnings of a new mission community. Missionaries conducted their Sunday sermons to this group in Dutch, while they preached through translators to the visiting Mfengu in Xhosa. The Dutch sermons at Clarkson also attracted other

[1] Moravian Archive, Letter to Hallbeck, from Küster, Koksbosch, 26 February and 10 March 1839.

Khoisan, some apprentices, freed slaves, and a few colonial farmers from the surrounding area.[2]

The nucleus of converts, who travelled with the Moravian missionary to the Tsitsikamma, paralleled the first family who had travelled with Christian David from Moravia to Herrnhut on the Estate of Count Zinzendorf.[3] This family constituted the nucleus of Brethren from Moravia who carried with them the preserved core and life force of principles, practices, and traditions of the Unitas Fratrum. At the Cape the idea of using a group of converts from an older Moravian mission station to assist in establishing a religious community at a new mission settlement was previously utilised by missionaries in the building of a Moravian mission station at Elim in 1824. Here the appointed missionary together with a group of "Christian Hottentot families from the original station", [from Genadendal] "settled down as a *nucleus* of the new congregation".[4] A similar group was used to establish the Moravian mission station at Shiloh in 1828. In this case some converts from Genadendal were selected to accompany the two appointed missionaries to the Eastern Cape where they were to work among the Thembu at Shiloh. Along the way five families from Enon joined them.[5] At Elim most of the potential Khoisan converts were farm labourers who lived dispersed in small groups on the surrounding farms owned by colonists. The Moravian missionaries called their work among these dispersed farm labourers, "Diaspora work".[6] An important component of this Diaspora approach was its reliance on indigenous helpers to establish and carry forward missionary projects.[7] In the case of Elim, the Moravian missionaries encountered difficulties in developing a mission community, similar to that at Genadendal, based on the Herrnhut model.[8] At Elim they found that most farm labourers were scattered across the surrounding colonial farms, only able to gather together on Sundays for the weekly sermon. It was in order to deal with this difficulty that a group of Khoisan Christian

---

[2] Moravian Archive, Letter to Hallbeck, from Kuster, March 1839.

[3] A description of the narrative is given in section 3.2.2.1 of this dissertation.

[4] Periodical Accounts Relating to the Missions of the Church of the United Brethren Established Among the Heathen, xxxii: 335 (June 1882), p. 239.

[5] S.W. Nielsen, The Twin Blossom of the Pear Tree Bears Fruit, The History of the Moravian Church Eastern Province in South Africa (Port Shepstone, Baruk, 1999), pp. 33-35.

[6] "Diaspora" means to disperse, scatter, or spread news/information in all directions. In the context of the Cape Colony, and at Elim in particular, Diaspora work referred to an approach to mission work among groups of indigenous peoples who were dispersed and scattered over large areas in a specific location of the Colony. This "Diaspora work" was very different from the Moravian Diaspora that differentiated Moravian Societies in civilised Christian Germany, England, Holland, Denmark and Russia from the foreign missions established among the "uncivilised" and "non Christian" "heathen" polities. See also discussion in section 3.2.1.1 on the outward vision of Pietism.

[7] B. Krüger, The Pear Tree Blossoms, the History of the Moravian Church in South Africa 1737-1869 (Genadendal, The Moravian Book Depot, 1966), p. 132.

[8] Krüger, The Pear Tree Blossoms, pp. 153-154.

families from Genadendal accompanied missionaries to Elim, where together they established the mission station. In the Clarkson case the Mfengu were not farm labourers, nor were they alienated by their lack of rights in the land they cultivated. They did however live dispersed on land granted to them by British colonial authorities. Moravian missionaries may well have viewed their project among the scattered Tsitsikamma as Diaspora work, since a nucleus of converts from the Enon mission station accompanied them in establishing the Clarkson mission station.

In a letter written in 1839 soon after arriving at the Koksbosch farm, the missionary Küster writes, "It was indeed encouraging to see on *the Sabbath days how it becomes to be lively* upon the Tsitsikammas great plain".[9] In a report missionaries wrote of how "many ... expressed the desire to be united to the Lord, as branches to the vine".[10] Here the robust stem of the vine "climbed and trailed" and represented the spreading of the Moravian ethic, doctrine and rituals through the mission's Diaspora work in the Tsitsikamma. The vine and vineyard represented the Clarkson Moravian mission station, while the branches attached to the vine represented the Tsitsikamma Mfengu converts. By representing the mission's Diaspora in the Tsitsikamma as "branches to the vine", the narrative of the seed re-emerged in the construction of a Clarkson Moravian missionary identity. The seeds of this ancient church were now sown in Clarkson, and grew amidst much disinterest.[11] By utilising a nucleus of converts to establish a Moravian mission station at Clarkson, missionaries also produced a discursive continuity between far-removed places, connecting Clarkson with Enon, Genadendal, Herrnhut, and Moravia in Czechoslovakia. This constructed continuity between these different places, and its accompanying sense of common origin is deeply embedded within the narrative of the seed. In the writings of both missionaries and residents, the history of the Clarksoners was represented as beginning with the arrival of the missionaries Halter and Küster together with the five families from Enon.[12] In the next sub-section we will show how the Clarkson Moravian missionary community was reified into a distinct discursive object by the application of the narrative of the seed to the nucleus of core families who travelled with the Moravian missionaries to Clarkson. We will also show what relations of power and domination such a process of reification sustained. We ask questions concerning the power relations of the

[9] Moravian Archive, Letter to Halbeck from Kuster, Koksbosch, 5th May 1839.
[10] Periodical Accounts, xxiv: ccliv (March 1862), p. 238.
[11] An analysis of the historical narrative of the seed is presented in section 3.2.2.1 of this dissertation.

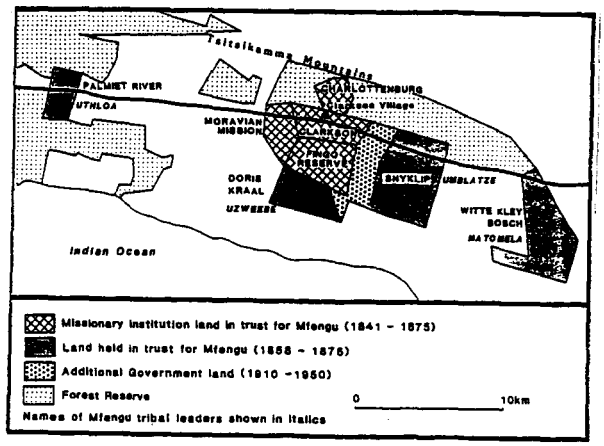
legal entitlements to land conferred by colonial authorities. This was an ironical anomaly related to the Mfengu's peculiarly contested position in the Eastern Cape frontier history.

1.2.2 The Moravian Community at Clarkson and their Historical Claim to Land

The establishment of the Moravian mission station at Clarkson dates back to the arrival of the missionaries in the Tsitsikamma during 1839. The missionary community included some San peoples[31] who came from older Moravian mission stations like Enon and Genadendal in the Southern Cape. At that time some Mfengu had already been granted land and were settled in the Tsitsikamma during 1837 by British colonial authorities as a reward for their support in the Eastern Cape frontier wars against the Xhosa. One group of Mfengu resided on part of the Clarkson mission land while others occupied the adjacent land at Doriskraal, Wittekleibosch, and Snyklip. A diagram illustrating the location of Clarkson in relation to Doriskraal, Wittekleibosch, and Snyklip is shown in figure 2 below. The map also shows the commonage land of the Fingo Reserve and the additional Government land granted during 1910-1950 that became known as the Gap.

Figure 2. **Diagram illustrating the location of Clarkson in relation to the adjacent Mfengu land of Doriskraal, Wittekleibosch, and Snyklip.**

[Source: L. Platsky and C. Walker, The Surplus People: Forced Removal in South Africa (Johannesburg: Ravan Press, 1985), p. 192.]



[30] Tsitsikamma Exile Association, *Return to our Land*, August 1996.

[31] In general we have used the inclusive term Khoisan throughout this dissertation to refer to both Khoikhoi and San peoples However, there are places in our discussion where the term Khoikhoi or khoi as well as San are used.

Membership of the Moravian Clarkson mission settlement, as at other Moravian mission stations in the Cape Colony, was restricted to converts who accepted the rules and authority of the Moravian missionaries. Over time the differentiation between those who lived at the Clarkson mission station and those who resided on the adjacent land of Snyklip, Doriskraal, and Wittekleibosch outside the mission station developed into a division between the Clarksoners and the Mfengu as distinct communities. It would be tempting but misleading to take this division simply as a reflection of prior ethnic identities, with the converted Khoisan and ex-slaves becoming Moravian and eventually the racialised "coloured" community of Clarkson, as distinct from the adjacent ethnic Mfengu community. The assumption that "coloured" and Mfengu identities are racial or ethnic givens, with the former associated with mission settlements, but not the latter, cannot be taken for granted. As we will see the historical construction of a distinct Moravian missionary community at Clarkson in relation to the adjacent Mfengu communities involved both territorial and discursive differentiations. An investigation of this will be central to our analysis of the problem of identity in relation to land and patterns of communal settlement.

1.2.2.1 Terminological Differentiation of "Coloured" and "Native"

For a historical understanding of the relation between such communities as the Clarksoners and the Mfengu from the 1830s it is vital to bear in mind that the term "coloured" did not yet have a fixed connotation. Nor was there any hard and fast demarcation between "coloured" and "natives" in general. In fact, the official and popular terminology of "coloured" and "natives" was only introduced and elaborated during the latter half of the nineteenth century. The establishment of a Representative Government in the Cape Colony during 1853 gave the franchise to all "coloured men" subject to them either having property or an annual income.[32] Significantly the term "coloured" in official British colonial documents was an inclusive one that referred to all non-British settlers and non-Dutch colonists at the Cape. This meant all indigenous peoples, whether Khoikhoi, San, Xhosa, or Mfengu as well as ex-slaves, were included under the term "coloured". The Cape Census of 1865, for example, referred to the Xhosa people within the colony as "coloured".[33] Over time ethnic and racial differentiations in terminology were introduced. The Moravian Missionary Society differentiated the terms "natives" and "coloured" from the 1860s onwards by distinguishing between missionary

[32] L.M. Thompson, The Cape Franchise (Johannesburg, South African Institutes of Race Relations, 1949), p. 7.
[33] Census of the Colony of the Cape of Good Hope, 1865, G.20-66.

activities among converts in the Western Cape as being different to that in the Eastern Cape region of the colony. In 1869 the "coloured" Moravian mission stations were incorporated into the mission's Western region while the "native" mission stations were included in the mission's Eastern Cape region of the colony. Significantly Clarkson and Enon were incorporated into the Western Cape region of the colony even though both were geographically located within the Eastern Cape region of the colony indicating an ethnic rather than a regional criterion of differentiation.[34] In the Cape Census of 1875 the Mfengu were still included as "coloured" in the official colonial discourse.[35] Differentiation among groups of indigenous peoples in official colonial policies increased from the 1870s onwards, as the number of indigenous peoples incorporated into the Cape Colony grew following the annexation of British Kaffraria. It is only from 1904 onwards that the official Cape Census began to differentiate and classify peoples residing within the colony as "white, native and coloured".[36] The 1909 Mission Stations and Communal Reserves Act still referred to both "native" and "coloured", and used the two interchangeably.[37] In the more popular and common usage of the term "coloured" in the early 1900s, the meaning utilised in the colonial discourse of inclusiveness applied. This is demonstrated by Abdullah Abdurahman who defined the "coloured" in his 1909 Presidential address of the African Peoples Organisation (APO) as "everyone who was a British subject in South Africa, and who was not European".[38] The fluidity of this terminology is reflected in the very name of the African Peoples Organisation for what was effectively a "coloured" political organisation. However, in his 1910 presidential address Abdurahman did explicitly distinguish between "the coloured people" and "the native races": "we ... meet as an organisation of the coloured people only of South Africa ... we have a deep interest in the native races ... and the Union Act ... puts us all into one fold: but it is my duty as President of the APO ... to deal with the rights and duties of the coloured people of South Africa, as distinguished from the native races".[39] From the 1920s onwards the "native" became officially defined as ethnic and classified as distinct from the racial "coloured".[40] This officially defined difference between

---

[34] B. Krüger and P.W. Schaberg, The Pear Tree Bears Fruit: The History of the Moravian Church in South Africa Western Cape Province 1869-1980 (Genadendal, The Moravian Book Depot, 1984), p. 2.
[35] Results of A Census of the Colony of the Cape of Good Hope, 1878, G42-76.
[36] Ian Goldin, Making Race: The Politics and Economics of Coloured Identity in South Africa (Cape Town, Masker Miller Longman, 1987), pp. 11-13; Results of a Census of the Colony the Cape of Good Hope, 1905, G.19-1905.
[37] The Mission Stations and Reserves Act of 1909.
[38] R.E. Van der Ross (ed.), Say It Out Loud: The APO Presidential Addresses and other Major Political Speeches 1906-1940 (Bellville, The Western Cape Institute for Historical Research, University of the Western Cape, 1990), p. 26.
[39] Van der Ross, Say It Out Loud, p. 34.
[40] The Native Administration Act of 1927. See discussion in chapter 6 of this dissertation.

"native" and "coloured" was later reinforced by the Coloured Mission Stations Act of 1949.[41] Such official labelling and classification were connected to demarcated territorial spaces specified as group areas, rural reserves, locations and townships. Spatial boundaries of racial/ethnic difference were constructed that had grave implications for the relations between the Clarksoners and the Mfengu peoples of the Tsitsikamma.

The official registration of Clarkson as a "coloured" mission station during the 1950s by the Apartheid government reinforced the growing differentiation between the Clarksoner and Mfengu communities in the Tsitsikamma. The classification meant that the mission station, unlike the neighbouring Mfengu villages, was not declared a "black spot" area.[42] As a result the Clarksoners, unlike the Mfengu, were not forcefully removed nor relocated from the mission station in 1977. The spatial landscape of the dispossessed land adjacent to Clarkson changed significantly after the state sold portions thereof to nineteen "white" farmers in 1983. The impact of these forced removals on the self-perceptions of the Clarksoner community still needs to be investigated. But being a Clarksoner during this time of apartheid upheaval certainly afforded individual and communal protection, security, and perpetuity in their right of access to, and use of, the mission land. This strengthened the Clarkson community's relation to the land they occupied. For the Mfengu the trauma of dispossession and forced resettlement served to intensify their attachment to "our land" in the Tsitsikamma in both material and symbolic ways. But in the longer term, and more specifically from a post-1994 perspective, the Clarksoners' experience under apartheid in some ways served to deligitimise their claim to the mission land, if not in the eyes of the Clarksoners themselves then certainly in the eyes of others, including the Mfengu. Under apartheid the Clarksoners experienced relative security in not becoming targets of dispossession and forced resettlement. The new post-apartheid context of the 1990s, which provided the Mfengu with the opportunity to claim land restitution, actually posed a threat of possible loss of land to the Clarksoners. The demands made by the Mfengu in the 1990s for the "return of our land" largely disregarded the historical and political relations that the Moravian mission community of Clarkson had with the land. The 1990s reversal of Mfengu/Clarksoner claims to land focuses on land and identity. While, at least to begin with, the Mfengu were relatively more effective in their historical claims for land restitution, the

[41] The Coloured Mission Stations and Reserves Act of 1949.
[42] Land held under individual freehold or communal land tenure by "black communities" in classified "white areas" was officially categorised as "black spots".

Clarksoners were now disempowered. This complex history thus leaves us with a range of issues regarding the contested relations of entitlement to land and communal identities.

1.3 Problem Statement and Research Question

The complex history joining and differentiating the Clarkson and Mfengu communities in their claims of entitlement to land may be specific to them and in some ways even unique, but the relation between land and communal identity raises more general questions relevant to the aims and objectives of this dissertation. Numerous claims of historical and legal entitlement to land continue to be made by individuals, groups and communities in post-apartheid South Africa.[43] We are particularly interested in the process by which communal identifications in relation to land emerge, are established and sustained over time, and may then be utilised for different purposes. Representations of communal identity, initially constructed within colonial and missionary discourses, have later been appropriated and transformed within various ethnic discourses, and provided a justificatory framework for apartheid policy and ideology. If this latter association with apartheid seriously undermined the legitimacy of the very notion of communal identity it is significant that the demise of apartheid did not bring about the expected end of the politics of communal identity. Far from disappearing, post-apartheid South Africa has witnessed a vigorous revival of the politics of communal identity in its rural context with numerous agrarian communities asserting their historical and communal claims to land. Typically this has taken the form of linking communal identities with historical entitlements to land through mobilising elements of historical narratives appropriated from colonial, missionary, and racial discourses. In this dissertation we will explore the historical and political relation between the formation of communal identities and claims of entitlement to land. This will be done through a case study of the Clarkson Moravian mission station and its neighbouring Tsitsikamma Mfengu community.

---

[43] Marj Brown et al., Land Restitution in South Africa: A Long Way Home (Cape Town, IDASA, 1998); Commission on Restitution of Land Rights, *Land Restitution in South Africa Our Achievements and Challenges*, 26 May 2003; Ruth Hall, 'Rural Restitution: Evaluating Land and Agrarian Reform in South Africa', series no. 2 (Bellville, Programme for Land and Agrarian Studies, School of Government, University of the Western Cape, September 2003); Hall et al., 'Final Report', September 2003; Ben Cousins (ed.), At the Crossroads: Land and Agrarian Reform in South Africa into the 21st Century (Bellville, Programme for Land and Agrarian Studies of the University of the Western Cape and the National Land Committee, 2000); H. Bernstein (ed.), The Agrarian Question in South Africa (London, Frank Cass, 1996). Some of the historical claims to land during the post-apartheid period are captured in the following articles. 'Land Court Faces its First Tough Decision', Mail and Guardian, 8 December 1996; 'District Six: Restitution or Development', Mail and Guardian, 6 September 1996. For a contested land claim at Smidtsdrift by Tswana community, see 'Bushman Left to Rot in the Karoo,' Mail and Guardian, 14 March 1997. For another contested land claim by a Namaqualand community regarding the Steinkopf land see 'Queen Reminded of Broken Promise', Mail and Guardian, 24 March 1995.

Our study will in the first instance focus on the Clarkson Moravian mission station as an institution that enabled Moravian missionaries to discursively produce a missionary communal identity, transplanted from their place of origin and imposed on indigenous converts at the Cape. The transplantation of a Moravian missionary identity was closely bound up with a particular historical framework of the "Moravian story". Our study will follow and consider the discursive significance of the selected historical events found in the reconstructed Moravian historical narrative. In tracing the transplantation of a Moravian missionary identity at the Cape we will first analyse the function and significance of the Moravian story and its account of the origin of the ancient Moravian Church in Czechoslovakia during the 1400s in relation to the renewal of the Moravian Church in Germany during the 1700s. Having explored some of the discursive elements that constituted the Moravian identity we will, secondly, begin our account of the missionary project of the Moravian Church at the Cape colony from the 1730s onwards and trace the significance of some of the transplanted discursive elements that constituted a Moravian missionary identity. We will explore the imposition of a Moravian missionary identity on converts and its significance in relation to the mission land. We end with an account of the establishment of Clarkson Moravian mission station in 1839 in the Tsitsikamma and its development up to the early 1900s. Our in-depth study of the Clarkson Moravian mission station community involves both descriptive and exploratory questions. We describe some of the distinguishing discursive features of the constituted Moravian missionary identity that was transplanted by the Moravian missionaries from their place of origin and imposed on indigenous converts at the Cape. We ask who constituted the Clarkson Moravian missionary community in the colonial context, and how was this missionary community represented in the Moravian missionary discourse in relation to the Mfengu among whom the missionaries had settled? How was the imposed Clarksoner Moravian missionary identity formed, represented, and produced in relation to the mission land and the neighbouring Tsitsikamma Mfengu? We aim to explore the discursive shifts in representation of the Clarkson Moravian missionary identity in relation to the Tsitiskamma Mfengu, as well as in relation to the Moravian missionaries, colonial authorities, apartheid officials, and the contemporary South African government. Finally, we will problematise the historical origin and socio-political functions of the Moravian story as told in the past by Moravian missionaries and indigenous converts at the Cape and as told today by members of the Moravian Church of Southern Africa.

Secondly, we will be concerned with the contested history and communal identity of the Mfengu. Our study will show that in the 1830s colonial officials created an intermediary group, known as the "Fingoes". In a critical examination of the official colonial version of the "Fingo emancipation" under British colonial authority, we will consider the evidence that this should rather relate to a composite construction of various groupings of "refugees" and other labourers who were escorted by colonial troops and resettled around the colony in response to demands for labour. We will describe how one set of four groups of "Fingo" labourers were settled in the Tsitsikamma, later to become known as the Tsitsikamma Mfengu peoples. We will explore the construction of Tsitsikamma Mfengu identity in relation to the Clarkson mission identity as the latter was produced through the Moravian missionary discourse. We will follow the divergent and convergent trajectories of the conjoined Tsitsikamma Mfengu and Clarkson missionary communities during the mid-19th century frontier wars and under 20th century segregation and apartheid. We will describe the forced removal in the 1970s of the Tsitsikamma Mfengu communities from their land. We will examine how the prospect of land restitution in post-apartheid South Africa renewed and sustained attempts to hail contemporary communal subjects into place. This gave rise to a new discursive formation of a revitalised Tsitsikamma Mfengu ethnic discourse. We will analyse the emergence of a contemporary ethnic Tsitsikamma Mfengu community, its intrinsic connection to the Clarksoner mission community and its historical relation to land. We will look at the transformation of Clarkson from mission station to rural town through our selected themes of land and identity.

Through this study we aim to show that the present South African policy of land restitution premised on *legal* land rights do not fully take into consideration the political and historical relationships, particularly those pre-dating 1913, which some communities have with the land. Furthermore, we show that it is misleading to take for granted the "ethnic" division between Clarksoners as Moravian and "coloured" in relation to the "native" Mfengu people of the Tsitsikamma. Central to our in-depth study of the Clarksoner Moravian mission and Tsitsikamma Mfengu communities is the functions and significance of the contested Clarksoner/Mfengu land claims. The reversal of claims to land restitution in the 1990s meant that the Mfengu who had previously been dispossessed of their land were now able to make claims to the Clarkson land. The case study is a comparative focus on the Clarksoner/Mfengu interactions at the mission station and their relation to the mission land. In this dissertation we are concerned with the respective notions of communal identity of these groups and the ways in which these are historically linked to claims of land entitlement.

Tsitsikamma Mfengu are not fixed givens, but rather historical discursive constructions that are in the process of constant change.

In addressing the general topic of communal identity formations and its relation to claims of entitlement to land we will utilise a case study approach. Our case study for inquiry is that of the Moravian mission community and the Tsitsikamma Mfengu communities adjacent to the Clarkson mission station. We will begin by asking questions such as what does it mean to be a member of the Moravian community, who were the Moravian missionaries, where did they come from, and how did they represent themselves to the indigenous converts at the Cape? We will also ask questions such as who were the Mfengu, where did they come from, how were they represented in colonial discourses and how did they represent themselves at different times and especially during the 1990s in relation to claims for restitution of their historical land? To begin answering these questions we will immerse ourselves in archival data collected on Moravian history in general; and on Moravian mission history at the Cape and at Clarkson in particular. At the level of discourse and representation we will follow the articulation of the Moravian narrative, and analyse how it was utilised to make dynamic connections between different groups of people, times, and places. Current day congregants of the Moravian Church in South Africa, including the Clarksoners, understand their communal identity in terms of this narrative dating back to the Unitas Fratrum - a religious group in Bohemia during the 1460s, and the Herrnhuters - a religious group in Germany during the 1720s. Detailed attention will be given both to the historical sequence of events and how the Moravian narrative evolved over time. Our aim will be to give a coherent and comprehensive account of the narrative construction of the Moravian identity that was transplanted by Moravian missionaries to the Cape during the 1700s, and imposed on indigenous peoples, in particular on indigenous converts including those Mfengu people who became members of the Clarkson Moravian mission station from 1839 onwards. At the same time we will provide a critical analysis of the ideological functions of this narrative and communal identities in establishing and sustaining relations of power and domination. This historical case study is thus located within the framework of a general social theory that explores the daily reproduction of social life within society through the interconnection between action, institutions, power, and domination.[45]

[45] John B. Thompson, Studies in the Theory of Ideology (Berkeley, University of California Press, 1984), pp. 126-128.

We collected and used numerous documents in our analysis of the constructed Clarksoner Moravian missionary and Tsitsikamma Mfengu identities and its relation to claims of entitlement to land. The data utilised in this study consists of both primary and secondary sources. From our archival research, the primary material obtained have included the diaries of missionaries, letters, newsletters, journals, newspapers, photographs, maps, petitions and pamphlets. In our documentary research valuable material were obtained from reports, memos, and correspondence relating to the Clarkson land claim and the return of the Mfengu peoples to the Tsitsikamma. Comprehensive Deeds Registry research was done on land held by the Moravian Church of Southern Africa. Extensive use was made of secondary source material on various relevant aspects of both South African and Moravian history.

Interviews were conducted with key representatives from the Legal Resources Centre (LRC), and selected leaders from the Moravian Church in South Africa. In-depth qualitative interviews were also conducted with a selected number of interviewees residing in the Tsitsikamma, Clarkson and on the Mfengu agricultural land during two field trips to the Tsitsikamma and the Clarkson mission station in the Eastern Cape. During the first field trip to Clarkson in April 1996, such interviews were conducted with a target group comprising of Clarksoner and Mfengu women and men who were sixty years of age and older. The interviewees were pointed out to us by the minister and local residents of Clarkson and Silvertown as "the big men and women of Clarkson".[46] The data collected from this first field trip remains significant, since we may not have been able to enter the "discursive circle" without hearing these initial stories during our stay at Clarkson. The second field trip to the Tsitsikamma and Clarkson occurred during May 2003. On this visit, fieldwork included a visit to one of the neighbouring Tsitsikamma Mfengu agricultural farms. Many of the respondents interviewed during 1996 had by now died. We observed the significant changes that Clarkson had undergone from being a mission station that had accommodated some returning Mfengu people following the restitution settlement in 1996, to its development into a rural town in 2003. Interviews focussed on key role players of the Clarkson Communal Property Association, and the Mfengu peoples residing on the agricultural land adjacent to Clarkson. A representative of the Tsitsikamma Development Trust (Mfengu) from East London was also interviewed. The data collected from both field trips, and in particular from these interviews, provided a source of primary material for our social historical and applied discourse analysis. We have chosen to cite the names of each interviewee where applicable, and thereby acknowledge the valuable contribution that each

person interviewed has made to the fullness and breadth of this study. This will be done while respecting the confidentiality and right to privacy of each interviewee. In so doing we have endeavoured to take all reasonable care to promote principles of respect, trust and effective communication when using the data collected from these interviews.

The data collected have been organised around the themes of the Moravian narrative, community identity, land, labour, spatial organisation, the management and control of water, and education. These themes have been carried through in both the socio-historical and discourse analyses of the study. We have at all times sought to accurately reflect the evidence provided for the arguments made in the study by citing all historical documents and other primary and secondary sources used in both the socio-historical and discourse analysis of the study. As a member of the Moravian Church of Southern Africa, with parents and grandparents all having territorial roots in Genadendal before moving on to the city and Mamre, another Moravian mission station in the Western Cape, I am aware of the unavoidable contribution of my personal and historical perspective as a researcher in developing my analyses and interpretations.

1.5 Limitations and Issues for Further Study

An important limitation in the research done stemmed from the effective limitation of the study to sources and literature that was available in English and Afrikaans. In addition a major collection of primary sources located in Germany was not available to us due to practical constraints. Effectively this means that the study is based on an incomplete collection of primary material on Moravian missionaries in South Africa, and at Clarkson in particular during the period 1839-1903. Even some of the available published sources printed in Gothic German script could not be effectively utilised. An in-depth analysis of key themes explored within the study, like the "seed" narrative, will require a comprehensive study of the full range of primary and secondary sources.

Only two field trips to the Tsitsikamma and Clarkson were done. Additional fieldwork was constrained by our limited financial resources and the time available within which to complete the project. The first field trip was done during April 1996 for a period of three weeks. The

[46] These senior citizens at Clarkson are referred to as "die groot mans en vrouens van Clarkson".

second took place during May 2003 for a period of one week. By not conducting in-depth interviews with a full range of residents, we acknowledge that valuable in-depth data that could have added to the richness of the completed study will have been overlooked.

In the social historical and discursive analyses of the more contemporary land restitution claims lodged during the 1990s the role of the LRC specifically and "land" related NGOs more generally have not been included in the dissertation. While we suggest that in many ways the LRC played an important role in the Tsitsikamma Mfengu's land restitution campaign, the limitation of our study here is that we have not given an account and critical analysis of what that role and its consequences were. Added to this, a major part of the dissertation has been characterised by a considerable emphasis on the importance of the wider contextualisation of local developments in Clarkson and the Tstiskamma. While much attention has been given to the general colonial context and relevant developments elsewhere which impacted locally, the same amount of attention and detailed social historical analysis has not been given to the more contemporary events and issues surrounding the restitution of land in the 1990s. In a sense the same approach would have required us to give an extensive account of the wider context of the South African transition from apartheid to democracy in the early 1990s, including the role of the ANC both nationally and locally. Instead our study has quite narrowly focussed on providing an account of the developments directly affecting Clarkson with a minimum of attention given to the broader national processes. Yet this limitation in the study has been a necessary one, since the inclusion of such a relevant analysis would have required substantial further research, which would be well beyond the scope of the current dissertation. Such limitations in the study, however presents opportunities for further research relevant to the topic and theme of this dissertation.

A further limitation in this study was the lack of well-established linkages between discourse theory and its systematic application to primary historical material. For the purposes of this study, we have applied John Thompson's analytical framework for the methodology of interpretation.[47] Major reasons for this are, first, that Thompson's analytical framework suggests how applied discourse analysis might be integrated into a general social theory in conjunction with contextualised social and historical analysis and, second, that it is specifically

[47] Thompson, Studies in the Theory of Ideology, pp. 123-147

concerned with the critical analysis of ideological discourse. This approach is thus especially suitable for any critical applied discursive analysis of identity formations that serves to systematically establish and sustain relations of power of various kinds. However, for our purposes of the conceptualisation of, and critical engagement with, communal identity formations Thompson's methodology of discursive analysis needs to be complemented with relevant insights derived from other developments in discourse theory. In this regard the theoretical approaches of Haydn White, Ricoeur, Foucault, Stuart Hall, Althusser and Pêcheux have been selectively utilised to complement Thompson's methodology of interpretation in our applied discourse analysis of the selected case study. This means that the theoretical basis of this study has a decidedly eclectic character and cannot pretend to the status of systematic theory. In that sense the study is not meant to provide a rigorous application of a specific discourse theory. Rather our approach has been to make use of relevant aspects of discourse theory where these are helpful for the purposes of applied analysis in our case study while we have not been concerned with pursuing theoretical issues for their own sake. As such, as an applied discourse analysis of a particular historical case study, the dissertation has a definite interdisciplinary character. Accordingly it does not readily fit into either of the disciplines of history or political theory. This study does not offer a straight forward history of Moravian mission, and Clarkson and Tsitsikamma Mfengu communities; but seeks to analyse this critically with the help of applied discourse theory. Furthermore, it also does not set out to construct a general theory of communal identities and claims to land but will be concerned with particular historical case studies of the Moravian Clarkson and Tsitsikamma Mfengu communities. While this interdisciplinary focus is bound to limit the strict historical or theoretical insights available to those disciplines it is hoped that the combination may also contribute fruitfully to perspectives of its own.

1.6 A Survey of Literature on the Themes of Mission History, Moravian History, Mfengu History, Land and Community within a South African Context.

1.6.1 South African Mission History

There is an extensive body of work on various elements of South African mission history. In our review of this literature we will be most concerned with publications which placed South African mission history within the context of colonial domination and dealt with problems of communal

identity in relation to claims on land. It was J. du Plessis' book entitled *A History of Christian Missions in South Africa* first published in 1911 that successfully began to link South African mission history with contemporary Cape history, and more widely with South African political history.[48] For such an early work to be located within the context of colonialism was significant. In her 1952 polemic titled *The Role of Missionaries in Conquest* Dora Taylor, using the pseudonym of N. Majeke, asserted that the church had been an instrument of oppression in South Africa. Majeke referred to missionaries as agents of colonial divide and rule who had acted as political advisors to colonial officials.[49] Majeke's book, albeit a polemic, made an important contribution by beginning to place South African mission history within the context of colonialism. Her theme of the mission as an instrument of colonial oppression has since then been picked up by various scholars and has emerged in different forms. In G.B.A. Gerdener's 1958 book entitled *Recent Developments in the South African Mission Field* some attempt was made to describe the political and economic conditions of indigenous peoples affected by the missionary enterprise.[50] Martin Legassick's PhD dissertation entitled *The Griqua, the Sotho-Tswana and the Missionaries, 1780-1840: The Politics of a Frontier Zone* was published in 1969. Herein Legassick explored the frontier zone as a terrain of colonial resistance and political conflict and, inter alia, placed South African mission history firmly within the context of South African political and economic history. This frontier zone encompassed both material and cultural exchanges, with the missionary movement being one aspect thereof.[51] Legassick later revised parts of this work in 1989, which was published as a chapter entitled *The Northern Frontier to c 1840: The Rise and Decline of the Griqua People.* Herein he emphasised the role played by missionaries in exacerbating colonial conflict and political rivalry within polities on the Northern frontier.[52] Jane Sales began her engagement with South African mission history with her 1971 published book entitled *The Planting of the Churches in South Africa.* She presented an analysis of the development of Christian missions in South Africa and their contribution to the country's social, historical and political complexities. By focussing on the Dutch Reformed Church she critically examined its support for racial, tribal, and linguistic fragmentation during

[48] J. du Plessis, A History of Christian Missions in South Africa (Cape Town, C. Struik, 1965).
[49] N. Majeke, The Role of Missionaries in Conquest (Cumberwood, ADDUSA, 1952).
[50] G.B.A. Gerdener, Recent Developments in the South African Mission Field (London, Marshall, Morgan and Scott, 1958).
[51] M. Legassick, 'The Griqua, the Sotho-Tswana and the Missionaries, 1780-1840: The Politics of a Frontier Zone' (Ph.D. dissertation, University of California, 1969).
[52] M. Legassick, 'The Northern Frontier to c. 1840: The Rise and Decline of the Griqua People' in Richard Elphick and Hermann Giliomee (eds.), The Shaping of South African Society, 1652-1829 (Cape Town, Maskew Miller Longman, 1989).

the seventeenth, eighteenth and nineteenth century.[53] Sales' later book published in 1975, entitled *Mission Stations and the Coloured Communities of the Eastern Cape 1800-1852* described the establishment and the demise of the Kat River Settlement. Her account of the Kat River mission settlement located this within the context of colonial expansion and dispossession. Sales demonstrated how colonial laws and policies affected the missionary community in the Kat River Settlement and undermined their successful attempts to farm productively. Most important for the purposes of our research, is her enquiry into the attempts made by the Kat River residents to defend their rights in land, their place at the settlement, and their human dignity in the face of British colonial dispossessions.[54] Norman Etheringham introduced a dimension of power relations to South African mission history in his book entitled *Preachers, Peasants and Politics* published in 1978, which focussed on the difficulties encountered by missionaries to convert indigenous peoples in a systematic and sustained way. The power exercised by missionaries in the garnering of converts was thus questioned. Janet Hodgson's contribution to South African mission history has directed attention to the religious history of the Christian converts that preceded their adoption of Christianity. In her book entitled *The God of the Xhosa,* published in 1982, Hodgson began to examine and reconstruct Xhosa religious history in relation to Christianity. A further contribution is her investigation of missionaries' interpretations of their encounters with Xhosa beliefs in a supreme being.[55] James Cochrane's 1987 book entitled *Servants of Power, the role of English-Speaking Churches in South Africa* has explicitly utilised a critical approach in its engagement with the history of the English speaking Churches in South Africa. Cochrane argues that in order to understand the role of these Churches in South Africa it remains necessary to understand the structure and historical nature of domination in South Africa; the relationship of the church to domination; and the implications this holds for the interpretation of church policy, practice, and theology. For the purposes of our dissertation it is important to point out that Cochrane identified land and labour as two important issues that should be addressed in South African mission history.[56] Richard Grove made a useful contribution for the purposes of our dissertation in that his publication *Scottish Missionaries, Evangelical Discourse and the Origins of Conservation Thinking in Southern Africa* (1989) examined missionary perceptions of land

---

[53] Jane Sales, The Planting of the Churches in South Africa (Grand Rapids, Eerdmans, 1971).
[54] Jane Sales, Mission Stations and the Coloured Communities of the Eastern Cape, 1800-1852 (Cape Town, A.A. Balkema, 1975).
[55] J. Hodgson, Servants of the Xhosa: A Study of the Origins and Development of the Traditional Concepts of the Supreme Being (Cape Town, Oxford University Press, 1982).
[56] James Cochrane, Servants of Power: the Role of the English-speaking Churches in South Africa (Johannesburg, Ravan Press, 1987).

conservation in the articulation of their Christianity. His analysis showed how land was utilised as a symbol of meaning and represented as a sacred space requiring Christian environmental control.[57]

The works of the anthropologists Jean and John Comaroff and their engagement with the Tswana speaking Barolong boo Rathshidi in their relations and conversations with missionaries has made a significant contribution to South African mission history. In 1985 Jean Comaroff published *Body of Power Spirit of Resistance: the Culture and History of a South African People.* Herein she introduced a method of ethnographic analysis that focussed on symbolic practices. She also constructed a model of historical processes that allowed her to reinterpret orthodox assumptions about the nature of power and rituals.[58] For the purposes of our dissertation we have found her analysis of symbolic practices exceptionally useful. The later two volumes by Jean and John Comaroff titled *Of Revelation and Revolution,* with volume one published in 1991 and volume two published in 1997, together provided a major historical anthropology of the missionary enterprise among the Southern Tshwana, a study of cultural confrontation, of dominance and reaction, struggle and innovation. Herein they have traced the processes by which missionaries sought to change the hearts and minds, signs and practices of the Southern Tswana people in a concerted "colonisation of consciousness", and also described the various ways in which the Southern Tswana people themselves struggled against and then appropriated some of these missionary signs and symbols.[59] The Comaroffs' work has evidently had a major impact on the historiography of Christian mission in South Africa, and even if their analyses are based on the Southern Tswana on the Highveld our own study of the Moravian mission in the Eastern Cape will directly draw on them.

The historian Clifton Crais also made a significant contribution to South African mission history. In *The Making of the Colonial Order* (1992) he boldly placed South African mission history within a context of colonial power and domination. Crais was principally concerned with questions of culture and dominance in the colonisation of the peoples of the Eastern Cape from the late eighteenth century onwards. He showed that the social and political system of the

---

[57] Richard Grove, 'Scottish Missionaries, Evangelical Discourse and the Origins of Conservative Thinking in South Africa, 1820-1900', Journal of Southern African Studies 15: 2 (1989), pp. 161-187.

[58] Jean Comaroff, Body of Power Spirit of Resistance: The Culture and History of a South African People (Chicago, University of Chicago Press, 1985).

[59] Jean and John Comaroff, Of Revelation and Revolution: Christianity, Colonialism and Consciousness in South Africa, vol. 1 (Chicago, University of Chicago Press, 1991) and Jean and John Camaroff, Of Revelation and

Xhosa on the Eastern Cape frontier posed a direct challenge to colonial expansion. The book engaged with both overt struggles and covert contests over power and identity through an analysis of power, discourse and representation. Crais showed that the Christian mission was a very important site of struggle over power and identity in addition to having been a place of conversion and a site of refuge.[60] In a later book entitled *The Politics of Evil* (2002) Crais investigated indigenous concepts of power, authority and evil and analysed how these shaped cross-cultural encounters and the making of a colonial order. Through examining the role of Christianity, he has been particularly concerned with how Christian ideas of good and evil, the devil and sin were combined with earlier ideas of magic and witchcraft into producing a form of social reality that comprised both forces of darkness and apocalyptic salvation.[61]

A significant trend in recent contributions to mission history has been a growing emphasis on indigenous agency in the works of, amongst others, Elizabeth Elbourne and Richard Gray. Elizabeth Elbourne completed her doctoral dissertation in 1992 titled *To Colonise the Mind.* Elbourne's account of mission history in the Eastern Cape is significant, especially for the purposes of this dissertation. In her doctoral research she focused on the London Missionary Society while giving voice to the Khoisan converts who, she effectively argued, had successfully manipulated missionary endeavours in order to secure allies against both the Dutch and the British colonial expansion and the growing social disintegration of their polities.[62] In a paper entitled *A question of Identity: Evangelical Culture and Khoisan Politics* (1992), Elbourne explored the role of missionaries in Khoisan politics in the Eastern Cape during the early part of the nineteenth century. In her focus on the politics of identity she examined Khoisan and missionary cultures and beliefs. Elbourne has made an important contribution to the growing body of work on South African mission history that has begun to place greater emphasis on indigenous agency, and sought to give converts a voice in relation to missionaries. Elbourne pointed out that the spread of Christianity among the Khoisan through the Eastern Cape was predominantly done by Khoisan preachers who interpreted the Christian message in an eschatological and millenarian framework in which God was presented as being on the side of the oppressed and disempowered. Conversion to Christianity served as a tool to

---

Revolution: The Dialectics of Modernity on a South African Frontier, vol. 2 (Chicago, University of Chicago Press, 1997).

[60] C. Crais, The Making of the Colonial Order: White Supremacy and Black Resistance in the Eastern Cape, 1770-1865 (Johannesburg, Witwatersrand University Press, 1992).

[61] C. Crais, The Politics of Evil: Magic, State Power, and the Political Imagination in South Africa (Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 2002).

gain access to power.[63] In a later book entitled *Blood Ground* (2002) Elbourne continued her work on the relationship between the London Missionary Society and the Khoisan of the Eastern Cape. Through her writing she created a platform for the voices of Khoisan converts to take precedence in this account of mission history. In *Blood Ground* she integrated mission history with general South African history by showing how communities were brought into contact with each other through colonialism. She examined how contesting communities in the Eastern Cape used the language of Protestant Christianity in competing ways, contributing to the formation of their respective identities. Elbourne has shown how the numerous Khoisan conversions influenced existing power relations at the Cape, and in time impacted on the grammar of the language of Protestant Christianity used in the created identity of "whiteness".[64] Richard Gray also made a contribution to South African mission history with a special focus on indigenous agency. In his book titled *Black Christians and White Missionaries* (1990) he argued that black evangelists were far more important than white missionaries in winning indigenous souls and minds. He noted that often the fundamental contributions of African Christians and African cosmologies have been ignored by scholars presenting arguments on Christianity as being merely part of the ideological superstructure of Western capitalism.[65]

Henry Bredekamp and Robert Ross' *Missions and Christianity in South African History (1995),* celebrated the 200th anniversary of the arrival of the first group of missionaries, the Moravians, who established a permanent church in South Africa in 1792. In this edited volume Bredekamp and Ross acknowledged both the heroic side of the history of Christianity in South Africa through its support of resistance and its justification for liberation, as well as the use of Christianity in justifying oppression. An important theme of the volume is that the lived experiences of Christianity have been moulded more by mission converts than by the missionaries. In the book Bredekamp and Ross' editorial argument has been that the history of Christianity in South Africa has been a history that involved a process of naturalization whereby the Christian faith became internalised. In response to the Comaroffs', they have noted that all true Christians have chosen to be Christians of their own free will with their conversion

---

[62] Elizabeth Elbourne, 'To Colonise the Mind: Evangelical Missionaries in Britain and the Eastern Cape, 1790-1837' (Ph.D. dissertation, Oxford University, 1992).

[63] Elizabeth Elbourne, *A Question of Identity: Evangelical Culture and Khoisan Politics in the Early Nineteenth Century Eastern Cape*, Collected Seminar Papers on the Societies of Southern Africa in the Nineteenth and Twentieth Centuries, vol. 18 (Institute for Commonwealth Studies, University of London, 1992), pp.14-30.

[64] Elizabeth Elbourne, Blood Ground: Colonialism, Missions, and the Conquest for Christianity in the Cape Colony and Britain, 1799-1853 (Montreal, McGill-Queens University Press, 2002), p. 7.

therefore not being imposed.[66] In some ways this theme can also be found in Paul Landau's book *The Realm of the Word (*1995), in which he provided a social and political history of Christianity among Botswana's Ngwato Kingdom from the 1850s up to its demise in the late 1940s. For Landau Christianity is rooted in the practices of actual people. He argued that Christianity cannot be understood apart from the reorganization of politics, gender, and status in the Ngwato Kingdom. In his book, Landau focused on how African Christians constructed a political realm of power through complex sets of social alliances between Ngwato royalty, clergy, Tswana women, and the administration of the British Protectorate.[67]

Leon de Kock's book *Civilising Barbarians* (1996) gives an account of South African mission history with a focus on the Lovedale missionary institution in the Eastern Cape. De Kock made visible some aspects of the discursive ordering of colonialism in South Africa. He described the Lovedale missionary institution as a particularly important centre of conversion and education that contributed significantly to the fashioning of narratives of identity. Selected examples of the ways in which some indigenous subjects subverted, internalized, and/or rewrote imposed narratives of identity have been examined.[68]

Richard Elphick and Rodney Davenport's edited volume titled *Christianity in South Africa* (1997) has been aimed at setting a new agenda for scholars engaged with South African mission history. Elphick and Davenport argued that while a large body of literature on various churches and missions exist, these have had little influence on mainstream historiography in South Africa. The combination of the histories of congregations and missions into one coherent macro narrative of South African Christianity has barely begun. This volume set out to develop just such an inclusive and comprehensive narrative of South African Christianity.[69] For the purposes of this dissertation an important set of contributors to this edited volume are those by Elbourne and Ross. Together they have shown how Christianity has been used as building blocks by some "coloured" groups for the re-invention of community, how church rituals have

---

[65] Richard Gray, Black Christians and White Missionaries (New Haven, Yale University Press, 1990) p. 61; N. Etherington, 'Recent Trends in the Historiography of Christianity in Southern Africa', Journal of Southern African Studies 22: 2 (June 1996), p. 209.

[66] H. Bredekamp. and R. Ross (eds.), Missions and Christianity in South African History (Johannesburg, Witwatersrand University Press, 1992).

[67] P.S. Landau, The Realm of the Word: Language, Gender, and Christianity in a Southern African Kingdom (Portsmouth, Heinemann, 1995).

[68] L. de Kock, Civilising Barbarians: Missionary Narrative and African Textual Responses in Nineteenth Century South Africa (Johannesburg, Witwatersrand Press, 1996).

[69] R. Elphick and R. Davenport (eds.), Christianity in South Africa: A Political, Social, and Cultural History (Berkeley, University of California Press, 1997).

been appropriated so as to express a new order and shared history based on the idea of a purified and reborn community.[70] The contribution by Janet Hodgson to the edited volume of Elphick and Davenport has also been useful for the purposes of this dissertation. Hodgson has explored the religious interplay between Xhosa religion and missionary conceptions of Christianity in connection with the political and socio-economic developments in the region during the nineteenth century. She has argued that even though the Xhosa had lost the struggle to retain political and socio-economic independence, the colonisation of their consciousness was never complete. The battle for sacred power has continued unabated, and resulted in the appropriation of Christian symbols and rituals. The Xhosa have created new ways of expressing their Christian faith, which have resonated with the totality of their African experience.[71]

The purpose of developing an inclusive and comprehensive narrative of South African Christianity which takes up its place in mainstream South African history has also been promoted by John de Gruchy. Together with other contributing scholars, de Gruchy has celebrated and remembered the legacy of the men and women of the London Missionary Society. For the purposes of our dissertation an important theme has been the impact of the civilising mission of the LMS on the process of Africanisation.[72] Following through on this brief assessment of South African mission history, this dissertation too will seek to make a contribution to the objective of combining the histories of congregations and missions into one coherent macro narrative of South African Christianity by critically engaging mission history within the context of colonialism, and by giving resonance to indigenous agency. Within this general purpose, we focus specifically on the history of the Moravian mission in South Africa.

1.6.2 Moravian Mission History within a South African Context

Moravian mission history in South Africa largely consists of writings published during the 1800s and 1900s by Moravians for internal purposes rather than by general or professional historians. There are a number of publications dealing with different aspects of the history of Moravian missions in South Africa, though these tend to be of a limited and specialised nature. These

---

[70] Elizabeth Elbourne and R. Ross, 'Combating Spiritual and Social Bondage: Early Missions in the Cape Colony' in Elphick and Davenport (eds.), Christianity in South Africa (1997), p. 50.
[71] Janet Hodgson, 'A Battle for Sacred Power: Christian Beginnings among the Xhosa' in Elphick and Davenport (eds.), Christianity in South Africa (1997), pp. 68-87.

publications provide some basic historical data at a descriptive level though usually presented in an uncritical way. However, a striking and relevant feature of these publications and their accounts of Moravian mission history is the extent to which they reproduced the key discursive elements of the Moravian narrative of the seed with constant reference to the "first-fruits and the "pear tree bears fruit" etc. In this respect these accounts are relevant to Moravian self-representations of communal and historical identity and provide significant material for a critical discourse analysis. It is for this reason that the literature survey will be especially concerned with the presence and function of these discursive elements in the documentation of Moravian mission history.

In writings published during the 1800s, authors such as Latrobe, J. Holmes, William Brown and Augustus Thompson gave seminal historical accounts of the commencement of the Moravian mission at the Cape. In 1821 Latrobe, a Moravian from England, published his *Journal of a Visit to South Africa, with some account of the Missionary Settlements of the United Brethren, Near the Cape of Good Hope.* In his journal he especially noted the "celebrated pear-tree, planted by the late venerable missionary, George Schmidt, in 1738".[73] Latrobe observed that the tree had grown to a vast size during the fifty-four years in which the mission had been suspended. He further noted that since 1792 the tree had served the Brethren with "the people and their children sitting under its wide-spreading branches".[74] Significantly Latrobe's account highlighted those elements of the "pear tree" and "its wide-spreading branches" constant with the Moravian historical narrative of the seed. In another early account, J. Holmes in a book entitled *Historical Sketches of the Missions of the United Brethren for Propagating the Gospel among the Heathen,* published in 1827, described the arrival of the first Moravian missionary at the Cape, George Schmidt, and how he baptised his first convert, Willem, in a river in 1742.[75] Holmes emphasised the "renewal of the mission" with the arrival of the second group of missionaries in 1792 at Baviaanskloof, the same place that Schmidt had previously occupied. Holmes recounted how the missionaries noticed "several fruit trees in the garden", and in particular "a large pear tree, under the shade of which they held their meetings for worship".[76] Holmes also

---

[72] John de Gruchy (ed.), The London Missionary Society in Southern Africa: Historical Essays in Celebration of the Bicentenary of the LMS in Southern Africa, 1799-1999 (Cape Town, David Philip, 1999).
[73] C.I. Latrobe, Journal of a Visit to South Africa, with some account of the Missionary Settlements of the United Brethren, near the Cape of Good Hope, 2nd edition (London, L.B. Seeley, 1821), p. 58.
[74] Latrobe, Journal of a Visit to South Africa, p. 58.
[75] J. Holmes, Historical Sketches of the Missions of the United Brethren for Propagating the Gospel Among the Heathen, from their Commencement to the Year 1817 (London, Nisbet and Simkin and Marshal, 1827), pp. 374-375.
[76] Holmes, Historical Sketches of the Missions of the United Brethren, p. 375.

described a meeting between the missionaries and "old Helena", who had been one of Schmidt's converts. She had "carefully preserved" the Dutch New Testament that Schmidt had given her with the Bible placed in a "leather bag" and wrapped in "two sheep skins".[77] Thus the earliest local account of the beginnings of the Moravian mission at the Cape already stressed the elements of renewal and continuity typical of the Moravian narrative of the seed and the first fruits, while stressing the significance of key discursive elements such as the "pear tree".

The same discursive elements featured in other Moravian histories from this period. A.G. Spangenberg published *The Life of Nicholas Lewis Count Zinzendorf* in 1838 wherein he described one of the objectives of the Moravians as "bearing testimony in other places ... that they might be able to sow the good seed elsewhere".[78] Spangenberg described the Moravian Church as being thought worthy of scattering the seed of the gospel in various parts of the world. He described Zinzendorf as protecting the scattered remains of the Church, and "preserved to them their ancient ecclesiastical regulations and discipline".[79] Here Spangenberg was specifically addressing the Moravian missionary project that was taken forward into various countries, including South Africa. It was the "sowing of the good seed" that took the various missionary projects forward. Significantly, the preserved "ancient" rules and regulations were the continuity between the Moravian mission work, the renewed, and the "ancient" Moravian Church. In William Brown's account published in 1864 and entitled *The History of the Christian Missions* brief mention was made of Schmidt's baptised indigenous converts. He also referred to the renewal of the mission at the Cape in 1792 by a group of three missionaries. Brown mentioned that these missionaries spotted "several fruit trees", which still grew in Schmidt's garden.[80] Unlike the Holmes account of 1827, Brown made no specific reference to the "pear tree", or to the first meeting of the missionaries with "old Helena". However, even in the absence of such discursive elements Brown's account still included the growing fruit trees as a variation of the seed metaphor, thus preserving the continuity of the Moravian narrative. In 1882 Augustus C. Thompson published a work entitled *Moravian Missions: Twelve Lectures* wherein he gave a more contextual account of the Moravian mission at the Cape. He described some of the problems that the missionaries as well as the indigenous peoples experienced due to the colonists' opposition to mission work among the indigenous peoples. In Thompson's

---

[77] Holmes, Historical Sketches of the Missions of the United Brethren, p. 375.
[78] A.G. Spangenberg, The Life of Nicholas Lewis Count Zinzendorf (London, Samuel Hodsworth and Amen-Corner, 1838), p. 45.
[79] Spangenberg, The Life of Nicholas Lewis Count Zinzendorf, p. 190.

account the first converts baptised by Schmidt are referred to as "the first-fruits of his faith and toil", and "the first-fruits of modern Christianity in Africa".[81] The use of the "first-fruits" notion is a variation of the seed metaphor central to the Moravian narrative and highlights the narrative theme of continuity and renewal. The "first-fruits" notion is distinctive to the Moravian tradition and, according to Thompson, appears in the inscription over the entrance to the graveyard at Herrnhut, the place from which the early Moravian missionaries came. On the outside over the entrance to the graveyard the inscription reads "Jesus is risen from the dead", and on the inside the inscription reads "He is become the first fruits of them that sleep".[82] Other than the notion of the "first-fruits" Thompson made no further reference to the metaphor of the seed. Unlike the Brown account, no reference was made to the "pear tree", or to "old Helena" in Thompson's account.

Many of the same discursive elements appeared in early 20th century accounts of Moravian history. In his book entitled A *History of Moravian Missions* (1922), J.E. Hutton gave an account of the Moravian missions at the Cape and described the arrival of the second group of Moravian missionaries to the Cape in 1792. Hutton narrated the first visit of these missionaries to Baviaanskloof and described how George Schmidt's pear-tree stood in the garden, heavily laden with fruit. He mentioned that the "link with the past" came in the form of the "old woman, Helena".[83] Like the Holmes account of 1827, Hutton included an account of the Dutch New Testament Bible that had been "kept inside a leather bag", which in turn was "kept inside a sheepskin".[84] Hutton's narrative is interesting in that, unlike the previous versions, he described how the "Dutch Bible" had been "carefully preserved in a box made of wood from the pear-tree".[85] In addition to his account of the "renewal" of the Moravian mission at the Cape, Hutton outlined the responsibilities of the Cape Moravian missionaries regarding land grants received from British colonial authorities. He presented these responsibilities as being the maintenance of discipline and order, enforcing the mission regulations, controlling access to the mission

---

[80] William M.D. Brown, The History of the Christian Missions of the Sixteenth, Seventeenth, Eighteenth, and Nineteenth Centuries, vol.1, 3rd edition (London, Thomas Baker, 1864), pp. 432-434.
[81] Augustus C. Thompson, Moravian Missions: Twelve Lectures (London, Hodder and Stoughton, 1882), p. 360.
[82] Thompson, Moravian Missions, p. 5.
[83] J.E. Hutton, A History of Moravian Missions, 2nd edition (London, Moravian Publication Office, 1909), p. 269. The Moravian John Valentine Haidt depicted the notion of the "first-fruits" in a painting. The painting itself entitled "First Fruits" dates back to 1747. According to Daniel Thorp, Haidt's painting celebrated the first Moravian converts among a number of African and American peoples, and thereby emphasised the willingness of the Church to include both groups among its members. See Daniel B. Thorp, 'New Wines in Old Bottles: Cultural Persistence among Non-White Converts to the Moravian Church', Transactions of the Moravian Historical Society, vol. 30 (1998), p.1.
[84] Hutton, A History of Moravian Missions, p. 269.
[85] Hutton, A History of Moravian Missions, pp. 268-269.

land, and general and religious education, which included teaching indigenous peoples about work and being industrious both at the mission and within the colony.[86] In 1962 A.J. Lewis published a book entitled *Zinzendorf the Ecumenical Pioneer*, in which he also narrated the commencement of the Moravian Cape mission as started by the missionary, George Schmidt. In this brief account Lewis mentioned that Schmidt "planted a famous pear tree" and baptised his pupil called Willem who became "the first fruit of African missions".[87]

The first South African work on Moravian mission history appeared in 1966 and was written by Bernard Krüger, who at the time was a missionary in the Western Cape Province of South Africa. Krüger's book, entitled *The Pear Tree Blossoms, a History of the Moravian Mission Stations in South Africa 1737-1869* was the first comprehensive description given of Moravian missions at the Cape.[88] The book was published a few years after the Moravian Church of the Western Cape Province of South Africa in 1960 was granted autonomy from the German Moravian Church.[89] This book was complemented by the 1984 publication of *The Pear Tree Bears Fruit, the History of the Moravian Church in South Africa Western Province 1869-1980*, which was written by Krüger and P.W. Schaberg. The famous pear tree appears in the title of both books, and has come to represent the commencement and the growth of Moravian missions in South Africa. The third volume to the pear tree series was written by W. Sigurd Nielsen, published in 1999, and entitled *The Twin of the Pear Tree Bears Fruit, the History of the Moravian Church Eastern Province in South Africa.* In the first two volumes of the pear tree series a detailed description is given of events pertaining to the establishment, suspension, and renewal of the Moravian missionary project at the Cape. Unlike previous writers, Krüger in his first volume in the pear tree series briefly reflects on the mission after its suspension following Schmidt's return to Herrnhut. He writes that even after 1756 Magdalena gathered the others occasionally under the "pear tree" in Schmidt's garden and read from the New Testament.[90] Krüger further recounts that when the second group of missionaries arrived to "renew" the Moravian mission at the Cape they visited Baviaanskloof and there "found the old Lena, the last survivor of Schmidt's baptised first-fruits".[91] In all three volumes of the pear tree series a

---

[86] Hutton, A History of Moravian Missions, pp. 277-281.
[87] A.J. Lewis, Zinzendorf the Ecumenical Pioneer: A Study in the Moravian Contribution to Christian Mission and Unity (Philadelphia, The Westminster Press, 1962), p. 85.
[88] B. Krüger, The Pear Tree Blossoms, the History of the Moravian Church in South Africa Western Cape Province 1737-1869 (Genadendal, The Moravian Book Depot, 1966).
[89] B. Krüger and P.W. Schaberg, The Pear Tree Bears Fruit the History of the Moravian Church in South Africa Western Cape Province 1869-1980 (Genadendal, The Moravian Book Depot, 1984), p. 152.
[90] Krüger, The Pear Tree Blossoms, p. 45.
[91] Krüger, The Pear Tree Blossoms, p. 52.

detailed account of Moravian missionary activity in the Cape colony was given and the authors provided significant new and original research. In these volumes the authors were not limited to merely reproducing the same basic historical themes reviewed above, but proceeded to describe the relationship between missionary and convert at the various mission stations in greater detail. The authors also recounted some of the conflicts at the various mission stations between missionaries and converts as a result of the ambiguity in rights to land that arose from the land grants received from colonial authorities. The three volumes in the pear tree series thus went beyond earlier recountings of the Moravian narrative of the renewal of the Moravian missionary project at the Cape and the first meeting between the second group of missionaries and old Lena. Most useful for purposes of this dissertation is the first volume in the pear tree series since this book includes a description of the initial settlement of Moravian missionaries in the Tsitsikamma.[92] Krüger's account of Clarkson was particularly useful for our purposes of exploring the formation of a Clarksoner Moravian missionary identity. Krüger included in his account the attempts made by Moravian missionaries to have some of the ambiguity surrounding the mission's rights in land clarified by colonial authorities. But the question of an emerging Moravian communal identity at the various mission stations was not explicitly problematised nor critically addressed by Krüger. It is only in the concluding chapter of the first volume of the pear tree series, *The Pear Tree Blossoms that* Krüger to a limited extent began to problematise the question of Moravian mission identity. He asserts that it was not the intention of Moravian missionaries to expand Herrnhutianism, though with the image of Herrnhut strong in the minds of missionaries who came to the Cape colony, the mission stations established by them resembled the Moravian settlement in Germany.[93] In addition, Krüger mentions two further factors that contributed to the mission stations in the Cape colony being cast in the image of Herrnhut. These were the support Moravian missionaries received from the British colonial authorities and the vacuum created by the disruption and breakdown of indigenous culture.[94] Krüger asserts that in the Western Cape Province, Moravian customs replaced the indigenous mode of living with the Moravian church history becoming their own history. He further asserts that those people who settled at the mission stations grew into new

---

[92] Even though the third volume in the pear tree series addressed the history of the Moravian Church in the Eastern Cape Province, the Clarkson mission station was not included in that study since it has always been under the administrative authority of the Western Province of the Moravian Church, see S.W. Nielsen, The Twin Blossom of the Pear Tree Bears Fruit, the History of the Moravian Church Eastern Province in South Africa (Port Shepstone, Baruk, 1999).

[93] Krüger, The Pear Tree Blossoms, p. 294.

[94] Krüger, The Pear Tree Blossoms, p. 294.

communities.[95] Krüger concludes that the task of the Moravian missionary was to preach the Gospel and to allow the Gospel to do its work in reshaping the lives of the heathen.[96] Krüger certainly raised some important issues regarding the Moravian missionary identity. However, no coherent critical argument is followed through regarding the formation of a Moravian missionary identity. Also the use of discursive themes and elements relevant to the Moravian narrative, like that of the pear tree, were uncritically reproduced in the three volumes of the pear tree series.

Up till this point all Moravian histories had been written by missionaries and from a missionary perspective. None of these accounts came from the local missionary communities themselves. In 1988 Isaac Balie, a local resident of the Genadendal Moravian mission station – previously called Baviaanskloof -- published his book entitled D*ie Geskiedenis van Genadendal, 1738-1988.* The publication is significant since it is the first contribution of its kind made by a member of the Moravian Church and not by a missionary. Balie himself is from the fourth generation of the Genadendal Moravian mission community. Balie made extensive use of oral traditions and histories as well as participant accounts in his study. Yet despite the wide-ranging use of material from these sources the overall perspective and structure remained that of missionary history. It was the different missionaries and indigenous church ministers who worked at Genadendal and not groups and individuals of the local mission community that propelled the chronology of events forward. Still, Balie's contribution to the body of work on South African Moravian mission history remains significant because he described the activities of the "inwoners" (i.e. the residents) of Genadendal and their changing mode of subsistence. Balie also described some of the festivals and rituals followed by the inwoners like the various Jubilee festivals, the "Liefdemaal" (also known as the Moravian Love-feast), "Kinderfees" (the Moravian children's festival), funerals, and the Baptism of children.[97] For the purposes of our study, Balie's work is also important as an account of the commencement of the Moravian mission at the Cape. Significantly this account by a contemporary member of the Moravian mission community also prominently features the same discursive elements of the Moravian narrative. In his account he described the first visit of the second group of missionaries to Baviaanskloof where they saw "a pear, an almond and an apricot tree still growing in what remained of Schmidt's garden". He wrote that when the missionaries stood under the pear tree

[95] Krüger, The Pear Tree Blossoms, p. 295.
[96] Krüger, The Pear Tree Blossoms, p. 295.
[97] Isaac Balie, Die Geskiedenis van Genadendal, 1738-1988 (Kaapstad, Perskor, 1988), pp. 85-88.

they felt as if they were standing on holy ground.[98] Reference was made to the meeting between the old woman Magdalena and this group of missionaries. Balie also referred to the New Testament Bible in Magdalena's possession and described how it had been "preserved" in "two sheepskins and a leather bag".[99] This gives some indication of the way in which these elements of the Moravian narrative have come to function in the historical self-understanding also of local members of the mission community.

When reviewing these different versions of Moravian mission history in South Africa, it is striking how certain narrative elements - like the pear tree, the old woman Magdalena, and the preserved New Testament Bible - were repeatedly used in the various historical accounts written during the 1900s. These iconic elements first appeared in the Holmes publication of 1827, but not all were sustained during the 1800s. We have not come across any study that attempts an interpretation or critical analysis of the significance of the various iconic elements utilised within the South African Moravian mission narrative, and its relation to the more general overarching Moravian narrative. It is only the work of H.C. Bredekamp that begins to critically engage with elements of the emerging Moravian mission narrative. In an article published in 1987, entitled *Verhettge Tikkuie, Alias Moeder Lena van Genadendal, 1739-1800*, Bredekamp amplified the rather limited account in Moravian mission history of the old woman, Magdalena or Lena, and of her first meeting with the second group of Moravian missionaries at the Cape colony. Bredekamp argued that as a historical figure her life was far more meaningful than merely being known as the old woman Lena that wrapped Schmidt's Dutch Bible in sheepskins.[100] In his article Bredekamp problematised the psychological dilemma that Verhettge Tikkuie, alias Magdalena, experienced as a result of her engagement with Moravian Christian principles and her conversion relative to the way in which she had previously made sense of her spiritual world in terms of Tsui/Gaub.[101] Bredekamp argued that for Verhettge Tikkuie the conversion process involved the inculcation of a deep sense of guilt due to the Moravian missionary's persistent declaration that only obedience and good behaviour showed godliness. Her feelings of guilt emerged from the ways in which the missionary labelled all Khoikhoi traditions, social activities and rituals as bad behaviour.[102] Deep personal feelings of guilt overcame Verhettge whenever she visited and danced with her people at their kraals. But

---

[98] Balie, Die Geskiedenis van Genadendal, p. 26.
[99] Balie, Die Geskiedenis van Genadendal, p. 26.
[100] H.C. Bredekamp, 'Verhettge Tikkuie, Alias Moeder Lena van Genadendal, 1739-1800', Quarterly Bulletin of the South African Library 41: 4 (June 1987), pp. 134-135.
[101] Bredekamp, 'Verhettge Tikkuie', p. 136.

this individual sense of sin and the prospect of damnation inculcated by her conversion ran parallel with her individual conviction of personal salvation: Tikkuie was seen kneeling and reading the Bible long after the missionary had left the colony.[103] Bredekamp continued this critical engagement with Moravian mission history in a later article of 1988. In this article Bredekamp emphasised the experiences of the Khoikhoi in relation to Schmidt's attempts to convert and transform their mode of subsistence.[104] He explored similar themes in a 1997 conference paper.[105] Bredekamp showed that significant changes in the Khoikhoi mode of subsistence had already taken place independent of and prior to the intervention made by Schmidt and the Moravian mission.[106] In his 1988 article Bredekamp referred to "the creation of a Moravian ethos", by the Moravian missionary through enforced discipline and the instilled fear of punishment.[107] The limitation of Bredekamp's contribution is that he did not describe the content of this "Moravian ethos" nor did he analyse the imposition thereof on (potential) indigenous converts.

A valuable contribution to and primary source for the study of Moravian mission history is "The Diaries of George Schmidt", the first Moravian missionary sent to the Cape, edited by Bredekamp and J.L. Hattingh and published in 1981. For the purposes of our dissertation it is relevant that Schmidt's daily account of his missionary endeavours at the Cape and his letters to Zinzendorf made no sustained reference to any of the iconic elements of the Moravian narrative. Nor was Magdalena specifically signalled out in his daily accounts or any stress placed on the specific planting of a pear tree and the gathering there under when teaching potential converts to read from the bible.[108] This indicated that these iconic elements do not so much reflect the original historical experience as structure the subsequent re-telling of the Moravian narrative. A subsequent publication in 1992 by Bredekamp, Flegg and Plüddemann, entitled *The Genadendal Diaries,* is a collection of diaries from 1792-1794 of the group of Moravian missionaries who had arrived at the Cape colony in 1792. The *Diaries* were now an

---

[102] Bredekamp, 'Verhettge Tikkuie', pp. 138-139.
[103] Bredekamp, 'Verhettge Tikkuie', pp 138-139.
[104] H.C. Bredekamp, 'George Schmidt se Poging tot Tansformasie van 'n Overbergse Khoikhoi-Gemeenskap, 1737-1743', Kronos 14 (1988), pp. 20-21.
[105] H.C. Bredekamp, 'De(con)struction of an Early Collective Khoekhoe Christian Identity in South Africa, 1737-1743', (Unpublished paper, Conference on Khoisan Identities and Cultural Heritage, University of the Western Cape, 1997), pp.1-27.
[106] Bredekamp, 'George Schmidt se Poging', p. 22. He explores this theme further in a conference paper, *De(con) Struction*, p. 7.
[107] Writing in Afrikaans, Bredekamp refers to "die skepping van a Morawiese etos". See Bredekamp, 'George Schmidt se Poging', p. 25.
[108] H.C. Bredekamp and J.L. Hattingh (eds.), Dagboek en Briewe van Georg Schmidt: Eerste Sendeling in Suid-Afrika (1737-1744), trans. J. du P. Boeke (Bellville, Die Wes-Kaaplandse Instituut vir Historiese Navorsing, 1981).

accessible primary source and can make a significant contribution to further work on Moravian mission history. For our purposes it is significant that these early missionaries described the ruins of Schmidt's mission settlement as having "several fruit trees".[109] In their diary they described how they met (potential) converts under the pear tree planted by Brother Schmidt.[110] They also wrote of the old woman called Lena and described the Dutch Bible that she had received from Schmidt.[111] *The Diaries* includes *a* linograph of *Mother Lena, the Missionaries and the New Testament, 1792.*[112] From the Genadendal *Diaries* it thus appears that at an early stage the discursive elements of the pear tree, the old woman Lena and the Dutch Bible were utilised by the Moravian missionaries themselves in accounts of their own missionary endeavours at the Cape.

The edited volume by T. Keegan entitled *Moravian Missions in the Eastern Cape 1828-1928* provides four accounts of Moravian mission work on the Eastern Cape frontier. Included are a piece by Bishop T. E. van Calker celebrating the centenary of the Shiloh Moravian mission station, a brief biography of Heinrich Meyer who was a pioneer missionary to the Hlubi, a personal story by a group of Moravian missionaries of the Transkeian rebellion of 1880-1881, and a piece by Meta Spear who was the youngest child of the Moravian missionary Samuel Baudert. This volume makes an important contribution in connecting the history of the Eastern Cape colonial frontier with Moravian mission history. For our purposes it may be noted that there does not appear to be any sustained reference to any of the discursive elements that make up the Moravian narrative.[113]

Karel T. August's doctoral dissertation and recently published book entitled *The Quest for Being Public Church* provides an account of the early Moravian history including the establishment and development of the Moravian mission and Church in South Africa. August, a descendant of Moravian converts from the Elim Moravian mission station, describes himself as a person who holds "my traditions as a Moravian very dearly". In both his doctoral dissertation and book, August covers the development of the Moravian history from the early Unitas Fratum, its re-emergence at Herrnhut, the establishment and decline of the Moravian mission

---

[109] H.C. Bredekamp and H.E.F. Plüddemann (eds.), The Genadendal Diaries: Diaries of the Herrnhut Missionaries H. Marsveld, D. Schwinn and J.C. Kuhnel, trans. A.B.L. Flegg (Bellville, University of the Western Cape Institute for Historical Research, 1992), vol.1, p. 57.
[110] Bredekamp and Plüddemann, The Genadendal Diaries, p. 65.
[111] Bredekamp and Plüddemann, The Genadendal Diaries, pp. 59-61.
[112] Bredekamp and Plüddemann, The Genadendal Diaries, p. 60.

at the Cape under George Schmidt, the renewal of the mission in 1792 and its growth leading into the establishment of the independent Moravian Church in 1960 and later the unification of the Moravian Church in South Africa. Unlike the accounts of previous scholars, August's study does not include any significant recording of the iconic elements of the Moravian narrative. However, in his account of the renewal of the Moravian mission at the Cape, August in passing notes that many of the indigenous peoples who joined the Moravians were descendants of Schmidt's former "first fruit" converts. He also mentions old Lena whom he notes was accompanied by her granddaughter. August described old Lena as the only living convert of Schmidt.[114] For our purposes, it is August's description of the elements contained within the Moravian ethos which has been most useful. He does not provide a critical analysis of the Moravian ethos nor does he set out to link its elements to the furthering of sustained relations of domination. August does refer to the important link between rights in land and community, and has noted that mission land ownership secured the necessary degree of permanency to mould a community according to the "true Moravian ethos", which became characteristic of all Moravian mission settlements in later years.[115] This connection between land and community has however not been further developed.

Very little research has been done on the Clarkson Moravian mission station. In 1994 W.C. Uithaler, a resident of Clarkson, published a booklet commemorating the establishment of the mission station from 1839-1989. A fairly detailed account of the activities of missionaries, ministers, and church councillors are given on an almost daily basis. Significantly, the impact of the numerous colonial and apartheid laws regarding land distribution/appropriation and group segregation on the Clarkson residents and the Moravian Church leadership are hardly mentioned.[116] The Anthropology Department of the University of Port Elizabeth has also produced a community profile of Clarkson. This was primarily a descriptive socio-economic survey of Clarkson.[117] In this study the Clarkson community was described as comprising of "descendants of both coloured and Mfengu members", whose access to land at the mission

---

[113] T. Keegan (ed.), Moravians in the Eastern Cape, 1828-1928: Four Accounts of Moravian Mission Work on the Eastern Cape Frontier, trans. F.R. Baudert (Cape Town, Van Riebeeck Society, 2004).

[114] K.T. August, 'The Quest for being Public Church: A Study of the South African Moravian Church in Historical and Contemporary Perspective' (Ph.D. dissertation, University of Stellenbosch, 2003), p. 70.

[115] August's book is a reworking of his doctoral dissertation, see The Quest for being Public Church: The South African Challenge to the Moravian Church in Context: 1737-2004, 1st edition (Cape Town, Moravian Printing Works, 2005).

[116] Uithaler, 'W.C. Clarkson: Honderd en Fyftig Jaar op Pad, 1839-1989', Geleentheidspublikasie no. 47 (Instituut vir Beplanningsnavorsing Departement, Antropologie Universiteit van Port Elizabeth, Oktober 1994).

[117] P.P. Jacobs and H.C. Pauw, "n Gemeenskapstudie van die Mense van Clarkson' (Instituut vir Beplanningsnavorsing Gelentheids Publikasie, Universiteit van Port Elizabeth, no. 52 December 1994).

station was subject to membership of the Moravian Church of South Africa.[118] Brief mention was made of the potential conflict over the land at Clarkson by the resettlement of some Mfengu in the area during 1991.[119] However, the community and land of Clarkson is largely represented as separate and independent from the Mfengu settlements. Very little connection is made with the Cape colonial policies, or of the impact of later South African policies and its brutal and divisive apartheid laws. The historical shifts within the Clarksoner communal identity is as a result overlooked, making their historical and political relationship with the land difficult to untangle.

Our dissertation is designed to address the historical and political relationship that the Clarkson Moravian mission community had with the land. By investigating such a relationship we will analyse the construction of a Clarkson Moravian missionary identity and therein trace the imposition of the Moravian ethos/ethic. In our analysis of this communal identity formation we will investigate to what extent the discursive elements, which featured so prominently and persistently in the available Moravian historiography, actually functioned significantly in the history of the Moravian mission communities at the time. It is possible that these discursive elements could be shown to be retrospective projections or historical "myths" generated and reproduced in the secondary literature which do not correspond to actual phenomena or events. In this regard it becomes important and relevant to investigate the ways in which these discursive elements were taken up in the accounts of the continuity and renewal of the Moravian community in the South African context. Furthermore, it is important to investigate whether similar discursive themes were reproduced in the basic Moravian narrative, which went back to the supposed origins of the Hernhutters in the Unitas Fratrum centuries before. Following on from such an investigation it becomes important to analyse what the function of these discursive elements of the Moravian narrative was and how they have contributed to the historical and contemporary discursive construction of the Clarkson Moravian mission communal identity. In addition it is relevant to critically investigate how these discursive elements possibly also served to justify relations of power and domination of different kinds. As mentioned before, the Clarkson mission station comprised of different peoples, including some Mfengu who had settled in the area at roughly the same time as the Moravian missionaries. Surveying the history and impact of Mfengu peoples in the history of Eastern Cape is an important component of our literature review.

[118] Jacobs and Pauw, "n Gemeenskapstudie', p. 29.
[119]Jacobs and Pauw, "n Gemeenskapstudie', p. 29.

1.6.3 The Mfengu: A Controversial History

It is of considerable significance for this study that the Moravian mission within the Eastern Cape frontier at Clarkson was located among the Mfengu in the Tsitsikamma. For the purposes of our study, it is worth mentioning that the actual origins and functions of the Mfengu people as an intermediary group have become a matter of considerable debate within South African historiography. On the one hand we have a collection of historians presenting a conventional received view on the origins of the Mfengu, or the rather the "Fingo" as named in the colonial record. On the other hand we have a more critical group of scholars presenting a revised account, which re-examined and cast doubt on the conventional "Fingo" story of origin.

1.6.3.1 The Received Conventional View

The received conventional account of the "Fingo" as presented by Theal, Godlonton and Ayliff described the "Fingo" as groups of refugees who had fled the Mfecane carnage in Natal.[120] These refugees came from groups of indigenous peoples like the Hlubi, Zizi, Bhele, Reliwane, and Khunene, all of whom were from the Mbo or Abambo people who had fled the Mfecane carnage.[121] They entered the Eastern Cape territory of the Thembu and Gcaleka as refugees, and were reported to have said "siyamfengusa" which means "we are wanderers seeking service". According to the received view, the Gcaleka Xhosa described these refugees as "umaMfengu", which means, "hungry people in search of work".[122] The refugees who had settled among the Gcaleka Xhosa during the 1820s and 1830s were named "amaMfengu" by

---

[120] The Mfecane refers to the supposedly self generated internal conflict, which occurred within the Northern Nguni societies south-west of Delgoa Bay after 1790. According to the received view this internal conflict intensified and culminated in the ascendancy of the Zulu nation under the rule of Shaka during the 1820s. Zulu expansionism resulted in the migration of groups of Nguni peoples into the interior fleeing the military might of Shaka. See J.D. Omer-Cooper, The Zulu Aftermath: A Nineteenth Century Revolution in Bantu Africa (London, Longmans, 1966); Julian Cobbing, 'The Mfecane as Alibi: Thoughts on Dithakong and Mbolompo', Journal of African History 29 (1988), pp. 487-519; J.D. Omer-Cooper, 'Debate: Has the Mfecane a Future? A Response to the Cobbing Critique', Journal of Southern African Studies 19: 2 (June 1993), pp. 273-294; Carolyn Hamilton, '"The Character and Objects of Chaka": A Reconsideration of the Making of Shaka as Mfecane Motor', Journal of African History, 33 (1992), pp. 37-63; J.B. Peires, 'Debate: Paradigm deleted: the Materialist Interpretation of the Mfecane', Journal of Southern African Studies 19: 2 (June 1993), pp. 295-313; Elizabeth A. Eldredge, 'Sources of Conflict in Southern Africa, c. 1800-1830: The Mfecane Reconsidered', Journal of African History 33 (1992), pp. 1-35.

[121] J. Ayliff and J. Whitehead, History of the Abambo Generally Known as Fingoes (Butterworth, Gazette, 1912), pp. 1-2; R. Godlonton, A Narrative of the Irruption of the Kaffir Hordes into the Eastern Province of the Cape of Good Hope, 1834-1835 (Cape Town, Menrant and Godlonton, 1836), pp. 140-143.

[122] Noel Mostert, Frontiers: The Epic of South Africa;s Creation and the Tragedy of the Xhosa People (London, Jonathan Cape, 1992), p. 722; T.R.H. Davenport, South Africa: A Modern History, 4th edition (London, Macmillan, 1991), p. 58

the Gcaleka Xhosa, which means "to wander about in search of service, employment and/or a home.[123] According to the Ayliff and Whitehead account of 1912, the "Fingoes" who had settled among the Gcaleka were treated as slaves. British colonial troops rescued them from their oppressed state of slavery in May 1835, and in turn called them "Fingo". Colonial authorities made them subjects of the Queen of Britain. Under the leadership of British colonial troops, the "Fingoes" crossed the Kei River and were resettled at Peddie, which is situated just above the Fish River. It is at Peddie that the "Fingoes" received their first grants of land from British colonial authorities. They subsequently remained allies of the colonists and participated in all the ongoing frontier wars and raids against the Xhosa and other indigenous peoples.[124] In essence many historians - including Moyer, Mostert and Thompson have drawn on the received conventional account of the "Fingo".[125]

In the 1930s indigenous scholars like J.H. Soga and D. Jabavu disputed that the "Fingoes" were slaves of the Gcaleka Xhosa during the 1800s. Soga asserted that colonial historians had falsely represented the conditions of the "Fingoes" who sought sanctuary in Gcalekaland.[126] Soga noted that the "Fingoes" who had settled among the Gcalekas had no experience of slavery since they had not lost their freedom, they were not controlled by Hintsa to the extent that they were bought and sold for material gain, nor were they not allocated land among the Gcaleka. On the contrary, Soga showed that under Hintsa's authority the "Fingoes" were given the freedom to observe the customs of his society as well as the right to maintain their domestic relations under their chief. [127] According to Soga, the "emancipation" of the "Fingo" by the British provided the colony with much needed economic support since it brought to it a large number of useful labourers.[128] D. Jabavu also wrote about the "Fingo slavery myth" during the 1930s.[129] Mqhayi in his book entitled "Itayala Lama Wele" described the humane way in which Hintsa treated the "Fingoes" even though they were in a subordinate position and dependent on the Gcaleka.[130] Like Soga, Mqhayi has argued that "Fingo" emancipation by the

---

[123] Mostert, Frontiers, p. 606.
[124] Ayliff and Whitehead, History of the Abambo, pp. 34-51.
[125] Davenport, South Africa (1991); R.A. Moyer, 'A History of the Mfengu of the Eastern Cape: 1815-1865' (Ph.D. dissertation, School of Oriental and African Studies, London University, 1976); Mostert, Frontiers (1992); L. Thompson, 'Co-operation and Conflict: The Zulu Kingdom and Natal', in M. Wilson and L Thompson (eds.), The Oxford History of South Africa: South Africa to 1870 (Cape Town, David Philip, 1982).
[126] H. Soga, The South-Eastern Bantu (Johannesburg, Witwatersrand University Press, 1930), pp. 179-180.
[127] Soga, The South-Eastern Bantu, p. 184.
[128] Soga, The South-Eastern Bantu, p. 186-188.
[129] D. Jabavu, 'The Fingo Slavery Myth', The South African Outlook, June 1935, p. 123.
[130] Mqhayi, *Itayala Lama Wele*, in R.A. Moyer, 'A History of the Mfengu of the Eastern Cape: 1815-1865', (Ph.D. dissertation, School of Oriental and African Studies, London University, 1976), p. 603.

British provided cheap labour to colonists, but added that the "emancipation" was due to colonial policies of divide and conquer. According to Mqhayi the "Fingoes" were of the *same* origin as the Xhosa.[131] This assertion was however not developed. Picking-up on the slavery myth, Colin Bundy in his book *The Rise and Fall of the South African Peasantry* noted briefly that the Mfengu may not have been subordinate to the Gcaleka.[132] Peires in his book *The House of Phalo* noted that the Mfengu have rejected the part of their story that describe them as having been slaves under the Gcaleka.[133]

1.6.3.2 The Revised Revisionist View

More recently Revisionists have questioned the conventional account of the origin of the "Fingo"/Mfengu. Scholars like Webster and Cobbing have done this through their critique of the received view of the Mfecane, which they argued, was the founding premise upon which the story of "Fingo"/Mfengu origin has been based. Through their revised view of the Mfecane, they have cast doubt on the supposed origins of the "Fingo"/Mfengu.[134] According to Cobbing the story of the Mfecane - as received from accounts produced by British colonists, colonial authorities, and missionaries - functioned as a reason for war and raids against the indigenous peoples of the Eastern Cape.[135] Cobbing suggests that the origin of the "Fingoes" might be linked to the captured indigenous peoples who were brought into the colony as forced labourers.[136] The revised theme of the origin of the "Fingo" peoples as being by and large Xhosa refugees was developed further by Webster. Webster has argued that there were four distinct and very different categories of "Fingo" peoples.[137] This comprised of various military groups, a group of collaborators who willingly co-operated with British colonial officials during the 1835 frontier war in exchange for land grants, missionary converts who had assembled at the Butterworth mission station, and numerous Xhosa peoples who had either been captured during the frontier war and raids, and who had been brought into the colony as forced

---

[131] Mqhayi, *Itayala Lama Wele*, p. 603.
[132] C. Bundy, The Rise and Fall of the South African Peasantry (London, Heinemann, 1979), p. 33.
[133] J. Peires, The House of Phalo: A History of the Xhosa People in the Days of their Independence (Johannesburg, Ravan Press, 1981), p. 225.
[134] Cobbing, 'The Mfecane as Alibi', pp. 487-519.
[135] Cobbing, 'The Mfecane as Alibi', pp. 487-519.
[136] Cobbing, 'The Mfecane as Alibi', pp. 487-519.
[137] A. Webster, 'Unmasking the Fingo: The War of 1835 Revisited' in C. Hamilton (ed.), The Mfecane Aftermath: Reconstructive debates in Southern African History (Johannesburg, Witwatersrand University Press, 1995), p. 256.

labourers; or who had voluntarily sought safety within the colony.[138] Expanding on Webster's account, Timothy Stapleton has argued that there were many Gcaleka Xhosa who joined the colonial army during the 1835 frontier war in response to promises of land. In addition, this group was joined by Gcaleka outcasts who resided around the mission station. More importantly, the many women and children who had been captured during the war significantly increased the size of this group of people whom colonial authorities named "Fingoes".[139] According to Stapleton, British colonial officials and missionaries like Ayliff invented the orthodox view of the "Fingoes", in order to disguise their aggression as philanthropy. Subsequently a distinct pseudo-ethnicity was produced, which became known as the "Fingo" identity. According to Stapleton, the oral evidence taken from such a pseudo-ethnicity cannot constitute a source separate from the colonial propaganda that produced it.[140] Stapleton insists on describing the "Fingo" people of the Eastern Cape Province as having a pseudo-ethnicity, since their group identity was both created and manipulated by colonial authorities during the nineteenth century.[141]

These revisionist accounts have not gone unchallenged. Alan Lester has engaged Webster and Stapleton's critique of the origin of the "Fingo" peoples. According to Lester it was not necessarily the case that the "Fingoes" were located in labour camps and from there sent to work on farms within the colony by authorities. He argues that there is very little evidence to show the systematic channelling of "Fingo" labour from the Queen Adelaide Province, or the ceded territory. However, there has been plenty of evidence to describe the uncontrolled fashion in which many "Fingoes" were entering the colony and threatening the security of colonists.[142] In Switzer's review of this debate, he has asserted that it seems quite probable that groups of refugees known as "Fingoes" were living in Xhosa communities before the 1834-35 frontier war.[143] It is probable that during the 1834-35 frontier war D'Urban's colonial army did encounter refugees who were not linked to missionaries like Ayliff and his group of followers at

---

[138] Webster, 'Unmasking the Fingo', p. 241; A. Webster, 'Land Expropriation and the Labour Extraction Under Cape Colonial Rule: The War and the Emancipation of the Fingo' (M.A. dissertation, Rhodes University, 1991), pp.134-144.

[139] T.J. Stapleton, Magomo, Xhosa Resistance to Colonial Advance 1798-1893 (Johannesburg, Jonathan Ball, 1994), pp. 90-91.

[140] Stapleton, 'Oral Evidence in a Pseudo-ethnicity: the Fingo Debate', History in Africa 22 (1995), pp. 359-366.

[141] T.J. Stapleton, 'The Expansion of a Pseudo-Ethnicity in the Eastern Cape: Reconsidering the Fingo "Exodus" of 1865', The International Journal of African Historical Studies 29: 2 (1996), p. 233.

[142] Alan Lester, 'Settlers, the State and Colonial Power: The Colonisation of Queen Adelaide Province, 1834-1837', Jounal of African History 39 (1998), pp. 221-246; Alan Lester, Imperial Networks: Creating Identities in Nineteenth-Century South Africa and Britain (London, Routledge, 2001).

[143] Les Switzer, Power and Resistance in an African Society: The Ciskei Xhosa and the Making of South Africa (Pietermaritzburg, University of Natal Press, 1993), p. 59.

Butterworth. However, Switzer maintains that it was most unlikely that all of them were impoverished Xhosa people, who could have converted overnight and claimed a new "Fingo" identity. Switzer has also questioned whether the "Fingoes" could be a mere figment of the colonial imagination when such a large part of the Eastern Cape population has identified themselves as such from 1835 onwards. He believes that the "Fingoes" had a history which pre-dated the 1834-35 frontier war.[144]

In a previous case study of the construction and appropriation of the "Fingo" identity, I differentiated between the earlier construction of a "Fingo" identity - in which the "Fingo" functioned as *object* of a colonial discourse, and the later appropriation of a "Fingo" identity - in which the "Fingo" were constituted as *subject* of an ethnic discourse.[145] I showed that the constructed "Fingo" identity as object of a colonial discourse began soon after the 1834-35 frontier war. Therein I argued that the unified beliefs and social practises of Xhosa society were fragmented through colonial representations of the "Fingoes" as "poor" human beings who "suffered to exist", as against the Xhosa who were "savages", "cruel and avaricious" and who did not have the potential to be civilised. On the one hand the "Fingoes" were constructed as "poor human beings" within the colonial discourse and were included within the colony as British subjects. On the other hand the Xhosa were represented as "the savage" other and were excluded. In this previous case study I have argued that distinctions such as these within the colonial discourse divided the Xhosa peoples, created a barrier between "Fingoes" and Xhosa, and successfully produced a group of intermediaries. In this way relations of colonial domination were established and sustained.[146] While I agree with Switzer that the "Fingoes" could not and did not convert overnight to claim a "Fingo" identity, in the case study I maintained that no such collective ethnic identity existed by 1835 other than what was constructed within the colonial "Fingo" discourse. In support of my argument I showed that the actual appropriation of a "Fingo" identity whereby the "Fingo" were constituted as subjects of an ethnic discourse occurred much later, from the end of the nineteenth century onwards.[147]

It was amongst this contested group of Fingo/Mfengu that the Moravian mission at Clarkson was established in 1839. Whatever the final outcomes of the received view and the revisionist

---

[144] Switzer, Power and Resistance in an African Society, pp. 59-60.
[145] Crystal Jannecke, 'The Fingo / Mfengu, a Case Study in Land and Identity' (B.Soc.Sci (Hons), Political Studies Department, University of Cape Town, February 1997), pp. 20-23.
[146] Jannecke, 'The Fingo / Mfengu', pp. 55-57.
[147] Jannecke, 'The Fingo / Mfengu', pp. 57-90.

critique on the identity of the Fingoes/Mfengu and their story of origin might be, it is clear that their position was significantly different to that of other pre-colonial indigenous communities residing beyond the frontier.

1.6.4 Land and Communal Identity in a South African Context

The evolving Mfengu communal identity and the emerging Moravian missionary identity in South Africa are fundamental to our unfolding study, which seeks to make a connection between historical claims of entitlement to land and communal identity. Our interest is in research done by scholars more specifically on the linking of land and community identity in a South African context. These studies do not directly concern either the (Moravian) mission communities or the Mfengu settlements but raise relevant issues and perspectives in the South African context.

Some of the main historical studies on land and communal identity concerned the Pedi and SeSotho peoples. The book by Peter Delius titled *The Land Belongs to Us: the Pedi Polity, the Boers and the British in the nineteenth Century Transvaal* (1983), examined the changing nature of power within the Pedi polity with a particular focus given to exploring the internal economic, political and ideological struggles therein.[148] Disputes over land within the Pedi polity are discussed as well as the colonial wars and conflicts waged during the 1870s, which led to the dispossession of land and the subjection of the Pedi to colonial rule. Delius' later book published in 1996 titled *A Lion Amongst the Cattle* is focussed on the experiences of Pedi communities living on land, more specifically in Sekhuneland, during the twentieth century. Delius showed that formulations like tribesmen, peasant or proletarian do not adequately capture the identities within, or the content of struggles and transformations taking place among the communities residing in rural Sekhuneland. He compared two revolts in Sekhuneland, one in 1958 and the other in 1986. The description of the fundamental shifts in the dynamic of the society from a determination to defend the land, livestock and chieftaincy in the 1950s to demands for changing the terms of participation in a common society with a reshaped national economy with land and cattle not featuring prominently in the 1986 revolt – is useful to reflect on for our purposes when conducting a social historical analysis based on the

[148] Peter Delius, The Land Belongs to Us: The Pedi Polity, the Boers and the British in the Nineteenth Century Transvaal (Transvaal, Ravan Press, 1983).

themes of land and identity.[149] Colin Murray's 1992 book titled *Black Mountain: Land Class and Power in the Eastern Orange Free State 1880s-1980s* comprises a detailed social historical study of struggles over land and power in the (old) Thaba Nchu district of the Eastern Orange Free State from the 1880s to the 1980s. Murray linked communities and families from the Thaba Nchu district to various historically contested portions of land. He also showed how rights in, and direct access to land by communities and individual land owning families were systematically constrained under colonialism and apartheid.[150] In a later contribution to Henry Bernstein's edited volume titled *The Agrarian Question in South Africa* (1996), Murray's chapter *Land Reform in the Eastern Free State: Policy Dilemmas and Political Conflicts*, highlights some of the policy dilemmas and political conflicts associated with land reform in some areas of the Free State. He describes three land restitution cases of Thaba Phatshwa, Bethany and Herschel, each reflecting different experiences of land dispossession. Firstly, the Thaba Phatshwa land claim submitted in 1993 to the former Commission on Land Allocation, overlooked the presence of "Coloured" people resident at Thaba Phatshwa who themselves had been repeatedly shifted in the course of their albeit different history.[151] For our purposes it is significant that the resulting inter-community conflict has become clouded with racial / ethnic conflict. Secondly, in the Bethany land claim, with its associated Berlin Mission Society, land dispossession was by default through title being vested in the Mission. Thirdly, the Herschel land claim involved a group of people who identified themselves as a Sesotho speaking ethnic group within the Transkei. This group had a strong sense of community identity connected to historical claims of their rights to compensatory land. Murray notes that there was much resentment from within Herschel in response to this group's attempt to invoke the remaining Sesotho-speaking people in Herschel as participants in their claim for restitution.[152] In all three cases the connection between community identity and historical entitlement to land is present, even though the emerging community conflicts are not located within broader and relevant social historical contexts.

Other recent studies have addressed issues of land and communal identity in the context of contemporary land restitution policies. Richard Levin and Daniel Weiner's edited volume titled

---

[149] Peter Delius, A Lion Amongst the Cattle: Reconstruction and Resistance in Northern Transvaal (Randburg, Ravan Press, 1996).

[150] Colin Murray, Black Mountain: Land, Class, and Power in the Eastern Orange Free State 1880s-1980s (Johanesburg, Witwatersrand University Press, 1992).

[151] Colin Murray, 'Land Reform in the Eastern Free State: Policy Dilemmas and Political Conflicts', in Henry Bernstein (ed.), The Agrarian Question in South Africa (London, Frank Cass, 1996), pp. 209-219.

"No More Tears" ... Struggles for land in Mpumalanga, South Africa (1997) deals primarily with land struggles in Mpumalanga. Relevant for the purposes of this dissertation are their recommendations that beneficiaries need to be clearly identified in the process of restitution in which rights in land are based on historical claims to land. For them questions like who constituted the community, and who made decisions therein required extensive research.[153] Henry Bernstein's article *Social Change in the South African Countryside? Land and Production, Poverty and Power* (1998) examined, amongst others, the link between land and justice. He noted that the complexities of the legal and administrative process of land restitution comprised of the histories of eviction and resettlement in which rival groups claim prior or superior rights to the same piece of land. For him the notion of community is potent and deeply contradictory. According to Bernstein the rural community has a corporate status that is both imposed and claimed, with the ethnic basis of collective action generated by structures of despotism being the common factor in land restitution claims.[154] Francie Lund's research report on the Riemvasmaak land restitution case described contesting groups within the Riemvasmaak mission community that had been forcefully removed from their land in the Northern Cape Province in 1973. After a period of more than twenty years attempts were made to reinvent the past unity of Riemvasmaak in order to get the dispossessed land returned. Lund differentiated between two groups within the Riemvasmaak community; the Nama who described themselves as having come to the area from Namibia and who resided at the mission, and the Xhosa who described themselves as having come to the area from Ciskei and who resided at the Molopo Mouth. According to Lund this division between the mission and the Molopo Mouth partially reflected a "so-called ethnic or cultural divide" that has been exacerbated after the return of land.[155]

The problem of defining "community" in the context of South African land reform was taken-up by Thembela Kepe in his 1998 paper titled *The Problem of Defining "Community: Challenges for the Land Reform Programme in Rural South Africa.* Herein Kepe examined the land rights in the Mkambati area of the Eastern Cape Wild Coast and therein explores the problem of

---

[152] Colin Murray, 'Land Reform in the Eastern Free State: Policy Dilemmas and Political Conflicts', in Henry Bernstein (ed.), The Agrarian Question in South Africa (London, Frank Cass, 1996), pp. 209-219.
[153] Richard Levin and D. Weiner (ed.), "No More Tear ..." Struggles for land in Mpumalanga, South Africa (Trenton: Africa World Press, 1997).
[154] Henry Bernstein, 'Social Change in the South African Countryside? Land and Production, Poverty and Power', The Journal of Peasant Studies 25: 4 (July 1998), pp.1-32.
[155] F. Lund, 'Lessons From Riemvasmaak for Land Reform Poliicies and Programmes in South Africa', vol. 2 (Programme for Land and Agrarian Studies and Farm Africa, 1998), pp. 19-53.

defining community.[156] In his paper he provided a brief history of the politics of land in Mkambati dating back to 1899. The Khanyayo people were forcefully removed from their land during 1920. However, in the current land restitution process, several local communities have lodged contesting claims for rights in land in the Mkambati Nature Reserve. Kepe noted that in one specific case "old" colonial pre-annexation links and social relations have been re-established to "add voice to their fight for Makambati".[157] He has cautioned government not to dismiss the complexities that exist within its usage of "community", since this may cause even more conflict. Kepe asserts that rightful beneficiaries of land restitution and tenure reform processes may best be established through historical documentation obtained from the archive.[158] For the purpose of our study the call for rigorous historical documentary research in addition to Deeds Registry research remains important. The book entitled *At the Crossroads: Land and Agrarian Reform in South Africa into the 21st Century* (2000) edited by Ben Cousins includes numerous articles on the unfolding land reform process in South Africa.[159] For our purposes the work by Andries du Toit is especially useful. In his chapter titled *The End of Restitution* he argues that a key difficulty of the current land reform process has been related to the conception of community within government policy and implementation programmes as being an entity assumed to be unified, organic and harmonious.[160] The contribution of Kgopotso Mogope in his chapter titled *Community and Diversity* can also be drawn on for our research purposes. Mogope asserts that many policy makers and implementers have perceived community in land reform processes as being composed of members who have a shared set of interests and goals, whereas community actually comprises of different interests, categorised at different levels.[161]

The theme of the role of NGOs and its consequences in land restitution processes has been taken up by Steven Robins in his article titled *Land Struggles and the Politics and Ethics of Representing "Bushman" History and Identity* (2000). In his article, Robins also brings to the fore important questions regarding representations of communal identities in South African land restitution claims. He is particularly concerned with the surfacing of tribal histories and fantasies in land restitution claims like the San land claim in the Kalahari Gemsbok National Park area;

---

[156] Thembela Kepe, 'The Problem of defining Community: Challenges for the Land Reform Programme in Rural South Africa' (Occasional Paper, Series no. 6, Programme for Land and Agrarian Studies, University of the Western Cape, 1998), pp. 1-16.
[157] Kepe, 'The Problem of Defining Community', pp. 11-12.
[158] Kepe, 'The Problem of Defining Community', p. 12.
[159] Cousins (ed.), At the Crossroads (2000).
[160] Andries du Toit, 'The End of Restitution' in Cousins (ed.), At the Crossroads (2000), pp. 75-91.

and the Tsonga speaking Makhuleke tribe's successful, but contested, land claim in the Kruger National Park during the 1990s. Robins notes that subaltern people have reinvented and re-appropriated colonial discourses on African tribes in pursuit of self-defined political agendas of land restitution and development.[162] This link between community identity and assertions of entitlement to land is very relevant for the themes examined in our dissertation. Robins argues that even though the South African courts do not recognise aboriginal or tribal rights in land, it demands clear unambiguous accounts of community dispossession. Lawyers in turn have emphasised cultural authenticity and tribal continuity to ensure that they meet the tough requirements of legal evidence, procedure and precedent. Claimants have been advised and encouraged to present their claims in terms of ahistorical and bounded definitions of tribal histories that in many ways are similar to those that were prescribed and sanctioned by the apartheid state.[163] Robins further pursued these themes in his 2001 article entitled *NGOs, Bushman and Double Vision: the ≠ Khomani San Land Claim and the Cultural Politics of Community and Development in the Kalahari.* Herein Robins deals specifically with the cultural politics of the successful ≠ Khomani San land Claim in the Northern Cape Province of South Africa. He focuses on the ambiguities and contradictions of donor and NGO development discourses in relation to local constructions of community, cultural authenticity and San identity. His discussion on social fragmentation and intra-community conflict between traditionalists and "Western Bushman" in the post-settlement period following the restoration of land is beneficial for our examination of communities' relations to land following the settlement of land restitution claims. Robins argues that these differences and conflicts were at the heart of the agendas of both donor and NGO development agencies, which contributed to the emerging intra-community divisions and conflict.[164]

It was Deborah James who began to introduce a different set of issues for investigation on notions of community into the prevailing body of work on community and land restitution claims in South Africa. In her article *After Years in the Wilderness: the Discourse of Land Claims in the New South Africa* (2000) she is particularly concerned with notions of community as these emerge from the interaction between different players including NGOs, lawyers and

---

[161] Kgopotso Mogope, 'Community and Diversity' in Cousins (ed.), At the Crossroads (2000), pp. 107-110.
[162] Steven Robins, 'Land Struggles and the Politics and Ethics of Representing "Bushman" History and Identity', Kronos 26 (2000), pp. 57-75.
[163] Robins, 'Land Struggles' pp. 57-75.
[164] Steven Robins, 'NGOs, "Bushmen" and the Double Vision: The ≠ Khomani San Land Claim and the Cultural Politics of Community and Development in the Kalahari', Journal of Southern African Studies 27: 4 (December 2001), pp. 833-853.

Government Commissioners. She examined the populist rhetoric evident in NGO publications that depict land as communally owned and communally defended and argued that the notion of uniform experience of injustice and shared resistance present in claims to land obscures a series of sharply differentiated historical experiences as well as widely divergent interests. For James this was most visible in the case of the former owners and tenants of the Doornkop farm. She asserted that an inclusivist communal discourse masks the sectional and individual interests that prevail in the pursuit of land restitution.[165] In her article *Hills of Thorns: Custom, Knowledge and the Reclaiming of a Lost Land in the New South Africa* (2000), Deborah James is directly concerned with the role of NGOs and donor organisations in, and their impact on, community formation in processes of land restitution in South Africa. She provides a detailed ethnographic exploration of the Doornkop land restitution case. She points out that after the forced removal the people of Doornkop had been scattered, and no longer constituted a close-knit community. Yet the notion of community had none the less been invoked by various role players like NGOs and lawyers who have worked to reclaim Doornkop and other farms. She argues that the knowledge about ownership and appropriate governance, of land brought to the fore in the process of reclaiming land, revealed a complex and often contradictory understanding of concepts like customs, community and power. Furthermore, populist ideas of "the people" and "the community" have underestimated the importance of differentiating power relations within populations who are targets of development.[166]

In our study we have not given a full account and critical analysis of what the role of NGOs like the LRC, and its consequences was in the restitution processes that involved both the Clarkson mission and Tsitsikamma Mfengu communities. This does not mean that such an enquiry is not relevant to our study. On the contrary such a research project is important, necessary, and will require substantial further research, which is not possible within the current scope of our dissertation.

1.7 Structure of Discussion and Overview of Dissertation

The structure of our discussion within this dissertation has been designed to examine the Moravian "historical past" as reconstructed in the Moravian missionary discourse. The

[165] Deborah James, '"After Years in the Wilderness": The Discourse of Land Claims in the New South Africa', The Journal of Peasant Studies 27: 3 (April 2000), pp. 142-161.
[166] Deborah James, 'Hills of Thorns: Custom, Knowledge and the Reclaiming of a Lost Land in the New South Africa', Development and Change 31 (2000), pp. 629-649.

transplantation and imposition of a Moravian missionary identity within the Cape colony is contextualised. The case of indentured labour within the Cape Colony and the emergence of a "Fingo" narrative within the colonial discourse are investigated. The settlement of groups of "Fingo" in Tsitsikamma by colonial officials and the grants of land obtained from the colonial office together with the land allocations made to Moravian Missionaries are examined. The ambiguities prevalent within the Clarkson land grant are explored. The conflicting grounds for entitlement to the Clarkson land between the Tsitsikamma Mfengu and the Clarkson Moravian mission communities are discussed. The implications and impact of the transformation of Clarkson from mission station to rural town are discussed.

Chapter two provides an analytical and complementing theoretical framework for contextualising our discursive analysis.

Chapter three provides a socio-historical account of the changing context of the Moravians. It also gives a discursive analysis of the construction of a Moravian (mission) identity. In this chapter the Herrnhuters and their origins with the Unitas Fratum, centuries before in the different context of (pre-) Reformation Europe, are described. This is done in order to investigate the ways in which discursive elements of continuity/renewal of the Moravian community in the South African context were taken up and reproduced. We explore the function of discursive elements utilised in the Moravian narrative, and show how these contributed to the historical and discursive construction of a Moravian mission communal identity. We examine how the constructed Moravian mission communal identity in the South African context served to justify relations of power and domination of various kinds.

Chapter four provides a socio-historical analysis of how the growth of missionary activity within and beyond the Eastern Cape coincided with British colonial expansion, and the increasing use of forced labour. We describe the establishment of the Moravian mission station at Clarkson. The colonial and various indigenous practices of land tenure are discussed. We problematise the Clarkson land grant and investigate the ambiguities contained therein. We compare the rights in land held by the Tsitsikamma Mfengu communities on the one hand, and the Moravian missionaries and Clarkson mission community on the other hand; and explore possible reasons for the success/failure of the Moravian missionary project in the Tsitsikamma. The contextual analysis prepares the way for a critical discursive analysis of the Clarksoner/Mfengu communal identities.

Chapter five does not attempt to provide a complete discursive analysis of the how the Clarksoner Moravian missionary identity was constructed in relation to the mission land. This is because we do not have an established discourse theory, and since the available primary material for the purpose of such an applied discursive analysis of the Clarksoner/Mfengu communities contained serious limitations. Given these constraints we examine the function of the use of certain discursive elements of the Moravian narrative, and the continuity it produced in the missionary discourse between Clarkson and the commencement/renewal of the Moravian mission station at Genadendal in the Southern Cape. We investigate how these particular discursive elements of the Moravian narrative contributed to the construction of the Clarkson Moravian missionary identity and Tsitsikamma Mfengu communal identity. We examine the mission narrative pertaining to Clarkson, and highlight the differences, similarities and continuity shown with the historical Moravian narrative. Throughout, our focus is on the historical connection between the constructed Clarkson Moravian missionary identity, the Tsitsikamma Mfengu communal identity and rights in land.

The chapter proceeds further with an application of relevant elements of discursive analysis from the comparative work of the Comaroffs on the Wesleyan missionary activities among the Tswana. The possible relevance of these elements is investigated in relation to our case study and its associated Clarksoner missionary and Tsitsikamma Mfengu communities. From the Comaroffs' study of the Tswana, we discuss the discursive elements of spatial organisation, water, and production. We explore how these were utilised in the Moravian missionary discourse to produce the constructed Clarksoner and Tsitsikamma Mfengu identities, and connected to issues of use of, access to, and rights in land.

Chapter six provides a socio-historical analysis of the period 1840 to 1900. The themes of land dispossession and indentured labour are threaded through a broader context of colonial domination. We examine the impact of indigenous resistance to colonial domination and show how these struggles for power influenced the shaping of communal identities in relation to land. We investigate how struggles against colonial domination brought to fore opposition by mission residents to the regulations, policies and practices imposed by Moravian missionaries at mission stations. We show how the Clarksoners and Tsitsikamma Mfengu responded in the context of such conflict. We describe how rights in land held by indigenous people within the colony were systematically constrained and examine its impact on producing an increase in the

supply of available indigenous labour. We investigate how restricted rights in land impacted on the shaping of communal identities amongst the Clarkson and Tsitsikamma Mfengu people.

Chapter seven provides an interlude for the period 1910 to 1975, in which some of the more significant laws and policies that shaped rights in land held by indigenous peoples are described. We discuss the territorial and spatial segregation laws that contributed to official racial and ethnic differentiation between peoples. The impact of such differentiation on the Clarkson mission and Tsitsikamma Mfengu communities are investigated.

Chapter eight describes the forced removal of the Mfengu communities from the Tsitsikamma in 1975. We explore the impact of such land confiscation and scattering of community on the inhabitants of Clarkson who remained largely in possession of their land. We examine the discursive process of identification in the constitution of a contemporary unified Tsitsikamma Mfengu community from 1990 onwards. In our discursive analysis we provide an interpretation of the position of the Clarkson mission community in the Tsitsikamma Mfengu ethnic discourse. We carry through our discursive themes of land and community identity when we analyse the successful return of land dispossessed by the State, and the land settlement agreements reached in negotiations with the Moravian church. These themes are also utilised in the examination of the transformation of Clarkson from mission station to rural town.

Chapter nine concludes the dissertation and presents the general arguments and interpretations of our study. It also discusses the general significance of the research and analyses done.

Chapter Two

Theoretical Framework: A Discursive Analytical Approach

2.1 Introduction

A historical analysis of the communal identities of the Clarksoners and the Tsitsikamma Mfengu cannot afford to be theoretically naïve. In this particular case the temptation might be to simply take these two different identities as fixed givens, i.e. to assume that *prior* ethnic identities explain the historical differentiation between "coloured" Clarksoners and "native" Mfengu. But contrary to these primordialist or essentialist assumptions the nature of these communal identities is by no means predetermined. Certainly in the 1830s the meaning of being "coloured" was still very fluid and indeterminate while the origin of the Mfengu is a highly contested matter. Our own use of the term "identity" takes it to be a social and discursive construction and is thus located within the analytical approach of discourse theory. Stuart Hall argues that individual and communal identities are not unified or singular, but multiple and in a process of constant change and transformation.[1] He further argues that claims to communal identity may at face value invoke a common origin and refers to a shared historical past, but analysis thereof will reveal the utilisation of resources of history, language and culture for different purposes. Following Hall's lead we will approach communal identity as a historical and discursive social construction through the mobilisation of various elements of meaning in particular social and historical contexts. Defining communal identity as a historical and discursive construction enables us to use the tools of analysis provided by discourse theory in deconstructing the complexities involved in the Clarksoner and Mfengu identities. Thus our analysis and interpretation of the construction of Clarksoner communal identity, for example, will proceed by unpacking the Moravian narrative linking groups otherwise separated by centuries and thousand of miles apart, through telling a shared story of a transplanted and imposed missionary identity. The significant question then is not simply who the Clarksoners were and are, but rather how did they represent themselves. More generally, we will utilise a discourse-analytical approach to clarify what is involved in the historical construction of the Clarksoner missionary and Tsitsikamma Mfengu communal identities and how these were linked to power struggles and claims of entitlement to land.

[1] Stuart Hall, 'Who Needs Identity?' in Stuart Hall and Paul du Gray (eds.), Questions of Cultural Identity (London, Sage Publications, 1996), p. 4.

2.2 An Analytical Framework for Contextualised Discursive Analysis

More specifically our analysis of the Clarksoner and Mfengu communal identities and their relation to land will utilise the analytical framework and methodology of interpretation provided by John B. Thompson.[2] One reason for this choice is that Thompson's analytical framework suggests how applied discourse analysis might be integrated into a general social theory in conjunction with contextualised social and historical analyses. Another reason is that it is specifically concerned with the critical analysis of ideological discourse,[3] making it especially suitable for an applied critical analysis of identity formations that serves to systematically establish and sustain relations of power of various kinds. Thompson insists that the discursive forms in which ideology is expressed cannot and should not be separated from the social and historical context within which they are produced. This analytical framework and methodology provides us with the tools with which to understand and interpret the significance of historical and discursive identity formation in relation to land.[4] In our discursive analysis of the constructed Moravian Clarkson missionary and Tsitsikamma Mfengu identities, and their historical and political relation to mission land, we will draw on Thompson's view that discourse is already an interpretation of events, actions and expressions realised in speech or writing.[5]

Thompson's analytical framework presents a method of interpretation allowing for three methodologically distinct phases of analysis. These are (i) a social historical analysis, (ii) a discursive analysis, and (iii) a critical interpretation.[6] Accordingly our inquiry into how the communal identities of the Clarksoners and Tsitsikamma Mfengu were represented will thus firstly require a detailed historical and social contextualisation of the Moravian missionary

---

[2] John B. Thompson, Studies in the Theory of Ideology (Berkeley, University of California Press, 1984), pp. 133-147.

[3] Thompson defines the critical concept of ideology as "the ways in which meaning serves, in particular circumstances, to establish and sustain relations of power which are systematically asymmetrical – called relations of domination". See John B. Thompson, Ideology and Modern Culture: Critical Social Theory in the Era of Mass Communication (Cambridge, Polity Press, 1990), p. 7.

[4] Hermeneutics concerns the theory of interpretation in order to understand the significance of human actions, utterances, products and institutions, see Alan Bullock, Oliver Stallybrass, and Stephen Trombley (eds.), The Fontana Dictionary of Modern Thought, 2nd edition (London, Fontana Press, 1988), p. 380. The object of an interpretation is discourse, which is already an interpretation. The analysis of discourse is therefore an interpretation of an interpretation. Heidegger has noted that this reinterpretation of a pre-interpreted domain is the manifestation of the "hermeneutical circle". See the discussion in Thompson, Studies, p. 133.

[5] Thompson, Studies, p. 133.

[6] Thompson, Studies, pp. 134-139.

discourse and the constructed Clarksoner missionary identity, on the one hand, and colonial discourse and the constructed Mfengu identity, on the other hand. The social historical processes through which the communal identity of the Moravian Clarksoners and Tsitsikamma Mfengu were forged will especially focus on the important relation of these communal identity formations and land. Following Thompson's analytical framework our inquiry will, in the second place, take the form of a discursive analysis of the historical construction of the Clarksoner and Tsitsikamma Mfengu communal identities, inter alia of the Moravian narrative of the seed as constitutive of missionary communal identity. In the third place, the final phase of Thompson's methodology of interpretation involves a critical interpretation of discourse i.e. a "re-interpretation of a pre-interpreted domain" as a manifestation of the "hermeneutical circle".[7] A significant feature of Thompson's analytical framework is the way in which it integrates discourse analysis as part of a more general social theory. Language and discourse are understood as a social phenomena enmeshed in relations of power, situations of conflict and processes of social change.[8] Social relations with other individuals and/or groups are infused with power and marked by contestation in which struggles take place through the use of words, symbols and/or physical force.[9] During the course of our daily lives our language as much as our actions knowingly or unknowingly sustain, or resist, relations of power and domination with others in the social world.[10] Discourse analysis thus requires an adequate theoretical conceptualisation of power and domination. Thompson defines power as a phenomenon that is realised on three levels of abstraction relative to the relation between structure and agency. The levels are those of action, social institutions and social structure.[11] At the level of action, power is the ability of a person to act in pursuit of her aims and objectives.[12] At the institutional level, power is an institutionally endowed capacity that enables persons to make decisions and pursue and realise their interests. It is the structural conditions of institutions as well as those of society at large that limit this capacity of power.[13]

These analytical distinctions are directly relevant to the first phase of analysis, i.e. that of a social historical analysis. Thompson identifies three levels of social historical analysis corresponding to the different levels of abstraction. The first is at the level of individual and

---

[7] Thompson, Studies, p. 133.
[8] Thompson, Studies, pp. 6-7.
[9] Thompson, Ideology and Modern Culture, pp. 7-10.
[10] Thompson, Ideology and Modern Culture, pp. 9-10.
[11] Thompson, Studies, pp. 128-129.
[12] Thompson, Studies, p. 129.
[13] Thompson, Studies, p. 129.

collective action where we seek to identity the "situationally specific" contexts within which persons act and interact in pursuit of their aims.[14] The second level of social historical analysis concerns the social relations and interactions specific to institutions while the third level involves analysis of the structural elements which determines the conditions for the continuance of institutions. When relations of power at an institutional level are systematically asymmetrical an unequal distribution of power among individuals and/or groups within these institutions prevails. Thompson calls these systematically asymmetrical relations of power, domination. At an institutional level the differential inclusion and exclusion of individuals and/or groups of people thus amounts to domination.[15] On this perspective communal identities may thus be analysed, not as organic unities, but in terms of relations of power and domination. Similarly, in Hall's view, constructed identities emerge within specific modalities of power which produce representations of difference as a basis for including some individuals and/or groups while excluding others from participation and access to resources like land, schooling and education. The unity claimed for communal identities is thus not a given, but produced within relations of power through difference and exclusions in the face of a constructed other.[16]

Using these analytical distinctions we may therefore trace the different levels at which power operated in the colonial context of the Cape with the development of Moravian mission settlements, and in the interactions of emergent groups of Mfengu labourers with land-owners. At the level of individual action missionaries were insecure and outnumbered by indigenous peoples. But at Moravian mission stations in the Cape Colony, these missionaries had the institutionally endowed capacities that enabled them to decide who among the (potential) indigenous converts, previously dispossessed from their traditional lands, would be included in, or excluded from, the mission station. The Moravian missionaries utilised their control of access to mission land and education as coercive tools in the construction of missionary communities. It was in this social and historical context that representations of difference would construct a missionary identity among converts at the Cape. The connections between discourse, power and domination - systematic asymmetrical relations of power - will be the central concern of our analysis of missionary discourse and how the Clarksoner Moravian missionary identity and Tsitsikamma Mfengu were constructed in relation to claims on land.

---

[14] Thompson, Studies, p. 135.
[15] Thompson, Studies, p. 130.
[16] Hall, 'Who Needs Identity?', p. 5.

2.3 Ideological Discourse and Discursive Mechanisms for Mobilising Meaning

Thompson's analytical framework is specifically designed with a view to the critical analyses of ideology and ideological discourse. He locates the analysis of ideology within the ambit of a broader concern with action, interaction, relations of power and domination, and social transformation. He defines ideology, which serves to establish and sustain relations of domination, in terms of the mobilisation of meaning.[17] To study ideology is thus to examine the way in which meaning serves to establish and sustain relations of domination.[18] The critical analysis of ideology explores the dynamic interrelation between discourse and power by examining the ways in which meaning serves to establish and sustain relations of power and domination. More specifically, Thompson distinguishes three levels of power at which forms of discourse may be studied. He is concerned with the different mechanisms involved in the mobilisation of meaning like that of narrative, argumentative and syntactic structures. Thompson argues that representations of sustained relations of power and domination often assume a narrative form that justifies and legitimates the status quo.[19] Another mechanism identified by Thompson as involved in the mobilisation of meaning is the argumentative structure of a discourse. An analysis of the argumentative structure of a discourse may assist us in highlighting the contradictions, inconsistencies and silences prevalent within the discourse, and could reveal the strategies of dissimulation utilised therein.[20] Thompson also identifies the syntactic structure of a discourse as a further mechanism by which meaning is mobilised. An analysis of the syntactic structure of a discourse may assist us in the identification of nominalisation, the use of pronouns, and the tense structure that underlies processes of reification within a discourse.[21] An analysis of the function of these different mechanisms relating to the forms of discourse will enable us to identify how meanings have been mobilised by Moravian missionaries to produce a Moravian missionary identity that was imposed on indigenous converts at the Cape Colony, and by colonial officials to construct a colonial Mfengu identity that facilitated the use of indentured labour within the colony. Thompson is specifically concerned with the ideological function of these specific features of discourse, i.e. how meaning is mobilised to establish and sustain relations of domination by means of representations of legitimation, strategies of dissimulation and processes of

---

[17] Thompson, Studies, pp. 130-131. See also Thompson, Ideology and Modern Culture, pp. 6-10.
[18] Thompson, Studies, pp. 130-131.
[19] Thompson, Studies, p. 136.
[20] Thompson, Studies, pp. 136-137.
[21] Thompson, Studies, p. 137.

reification.[22] Representations of legitimation presented as just, and worthy of support are based either on (1) rational grounds in which the legality of enacted rules and laws are appealed to; (2) traditional grounds in which the sanctity of time immemorial traditions are evoked; or (3) charismatic grounds in which the exceptional character of an individual person exercising authority is appealed to.[23] Strategies of dissimulation on the other hand conceals, obscures, denies, and deflects attention away from existing relations of power and domination. Processes of reification involve representing a temporary historical situation as if it were permanent, natural and existing outside of time. Such processes involve the elimination of the social and historical character from the event. When Groups within society are presented as being "without history" through the deletion of agency and the constitution of time as an extension of the present, then a contribution is made to establishing and sustaining relations of power and domination.[24] In our critical analysis of the Moravian missionary discourse we will explore the ways in which the imposed Moravian missionary identity contributed towards and sustained relations of colonial domination. It will be shown that the discursive mechanism of narratives is of particular importance when problematising the historical origin of the Clarksoner Moravian missionary identity as constructed within the Moravian narrative. We will thus explore how resources of history, language and culture were utilised by Moravian missionaries to reconstruct a shared history and common origin with the historical Moravian narrative. We will also analyse how the Moravian Ethic functioned to construct a communal identity fashioning indigenous converts as "docile", "obedient", "good", and "loyal" labourers instilled with a new work ethic. Significantly the social and historical analysis locates these discursive processes within the context of colonial land dispossessions and colonial demands for the use of indigenous labour at the Cape.

2.4 Complementing the Analytical Framework: Fairclough, White and Foucault

Thompson's analytical framework is not specifically concerned with historical processes and thus needs to be complemented in this regard for the purposes of our historical case studies. Discursively constructed communal identities are not timeless and unchanging constructs but products of historical processes functioning in changing and different social and political contexts. We thus need to consider the ways in which constructed communal identities may

---

[22] Thompson, Studies, pp. 136-137.
[23] Thompson, Ideology and Modern Culture, pp. 60-61.
[24] Thompson, Ideology and Modern Culture, p. 65.

become naturalised or how ascribed and imposed identities may in course of time become appropriated. Of particular relevance to our historical case studies is Hall's argument that constructed identities may function as naturalised representations, which have become taken-for-granted as common-sense assumptions.[25] Norman Fairclough similarly argues that the naturalisation of meaning is a very powerful weapon when utilised to establish and sustain relations of domination and that "commonsense" can have ideological functions.[26] Fairclough describes "common sense" as a reflection of the dominant discourse that people have come to perceive as natural and legitimate. He argues that it is when the meaning and assumptions of a discourse becomes taken-for-granted by people who are either not consciously aware of them, and/or who do not formulate these meanings explicitly, that naturalised ideologies are most effective in the guise of "common sense". This naturalisation of ideology contributes to the socialisation of persons in society and circumscribes the construction and formation of social identities in a given society.[27] In our historical case studies one of the aims of our discursive analysis will be to trace the process through which the constructed missionary identity of indigenous converts in time is transformed into the taken-for-granted communal identity of the Clarksoners; similarly we will be concerned with the historical shift from an ascribed "Fingo" ethnic identity in colonial discourse to the later appropriation of a Mfengu identity and the eventual mobilisation by the Tsitsikamma Mfengu of this identity as a discursive resource in support of their claims for restitution of their historical land in the context of post-apartheid South Africa.

Likewise, in our analysis of the significance of the Moravian historical narrative on the construction of the Moravian communal identity, the theoretical approach of Hayden White will be used to complement Thompson's analytical framework. White asserts that the content of a discourse consists of its form as well as the information obtained from our interpretation thereof. He argues that while it may not change the information contained in a narrative if we change the narrative form of a discourse, this may well modify and change its discursive meaning.[28] The historical narrative transforms a mere list or sequence of historical events into a story with a plot and of a particular genre and gives it the kind of meaning that we ordinarily

---

[25] Hall, 'Who Needs Identity?', pp. 4-5.

[26] Norman Fairclough, Language and Power (London, Longman, 1989), p. 92.

[27] Fairclough's conception of ideology as involving the naturalisation of meaning complements Thompson's conception of ideology in terms of the mobilisation of meaning that serves to establish and sustain relations of power by the meanings mobilised being taken for granted and naturalised. Fairclough, Language, p. 92

[28] Hayden White, The Content of the Form: Narrative Discourse and Historical Representation (Baltimore, John Hopkins University Press, 1987), p. 42.

would only find in myths and literature. White describes a historical narrative as "allegorical", since it says one thing while meaning another.[29] The structuration of time is an important component of the historical narrative. White reflects on three kinds of representation of time identified by Ricoeur. These are "within-time-ness" in which events take place, "historicality" whereby emphasis is placed on recollecting the past through repetition, and "deep temporality" which is the unity of the future, the past, and the present.[30] According to White, these aspects of time are represented in such a way in the narrative that endings appear to be linked to beginnings, thereby forming continuity within difference. White's theoretical approach to the study of historical narratives provides us with a checklist of elements for application in our analysis of the Moravian historical narrative. These are: a proper beginning in time, a proper middle, a proper conclusion that links the beginning with the ending, the dominating forces, the recurring themes, the gaps, the social centre, the subject and the central organising principle, and finally the geographical centre/location.[31] These narrative elements combine and contribute towards maintaining the narrative's coherence and comprehensiveness.[32] In our discursive analysis of the historical Moravian narrative we will explore the continuity, coherency and comprehensiveness of a narrative that connects different historical time-periods, events, and localities together into one complete "story".[33]

The different mechanisms involved in the discursive mobilisation of meaning identified by Thompson is complemented by Michel Foucault's concept of modern forms of social discipline replacing pre-modern means of violent and coercive control.[34] In *The Order of Discourse* Foucault identified some key discursive procedures of subjection exercised in the production of discourse. Thus Foucault uses the example of an education system, which carries with it knowledge and power, while at the same being an apparatus through which speech is ritualised, the roles of speaking subjects are fixed, and doctrinal groups are constituted.[35] Of particular relevance to our analysis of the historical construction of a missionary communal identity is Foucault's notion of the discursive procedures of subjection involved in ritual,

---

[29] White, The Content of the Form, pp. 43-45.
[30] White, The Content of the Form, pp. 51-52; Paul Ricoeur, Time and Narrative, trans. K. Mclaughlin and D. Pellauer, Vol. 1 (Chicago, University of Chicago Press, 1983), pp. 59-64.
[31] White, The Content of the Form, pp. 6-23.
[32] White, The Content of the Form, pp. 16-17.
[33] White, The Content of the Form, p. 52.
[34] Michel Foucault, Discipline and Punish: the Birth of the Prison, trans. Alan Sheridan (New York, Vintage Books,1979).
[35] Michel Foucault, 'The Order of Discourse' in Robert Young (ed.), Untying the Text: A Post Structuralist Reader (Boston, Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1981), p. 64.

doctrine, and the social appropriation of discourses.[36] Foucault defines ritual as the gestures, behaviour, and the set of signs that accompany a discourse. He defines the discursive constraint of doctrine as the set of rules and regulations commonly held and accepted by a discourse community, consisting of a finite number of individuals, with which they define their reciprocal allegiance. Foucault asserts that commitment to a doctrine functions to extract general social conformity from a discourse community by their shared recognition and acceptance of a set of rules and regulations. Their reciprocal allegiance to the doctrine binds them to, and forbids them from, specified actions and pronouncements. The doctrine, as a discursive procedure of constraint, thus mobilises the discourse community and binds them together as a group while differentiating them from the constructed other.[37] Significantly Moravian missionaries did not rely on violence or coercive power in "converting" indigenous people to become members of missionary communities; instead the Moravian Ethic as a form of social discipline defined the meaning of good conduct and loyalty to those in positions of authority by seeking to control the gestures and behaviour of (potential) indigenous converts. Excluded were people, like those amongst the Tsitsikamma Mfengu communities, who refused to follow the rituals proclaimed by these missionaries. In the case of Clarksoners and Tsitsikamma Mfengu, the mission school was the discursive apparatus through which the Moravian missionaries taught (potential) indigenous converts about the dignity of labour, the importance of being industrious, and the pre-requisites of good conduct and so obtained conformity to missionary order and discipline. In the Moravian missionary discourse missionaries' exacted conformity to a set of rules and regulations or "ordininge" of the Moravian Ethic, from indigenous converts who came to constitute a discourse community by their acceptance of the Moravian doctrine. Together, these three discursive constraints of Foucault complement Thompson's methodology of interpretation and provide additional tools of analysis for revealing the ideological legitimation of relations of power and domination prevalent within the constructed Moravian missionary community.

However, one of the central issues of our historical case studies will be concerned with what may be termed the dialectical development of communal identities. If, to begin with, the Moravian missionary community was a case of *imposed* identity, a model case of the

[36] Foucault, 'The Order of Discourse', pp. 61-64.
[37] Foucault, 'The Order of Discourse', p. 64.

"colonisation of consciousness",[38] then this was by no means the end of the story. In course of time this imposed identity of the Moravian missionary community became naturalised to become an *appropriated* identity, a common sense given or assumption, for subsequent generations of Clarksoners. Likewise the origins of the ascriptive term "Fingos" can be shown to be in colonial discourse from the 1830s which at the time did *not* (yet) correspond to a particular ethnic group or historical community.[39] But by the 1860s, it was beginning to be appropriated for certain political purposes, significantly involving claims to rights and land. In the context of post-apartheid South Africa it functioned as a main source for communal mobilisation by the Tsitsikamma Mfengu in support of their claims for restitution of their historical land. These dialectical developments raise two interrelated theoretical questions. On the one hand there is the question of the construction of communal identities as *discursive objects;* and on the other hand there is the question of how the *subjects* of these discursive processes are hailed or interpellated.[40] We need to consider each of these in turn.

2.5 Communal Identities as Discursive Objects

The question of how the Moravian Clarksoners and Tsitsikamma Mfengu were represented, and/or represented themselves, in relation to their historical claims to land involves complex discursive processes. The construction of community is about creating conditions of belonging so that individuals come to see themselves as members of a collectivity.[41] This can happen in different kinds of contexts and at different levels. Since Tönnies, the distinction between *Gemeinschaft* and *Gesellschaft*, i.e. between traditional rural and local communities and modern urban industrial society, has become a commonplace of history and social theory.[42] This general distinction has important implications for the more specific significance of individual and communal identities. Benedict Anderson relies on the distinction between local, concrete, face-to-face communities and more abstract, mass, anonymous collectivities for his seminal notion of the nation as an "imagined community". Anderson argues that the difference

---

[38] Jean and John Comaroffs, Of Revelation and Revolution: Christianity, Colonialism and Consciousness in South Africa, vol. 1 (Chicago, Chicago University Press, 1991), and Of Revelation and Revolution: The Dialetics of Modernity on a South African Frontier vol. 2 (Chicago, Chicago University Press, 1997).

[39] Jannecke, 'The Fingo/Mfengu: A Case Study in Land and Identity' (B.Soc. Sci. (Hons.), Department of Political Studies, University of Cape Town, 1997), pp. 58-90.

[40] Ian Parker, Discourse Dynamics (London, Routledge, 1992).

[41] Stuart Hall, 'The Question of Cultural Identity', p. 296.

[42] Adam and Jessica Kuper (eds.), The Social Science Encyclopedia 2nd edition (London, Routledge, 1996), p.114.

between nations and local communities lie in the different ways in which their communal identities are imagined and constructed.[43]

In general communities, whether at local or national levels, continue to be represented as unified and their communal identities are expressed as being "one people". This is assumed to be rooted in some organic unity such as that of ethnicity. As against such essentialist or primordialist approaches the social identity of communities should rather be read as discursive objects constructed in or through difference, and constantly destabilised by what it leaves out.[44] Ethnicity commonly refers to shared cultural features like language, religion, custom, traditions, and feelings for place.[45] But communities are seldom actually unified under any one set of descriptions. According to Hall, a range of differentiated cultural features can be utilised as symbolic markers to set discursively constituted ethnic communities apart.[46] The use of culture in this instance, functions as a source of meanings, a focus of identification, and a system of representation. It is through the memories of the past, the desire to live together, to belong, and to perpetuate a communal heritage that a community's social identity is imagined and discursively constituted.[47] The communal unity, the internal homogeneity, which the process of identification treats as foundational is actually a constructed but naturalised form of closure.[48] Representations of communal identity typically ignore and repress internal differences within the community. Thus the unity and internal homogeneity produced through the process of identification within the Tsitsikamma Mfengu ethnic discourse in the context of communal mobilisation for the restitution of their historical land in the 1990s, omits to acknowledge the significance of the three distinct historical Mfengu communities that resided at Doriskraal, Snyklip and Wittekeibosch before the forced removals during the 1970s. The discrepancies between the unity of communal identity as a discursive object, as against the differentiated nature of the actual collectivity may have important political and social consequences. In the reconstitution of the contemporary Tsitsikamma Mfengu community in 1994, the omission and exclusion of this historical differentiation among Mfengu peoples in the Tsitsikamma persistently destabilised the constructed unity and homogeneity of the constituted community in the form of an opposing "concerned group" of Tsitsikamma Mfengu.

---

[43] Benedict Anderson, Imagined Communties: Reflections on the Origin and Spread of Nationalism (London, Verso, 1983).
[44] Hall, 'Who Needs "Identity"?', p. 5.
[45] Hall. 'The Question of Cultural Identity' in S. Hall and D. Held (eds.), Modernity and its Futures (Cambridge, Polity Press, 1992), p. 297.
[46] Hall, 'The Question of Cultural Identity', pp. 296, 298.
[47] Hall, 'The Question of Cultural Identity', pp.297-298.
[48] Hall, 'Who Needs "Identity"?', p. 5.

This dissertation will be concerned with a case study in the historical and social construction of communal identities as discursive objects. How did it come about that people separated by three or four centuries and living many thousands of miles apart came to conceive of themselves as members of the same missionary community and sharing a communal identity? In the case of the Moravians this involves linkages between the Unitas Fratrum in 15th century Bohemia, the Hernhutters in 18th century Moravia and indigenous converts in the 19th century Cape Colony. The Fingo/Mfengu, who actually shared the same locality and some 150 years of historical interaction with the Clarksoners, remained a distinct community even if some of them at different times did become converts. What representational strategies and discursive mechanisms are deployed to construct our commonsense views of belonging to a community, and what makes these effective in some cases, but not in others? Hall provides us with five main elements. The first is the narrative of the community as it is told and retold. A set of stories, images and landscapes, historical events, symbols and rituals are used to represent a shared set of experiences, sorrows and triumphs and disasters giving meaning to belonging to a community. Members of this imagined or discursive community see themselves as sharing this narrative, which lends significance to their existence and connects their daily lives.[49] The second element is an emphasis on origin, continuity, timelessness and tradition. The identity of the community is represented as primordial, unified and continuous. The third element involves the invention of tradition, which arises from the repeated use of rituals and so implies continuity with a suitable historical past. The fourth element is the foundational myth, and is a story that locates the origin of the community. Myths of origin convert disarray into community, and provide a narrative in terms of which an alternative history or counter-history that pre-dates the ruptures of colonization, can be produced. The fifth element is the symbolic grounding of the idea of an original community of people, which belongs together.[50] These five different representational strategies provide an array of resources to be applied in our later accounts of the discursive construction of the Clarksoner and Tsitsikamma Mfengu communal identities.[51]

An underlying theoretical issue in this regard is whether the use of such representational strategies to construct communal identities should always be considered to have an *ideological* function. This depends on the specific conceptualisation of ideology. The theoretical literature

[49] Hall, 'The Question of Cultural Identity', p. 294.
[50] Hall, 'The Question of Cultural Identity', pp. 294-295
[51] See discussion in chapter 8 of this dissertation.

on ideology can be characterised in terms of a distinction between a *critical* concept of ideology, derived from the Marxist tradition, and a *neutral* concept of ideology, associated with American social and behavioural science.[52] In Thompson's own critical conceptualisation of ideological discourse, meaning is mobilised *to serve and sustain the interests of domination* of the ruling class. On this account, however, the use of much the same representational strategies, but to serve the purposes of individual and collective emancipation, would *not* be ideological since it is not aimed at establishing and maintaining relations of domination. In this regard the ethnic Tsitsikamma Mfengu discourse of the 1990s would count as a non-ideological discourse.[53] André du Toit suggests that a critical interpretation be applied to non-ideological discourses as well as ideological discourses with an accompanying awareness that these form part of a "single field of inquiry".[54]

A similar complication relates to exclusion as the inevitable counterpart of the process of identification in the construction of communal identities. According to Hall, the construction of communal identities as discursive objects involves an accompanying politics of exclusion. When we rearticulate the relationship between individuals and discursive practices, this involves the question of identification.[55] As a process of articulation, identification operates across difference and entails the discursive work of marking symbolic boundaries and binding that involves the recognition, connection, association, and classification of objects within discourses.[56] Constructed in this way identification creates an allegiance, or an association, and establishes a marked symbolic boundary and natural closure of solidarity.[57] Identification requires this symbolic boundary in relation not only to what is included but also in relation to what is left outside, which is its "constitutive outside", to consolidate the process.[58] For the Tsitsikamma Mfengu, the Clarkson mission community marked the symbolic boundary against which their own process of identification occurred. In this regard the constitutive outside in the process of Tsitsikamma Mfengu ethnic identification was the Clarkson mission community. The binding and connectedness of the community that is produced through this process of

---

[52] Thompson, Studies, pp. 91-122
[53] André du Toit, 'On Ideology', South African Journal of Philosophy 13: 3 (1994), p. 116.
[54] Du Toit, 'On Ideology', p. 116.
[55] Hall, 'Who Needs "Identity"?', p. 2.
[56] Hall, 'Who Needs "Identity"?', p. 3.
[57] Hall, 'Who Needs "Identity"?', p, 2.
[58] Hall, 'Who Needs "Identity"?', p. 3.

identification is naturalised and commonly perceived as a constituted unity, comprising of an all inclusive sameness with no internal differentiation.[59]

2.6 Hailing the Subjects of Discourses about Communal Identities

The discursive articulation of communal identities involves a dual set of processes: on the one hand it refers to the construction of determinate communal identities as discursive *objects*, and on the other hand it refers to processes which construct us as *subjects* of particular discourses. As basic as the question how communal identities are constructed as discursive objects is the complementary question how discursive practices interpellate or hail us into place as social subjects of particular discourses. The condition of belonging, of being a member of a community and of sharing a communal identity is about allegiance, bonding and symbolic identification. According to Hall, identification also requires the (successful) articulation or chaining of the subject into the flow of the discourse.[60] Such questions concern, for example, the ways in which people who had resided at Doriskraal, Snyklip and Wittekeibosch, but not the residents of Clarkson, were constituted as subjects of an appropriated (ethnic) Tsitsikamma Mfengu discourse. The appropriation of an ethnic Tsitsikamma Mfengu communal identity involved the hailing or interpellation of people as Tsitsikamma Mfengu. When individuals responded to this call a discursive community was formed.

Althusser was seminally concerned with theorising about the interpellation of individuals as ideological subjects. Althusser played on the fundamental ambivalence in the meaning of "subject", i.e. that of being an agent, or independent source of actions, claims and knowledge and that of being subordinated to others, the law and authority. The submission to a higher authority on the one hand and the free acceptance of this submission on the other hand, captures the double meaning of the Althusserian subject.[61] The function of ideology is to transform individuals into subjects by interpellation or hailing – "hey you there": the constitution of the individual as ideological subject is both an action of the individual in responding to being hailed ("who me"?), but also assumes that this identity had already somehow been pre-determined. [62] Following Althusser it is obvious or common sense that individuals are "always

---

[59] Hall, 'Who Needs "Identity"?', p. 4.
[60] Hall, 'Who Needs "Identity"?', pp. 5-6.
[61] L. Althusser, 'Ideology and Ideological State Apparatus (Notes Towards and Investigation)' in L. Althusser (ed.), Lenin and Philosophy and Other Essays, trans. B. Brewster (New York, Monthly Review Press, 1972), p. 169.
[62] Althusser, 'Ideology and Ideological State Apparatus', p. 163.

already" subjects, i.e. persons who are not independent but still freely accept their submission to another power. Althusser's use of the term "obviousness" and stress on the "always already" character of ideological subjects corresponds to what Fairclough describes as the ideological function of common-sense.[63] Individuals may however not be consciously aware that they are subjects of ideological discourses.

According to Pêcheux a discourse or ideological formation consists of non-discursive elements as well as one or more inter-related discursive formations. These determine the subject-position for the discourse, i.e. what can be said from a given position under a particular set of socio-historical conditions. According to Pêcheux, ideological formations encircle the whole of discourse and relate perceived contradictory discourses to each other.[64] An interpellation is effective when the subject identifies with the constructed object of a dominating discursive formation.[65] An example hereof is the identification of certain indigenous groupings within the Eastern Cape frontier with the constructed representation of "Fingo" in the colonial discourse by the mid-19th century. Furthermore each discursive formation is situated within a structured whole of discursive constructions, or interdiscourse, which in turn rests within a range of complex ideological formations.[66] In this sense the emerging ethnic Tsitsikamma Mfengu discourse in the 1990s is part of a more comprehensive structured interdiscourse of post-apartheid South Africa, which seeks to mobilise meaning so as to establish and sustain relations of power that will ensure the restitution of land, and additional access to and use of land.

Pêcheux contends that while the subject is always rooted within a particular discourse, the interdiscourse is not visible to the subject. He calls this lack of clarity or exclusion the "forgetting", which he maintains is inaccessible to the subject and creates the illusion that the subject precedes discourse.[67] In this way the subject comes to be perceived as being the origin of its own meaning and discourse, whereas that subject was produced by the dominating discursive formation. Theoretically Pêcheux distinguishes between discursive *articulation* and the *pre-constructed.* [68] Following Pêcheux, then, the subject is "always already there", along with that which is pre-constructed in a discursive formation. Significantly, however, the subject

---

[63] Fairclough, Language and Power, p. 102.
[64] Diane Macdonell, Theories of Discourse: An Introduction (Oxford, B. Blackwell, 1987), p. 43-47.
[65] Roger Woods, 'Discourse Analysis: the Work of Michel Pêcheux', Ideology and Consciousness 2 (1977), p. 62.
[66] Woods, 'Discourse Analysis', pp. 62-63.
[67] Thompson, Studies, p. 236.
[68] Woods, 'Discourse Analysis', p.62.

does not recognise its subordination or the pre-constructed in a discursive formation since it takes itself to be responding independently and freely to the interpellation.[69] The articulation of an interdiscourse constitutes the subject in its relation to meaning, which represents and determines the domination of the subject-form in an interdiscourse.[70] This identification of the subject with the dominating inter-discourse is an imaginary identification, which may exist in three different modalities. The first modality of i*dentification* is that of the "good subject", in which the subject freely and spontaneously consents to its subjectivisation. An example hereof was the adherence of converts to the transplanted and imposed Moravian Ethic at the Clarkson mission station. The second modality of identification is that of the "bad subject", and is termed the *counter-identification* in which the subject adopts an opposing position and contradicts the meaning imposed on it by the dominating interdiscourse. Meaning herein is only negated, not created. An example hereof was the opposition to missionary authority and the elements of the imposed Moravian Ethic at the mission stations of Mamre, Elim, and Genadendal at the Cape. The third modality is that of *dis-identification* in which a new discursive practice is formulated by the reordering of words and expressions. An example hereof was the reformulation of historical meanings and experiences of trauma and suffering used in the constituted contemporary Mfengu identity during the 1990s Here aspects of meaning in the interdiscourse were appropriated and rearranged, thereby causing a rupture with the identification in the interdiscourse.[71] The set of stories, images and landscapes, historical events, symbols and rituals that were used to represent a shared set of experiences, sorrows and triumphs and disasters which grounded and gave meaning to the belonging to (membership of) the contemporary Tsitsikamma Mfengu community – together involved the reordering of words and expressions. It also involved the appropriation and rearrangement of selected aspects of meaning of the representation of the "Fingo" as a discursive object in the inter-colonial and Moravian missionary discourses. This dis-identification gave rise to a new discursive practice namely the Tsitsikamma Mfengu ethnic discourse, in which the Clarkson mission community was constructed as the "constitutive outside" in the process of identification of the contemporary Tsitsikamma Mfengu community

[69] Woods, 'Discourse Analysis', p. 63.
[70] Woods, 'Discourse Analysis', p. 63.
[71] Woods, 'Discourse Analysis', pp. 66-67.

2.7 Conclusion

The methodology of discursive analysis and interpretation discussed in this chapter comprises of both a descriptive and critical analysis. This method of analysis will be applied to our case study in order to clarify what is involved in the historical construction and appropriation of the Clarksoner Moravian mission and Tsitsikamma Mfengu communal identities; and how these were linked to power struggles and claims of entitlement to land. In our discussion we indicated that our critical approach to applied discourse analysis will consider both non-ideological discourses like the Tsitsikamma Mfengu ethnic discourse; as well as ideological discourses like the colonial and apartheid discourse since both form part of a single field of inquiry. In the following chapters we will apply the varied aspects of discourse theory as discussed above in our analysis of the historical case study of the Clarkson Moravian mission and Tsitsikamma communal identities and its relation to claims of entitlement to land.

Chapter Three

The Historical and Narrative Origins of the Moravian Missionary Community

3.1 Introduction

In this chapter we will be tracing the construction of a particular communal identity, that of a Moravian missionary settlement in the Eastern Cape, linking different groups of people in widely dispersed times and places. Our account will take us from the Unitas Fratum, a religious group in Bohemia in the 1460s, to the Herrnhuter community established on the Estate of Count Zinzendorf near Dresden in the 1720s, thence to the first and second Moravian missions to the Cape Colony, around 1737 and again from the 1790s, with the (renewed) founding of the Moravian mission at Genadendal, and eventually also to the founding of the mission of Clarkson in the Eastern Cape in 1839.[1] What is the bond between these diverse groupings over a period of more than 400 years and many thousands of miles apart? In what sense or way could this have brought about the construction of a particular communal identity? As we will see there are, of course, specific historical connections between these different times and places, at least in the persons and through the actions of the Moravian missionaries themselves. But how, and in what sense, could the Clarksoners in the nineteenth and twentieth century conceive of their communal identity, first on the Eastern Cape frontier and later in apartheid South Africa, as essentially constituted through their Moravian origins in far Europe several centuries before? Even more than the often complex and sometimes tenuous historical connections via various intermediary individuals and institutions, it is a shared story, a particular historical narrative, which binds these diverse peoples and places together over vast stretches of time. This chapter will outline the relevant historical and social contexts, explore the origins and development of the Moravian narrative and analyse its role in the construction of what eventually became the communal identity of the Clarksoners. We will explore its outlines both backwards to early modern Europe and forwards to colonial South Africa until we are in a position to analyse the narrative construction itself.

[1] Clarkson is located along the Southern Cape Coast of South Africa, below the Gamtoos River. The Moravian Mission Society had by 1869 included the Clarkson mission station within its administration of the Western Cape region. See discussion in chapter 6 of this dissertation.

The missionaries set out to convert the "heathen" by transforming their social, religious, political, economic and spatial landscape. This "conversion" to the distinctive Christian practices of the Moravian missionaries at the Cape meant adherence to the defined discipline, conduct, rules and regulations, work practices, and economic and agricultural activities. Together, these elements formed a Moravian Ethic, which both defined the missionaries own identity and was imposed on and appropriated by indigenous peoples. In this way the Moravian missionary identity of indigenous converts was produced in relation to the constitutive mission identity of the Moravian missionaries at the Cape Colony, and imposed through the transformative conversion process. In this chapter, our main interest is in the imposed missionary identity against the background of the constitutive mission identity.

This chapter will deal with two different levels of analysis, namely a social historical analysis and a discursive analysis. We begin by giving a general socio-historical account of the changing context of the Moravians by describing how a religious community came to be established at Herrnhut. This is followed by a discursive analysis of the Moravian narrative of the seed. We further describe the establishment of the first Moravian missionary settlement at the Cape within a colonial context. On the level of discourse analysis we will explore the metaphors utilised in the historical Moravian narrative of the seed, and aim to show how these informed the narrative connections between the "ancient" and the "renewed" Moravian communities, as well as with the "mission" community in the Cape Colony. We will examine the constructed Moravian missionary identity at the first Moravian mission station by analysing a selection of its core elements including the mode of production, spatial organisation, and the Moravian Ethic.

3.2 The Moravian Communal Identity in Socio-historical and Discursive Context

3.2.1 Herrnhut and the Moravian Ethic

The early Moravian missionaries came to the Cape colony carrying with them their experiences and memories of the Herrnhut religious community. The Herrnhut settlement had been established in 1727 on the estate of Count Zinzendorf in Dresden, Germany. The map in figure 3 below shows the location of Herrnhut.

Figure 3: A map showing the location of Herrnhut in relation to Bohemia

[Source: The Teachers of the Fulneck Academy, The Moravian Atlas, 1853].



The people who initially settled at Herrnhut were refugees from Moravia and Bohemia in Czechoslovakia, who had fled the Counter-Reformation during the early 1700s, and sought refuge on the Zinzendorf estate.[2] The location of Moravia and Bohemia in relation to Herrnhut can be seen on the map in figure 3 above. At the outset the Herrnhut settlement consisted of different religious groups including, amongst others, the Unitas Fratrum, Lutherans, Pietists, Anabaptists and Roman Catholics. However, under the protection and authority of Count Zinzendorf these refugees became constituted as a distinctive religious group within the Lutheran Church, commonly known as "the Herrnhuters".

3.2.1.1 Pietism and Protestantism: Distinctive Features of the Herrnhut Community

The formation of distinctive religious groups, like the Herrnhuters, within an official church, is a distinguishing feature of Protestant Pietism. Such religious groups consciously separated themselves from others in society and formed communities of refuge in which their particular religious traditions, beliefs and practices were taught.[3] While some emphasised their independence and asserted their group identity through distinctive religious practices, other Pietist communities, like the Herrnhuters, existed as a contained group within the official Church. Some Pietist groups did however secede from the official Lutheran Church, establishing themselves as independent churches. The Herrnhut community formally separated from the Lutheran Church after the death of Zinzendorf in 1760. Under the leadership of Spanenberg a constitution and set of regulations were adopted, which validated its growth into an independent Moravian Church and international evangelical denomination.[4] The Methodists, a Pietist group in England also separated from the official Church of England during the 1780s, and established an autonomous Methodist Church.[5]

A distinctive characteristic of Pietism was the methodical exercise of social discipline as an activity of the Church to achieve and maintain spiritual and ethical reform within a religious

---

[2] A.J. Lewis, Zinzendorf the Ecumenical Pioneer: A Study in the Moravian Contribution to Christian Mission and Unity (Philadelphia, The Westminister Press, 1962), pp. 47-52. The Church was also known as the United Brethren, or simply the Brethren.

[3] Hartmut Lehmann, 'Pietism and Nationalism: The Relationship between Protestant Revivalism and National Renewal in Nineteenth-Century Germany', Church History 51: 1 (March 1982), p. 42.

[4] J.C.S. Mason, The Moravian Church and the Missionary Awakening in England: 1760-1800 (Suffolk, The Boydell Press, 2001), pp. 11-27.

community. The responsibility for social discipline was therefore not a function of the police or government but rather an important function of the Church.[6] Communal discipline and good conduct were regulated through the Church. However, this did not mean that Pietists were opposed to State authority. On the contrary, silent loyalty to those in positions of authority, including government officials, and an acceptance of the prevailing social order were important characteristics of Pietism.[7] Zinzendorf exercised considerable power and authority within the Herrnhut community. Not only was he owner of the land on which the settlement was established, he was also a prominent religious leader.[8] According to Rimius, residents of Herrnhut responded with meekness and obedience to Zinzendorf's authority.[9]

Another defining Pietist feature was the active participation of lay members in the organisation and administration of the religious community. The management of the Herrnhuter community and the maintenance of social discipline were not the sole responsibility of the priest but also of the body of elders.[10] A final but significant characteristic was its proselytising nature: the Moravians were characterised by the persistent attempts of members to convert others to establish further groups of fellowship. This led to its missionary project of converting the "heathen". A tension however existed between this outward vision of seeking to convert others, and the inward vision of directing concern towards the well-being and the unity of the religious community.[11]

We first consider the application of the inward vision in terms of the development of a Moravian Ethic among the local community itself. From the outset the Herrnhut community was noted for the emphasis they placed on social discipline. The refugees who had settled at Herrnhut with their different religious traditions were unified into a coherent religious community through the social regulations and guidelines implemented by Zinzendorf. These regulations were

---

[5] Ernst Troeltsch, The Social Teaching of the Christian Churches (London, George Allen and Unwin, 1931), vol. 2, pp. 714-715. On the Methodists separation from the official Church of England see L. Tyeman, The Life and Times of Rev. John Wesley (London, Hodder and Stoughton, 1871).
[6] Troeltsch, The Social Teaching, pp. 716-717.
[7] Troeltsch, The Social Teaching, p. 717.
[8] Quoted in Henry Rimius, A Candid Narrative of the Rise and Progress of the Herrnhuters: Commonly Called Moravians or Unitas Fratum, with a Short Account of their Doctrines Drawn from their Own Writings (London, A. Linde, 1753), p. 22.
[9] Rimius, A Candid Narrative of the Rise and Progress of the Herrnhuters, pp. 21-22.
[10] Troeltsch, The Social Teaching, p. 717.
[11] Troeltsch, The Social Teaching, pp. 718-720.

contained in two administrative documents.[12] The first document was similar to that of a village constitution and was called the "Herrschaftliche Gebote und Verbote" or the "Manorial Injunctions and Prohibitions".[13] This document contained a set of compulsory public rules and regulations, which were binding on all residents of Herrnhut. Each resident was compelled by Zinzendorf to sign this document in 1727, thereby displaying their compliance with the public rules and regulations governing the settlement. The second document was called the "Brotherly Union and Compact".[14] This document was a pledge and contract by which each resident voluntarily committed her/himself as member of the unified Herrnhut religious community.[15] A ceremony of acceptance was held annually on the 13th of August to commemorate this pledge and commitment aimed at constituting a unified Christian community.[16] On the whole, such village constitutions and guidelines were not unusual during this period, and similar agreements were enforced on other estates in Germany at the time. A staunch critic of the Herrnhuters, Henry Rimius, observed that they had successfully established a discipline among themselves that unified their community.[17]

As with Pietist groups in general, all Herrnhuters were involved in the management and administration of their community. Members elected representatives from among themselves onto a "body of elders", which was responsible for the management and administration of the community.[18] These elected representatives, together with Zinzendorf, also ensured that the public rules and regulations of Herrnhut, as contained in the "Herrschaftliche Gebote und Verbote", were regularly observed.[19] Those in positions of authority maintained strict order within the settlement. Their tasks included, amongst others, granting permission to refugees to settle and build houses in Herrnhut,[20] collection of rates and taxes from residents, maintenance of buildings and streets, care of the poor, aged and sick, education of children,

---

[12] W.G. Addison, The Renewed Church of the United Brethren, 1722-1930 (London, Society for the Promoting of Christian Knowledge, 1932), p. 16.
[13] Addison, The Renewed Church, pp. 40-41.
[14] Addison, The Renewed Church, pp. 41-42.
[15] G.L. Gollin, Moravians in Two Worlds: A Study of Changing Communities (New York, Columbia University Press, 1967), p. 27.
[16] Annually in South Africa all Moravian congregations, including Clarkson, commemorate this festival of communal unity known as the Festival of the 13th August, or "die Dertiende Augustus Fees". Local rural and urban Moravian communities in South Africa become unified with Moravians across the world in their commemoration of the constitution of the unified Herrnhut community.
[17] Rimius, A Candid Narrative of the Rise and Progress of the Herrnhuters, pp. 8-9.
[18] Gollin, Moravians in Two Worlds, p. 27.
[19] Augustus C. Thompson, Moravian Missions: Twelve Lectures (London, Hodder and Stoughton, 1882), pp. 52-54.

approval of marriages, and the expulsion of thieves and drunkards from the settlement. Superstition and forms of popular entertainment were prohibited within the settlement.[21] In general those in positions of authority strictly controlled all spontaneous and undisciplined actions.[22] The acceptance of the rules, regulations and communal discipline imposed by Zinzendorf and the Body of Elders and obedience thereto was a requirement for qualifying to settle at Herrnhut and being provided with a portion of residential and gardening land. This indicated a crucial connection between the Herrnhut communal identity formation and land. This particular connection between land and communal identity brings to the fore how the control of access too, and use of land functioned in the origins of the Herrnhut community. The same mechanism was later used at Moravian mission settlements in the Cape Colony.

The application of this Pietist inward vision was marked by the belief that productive labour was an important and necessary ingredient for the maintenance of a Christian community. Typical of the Protestant work ethic, the Herrnhuters understood labour as "serving to increase the glory of God". According to Weber the Herrnhuters, like other Protestants, "glorified the loyal and faithful worker" and opposed all forms of "idleness", believing that "wasting of time" was a "deadly sin".[23] This work ethic also underpinned engagement in commercial enterprise. The Body of Elders strictly regulated all trade and business activity within Herrnhut, and aimed to secure the interests and wellbeing of each member. Those in authority insisted on consultation before the start of any new business, rigorously prohibited any competition in trade, and maintained that each resident be employed and paid a reasonable wage.[24] It was in the functioning of this comprehensive Pietist inward vision that the Moravian Ethic emerged. But its imposition at Herrnhut does not adequately account for the development of a Moravian communal identity. The formation of the Moravian communal identity also involved a key historical dimension and concerned the origins of the Herrnhut community in relation to the Unitas Fratrum as articulated through the Moravian narrative of the seed.

The Pietist outward vision was distinguished by an emerging emphasis placed on the establishment of foreign missions among the "heathen". During the eighteenth century, the

---

[20] Gollin, Moravians in Two Worlds, p. 27.
[21] Lewis, Zinzendorf the Ecumenical Pioneer, pp. 75-76.
[22] Max Weber, The Protestant Ethic and the Spirit of Capitalism (London, Unwin University Books, 1930), p. 167.
[23] Weber, The Protestant Ethic, pp. 133-178.
[24] Lewis, Zinzendorf the Ecumenical Pioneer, pp. 75-76.

Pietist leader August Hermann Francke who taught at the University of Halle in Germany was instrumental in the establishment of, amongst others, a charity school, home for the poor, a printing office for the publication and distribution of Christian literature, and a foreign mission during 1706 at Tranquebar in the East Indies.[25] It was this outward vision that accounted for the origins of the early Protestant missionary projects as well as the later missionary endeavours of the Herrnhuters from the 1730s onwards. These involved local proselytising and the establishment of Moravian Societies in Germany as well as in England, Holland, Denmark, and Russia. The Societies established in these countries were referred to as the Moravian Diaspora and were distinguished from the foreign missions established among the "heathen". The first Moravian missionary project commenced in 1732, five years after the establishment of the Herrnhut settlement, in a Danish Colony of the West Indies called St Thomas. Two further missionary projects were initiated in 1735, one among the indigenous peoples of America and the other among slaves in the Dutch Colony of Guiana situated in the North Eastern coastal area of South America, which is now called Surinam.[26] The missionary project at the Cape of Good Hope commenced in 1737.

Selected candidates from the Herrnhut community were trained for its foreign missions among the heathen. Zinzendorf led special missionary classes and all candidates were compelled to attend these. In these classes they studied, amongst others, the experiences of the Danish Halle mission and the work of Hans Egede in Greenland. Zinzendorf had very clear and practical ideas on what missionaries should do in the field when working amongst the "unconverted".[27] He divided his approach to missionary work into three categories, namely the personal conduct of the missionary, the missionary as theologian and the missionary as politician. His underlying beliefs were that the "heathen" were "by nature weak". He believed that nothing but personal example could "raise" them from "the mire". "Bad example" would "ruin" them; only "good example" could "save" them.[28] He asserted that while all "heathen" knew that there was a God, they did not know that "Jesus Christ came into the world to save sinners".[29] Zinzendorf's teaching emphasised that missionaries should firstly seek to live humbly among the people and not dominate them. Secondly, the focal point of their preaching

---

[25] J.R. Weinlick and A.H. Frank, The Moravian Church Through the Ages: The Story of a Worldwide Pre-Reformation Protestant Church (Bethlehem, The Moravian Church in America, 1996), p. 50.
[26] Weinlick and Frank, The Moravian Church Through the Ages, pp. 75-80.
[27] Weinlick and Frank, The Moravian Church through the Ages, p. 78.
[28] J.E. Hutton, A History of the Moravian Missions (London, Moravian Publication Office, 1922), p. 176.

should be the crucified Christ. Thirdly, they should not aim to convert the whole nation all at once, but rather to engage individuals and smaller groups of people. Fourthly, they should earn their own living and teach by example the dignity of work. Fifthly, they should maintain strict personal obedience to both the civil and priestly laws of the countries in which they worked and not participate in its political affairs nor in any controversial issues such as employer-employee relationships.[30] This approach drew on core elements of the Moravian Ethic. Essentially the Moravian missionary project meant imposing a Pietist discipline onto the social life of (potential) indigenous converts, moulding their religious, social, political, economic, and spatial landscape largely in imitation of the Herrnhut community.[31] The Herrnhuter's inward Pietist vision contributed to a comprehensive formulated Moravian Ethic that was applied through its outward vision when proselytising and establishing Moravian Societies among the Diaspora and heathen.

3.2.2 The Ancient Unitas Fratum and the Renewed Moravian Church

The articulation and consolidation of the inward vision at Herrnhut in the form of the Moravian Ethic contributed much to the construction of Moravian communal identity. The linkage between land and communal identity, through Zinzendorf and the Body of Elders, provided another part. But this does not yet provide the full story or an adequate account. The Pietist beliefs of social discipline, loyalty to those in positions of authority, and the Protestant ethic of labour serving to increase the "glory of God", certainly sustained the general coherence of the religious community at Herrnhut. However, the underlying social and religious differences between the various groups of refugees remained. Why, given the composite nature of the settlement at Herrnhut did a specifically Moravian communal identity become visible with refugees from Moravia emerging as the dominant religious group?[32]

Shortly after Zinzendorf's death in 1760 the Herrnhut Pietist group separated from the official Lutheran Church and established themselves as a new and independent Moravian Church. In forging an identity for this "new" Church, members asserted a specific founding story or

---

[29] Hutton, A History of the Moravian Missions, pp. 175-181.
[30] Weinlick and Frank, The Moravian Church through the Ages, pp. 78-79; J.R. Weinlick, Count Zinzendorf (New York, Abingdon Press, 1956), pp. 99-101; Hutton, A History of the Moravian Missions, pp. 176-180.
[31] The imposition of the Moravian missionary identity will be closely discussed and analysed in chapter 5 of this dissertation.

narrative of origin: the traditions of the Herrnhut Moravians were claimed to derive from the Unitas Fratrum.[33] August Gottlieb Spanenberg, who took over leadership of the Moravian Church after Zinzendorf's death, described the Church as "even the most ancient of the Protestant Religions".[34] By connecting with the "ancient" history of the Unitas Fratrum a seamless web was woven between past and present.[35] Under Spanenberg's leadership landmark ceremonies and rituals celebrating the history of the Church and its missions were introduced, known as memorial days or commemorations. It had the important role of cementing a sense of solidarity between members of the Moravian Church throughout the world.[36] The continuity between the ancient and the renewed church was that both were founded or built on a "gemeinschaft, unitat, and/or brotherhood".[37] The Moravian doctrine of discipline and conduct was compiled by Spanenberg in 1780 as *Idea Fidea Fratrum: An Exposition of Christian Doctrine as Taught in the Protestant Church of the United Brethren or the Unitas Fratrum*, which became the doctrinal statement of the Church.[38] The title of the book clearly connected the newly established independent Moravian Church with the teachings of the much older Unitas Fratrum.

The independent Moravian Church thus aligned and identified itself with the religious traditions of the Unitas Fratrum. This religious group had emerged during the proto-nationalist struggles waged in Czechoslovakia against German domination during the 1400s.[39] It initially existed as a dissenting tendency within the official Roman Catholic Church and established itself in 1457 as a religious community at Kunewald, a village about 100 miles northeast of Bohemia. According to Lewis, members of the Unitas Fratrum at the Kunewald settlement observed a Christian obedience and accepted instruction, warning, and discipline from one another in the spirit of "brotherly goodwill".[40] The foundation of "gemeinschaft" or community among members of the Unitas Fratrum had like the Herrnhuters, been built on principles and practices of social discipline. Similarly the notion of community among different groups of refugees in the Kunewald community emerged from their acceptance of a doctrine of discipline and conduct,

---

[32] B.P. Smaby, The Transformation of Bethlehem (Philadelphia, University of Pensylvania Press, 1988), p. 8.
[33] Addison, The Renewed Church, pp. 48-51.
[34] Mason, The Moravian Church, p. 7.
[35] Mason, The Moravian Church, p. 7.
[36] Mason, The Moravian Church, pp. 6-9.
[37] Addison, The Renewed Church, p. 59.
[38] Spanenberg, Idea Fidei Fratrum, p. v.
[39] Lewis, Zinzendorf the Ecumenical Pioneer, pp. 35-36.
[40] Lewis, Zinzendorf The Ecumenical Pioneer, p. 36.

which sought to regulate its communal social, economic, and religious activities.[41] One of the principles around which the Kunewald community mobilised was the belief that all "men" were equal before God and had equal access to God. Unable to tolerate the corruption and practices of the official Roman Catholic Church, the Unitas Fratrum declared its autonomy and formed an independent church in 1467.[42] State officials rejected its religious autonomy, destroyed the Kunewald settlement, imprisoned, killed and persecuted many prominent leaders and members.[43] A further upsurge of persecutions occurred in 1548. In Moravia and Bohemia neither the Lutheran nor the Reformed Churches were allowed to exist. Many Brethren fled to Poland where the organisation and episcopacy could be maintained,[44] since Poland was not covered by the 1648 treaty of Westphalia that outlawed all religious organisations within the Roman Empire.

3.2.2.1 The Moravian historical narrative of the seed: A discourse analysis

The analogy with the Unitas Fratrum more than one hundred and fifty years earlier provided a model for the new Moravian Church. In constructing a historical narrative for the "new" Moravian Church, some members claimed that the 1727 regulations of Herrnhut were similar to the "Ratio Disciplinae" of the Unitas Fratrum. The 1727 regulations began to be interpreted as the "renewal of the Brüderkirche" or the "renewed Church", while the Unitas Fratrum's "Ratio Disciplinae" was interpreted as representing the code of conduct of "the ancient Church".[45] In a sense the Unitas Fratrum of the 15th century represented the "seed" of the later Moravian Church, a seed which had remained "hidden" during the intervening more than 150 years but now bore fruit again at Herrnhut. By using metaphors like "the seed" and "the hidden seed" the emerging narrative produced a thread of continuity from the "ancient" Church through to the "renewed" Moravian Church.[46] The Moravian narrative of the seed thus played a key part in the construction of a communal identity at Herrnhut, and is a later community-based understanding and threading together of traumatic experiences and historical events. As we will see below this same narrative would also serve to articulate the missionary identity in the

---

[41] Addison, The Renewed Church, p. 59.
[42] Lewis, Zinzendorf the Ecumenical Pioneer, pp. 35-36; Peter Brock, The Political and Social Doctrines of the Unity of the Czech Brethren in the Fifteen and Early Sixteen Centuries (London, Mouton, 1957), pp. 70-75.
[43] Thompson, Moravian Missions, pp. 22-25.
[44] Weinlick and Frank, The Moravian Church Through the Ages, pp. 33-34.
[45] Addison, The Renewed Church, pp. 47-48.
[46] Thompson, Moravian Missions, p. 31; Smaby, The Transformation, p. 5.

Cape colony. When the Moravian Church began its missionary activities in the Cape Colony from 1737 onwards, the metaphor was again invoked to capture the growth of the Church within the colony. The "seed" was planted, "blossomed" into a "pear tree", and produced its "first fruits" in the Cape Colony.[47] In this way selected historical events and episodes of the Unitas Fratrum during the 1400s, the Herrnhut Moravians of the 1700s, and the Moravian missionary activities in the Cape Colony from 1737 onwards, were drawn together into one unified historical narrative.

The traumatic events of persecution, exile and refuge of members of the Unitas Fratrum during the 1400s and the 1600s are mirrored by similar experiences of other groups of people who also sought refuge on the land owned by Count Zinzendorf during the 1700s. The narrative that connects these two different sets of events starts with the return of the Unitas Fratrum bishop, Amos Comenius, to Czechoslovakia.

> "... The last bishop of these older brethren's church, Comenius, was obliged to leave his retreat, the castle of a friendly Bohemian Baron. With part of his flock he migrated to Poland in 1627... He returned for a farewell look upon the region, which had become an Aceldama. He kneeled with his fellow exiles, and offered up his fervent prayer, beseeching God not to suffer the light of divine truth to go out in those countries they were leaving, but that he would there preserve a *seed* to serve him."[48]

In terms of this Moravian narrative, then, those who remained "hidden" in Bohemia in 1627 are connected to those who sought refuge on the estate of Count Zinzendorf in 1727. The historical narrative continued.

> "... The breathing of the Holy Spirit touched Christian David, a carpenter in the village of Senftleben. He was a superstitious Roman Catholic, had soul-troubles, which no penances or invocation of saints could relieve. At twenty years of age he had not seen the bible. But coming into acquaintance with some of the Protestants who, inspite of imprisonment would pray and sing ... he was savingly taught of God ... he began to make journeys to Moravia

---

[47] The function of this same narrative of the seed in the Cape colonial context for constructing the communal identity of the missionary settlement will be dealt with later in this chapter. Writing in the 1960s Bernard Krüger uses the metaphor of the "pear tree blossoms" in the title of his book. See Krüger, The Pear Tree Blossoms, The History of the Moravian Church in South Africa 1737-1869 (Genadendal, The Moravian Book Depot, 1966), pp. 52-53; I. Balie, Die Geskiedenis van Genadendal, 1738-1988 (Kaapstad, Perskor, 1988), p. 26.

[48] Thompson, Moravian Missions, pp. 29-30.

> that he might communicate truths which had brought life to his soul ... he became acquainted with the family Neissers ... they desired to immigrate. Christian David searched long to find an asylum for them. Finally he was directed to Count Zinzendorf who promised to receive immigrants on his estate at Betheldorf ... One group after another effected their escape. The sacred stream, which to all public observation was completely dried up, had only disappeared beneath the surface. Only to come to light again at Herrnhut the Plymouth Rock of the Moravians".[49]

In following the continuity of this narrative, selective historical events and episodes of the Unitas Fratrum, also known as the Unity of Brethren, emerged as important components of the constructed Moravian communal identity. These include the migration to Poland while preserving a seed in Bohemia, the conversion of Christian David from Catholicism to the ancient practices of the Unitas Fratum, the search for an appropriate asylum for refugees from Bohemia and Moravia, the presence of the "sacred stream" to water the "preserved seeds", and Herrnhut, the place of refuge for the Moravians.

In narrative terms the continuity between the ancient and the renewed Church was represented as the hidden seed which remained dormant and later flourished once more. Seeds represent elements of potential life, and are usually preserved when the harvest is gathered in, and then used again at a later time during the sowing season. It is thus from the seed of a previous plant that another plant grows. By using the metaphor of the seed as a core element of the historical Moravian narrative, the exiled members of the Unitas Fratrum were represented as calling on God to preserve the very core and life force of their principles, practices and traditions. Underlying the apparent absence of a flourishing community during the time of exile, their beliefs, practices and traditions were actually preserved as seeds for a time in the future when these could be sown again. The re-growth of their beliefs and practices would then take on a form of its own, blossom and bear fruit. The function of the Moravian narrative of the seed was to construct a communal Moravian identity that linked people together from different places and across time around meanings of community/unity, uniformity of conduct, and social discipline. Both the Unitas Fratrum and the Herrnhuters constituted themselves as Christian communities. In the case of Herrnhut, access to land for residential, agricultural, and business purposes was made conditional on obedience to the prescribed

[49] Thompson, Moravian Missions, pp. 32-36.

conduct and social discipline of the Body of Elders and marked the link of an emerging Moravian communal identity with acquired rights in land. The Moravian historical narrative of the seed was later extended to incorporate a reconstructed account of the activities of the early Moravian missionaries at the Cape Colony. But what was the colonial social historical context of the Cape Colony when the first Moravian missionary arrived to start his missionary project amongst groups of indigenous peoples there?

3.3 The Moravian Mission in the Cape Colony: A Social Historical Context

3.3.1 Dutch Settlement at the Cape

The Dutch had been trading in spices collected from the East through the Dutch East India Company (DEIC) from the early 1600s. Its trade route was enhanced by the establishment of a refreshment station in 1652 at the Cape. By the 1700s this refreshment station had been transformed into a Dutch colony.[50] Whatever its former status, in practice by the time the first Moravian missionary, George Schmidt, arrived at the Cape in 1737 the expansion of the Cape colonial settlement had resulted in many indigenous people being dispossessed of their land and cattle. Some leading figures and churchmen in the Netherlands, including Hieronymus van Alphen and Franco de Bruin, became aware of the plight and impoverished position of the "heathen" at the Cape Colony. They requested Zinzendorf to extend the Herrnhut missionary activities among the "heathen" Khoisan at the Cape. In response George Schmidt was selected for the task, he became the first missionary at the Cape Colony from 1737 onwards.[51]

The Dutch East India Company settlement at the Cape supplied passing ships from Europe on their way to Asia with meat and agricultural products. This service was rendered through trade in cattle with the indigenous peoples of the Cape. Heren XVII's directive to Jan Van Riebeeck, founder and Governor of the new settlement, was aimed at ensuring friendly relations with the indigenous people so as to encourage trade in cattle.[52] The Khoisan pastoralists were however hesitant to trade large numbers of their cattle, which resulted in regular conflict with colonists.[53] Access to land, cattle, and water, were crucial elements in the pastoral and hunter-gatherer

---

[50] André du Toit and Herman Giliomee, Afrikaner Political Thought: Analysis and Documents, 1780-1850 (Berkeley, University of California Press, 1983), vol. 1, p. 1.
[51] Krüger, The Pear Tree Blossoms, p. 12.
[52] Du Toit and Giliomee, Afrikaner Political Thought, p. 1.

missionaries to the members of the mission community. And what were the power relations of the nucleus of core families to the converted Mfengu members of the mission?

5.2.2 Our People, the Clarksoners

With the assistance of the nucleus of converts in founding the small missionary community at Clarkson, the Moravian missionaries embarked on a process of converting the Mfengu of the Tsitsikamma. Their approach was not to set about converting all the Mfengu residing there, but rather to concentrate on selected individuals and families whom they thought could "open their hearts to the influence of the gospel".[13] One such influential person was the Mfengu chief, Mangoba – leader of the Mfengu community alongside whom the Moravian missionaries had settled at Clarkson. The missionary Küster wrote in 1839 that "our young captain Mangoba (Plaatje) has already learnt the letters, and it is a great pleasure to him to assist me in teaching a part of the children".[14] The use of the pronoun, "our", includes chief Mangoba within the Moravian mission community at Clarkson and pre-empts his conversion and later baptism during the early 1840s. Another such influential person was a sangoma from the Tsitsikamma. The Moravian missionary, Nauhaus, wrote in 1841 "if he [the sangoma] does but remain steadfast, and grow in the grace and knowledge of our Lord ... a ringleader of the reign of darkness will be vanquished by the power of the gospel".[15] The first baptism of a Mfengu convert occurred during 1840 and was soon followed by the baptism of twenty-eight more converts. Hamilton described the events of 1840 at Clarkson as "a great awakening".[16] The missionary Nauhaus described the newly baptised converts as "our baptised members who walk worthy of the gospel ... [and] their looks bespeak of love and simplicity ... and their behaviour is devout".[17] The orderliness and good conduct of the converts was characterised by Nauhaus' assertion that the converted Mfengu walked worthy of the gospel and that their behaviour was devout as contrasted with their former "heathen" associates. In the Moravian missionary discourse the people who belonged to Clarkson were referred to as "our people" and were represented as industrious, being either engaged at work on the neighbouring

---

[12] Krüger, The Pear Tree Blossoms, p. 200; W.C. Uithaler, 'Clarkson: Hohnderd en Fyftig Jaar op Pad, 1839-1989', Geleentheidspublikasie no. 47 (Instituut vir Beplanningsnavorsing, Universiteit van Port Elizabeth, Oktober 1994), p. 2.

[13] 'Particulars of Intelligence Respecting the Missions on the United Brethren', no. 43, South African Religious Pamphlets of the South African Bound Pamphlet no. 33, pp. 13-14.

[14] Moravian Archive, Letter to Halbeck, from Küster, Koksbosch, 5th May 1839.

[15] 'Particulars of Intelligence Respecting the Missions on the United Brethren', pp. 13-14.

[16] J.T. Hamilton, A History of the Church Known as the Moravian Church, or the Unitas Fratrum, or the Unity of the Brethren, during the 18th and 19th Centuries (Bethlehem, Times Publishing, 1900), p. 426.

colonial farms, in public work programmes, or in cultivating the mission land.[18] They were unlike the Mfengu who were represented as "heedless" and "attached to heathenish customs".[19] A very clear distinction was thus made in the Moravian missionary discourse between the people who belonged to the Clarkson mission station, and the other "heathen" Mfengu who did not belong to the mission station even though in practice some resided alongside the mission station on a portion of the Clarkson land. In the next sub-section we show that the Mfengu converts who were included as members at the mission station assisted the missionaries in their Diaspora work among the scattered Mfengu. We will also show how some of these Mfengu converts became mission-helpers and were placed by the Mission Society at Snyklip and Doriskraal, two of the adjacent farms that had been granted to the Mfengu by colonial authorities.

5.2.3 Rituals of (Re) naming

Belonging to the Clarkson mission station required converts and members to accept the authority of the Moravian missionaries and follow their doctrine and rituals. One such ritual was that of baptism and its important component of biblical naming. All converts were renamed when baptised and given biblical names. Moravian missionaries kept records dating back to August 1839 of all communicants. Mangoba Plaatje, the Mfengu chief, was among the first entries made in their register of communicants. From these first entries and others that followed, we observe that some candidates had been given two names while others only had one listed name. In the case where a candidate had two names, the first name was Western and Christian, for example Lea Reuter, Sara Goesa, and Alvina Goliath.[20] Most of these names appeared to be female. In the case of candidates with single names, in most instances the entries made were Xhosa names, for example Balambile, Tembuze, and Dutuma.[21] From 1846 onwards the register of communicant names began to change. Not all of the Xhosa names were now singular; a few on the list had been given Western Christian names. The first list of names entered in 1846, for example, contains amongst others the names of Kathrÿn Uzideku, Christian Umtabeka, and Elizabeth Mazisa.[22] The re-naming of converts through the baptism

---

[17] 'Particulars of Intelligence Respecting the Missions on the United Brethren', p. 12.
[18] Periodical Accounts. (March 1875), p. 290; Periodical Accounts. V: 53 (March 1903), p. 225.
[19] Periodical Accounts, xx: ccxviii (March 1853), p. 404; and Periodical Accounts, xxii: ccxxxiv (March 1857), p. 176.
[20] Moravian Archive, Missions Conf. Prodoc. 1839 bur 1846.
[21] Moravian Archive, Missions Conf. Prodoc. 1839 bur 1846.
[22] Moravian Archive, Missions Conf. Prodoc. 1846-1855.

ritual contributed in discursively differentiating members of the Clarkson Moravian mission community from the unbaptised ("heathen") Tsitsikamma Mfengu. Following Elizabeth Elbourne the designation of Christian names was underlined by a range of colonial ambiguities. Furthermore, the process of naming itself symbolised missionaries' perceptions of writing on an African tabula rasa.[23]

Zwelibanzi, the mission-helper who later became the first Mfengu minister of the Moravian Church, was born in 1832 and baptised in 1846. He was named Johannes at his baptism ceremony and thereby set apart from his fellow Mfengu countrymen and women.[24] Zwelibanzi was the first Mfengu to be selected and sent by Moravian missionaries to the Genadendal training school. Missionaries referred to him as "a Fingo belonging to a tribe living in this neighbourhood ... [who] has been labouring in much blessing".[25] Zwelibanzi's inclusion as a "branch of the vine" was perceived by missionaries as an answer to their prayer that "the Lord of the Harvest send forth labourers into His Harvest".[26] The metaphor of "labourers in His harvest" is a variation of the seed metaphor and represented the help and assistance given by the nucleus of converts in spreading the fruit bearing seeds across the Tsitsikamma district. Johannes Zwelibanzi completed his training at the Genadendal School, and thereafter returned to the Tsitsikamma as teacher and mission-helper. He was assigned by the Moravian Mission Society to reside at Snyklip and then later at Wittekleibosch. He worked and taught among the Tsitsikamma peoples.[27]

Louisa Umbaleni was another Mfengu mission-helper. As a communicant sister and "chapel servant" at Clarkson, missionaries described her as being "very useful amongst the fingoes who lived at a distance from the station ... she used to visit her countrymen and women at Snyklip and Wittekleibosch ... [and] rendered valuable assistance to the missionaries".[28] On a visit to Doriskraal and the farm Langebosch, a missionary from Clarkson was accompanied by an Mfengu mission-helper, Jacob Undaba, whom he described in a report as "one of our assistants from Clarkson".[29] At a gathering in Clarkson during 1866 a missionary reported how

---

[23] E. Elbourne, Blood Ground: Colonialism, Missions and the Conquest for Christianity in the Cape Colony and Britain, 1799-1853 (Montreal and Kingston, McGill-Queens University Press, 2002), p. 126.
[24] Schmidt, 'Die Sendingwerk van die Broederkerk in Suid Afrika', no date, p. 105.
[25] Periodical Accounts, xxv: cclxvii (June 1865), p. 397.
[26] Periodical Accounts, xxv: cclxvii (June 1865), p. 398.
[27] Periodical Accounts, xxv: cclxviii (September 1865), p. 462; Periodical Accounts, xxxii: 340 (September 1883), p. 509.
[28] Periodical Accounts, xxxiii: 346 (March 1885), p. 225.
[29] Periodical Accounts, xxiv: cclix (June 1863), p. 553.

"the earnest prayer of our old Fingo helper, Manassch, evidently made a deep impression on his heathen country-men".[30] Moravian missionaries carefully selected Mfengu mission-helpers like Zwelibanzi, Umbaleni, Undaba, and Manassch as "labourers in His harvest". These converts joined the missionary community at Clarkson in faithfully spreading and making known the core Christian principles, rituals and doctrine of the Moravian ethic. The Moravian missionaries applied stringent criteria in their selection of such mission-helpers. A missionary wrote of Nathaniel Kriel, who had been engaged as a "native teacher" in the school at Clarkson, that he "is a remarkably capable teacher, who would make a faithful mission-helper, if he would only allow himself to be brought fully into subjection to the mind of Christ".[31] Not all the Mfengu who converted to Christianity were thus selected as Moravian mission-helpers to be included as "labourers in His harvest". Only those who had fully appropriated the principles, rituals and doctrine of the Moravian ethic and had convincingly demonstrated their faithfulness thereto through their obedience, good conduct and loyalty to the authority of the Moravian missionaries were included.

The baptism ceremony or ritual, in which indigenous peoples were re-named, marked their inclusion within the growing, albeit small, Moravian mission community at Clarkson. The designated Christian name marked the conversion from the old or "heathen" way of doing things, to a new beginning, a new life, new rules and regulations, new traditions and rituals to practise, and a different kind of behaviour. A missionary wrote of the changed behaviour of a sangoma after he had opened "his heart to the influence of the gospel ... [and] attends the church assiduously ... [he] has refused the request of his heathen countrymen to exercise his sorceries".[32] The former sangoma's refusal illustrated the constraints and "procedures of subjugation" imposed through such rituals of re-naming. The re-naming ritual defined the behaviour and conduct as contained in the Moravian ethic, so that the converts were obedient to those in positions of authority, lived in square-shaped houses and wore colonial clothes. Converts showed their compliance when they adopted the Western biblical names given to them by Moravian missionaries.

---

[30] Periodical Accounts, xxvi: cclxxiii (December 1866), p. 112.
[31] Periodical Accounts, xxxii: 340 (September 1883), p. 509.
[32] 'Particulars of Intelligence Respecting the Missions of the United Brethren', p. 12.

5.2.3.1 Appropriation of Names and Metaphors

The ritual of re-naming also represented the converts' "awakening" from "the reign of darkness". Following a discussion with a group of communicants a missionary wrote "we have been glad to see more spiritual life in the fruits of faith".[33] The metaphor of the "fruits of faith", a variation of the metaphor of the seed, represented the awakening of the converted Mfengu, and their connection to the "light that shines" forth from the Clarkson mission station. In this way the Moravian missionary discourse differentiated between those residing at Clarkson who had been baptised, and other Mfengu who lived at Doriskraal, Snyklip and Wittekeibosch. It was this awakening under the shining light of Clarkson that connected converts with a shared experience and a shared beginning, from which their communal identity as Moravians and Clarksoners emerged irrespective of whether they were Mfengu, Khoisan or ex-slaves. This growing membership of the Clarkson mission community was represented as "our people", and "our members". They were included as having a shared Moravian past, while their history before the advent of their conversion remains largely unknown.[34] Through such rituals as the re-naming of converts; a heterogeneous group of indigenous peoples (including ex-slaves) was constructed as a new community of "our people" having no significant history prior the coming of missionaries. The reification of meaning discursively created a sustained sense of belonging to a unified Moravian mission community with a particular set of historical relations to the Clarkson land.

The newly constructed mission community was not automatically sustained. Missionaries perceived their "fruits of faith" as not always being able to stand steadfast on their own amidst the darkness that surrounded them. A missionary recalled an aged Mfengu woman saying "I hear about the great saviour ... but it so happens, that, when I reach home ... darkness comes over me, so I cannot see ... my darkness is great, but I believe that He will deliver me from its power".[35] The same missionary recorded another Mfengu expressing himself as "... I feel that the Word of God ... is able to bring me out of the darkness that holds me fast". [36] In the Moravian missionary discourse the Mfengu were represented as living in a world of darkness from which they could only be delivered by the Word of God and their obedience to the

[33] Periodical Accounts, xxiv: cclv (June 1862), p. 286.
[34] See theoretical discussion on John Thompson in chapter 2 of this dissertation.
[35] Periodical Accounts, xxiv: ccliv (March 1862), p.237.
[36] Periodical Accounts, xxiv: ccliv (March 1862), p. 237.

Moravian ethic as taught, preached, and practised. After returning from the Clarkson mission station two Mfengu converts each described their homes on one of the adjacent Mfengu farms as places of "darkness". The metaphor of darkness was utilised in relation to the light emanating from the Clarkson mission station. In the available primary sources there are at least two instances of how converted Mfengu appropriated the metaphor of darkness versus light and applied it to representations of themselves as Mfengu converts. The light emanating from the mission station is surrounded by the darkness of Doriskraal, Snyklip and Wittekleibosch and all the Mfengu residing there. When returning to this darkness after being immersed within the light of Clarkson, the aged Mfengu convert exclaimed, in the words of the missionary, "she cannot see" since her darkness was great.[37]

The construction of the new missionary community thus proceeded by appropriation of core metaphors from the Moravian narrative. In the Moravian missionary discourse Mfengu converts from the Tsitsikamma were depicted as "fruit bearing seeds", as being "fruits of faith", "modest little strawberries", and "branches to the vine". On another occasion a missionary wrote of a Mfengu convert who exclaimed:

> "I am like a plant that has been bent and is growing crooked, and which must be made straight and upright by the sun and the wind ... I obtain renewed assurance of pardon from our saviour, and that He should raise me up and enable me to walk in his ways more perfectly, overcoming temptations, and abiding faithful unto Him".[38]

The growing crooked plant was a variation of the metaphor of the seed, while the light that emanates from the sun was a variation of the metaphor of darkness versus light. The wind that dispersed the fruit bearing seed depicted the Moravian mission's Diaspora in the Tsitsikamma. The response of this Mfengu convert demonstrated that the constructed Moravian missionary identity had been appropriated in a very significant way. Here the seed, darkness versus light, and the dispersal/Diaspora metaphors of the Moravian missionary discourse have all been appropriated, and applied to the local context. Stuart Hall has argued that constructed identities emerge within specific modalities of power which produce representations of difference as a basis for including some while excluding others from participating and having access to (scarce) resources.[39] In the Moravian missionary discourse parallel and complementary

---

[37] Periodical Accounts xxiv: ccliv (March 1862), p. 237.
[38] Periodical Accounts, xxiv: cclv (June 1862), p. 286.
[39] See our theoretical discussion of Stuart Hall in chapter 2 of this dissertation.

representations are used with the converted sometimes represented as the "bearers of light" and at other times as the "fruits of faith" and "labourers of the harvest". As "bearers of light", the Clarkson Moravian missionary community was placed in relation to the "darkness" that surrounded the unconverted Mfengu, who were spread across the Tsitsikamma outside the discipline and authority of the mission station. The representation of the Mfengu in the Moravian missionary discourse was certainly very different to representations of the Mfengu found in the constructed colonial Fingo discourse of the 1830s. In the colonial discourse the "Fingo" were represented as oppressed human beings to be rescued, included in the Cape Colony and progressively civilised due to their loyalty to the British Crown. Their support of missionaries and the education of their children distinguished the Mfengu from the Xhosa in the colonial discourse.[40] More importantly, the Mfengu were represented as a homogenous group of people who were naturally disposed to Christianity and conversion. The Moravian missionary discourse however represented the Mfengu as naturally disposed to remain in "darkness" resisting missionary efforts of conversion.[41] The Mfengu of Doriskraal, Snyklip and Wittekleibosch who had converted to Christianity most often chose not to move to the Clarkson mission settlement. These were Mfengu who had not only been to school or literacy classes, but also to church and had been baptised. Yet they did not move to Clarkson to become part of the mission station. A missionary exclaimed in 1874 that "...as our aged members have departed, others have been found worthy to fill the gaps thus made, so that our station still continues to shine as a light surrounded by much darkness".[42] In a report of 1874, Hettasch wrote that "the whole neighbourhood is still lost in heathenism, and the prospect for the future is not very bright, but we hope that by and by the light of the Gospel will be diffused through this dark region. ... The Fingoes from Snyklip ... are a stiff-necked people. They are unwilling to break with the missionaries, but equally so to give up their world."[43] The explanation was that the Mfengu from Snyklip, as with the Mfengu from Doriskraal and Wittekleibosch, already had access to land and did not depend on the missionaries for access to land, nor did they have to move to Clarkson for such access. This brings out quite strikingly the role of access to land in the construction of the different communal identities of the Clarksoners and the adjacent Mfengu communities. Even though the Tsitsikamma Mfengu communities received education at the mission schools, selectively attended religious services, with some even being baptised,

---

[40] Crystal Jannecke, 'The Fingo/Mfengu, a Case Study in Land and Identity' (B.Soc.Sci. (Hons.), Department of Political Studies, University of Cape Town, February 1997), p. 55.
[41] Periodical Accounts, xxv: cclxvii (June 1865), p. 397; Periodical Accounts, xxiv: cclii (September 1861), p. 71.
[42] Periodical Accounts, (March 1875), p. 291.
[43] Periodical Accounts (March 1875), p. 291.

there was no need for members to identify with the Clarksoner Moravian missionary community. With rights in land independent of the Moravian missionaries, distinct Tsitsikamma Mfengu communities developed.

5.2.4 The Moravian Ethic and the Constructed Clarksoner Missionary Identity

The few Tsitsikamma Mfengu who chose to join the Clarkson mission station contributed in building and consolidating the small emerging mission community in the Tsitsikamma. On the whole Moravians emphasised establishing mission congregations that consisted of sincere Christians as opposed to large congregations filled with crowds of half-hearted and undisciplined peoples.[44] A Moravian missionary reported on the early years of Clarkson.

> "...These natives who live scattered up and down the [Tsitsikamma] district, conversions can and do take place ... but the growth of the spiritual life, the grounding in the word and doctrine, are greatly favoured by the daily food and attention which alone can be given to those residing at the station".[45]

Moravian missionaries certainly preferred to have their members reside within the boundary of the mission where they could be grounded in the Word and doctrine of the Moravian Ethic. They were very particular about their members' adherence to their imposed set of rules and regulations. In this regard Clarkson was not an exception. The rules and regulations, or doctrine of the Moravian Ethic had a dual purpose. On the one hand it was utilised by missionaries to impose, establish and maintain their understanding of order, discipline, and good conduct on the mission station as remembered from their experiences at Herrnhut. On the other hand it was utilised to mobilise a "reciprocal allegiance" among members as well as between missionaries and members, thereby contributing to the emergence of an appropriated Clarkson Moravian mission identity.[46]

It is from an investigation of the reasons that missionaries gave for excluding members from the mission station that we are able to assess how the various elements of the Moravian ethic were applied at Clarkson. One such exclusion involved two people from the congregation on

---

[44] Periodical Accounts, (March 1875), p. 291.
[45] As quoted in Krüger, The Pear Tree Blossoms, 1966, p. 285.
[46] For theoretical discussion on Michel Foucault's notion of "reciprocal allegiance" see section 2.4 of this dissertation.

account of "gross immorality".[47] When some youth took part in "heathen practices" with the knowledge of their parents, missionaries exclaimed in their report that they wished "to make them feel their guilt", and therefore resolved to close the chapel school immediately and remove the teacher. In response, a deputation implored the missionaries "not to forsake them".[48] The Moravian missionaries were very opposed to drunkenness among members. In 1873 missionaries reported that "... the year opened with a variety of gloomy experiences ... *several cases of exclusion for drunkenness and other sins,* on the part of some, of whom we had entertained good hope that they were humble and consistent Christians".[49] These missionaries were opposed to their members "meeting for indulging in the free drinking of kaffir beer". They announced that "any persons holding such meetings in their own houses or attending them elsewhere shall no longer be regarded as members".[50] On another occasion missionaries at Clarkson noted that "whenever [drunkenness] have taken place, real sorrow and repentance have been manifested by the transgressors".[51] Missionaries responded severely when these transgressions persisted.

> "after being exhorted, and warned, are unwilling to relinquish this evil practice, [then] they are ordered to leave the place, and this position we are firmly resolved to maintain, believing it to be a better thing to have a small congregation of persons really seeking to walk as Christians should, than a numerous one for the most part composed of inebriates".[52]

Moravian missionaries also disrupted the ceremonial slaughter of an ox, and warned those who participated in this customary social practice.[53] On another occasion Moravian missionaries kept a girl at Clarkson after her father had received lobola or bride-wealth for her as the fifth bride of a sangoma or traditional healer. The missionaries explained the colonial laws to their congregation during Sunday morning service - that the sale and purchase of children were prohibited, and that children could not be forced into marriage by their parents. They were also opposed to the practice of circumcision and strenuously employed different methods to suppress it.[54] At Clarkson all these customary practices constituted disobedience. Good

---

[47] Periodical Accounts, xxiv: cclv (June 1862), p. 286.
[48] Periodical Accounts, xxvi: cclxxiii (December 1866), p. 113.
[49] Periodical Accounts, xxviii: 299 (June 1873), p. 478.
[50] Periodical Accounts, xxviii: 299 (June 1873), p. 479.
[51] Periodical Accounts, (March 1875), p. 291.
[52] Periodical Accounts, (March 1875), p. 291.
[53] Krüger, The Pear Tree Blossoms, p. 203.
[54] Periodical Accounts, v: 53 (March 1903), p. 226.

conduct at the mission station in terms of the applied Moravian ethic meant, amongst others, no participation in "heathen" practices, no drunkenness and drinking of "kafir beer", no ceremonial slaughter of oxen, no arranged marriages and practice of bride-wealth, and no practice of circumcision. In Sunday sermons and daily Dutch literacy classes missionaries taught the meaning of good conduct and what obedience thereto required and in so doing advanced the Moravian Ethic. They further exercised their power in relation to "transgressing" members with warnings, threats, punishment, and exclusion from the mission with the order to leave the place.[55] Good conduct in loyally and faithfully adhering to the Moravian Ethic, bound a fairly heterogeneous group of people together, constituted them as "our people", and differentiated them as members of the Clarkson Moravian mission station in relation to the "other" "heathen" practising Tsitsikamma Mfengu.

5.2.5 Membership and Representations of Clarksoner/Mfengu

In the discussion that follows we will show how the ambiguities in rights to the Clarkson land and its shifting territorial boundaries were concealed in the Moravian missionary discourse. From a missionary's account in 1865 we are informed that "the different tribes object to live together, and the Fingoes in our neighbourhood belong to no less than four separate tribes".[56] Each group resided in the Tsitsikamma on adjacent Clarkson land. There was the group of Mfengu who had been settled at Clarkson by colonial authorities prior to the arrival of the Moravians. Then there were the groups of Mfengu residing in Doriskraal, Snyklip and Wittekleibosch to whom land had been granted, which was held in trust by the Civil Commissioner of Uitenhage.[57]

The ambiguity in the rights to land held by both the Moravian missionaries and the group of Mfengu at Clarkson were expressed in the patterns of settlement and spatial organisation. Initially, missionaries laid out a street, which became the territorial boundary and separated those who were members of the mission station, from those Mfengu who lived on the Clarkson land but were not members of the mission station. The territorial boundary gradually shifted as Moravian missionaries steadily increased the extent of their intervention in the social practices

---

[55] Periodical Accounts, xxviii: 299 (June 1873), p. 479.
[56] Periodical Accounts, xxv: cclxviii (September 1865), p. 462.
[57] Snyklip, Uitenhage Freeholds 11: 30 (October 1858); Doriskraal, Uitenhage Freeholds 11: 30 (October 1858); Wittekleibosch, Uitenhage Freeholds 11: 30 (October 1858). The Clarkson land grant is discussed in section 4.6 of this dissertation.

of the group of Mfengu residing on the Clarkson land. The departure in 1841 of the Mfengu chief and many of his followers from Clarkson increased the missionaries' effective hold over the Clarkson land and its residents. The doctrine, discipline and rituals contained in the Moravian Ethic were gradually adopted by the remaining and incoming converts.[58] In 1839, prior to the departure of a fairly large group of Chief Mangoba's followers, only ten (10) candidates were baptised. The number of candidates had increased in February 1840 to sixty-six (66). In December 1840 a further sixty-seven (67) candidates were baptised. Even though a large number of these Mfengu converts left the mission station in 1841; the record book of 1846-1853 shows entries of Mfengu baptisms. A missionary reported in 1860 that "two Fingo families left us ... we regret it, as the number of Fingo inhabitants of the settlement is continually decreasing".[59] It is quite possible that such statements about Mfengu people leaving the Clarkson community did not accurately reflect the actual tendencies of a growing missionary community at Clarkson that was composed of numerous Mfengu converts. Even though many Mfengu chose to move away from the authority exerted by the Moravian missionaries over their lives, there were some who chose to remain at Clarkson as members of the missionary community. In an 1860 report missionaries described how an Mfengu expressed himself as "many of my countrymen have left us and gone away, so that but few of us remain in the settlement".[60] A recurring theme in the Moravian missionary discourse was the choice made by Mfengu inhabitants to leave the mission settlement.

A variation of this theme in the missionary discourse was the number of converts from the Doriskraal, Snyklip and Wittekleibosch who refused to live under the authority of the missionaries at Clarkson.[61] Unlike most other mission stations within the Cape Colony, the Mfengu of the Tsitsikamma held secure rights in land at Doriskraal, Snyklip and Wittekleibosch received from colonial authorities. They therefore were not dependent on the "will" of these missionaries to grant them access to, and use of, mission land for residential and agricultural purposes. In 1865 the missionary Hettasch wrote "many years ago the missionaries at Clarkson attempted to bring the Gospel to these poor people [at Wittekleibosch], but were met with the most determined resistance on their part ... nevertheless visits continued to be paid

[58] The incident of the Mfengu chief and others of his community leaving Clarkson in protest is discussed in section 4.6 of this dissertation.
[59] Periodical Accounts, xxiv: cclii (September 1861), p. 70.
[60] Periodical Accounts, xxiv: cclii (September 1861), pp. 70-71.
[61] Periodical Accounts, xxv: cclxviii (September 1865), p. 462; Periodical Accounts, (March 1875), p. 291.

from time to time".[62] But Moravian missionaries persisted in their attempts to extend their influence to the neighbouring Mfengu communities at Doriskraal, Wittekleibosch and Snyklip with the aim of bringing these settlements under the discipline and control of the mission. Missionaries observed in 1865 that "these natives [at Doriskraal] could be looked after more efficiently, if they could be persuaded to settle in villages; but they love liberty too well to submit to any restrictions".[63] In another missionary report the process of conversion among the Mfengu at Wittekleibosch was described as "progressing in a quiet way ... Our missionary work there may not be like a fine lemon tree, showing abundance of bright fruit, but even if it blossoms and bear fruit like the modest little strawberry in the woods, surely we must rejoice in it".[64] The "bright fruit that blossoms" and "bear fruit", and the "little strawberry" were invocations of the metaphor of the seed used in the Moravian historical narrative. In the Moravian missionary discourse the tree that is chosen to bear fruit at Genadendal is the pear tree. In the missionary discourse regarding the Clarkson mission station the lemon tree and the modest little strawberry are utilised as variations of the seed metaphor. The tree that blossoms and bears fruit was indeed similar to the seed metaphors utilised in the reconstructed narrative of the early Moravian missionaries at Genadendal. The strawberry is a small low growing plant that bears seed-like parts and spreads across the ground as it grows. The spreading nature of the strawberry plant, like the trailing stem of the vine, also reflected the mission's Diaspora work in the Tsitsikamma. Each seed-like plant represented a successful conversion amongst the Mfengu who lived dispersed and spread across the Tsitsikamma district. While some conversions did take place among the Tsitsikamma Mfengu, many resisted, sometimes violently, the efforts made by Moravian missionaries and mission-helpers to impose the rituals and doctrine of the Moravian Ethic on them. For example the crops of the Mfengu mission-helper, Zwelibanzi, was on one occasion maliciously destroyed at Wittekleibosch.[65] Moravian Mfengu members from Snyklip also preferred to remain outside the Clarkson mission and its intruding Moravian Ethic.

The Tsitsikamma Mfengu preferred to live on and cultivate their own land outside the discipline and authority of the Moravian missionaries. For many years Zwelibanzi, the Mfengu mission-helper, had administered the Wittekleibosch community. When he was moved to Snyklip one of the Moravian missionaries from Clarkson administered this community. According to a

[62] Periodical Accounts, xxv: cclxvii (June 1865), p. 397.
[63] Periodical Accounts, xxv: cclxviii (September 1865), p. 462.
[64] Periodical Accounts, xxvi: cclxxvi (September 1867), p. 282.
[65] Periodical Accounts, xxv: cclxvii (June 1865), p. 397.

missionary report in 1897 the appointment of a Moravian missionary as official government representative over the Mfengu at Wittekleibosch was "an indication of undesirable control" to the Mfengu residing there.[66] The Wittekleibosch Mfengu demonstrated their opposition by withdrawing as congregants from Moravian church services held at Wittekleibosch. An independent church was established at Wittekleibosch, called the Ethiopian Church.[67] An alternative school was also started under the leadership of the Ethiopian Church. Moravian missionaries responded by closing down their school and insisted that all children be sent to the Clarkson mission school for tuition.[68] Moravian missionaries perceived Christian converts of Wittekleibosch as well as those from Doriskraal and Snyklip as "not [having gone] beyond the outward adoption of Christianity".[69] Even though Christian, the Tsitsikamma Mfengu from these adjacent areas were represented in the missionary discourse as not belonging to Clarkson and its constituted mission community.

Education itself was conceived as part of a more general missionary process. A missionary from Clarkson wrote of a married Mfengu woman who had "the privilege of residing here [at Clarkson] from her childhood ... as her parents caused her to attend school regularly, she became early impressed by the truth ... subsequently ... she was baptised".[70] It was through access to mission education and the establishment of schools at Clarkson, Doriskraal, Snyklip, and Wittekleibosch that the missionaries engaged the Tsitsikamma Mfengu communities. The first step in extending their missionary project beyond Clarkson was "to build a schoolhouse and look out for a teacher".[71] In most cases the church buildings at Wittekleibosch, Snyklip and Doriskraal were used as classrooms. On the whole missionaries were very pleased with the attendance at the Clarkson School, and reported in 1861 that "the results of the school-examinations were such as to encourage us, and excite thankfulness ... for the blessing which He lays on this portion of our work".[72] On the one hand mission education gave those participating Mfengu and their children knowledge and power. On the other hand education was discursively utilised as a mechanism of constraint that systematically regulated behaviour, conduct, gestures, and beliefs.

---

[66] Periodical Accounts, v: 53 (March 1903), p. 226.
[67] The establishment of the Ethiopian Church at Wittekleibosch towards the end of the 1800s is described in further detail in chapter 6 of this dissertation.
[68] Periodical Accounts, v: 53 (March 1903), p. 226.
[69] Periodical Accounts, v: 53 (March 1903), p. 225.
[70] Periodical Accounts, xxii: cxl (September 1858), p. 496.
[71] Periodical Accounts, xxv: cclxvii (June 1865), p. 398.

At Snyklip, Wittekleibosch and Doriskraal the participation of the Mfengu in church services and missionary programmes were limited, since they avoided sustained engagement with, the imposition of, and adherence to the Moravian ethic. A missionary wrote in 1864 that "these natives [at Doriskraal] could be looked after more efficiently, if they could be persuaded to settle in villages; but they love liberty too well to submit to any restrictions".[73] When the church burnt down at Snyklip during 1874, a missionary wrote that "the majority of them seem disinclined to come to Clarkson, but asked us to assist in erecting another place of worship".[74] In one instance Moravian missionaries disciplined the behaviour of a group of Mfengu school-goers by closing-down the chapel-school and removing the teacher. In response the affected Mfengu of the area sent a deputation over to Clarkson and requested the missionaries not to forsake them.[75] The Mfengu deputation did not request that their children be taught at Clarkson, but rather that missionaries re-open the school in their area. The Tsitsikamma Mfengu communities from the adjacent areas thus distinguished between missionary education and missionary conversion, with an interest in the former while inclined to resist the latter. Conversion to Christianity for the Tsitsikamma Mfengu meant access to education, especially for their children.

Membership to the Moravian mission community at Clarkson was not dependent on obtaining a missionary education, but was rather dependent on missionary conversion and adherence of the Moravian Ethic. This meant that for the converted Clarksoners, greater educational prospects were available, especially for children. Moravian missionaries created opportunities, subject to good conduct and adherence to the Moravian Ethic, for selected candidates to attend the Genadendal training school. Zwelibanzi was the first child selected from Clarkson and the Tsitsikamma to attend the training school. Others followed him like Manasseh Mlandu, later stationed as schoolmaster at Engotini, a mission settlement attached to Shiloh (see map showing the location Shiloh in relation to Clarkson in figure 5 above).[76] The conversion to Christianity, acceptance of the discipline and order of the Moravian Ethic ensured that Clarksoners had access to education, the opportunity of their children being sent to the Genadendal training school, and thereafter integrated as teachers and mission-helpers into mission projects at the Cape.

---

[72] Periodical Accounts, xxiv: cclii (September 1861), p. 71.
[73] Periodical Accounts, xxv: cclviii (September 1865), p. 462.
[74] Periodical Accounts, (March 1875), p. 291.
[75] Periodical Accounts, xxvi: cclxxiii (December 1866), p. 112.
[76] Periodical Accounts, xxiv: cclix (June 1863), p. 554.

In this case study we have been concerned with representations in the Moravian missionary discourse of those people from the surrounding Tsitsikamma, who were baptised, became communicants and joined the Clarkson mission community, thereby committing themselves to its discipline, order and authority. In addition to these Mfengu converts, admission to the mission station had also been granted to some Khoikhoi, and freed slaves who met the mission's criteria. This loose group of individual converts was represented as a homogenous Moravian missionary community, later known as the Clarksoners, within the Moravian missionary discourse. From the outset some Mfengu were converted and became members of the Clarkson mission community and remained that. Some names of Mfengu persons who became converted and who were listed as baptism candidates by the Moravian missionaries include, amongst others, Zinde, Ciswazi, Zwelibanzi, and Balambile in 1839, Uzideku, and Mazisa in 1846, and Wolfkop, Msili, and Mlandu in 1868.[77] From a schedule of names of unmarried males at Clarkson drawn-up by the resident minister in February 1960, the following names appear to be significant to our discussion concerning the Mfengu who had remained at Clarkson. These are Eben Sedegu, Sam Sinde, Jan Skosana, Josef Zwasi, and Hendrik Makomo. The Uzideku family, the Zinde family and the Ciswazi family were among those who had become and remained members of the Clarkson Moravian missionary community. It is at the level of missionary discourse that the differentiation between "coloured" Clarksoner and ethnic Mfengu came to be more sharply defined and pronounced. In a 1903 report a Clarkson missionary described the converted Mfengu as "slavish in character".[78] No distinction was made between the converted and "heathen", both were represented as lying and deceitful people who were slavish in character. In 1903 Moravian missionaries very clearly described the Clarkson congregation as consisting " ... mainly of Dutch-speaking natives, since even the Fingoes who ... had settled there, have for the most part left the place again ... their mode of life – so unlike that of the coloured people – would not permit them to settle down. On the Fingo reserves at Doriskraal and Snyklip they succeeded better". [79] Here the term Dutch speaking "natives" is utilised interchangeably with the term "coloured" people. Both terms are used as distinct from the term Mfengu whom missionaries describe in this 1903 report as "...obstinate [and] clinging to their ancient usage ... [and] though they may come regularly to church ... there is still much

[77] Moravian Archives, Missions Conf. Prodoc. 1839-1846; Missions Conf. Prodoc. 1846-1855; and Missions Conf. Prodoc. 1868-1872.
[78] Periodical Accounts, v: 53 (March 1903), pp. 225-226.
[79] Periodical Accounts, v: 53 (March 1903), pp. 225-226.

heathenish tendency behind it all".[80] By 1903 "our people" at Clarkson, as called by the Moravian missionaries in their missionary discourse, had become the "Dutch-speaking natives" and "coloured people" who were not Mfengu. The Clarkson "coloured" missionary community were discursively differentiated from the Mfengu of Tsitsikamma who were represented in the missionary discourse as obstinately clinging to their "heathenish tendencies", and as having only outwardly adopted Christianity. By the early twentieth century the converted Tsitsikamma Mfengu at Clarkson were so fully incorporated into the Clarkson Moravian mission community that they became "invisible", and part of the constructed "coloured" Moravian missionary community that was differentiated from the ethnic Tsitsikamma Mfengu. The Clarkson "coloured" Moravian missionary identity was constructed in relation to the ethnic Mfengu whose ancient usage, mode of life, and outward adoption of Christianity were represented in the Moravian missionary discourse as all that the Clarkson "coloured" Moravian missionary community were not.

5.3 Elements of Missionary "Conversation"

Our investigation thus far has been concerned with some of the elements utilised in the discursive construction of the Clarkson Moravian mission identity. In this section we consider some relevant aspects of discursive analysis from the comparative work of the Comaroffs' on the Wesleyan mission among the Tswana speaking Barolong boo Rathshidi, during the nineteenth century. In their investigations of missionary activity among the Southern Tswana, the Comaroffs provided a suggestive account of religious conversion as part of the more general civilising mission of the Wesleyans. According to the Comaroffs the Wesleyan missionaries perceived conversion as a process that involved the removal of difference and distinction while aimed at the assimilation of the Southern Tswana into the moral economy of civilised man.[81] The Comaroffs defined "assimilation" as the extension of the European system of distinction onto the indigenous Southern Tswana landscape, drawing them into a common scale of social, spiritual, and material inequality.[82] Conversely the Southern Tswana also recast the missionary in their own language and understanding.[83]

---

[80] Periodical Accounts, v: 53 (March 1903), pp. 225-226.
[81] Jean and John, Comaroff, Of Revelation and Revolution: Christianity, Colonialism and Consciousness in South Africa (2 vols., Chicago, University of Chicago Press, 1991), Vol. 1, p. 244.
[82] Comaroffs, Of Revelation and Revolution, Vol. 1, pp. 244-245.
[83] Comaroffs, Of Revelation and Revolution, Vol. 1, p. 245.

When these missionaries set out to convert the "heathen" they did not limit themselves to conversion at a spiritual level. Rather, on the Comaroffs' analysis, they went about reconstructing the everyday lives of the Southern Tswana. This process of conversion was both overt and covert. Its overt content consisted of substantive messages conveyed through sermons premised on the bible. Its covert component consisted of a struggle waged between the Southern Tswana and missionaries over the terms of their encounter, and the fashioning of the different forms in which this "conversation" took place.[84] It was at this covert level that missionaries sought to completely reform the "heathen" world through colonisation of taken-for-granted everyday signs and practices.[85] This covert conversation, the Comaroffs argued, occurred amongst others, in the domains of the politics of water, and the politics of production.[86] This meant that even if the overt religious content of the missionary message of Christian salvation was rejected, or did not have much direct impact on the religious beliefs of the Southern Tswana; the indirect and pervasive consequences of entering into the "long conversation" with the missionaries were a different matter. This resulted in the missionaries affecting their mode of perception and daily interactions in basic and significant ways even if they did not initially convert large numbers of the people to become members of their congregations. This amounted to nothing less than a discursive reconstruction of their communal identity.

The primary impact made by the Wesleyan missionaries flowed from their engagement with the Tswana in daily, routine domestic activities, persistently demonstrating their "superior" ability to control the environment around them. However, missionary activity was constrained by the resilience of Tswana society in not letting go of their social and spatial forms. This engagement, or "long conversation", between the Southern Tswana and Wesleyan missionaries, engendered a struggle for control over the signs and practices of ritual authority. These signs and practices consisted, amongst others, of elements like dress, spatial organisation, bodily gestures, productive techniques, and language.[87] It is here where our interest in the Comaroffs' study lies, in the discursive ways in which the missionaries managed to impact on local peoples. These are useful tools of analysis to apply in our exploration of the *transplantation, imposition and appropriation* of a Clarkson Moravian mission identity. In the sub-section following we will

---

[84] Comaroffs, Of Revelation and Revolution, Vol. 1, pp. 198-199.
[85] Jean and John L. Comaroff, 'The Colonisation of Consciousness in South Africa', Economy and Society 18: 3 (August 1989), pp. 289-290.
[86] Comaroffs, Of Revelation and Revolution, Vol. 1, pp. 198-199.

briefly summarise the Comaroffs' arguments on such discursive elements as "the politics of water", "the politics of production", and "the politics of spatial organisation"; and explore the relevance of each to our discourse analysis of the constructed and appropriated Moravian mission identity.

5.3.1 The Politics of Spatial Organisation and the Changing Spatial Landscape

In our applied discourse analysis we firstly give an account of Comaroffs treatment of the spatial organisation of the land in relation to the Southern Tswana, the missionaries' relation to the chief's customary authority and the round/square dichotomy. We then consider the spatial organisation of the land in relation to the Moravian mission among the Mfengu. We hereafter go on to analyse the Comaroffs treatment of the production of the land and the control of water in a similar comparative discussion. In the Comaroffs' case study of nineteenth century missionary activity among the Southern Tswana, spatial organisation is highlighted as a key discursive element in their transformation and assimilation into the Western moral economy. In Southern Tswana society the chief held the land on behalf of the people and had the responsibility of allocating portions of land to individuals. In this way the chief significantly conferred Tswana citizenship on each person who received land for residential and cultivation purposes.[88] According to the Comaroffs, the Southern Tswana lived together in large populous towns with the spiritual and social cohesion of the community held strongly together under the authority of the chief.[89] Since the Southern Tswana lived beyond the Northern Cape frontier, missionaries had to obtain permission from the chief to occupy and use the land for missionary purposes. The chief typically exercised his authority by allocating them with residential and arable land that was situated, not within the central town, but rather on the borders of his domain. In obedience to the chief's authority missionaries occupied the land allocated and lived on the periphery of the chief's polity.[90] The use and cultivation of the land by the Wesleyan missionaries also showed some measure of acceptance of the chief's sovereignty.[91] In many cases the Tswana chiefs only permitted missionary activity on their land after having received gifts from the Wesleyan missionaries, in particular guns and ammunition.[92] While these

---

[87] Jean Comaroff, Body of Power Spirit of Resistance: The Culture and History of a South African People (Chicago, University of Chicago Press, 1985), p. 10.
[88] Comaroffs, Of Revelation and Revolution, Vol. 1, pp. 200-201.
[89] Comaroffs, Of Revelation and Revolution, Vol. 1, pp. 204-205.
[90] Comaroffs, Of Revelation and Revolution, Vol. 1, pp. 201-203.
[91] Comaroffs, Of Revelation and Revolution, Vol. 1, p. 202.
[92] Comaroffs, Of Revelation and Revolution, Vol. 1, p. 201.

Wesleyan missionaries in these ways recognised the customary authority of the chief, they also persistently challenged it. According to the Comaroffs, they used every opportunity to move away from the periphery of Southern Tswana society and become more centrally located within the spatial organisation of the town. At Thaba 'Nchu they established their mission station in the centre of the town at the point where the territories of three chiefs met.[93] Their claim of having bought the land on behalf of the Southern Tswana people certainly challenged the Southern Tswana notion that land was held on behalf of the people by the chief. The establishment of a mission settlement among the Southern Tswana was a complex and ambiguous process in which the missionaries at first recognised the authority of the chiefs in order to obtain some land. They thereafter proceeded to utilise the land and alter its spatial organisation in ways that implicitly challenged and impacted on customary authority.

In her study of the Southern Tswana, Jean Comaroff described how the design of the Wesleyan mission station expressed the division between the sacred and the secular, the public and the private. The mission buildings consisted of distinct units for schooling, printing, and agricultural activity, reflecting the differentiated domains of the civilizing project.[94] Each mission building was composed of a square, freestanding, four-sided form into which other box-like shapes were placed with rational efficiency. In contrast, the Southern Tswana domestic architecture consisted of round structures.[95] According to Comaroff, the four-sided figure was the primary shape in the Western spatial-visual construction, and was embodied amongst others in the medieval Church, the page of a book, the market-square, and the enclosed field. Comaroff showed how the Wesleyan missionaries pressured converts to build neat "civilized" houses, which were square-shaped and built on fenced sites. According to Comaroff, these square-shaped buildings were associated with the propertied individual while missionaries regarded the round-shaped Tswana homestead as irrational undifferentiated heaps.[96] More generally, in *Of Revelation and Revolution*, the Comaroffs suggested that these perceived differences between Wesleyan missionaries and the indigenous people described two very distinct social orders, social powers, and spatial embodiments. They argued that it was these differences, which indicated some of the conflict prevailing in the "long conversation" and covert process of conversion of the Southern Tswana. More importantly, argued the Comaroffs, the

---

[93] Comaroffs, Of Revelation and Revolution, Vol. 1, p. 206.
[94] Comaroff, Body of Power Spirit of Resistance, p. 142.
[95] Comaroff, Body of Power Spirit of Resistance, p. 142.
[96] Comaroff, Body of Power Spirit of Resistance, p. 143.

Tswana slowly internalised (and began to take for granted) the distinctions and relations made by the Wesleyan missionaries within this conversation.[97]

In the case of the Moravian missionaries at Clarkson, it was not primarily the chiefs but the colonial authorities at the Cape who granted the land to them to be held in trust for and on behalf of the Mfengu. The crucial difference was that the Clarkson mission station was located well within the Cape Colony. Significantly, the Moravian missionaries requested permission from the group of Mfengu residing at Clarkson to settle among them and to use a portion of the land for missionary purposes. In a sense they did not need to do this since the land was not at the disposal of the Mfengu chiefs who themselves were dependent on land grants from colonial authorities. In this sense then, the mere presence of the Moravian mission on the land could not be taken to imply their acceptance of the chief's sovereignty over the land. However, the interactions between them and the Mfengu at Clarkson were inevitably more ambiguous and contested. The missionaries did not simply rely on the fact that the allocation of land was a matter for the colonial authorities rather than the local chiefs: by asking "permission" they recognised some measure of authority for the latter. Moreover, the colonial land grant for the missionary settlement was not unqualified. The Deed of Grant specified that the land was to be held on behalf of and in trust for the Mfengu. These ambiguous contestations are then played out at the level of practical interaction.[98] In practice the missionary settlement among, and in conjunction with, the Mfengu involved various interventions in their customs and social practices. Many of the members of the Mfengu community, including the local chief, were offended by these missionaries' interventions and decided to leave Clarkson in 1841.[99] The departure of the chief meant that the authority of the Moravian missionaries at Clarkson was now undisputed even though the terms of their formal rights, as stipulated in the Deed of Grant, remained ambiguous. Moravian missionaries exercised their rights in land by demarcating plots for residential and cultivation purposes that formed a neat regular pattern bordering the street leading up to the werf, i.e. the town centre of the mission settlement. The mission residence with its cultivated garden, the watercourse, the watermill, the school and the church, were

[97] Comaroffs, Of Revelation and Revolution, Vol. 1, p. 206.
[98] See discussion on Clarkson land in section 4.6 of this dissertation.
[99] A more detailed discussion of the establishment of the Moravian mission station among the Mfengu of the Tsitsikamma is given in section 4.6 of this dissertation.

central to the development of the mission's town centre.[100] Qualifying converts were required to fence their individual plots of land.[101]

Taking our cue from the Comaroffs' account of the Wesleyan mission among the Southern Tswana comparison with the Moravian mission in the Tsitsikamma reveals significant similarities. The four-sided Western spatial design visually depicted the identity of the Moravian missionaries' residents. They introduced and enforced adherence to Western spatial conceptions among converts at all the Moravian mission stations in the Cape Colony. Notably at Clarkson Moravian missionaries stipulated very clear building specifications in their rules and regulations for the mission station. These building specifications were later incorporated in the Clarkson Constitution as "only permanent houses with at least three rooms may be built. Each room must have at least one window ... every family must have their own separate house".[102] Houses had to be built according to these specifications as stipulated in the Clarkson constitution. Already in 1841 the Moravian missionary, Nauhaus, wrote about the:

> "great ... change [which] has taken place in the appearance of this settlement, that whoever had seen it during the last two years, would hardly know it again ... this change is but a faint representation of the spiritual change which has been affected among the Fingoos, by simply preaching of the word of the cross, and the application of this saving doctrine to their hearts".[103] (Underscoring has been added)

The "great change" was concerned with the growing mission station with its neatly spaced square-shaped, three-roomed houses with windows - legitimating the order and regularity of the organised mission space. Over time these neat shapes, spaces, and demarcated individual places came to be gradually taken-for-granted as common sense assumptions by residents of the mission station. Implicitly members of the Clarkson mission community exercised individual entitlement to their allocated plots of land, their square-shaped houses and individually fenced gardens. They also developed a communal entitlement to the Clarkson mission station as a

---

[100] L. Le Grange, 'Moravian Mission Stations in the Western and Southern Cape Conservation Study', (School of Architecture and Planning, University of Cape Town, March 1991), p. 32.
[101] Krüger, The Pear Tree Blossoms, p. 202.
[102] Moravian Archive, Clarkson Moravian Mission Station Constitution, article 15. Translated from the original text "slegs vaste huise met ten minste 3 vertrekke mag opgerig word. Elke vertrek moet ten minste een venster hê ... elke huisgesin moet sy aparte woning hê".
[103] 'Particulars of Intelligence Respecting the Missions of the United Brethren', p. 12. Nauhaus' use of the notion of representation is significant. Nauhaus evidently regards the "spiritual change ... affected by the Fingos" as the fundamental reality of which changes in the appearance of the settlement is "only a faint representation". The

missionary community, exemplified in the spatial organisation of the settlement. This naturalisation of meaning legitimated the Moravian mission community's rights in the Clarkson land, but it also legitimated the rights in land held by the Moravian missionaries and the authority they exercised over access to, and the use of the mission land. It was through the allocation of individual plots of land that members of the mission settlement became propertied individuals within the Cape colonial society. By demarcating the land into separate, individual residential and agricultural plots, the Moravian missionary discourse contributed both towards producing notions of private property and establishing and sustaining relations of colonial domination. In these respects the Moravian and Wesleyan missionary discourses are similar.

But not all the houses at Clarkson were square-shaped and built according to the Moravian missionary specifications. Irrigated garden plots with evenly spaced square-shaped houses appeared on one side of the street and contrasted with the round-shaped houses belonging to the Mfengu who resided alongside and outside the jurisdiction of the mission, on the opposite side of the street.[104] In a report written in 1863 a missionary described one of the Mfengu houses as having "... neither windows nor chimneys, the only opening being the entrance, which is so low that you must enter creeping."[105] Evidently these Mfengu persisted with their customary practices despite the insistence of the Moravian missionaries at Clarkson that all houses built under their jurisdiction should be permanent structures with at least three rooms and each room having at least one window. To encourage compliance with their building regulations, the Moravian missionaries offered a housing subsidy to converts seeking membership at the Clarkson mission station.[106] The emerging-square shaped three-roomed houses, with windows, were markedly different to the round windowless dwellings of the Mfengu that stood scattered across the land from the other side of the street onwards. In their study of the Southern Tswana the Comaroffs suggested that such emerging differences in the shape of dwellings, was an "expression of two very distinct social orders and spatial organisation".[107] They further suggest that such differences indicated that the "landscape itself began to give expression to a dawning confrontation between two cultures – each becoming more visible ... as they struggled for dominance".[108] Similarly the street at Clarkson, with its

---

Comaroffs and I are actually concerned with the opposite - that is changes in the spatial organisation of the land that were fundamental in bringing about the eventual conversion of the Tswana and Mfengu.

[104] Schmidt, 'Die Sendingwerk van die Broederkerk in Suid Afrika', no date, p. 58.

[105] Periodical Accounts, xxiv: cclix (June 1863), p. 553.

[106] Krüger, The Pear Tree Blossoms, p. 204-205.

[107] Comaroffs, Of Revelation and Revolution, Vol. 1, p. 206.

[108] Comaroffs, Of Revelation and Revolution, Vol. 1, p. 206.

contrasting round and square-shaped houses, indicated such a cultural confrontation. The dispersed pattern of the houses of the residing Mfengu differed significantly to the organised, controlled, and ordered space characterising the newly established domain of the Moravian missionary settlement.[109] By 1883 a visitor to the Clarkson mission station recalled:

> "The settlement makes a pleasing impression upon the visitor with its neat little church, its schoolhouse, and its mission houses shaded by trees. The inhabitants are in fairly comfortably circumstances, as is seen at once by the appearance on their carefully cultivated gardens and plots of land, and the interior of some of their houses".[110]

In the Southern Tswana case study of the Comaroffs, as in the Moravian missionaries utilised their Western conceptions of spatiality to change the landscape at Clarkson and discursively produce representations of difference between the orderly converts residing on the one side, against the disorderly Mfengu residing on the other side of the mission street. If these representations of difference between Clarksoner converts and the Mfengu represented a neat dichotomy, actual practices were more ambiguous. On at least one occasion a Moravian missionary observed that about twelve miles away from Clarkson "the circular habitations of these people [the "Fingo"] are placed in two rows forming a street".[111] These Mfengu dwellings were not dispersed or spread out across the land, but were rather neatly arranged in two rows. Forming a street it reflected the indirect impact of both missionary and colonial spatial organisation. The ordered arrangement of the houses in the "Mfengu street" could be taken as a mixed mode with the round shapes of the "circular habitations" indicating the persistence of indigenous practices. This mixed mode of spatial organisation in the Tsitsikamma indicates a difference with the Comaroffs' analysis, and serves to qualify the notion of a landscape beginning to give expression to a "dawning confrontation" as was the case with the Southern Tswana.[112]

If at one level we can trace the direct and indirect missionary impact *on* the indigenous peoples through the actual spatial organisation of the missionary settlements, then at another level we can follow the representations *of* indigenous peoples like the Mfengu *in* the Moravian missionary discourse. At this level, too, there is a contrast of (Western/civilised) square shapes and order against (indigenous/uncivilised) round shapes and disorder. However, this should

---

[109] Krüger, The Pear Tree Blossoms, p. 204-205.
[110] Periodical Accounts, xxxii: 340 (September 1883), p. 509.
[111] Periodical Accounts, xxiv: cclii (September 1861), pp. 70-71.

not necessarily be taken as a true reflection of the social reality and historical interaction. Thus the square/round dichotomy (differentiating Clarksoners and Mfengu as discursive objects) may have persisted at the level of the missionary discourse even after this contrast had in social reality been (partially) transformed by the impact of the missionary project itself. To the extent that this happened, the persistence of this dichotomy *in* the missionary discourse itself served to conceal the presence of these converted Mfengu who had been incorporated into the community and structure of the Clarkson mission settlement. In this respect it is possible to argue that these representations in the Moravian missionary discourse functioned as a strategy of dissimulation masking (possible) factors of similarity between the Mfengu and the Clarksoner. A missionary recalled in 1861 how a "Fingo" expressed that "many of my countrymen have left us and gone away, so that but few of us still remain in the settlement. But I think we can live here in peace".[113] This reflected that some "Fingos" had been taken up as part of the Clarksoner community. But by the beginning of the 1900s Moravian missionaries asserted that "the Fingoes ... have for the most part left the place ... their mode of life – so unlike the coloured people – would not permit them to settle down".[114] On the one hand, the Tsitsikamma Mfengu were assumed as being able to live in peace at Clarkson, while on the other hand they were represented as having a mode of life that did not permit them to settle down. Such inconsistencies and contradictions prevalent in the spatial representations of difference of Clarksoner/Mfengu concealed the effective inclusion of some Mfengu into the missionary community at Clarkson. The function of such strategies of dissimulation in the Moravian missionary discourse was to conceal the diversity of the Clarkson missionary community and their social, political, and historical links with the Mfengu of the Tsitsikamma; in particular their links with those Mfengu who had initially resided alongside the mission settlement on the Koksbosch farm, that later became known as the Clarkson land.

5.3.2 The Politics of Production and the Cultivation of the Land

The most visible changes to the spatial landscape were the square-shaped buildings and enclosed gardens that both the Wesleyan and Moravian missionaries introduced at their respective mission stations. Such re-organisation of space was linked to, and reinforced by, the emerging new modes of agricultural production. In their study of the Southern Tswana, the

---

[112] Comaroffs, Of Revelation and Revolution, vol. 1, p. 206.
[113] Periodical Accounts, xxiv: cclii (September 1861), p. 71.
[114] Periodical Accounts, v: 53 (March 1903), p. 225.

Comaroffs describe the Wesleyan missionary's belief in the direct relation between the civilisation of the Tswana peoples and their participation in agricultural production.[115] These Wesleyan missionaries believed that by engaging (potential) converts in new forms of agricultural production the Tswana would become peaceful, law-abiding and governable persons.[116] These agricultural activities typically took place within the confined spaces of enclosed gardens. The garden thus represented the civilising mission of the Wesleyan missionaries, and depicted the industriousness of their civilising colonial world in contrast to the "idleness" of the Tswana.[117]

The Wesleyan missionaries introduced agricultural production among the Tswana by demonstrating the use of the plough, the operation of simple irrigation devices, and the cultivation of high-yielding crops. Together these contributed towards the transformation of the Tswana's subsistence mode of production and brought this into closer association with the colonial political economy.[118] The introduction of the plough had far-reaching consequences. By utilising the plough the Wesleyan missionaries introduced a more effective exploitation of the land, albeit short-term. Altogether, the use of the plough,[119] the operation of irrigation systems and the planting of a higher quality seed ensured that the Tswana land could yield a greater surplus. By utilising the plough the Tswana were also forced to use their cattle in the cultivation of the land. This resulted in the intersection of agriculture and pastoralism. It also brought about consequential changes in gender relations. Pre-colonial Tswana women held prominent positions in subsistence agriculture but were prohibited from managing cattle. Women cultivated the land using the hoe. Since use of the plough required the use of cattle in cultivating the land, Tswana women came to be excluded from agricultural production. As reliance on the plough in agricultural production steadily increased, Tswana women lost the control and power they had exercised over their crop production.[120] Men now dominated a domain of production previously managed and controlled by women.[121] The Comaroffs conclude that in their long conversation with the Tswana, the Wesleyan missionary values of disciplined labour, forceful domination of nature, private property, the importance of individual

---

[115] Comaroffs, 'The Colonisation of Consciousness in South Africa', pp. 277-278.
[116] Comaroffs, 'The Colonisation of Consciousness in South Africa', p. 278.
[117] Comaroffs, 'The Colonisation of Consciousness in South Africa', pp. 273-278.
[118] Comaroff, Body of Power Spirit of Resistance, p. 145.
[119] Useful for our discussion is Leon de Kock's description of the historical dynamic that "Old" Soga found himself in, being gradually forced to accept Western cultural codes like the use of the plough, the irrigation of his lands, and the marketing of his crops. See Civilising Barbarians: Missionary narrative and African Textual Response in 19th Century South Africa (Johannesburg, Witwatersrand University Press, 2001), pp. 58-59.
[120] Comaroffs, 'The Colonisation of Consciousness in South Africa', p. 280.

human effort, and the accumulation of a surplus within the confined spaces of fenced gardens, gradually replaced the pre-colonial/traditional social order.[122]

To what extent can the Comaroffs discursive analysis of the politics of production be applied to our examination of the construction of a Moravian missionary identity in the Tsitsikamma? What was the significance of new modes of land cultivation and agricultural production on the conversion process embarked on by Moravian missionaries at Clarkson? To begin with, it can be noted that agricultural production at the Clarkson Moravian mission station also took place within the confined spaces of the neatly fenced gardens. Each cultivated garden effectively displayed the converts' adherence to, and practice of, missionary teachings of the dignity of labour. The belief in the dignity of labour through the cultivation of the land was an important element of the Moravian ethic and a central theme in the Moravian missionary project and served to meet colonial labour demands. In a report written in 1858 a Moravian missionary wrote that "during this month many of our people were absent, being engaged at work with the neighbouring farmers. We were, however, glad to see that they nearly all returned at the beginning of the Passion-week".[123] Colonists certainly favoured the employment of hardworking, docile, and faithful mission labourers who were familiar with the work of agricultural production. In a memorandum submitted to the Governor in 1864, the colonial Commissioner, Charles Brownlee, proposed that the "moral and material advancement of a barbarous people can be promoted ... [by] encouraging them to improve the ground they occupy ... [through] fostering in them habits of industry ... cutting watercourses ... [and] ground when exhausted ... would be manured ... instead of depending on the uncertain rains".[124] Brownlee's proposals were very similar to the Moravian missionary teachings of dignified and disciplined labour practised by cultivating the land. In addition to members of the mission station being employed on colonial farms a considerable number of converts from Clarkson were also employed by colonial authorities to take part in the repair of roads.[125] A Moravian missionary reported in 1875 that "some of the people have been employed by the boers; others have obtained work on the new road that was being constructed".[126] These accounts showed that converts' adherence to the Moravian Ethic in time extended from cultivating their individual garden plots at the mission station to cultivating the land of a neighbouring colonial farmer as

---

[121] Comaroff, Body of Power Spirit of Resistance, p. 146.
[122] Comaroffs, 'The Colonisation of Consciousness in South Africa', p. 278.
[123] Periodical Accounts, xxii: cxl (September 1858), p. 496.
[124] Cape Archive, CA 49 -'65, Brownlee, Memorandum, 1864.
[125] Periodical Accounts, xxiv: cclii (September 1861), p. 71.

labourers, and to constructing/repairing roads as labourers in the colony's public-works programme. In these ways they were being incorporated into the larger colonial political economy. Colin Bundy, in *The Rise and Fall of the South African Peasantry*, has described the emergence of an indigenous peasantry in response to the political and economic pressures arising from their forceful integration into the Cape colonial economy. He shows how the Mfengu, Thembu, Gcaleka, Ngqikas and others could adjust as peasants by adopting the plough and other implements, as well as new methods of cultivation to increase their agricultural productivity. These groups of emerging peasants produced a surplus and sold their produce on an expanding colonial market.[127] This emerging peasantry, many of whom were connected to mission settlements, came from such places as Peddie, Fort Beaufort, Tyhume, Fingoland, Clarkebury and Herschel.[128]

The Mfengu from the Tsitsikamma were not included in Bundy's study of an emerging peasantry in South Africa and their trajectory appears to have been rather different. In the case of the inhabitants of the Clarkson Moravian mission station, agricultural production did not appear to have been sufficient for producing a surplus. The entry of many Clarksoners, especially men, into the colonial labour market as farm labourers or workers in the Cape colony's road works programmes resulted in lengthy periods of absence from the mission station. This affected their availability and must have impacted on their ability to subsist, as well as produce a surplus, from the land. In the absence of men at the mission station, women emerged as successful subsistence farmers and garden cultivators who managed the combined labour of the household children. By 1903 a Moravian missionary from Clarkson reported that "garden ground for the people is limited and the land is not valuable. Drought and locusts have caused much devastation ... The main employment for the men is road-making".[129] The proletarianisation of the Clarkson mission community was largely complete by 1910 with the Clarksoners having become fairly dependent on the labour market of the Union. In the Moravian missionary discourse the Clarksoners had been constructed as disciplined labourers thereby contributing to sustained relations of colonial domination at the Cape.

---

[126] Periodical Accounts, (March 1875), p. 290.

[127] J. Lewis, 'The Rise and Fall of the South African Peasantry: A Critique', (Unpublished paper, Centre for African Studies, University of Cape Town, 1983), pp. 1-22; R. Bouch, 'The Mfengu Revisited: The 19th Century Experience of one Mfengu Community through the Eyes of Historians and Contemporaries' (London, Societies of Southern Africa in the Nineteenth and Twentieth Century, Institute of Commonwealth Studies, 1992), Vol. 17, pp. 81-87; R.A. Moyer, 'A History of the Mfengu of the Eastern Cape: 1815-1865' (Ph.D. thesis, School of Oriental and African Studies, London University, 1976), p. 415; C. Bundy, The Rise and Fall of the South African Peasantry (London, Heinemann, 1979).

[128] Bundy, The Rise and Fall of the South African Peasantry, pp. 44-151.

The Moravian missionary project required converts to daily demonstrate their industriousness as disciplined and dignified labourers by cultivating the neatly fenced garden plots. Disciplined and dignified labour at Clarkson meant following a process for successful land cultivation as defined by the Moravian missionaries. A particularly important aspect of Moravian land use was the fertilisation of the soil with manure. The Moravian missionaries also found the soil to be of a rather poor quality; hence their insistence that the ground be fertilised first before seeds were sown. On one level the fertilisation of the soil with manure is a non-discursive material practice. The fertilisation of the soil with manure followed by the sowing of fruit beating seeds, are causal linkages in the process of cultivating the land. But Moravian missionaries did not only introduce the use of manure instrumentally to increase the productivity of their seed crops. They also linked the fertilisation of the soil with elements of the historical Moravian seed narrative. The missionary discourse depicted the missionary approach adopted in the Tsitsikamma as steadily preparing the soil used for cultivation by first fertilising it so that the "fruit bearing seeds"[130] could grow into "branches of the vine".[131] The Mfengu converts were represented in the missionary discourse as "fruit bearing seeds" and "branches of the vine". Such representations are variations of the metaphor of the seed in the Moravian historical narrative. In utilising these motifs of the seed metaphor, missionaries discursively incorporated the Clarkson mission station into the Moravian historical narrative and connected the mission station to the Genadendal missionary community, the Herrnhuters and the early Unitas Fratrum. In the Moravian missionary discourse the process of land cultivation that required users of the land to first fertilise the soil with manure differentiated the Clarkson missionary community from the Tsitsikamma Mfengu. In the Moravian missionary discourse the Clarksoners were depicted on the one hand as people who fertilised and prepared the soil, with the Mfengu on the other hand depicted as people who never took the trouble to manure the land.

The approach adopted by Moravian missionaries to engage the Mfengu by the example of steadily cultivating the land was incorporated in their daily routine at the mission station. This was not always successful. They demonstrated to (potential) Mfengu converts that the fertilisation of the soil with manure made the land more productive and manageable. But many

---

[129] Periodical Accounts, v: 53 (March 1903), p. 225.
[130] Periodical Accounts, xxiv: cclv (June 1862), p. 286 and Periodical Accounts, xxxii: 340 (September 1883), p. 509.
[131] Periodical Accounts, xxiv: ccliv (March 1862), p. 238; Periodical Accounts, xxviii: 299 (June 1873), p. 478; and Periodical Accounts, xxxii: 331 (June 1881), p. 40.

Mfengu did not follow their examples of land control and management. Missionaries regularly complained about the reluctance of the Mfengu to fertilise the soil with manure. They asserted that the unwillingness of the Mfengu to use manure aggravated the poor quality of the soil.[132] But the Mfengu believed that the use of animal manure polluted the soil and therefore refused to fertilise it in this way. At first Moravian missionaries engaged the Mfengu chief residing on the Koksbosch farm, Captain Manqoba, and obtained his approval for the soil to be fertilised by members of his community.[133] However, soon hereafter in 1841 Captain Mangoba left Clarkson. Two decades later, in the 1865 report on Clarkson, a missionary wrote "... the natives ... find the ground good for growing buck-wheat, but after a few years it is completely exhausted, because the Fingoes never take the trouble to manure it. Thus the country becomes barren, and the water supply diminishes".[134] The report indicated that the Tsitsikamma Mfengu persisted in their refusal to fertilise the soil with manure. These experiences and contrasts became part of the discursive construction of missionary identity and was discursively constructed in relation to the Mfengu through opposing representations of their practices of land use. Land used by the "Fingo" was most frequently represented as being exhausted, barren and having a limited water supply. However, there was one instance where a Moravian missionary gave an account of his visit to Wittekleibosch in 1865 and wrote "some Brethren rode over to Wittekleibosch to make arrangements for regular preaching to the Fingoos who reside in that district ... [on] land granted to them by government. The Brethren were surprised to find large tracts of cultivated land, with good crops of wheat and maize".[135] In this untypical account, the large tracts of land used and cultivated by the Mfengu at Wittekleibosch with its good crops of wheat and maize were a surprise to the missionary who expected to see an infertile and fruitless land. In general Moravian missionaries described the Mfengu as refusing to fertilise the soil before cultivation. Representations of the Clarksoners' use of land in the missionary discourse also concerned the fertilisation of the soil in the process of land cultivation. In 1867 the Moravian missionary, Weiz, described his participation in land cultivation at Clarkson in a report and wrote that "we have done all we could to encourage our people to take to cultivating ground more steadily than hitherto ... we missionaries take part in all kinds of secular labour ... to show our people the connection between prayer and working".[136] This shows the discursive connection between the Moravian conversion process

[132] Moyer, 'A History of the Mfengu of the Eastern Cape', pp. 366-367.
[133] Krüger, The Pear Tree Blossoms, pp. 202-203.
[134] Periodical Accounts, xxv: cclxviii (September 1865), p. 462.
[135] Periodical Accounts, xxv: cclxviii (September 1865), p. 463.
[136] Periodical Accounts, xxvi: cclxxvi (September 1867), p. 283.

and work in cultivating the land. The encouragement given to steady land use and cultivation formed part of an overall process of conversion aimed at transforming the mode of subsistence of the indigenous peoples. Again in 1875 missionaries wrote that:

> "We have done all we could to encourage our people [the Clarksoners] to take to cultivating the ground... the soil is not very fruitful ... the land so recently brought under cultivation ... supplied us with all the grain we required, whereas the old fields were overrun with worms and beetles so no crops could be obtained, which would repay the trouble of reaping".[137] (Underscored has been added)

Evidently the discursive contrasts misrepresented actual commonalities in productive practices and experience. On the one hand the land used and cultivated by the Mfengu was consistently described as old fields that were worm and beetle invested and in need of a proper system of crop rotation. While on the other hand the Clarksoners' land use was described as also being not very fruitful though with the teachings and encouragement of the missionaries successful cultivation should be feasible. However, in 1875 the missionary, Hettasch, reported that "want still rests with a heavy hand over our congregation. The little that the gardens produced having long since been consumed ... we had a similar season of trial ... eight years ago".[138] In 1881 a missionary reported further that "the produce of the fields [at Clarkson] has proved below the average in consequence of the extremes of heat and moisture, which have marked the season".[139] Once again, the Clarkson crops were not very successful. These accounts reveal that the missionary community was not able to subsist on the produce cultivated in their individual garden plots. In fact the later reports show that the Clarksoners had become an impoverished community. These later accounts contradict the sustained representations of Clarksoners as successful land cultivators. Such inconsistencies, albeit limited, reveal the function of strategies of dissimulation in the Moravian missionary discourse. These served to conceal the instances of wellbeing and successful land use by the Mfengu on the one hand, and instances of impoverishment and unsuccessful land use by the Clarksoners on the other hand.

More generally these tensions and contradictions in the practices and discourse of land cultivation bear on underlying questions of the legitimacy and entitlement to land held in the

---

[137] Periodical Accounts, (March 1875), p. 290
[138] Periodical Accounts, (March 1875), p. 290.
[139] Periodical Accounts, xxxii: 331 (June 1881), p. 40.

Tsitsikamma by missionaries, Clarksoners and the Mfengu. The Moravian discourse and claims of successful land cultivation by the missionary community relates to the traditional Western notion of the pioneer's right to land by working the land productively. The representation of the Clarksoners as successful users of the mission land as contrasted with the unproductive practices of the Mfengu discursively connected their constructed communal missionary identity with, and legitimated their rights in, the Clarkson mission land. Moravian missionaries depicted the Mfengu as having no regard for the land they used and who was as result unsuccessful cultivators thereof. By representing the Mfengu as unproductive and fruitless land users in the Moravian missionary discourse, missionaries asserted the legitimacy of their own claim of entitlement to, and rights in the Clarkson land.

5.3.3 The Politics of Water

Access to, the control of, and the management of, water were important ingredients in the cultivation of the land. In considering the Comaroffs' discursive analysis of the politics of water in relation to the Tswana we will also address the function of the discursive use of the politics of water in the conversion process. Jean Comaroff described how the Wesleyan missionaries set about demonstrating that, unlike the Tswana, their access to water was not dependent on rainfall.[140] The Wesleyan missionaries dug wells into the ground and used the water for domestic and agricultural purposes. The reliance on rainfall was a constant factor of uncertainly and a significant constraint for the Tswana.[141] The Tswana had special rainmaking rites to ensure a regular rainfall. The rainmaking rituals were an important aspect of the productive cycle of Tswana public life, and were a meaningful part of the chief's exercise of power within his polity.[142] The Tswana believed that regular annual rainfall represented the strength given to the land and the people by the chief or a rainmaker of his choice.[143] However, the Tswana also believed that the rainmaker could only use his/her power if the community was in a state of moral balance. They believed that human conflict polluted the cosmic order and created the heat, which dried up the rain.[144]

---

[140] Comaroff, Body of Power Spirit of Resistance, p. 139.
[141] Comaroffs, 'The Colonisation of Consciousness in South Africa', p. 273.
[142] Comaroffs, Of Revelation and Revolution, Vol. 1, p. 207.
[143] Comaroffs, 'The Colonisation of Consciousness in South Africa', pp. 272-273.
[144] Comaroffs, 'The Colonisation of Consciousness in South Africa', pp. 274-175.

These rainmaking beliefs and rituals of the Tswana were challenged when the Wesleyan missionaries dug their boreholes and used the water to irrigate their gardens. [145] The Comaroffs argued that when the Wesleyan missionaries dug their boreholes to irrigate their gardens they showed that water could be retrieved from the ground at will as opposed to relying on the annual rainfall for their supply of water. Moreover, these missionaries persistently engaged the Tswana on their beliefs in rainmaking, asserting that it was the Christian God and not the chief or rainmaker who had the ultimate control over the source of water. The Comaroffs described the determination of the Wesleyan missionaries to eradicate the Tswana rainmaking rites and thereby weaken the spiritual base and legitimacy of the Tswana chief and his rainmaker.[146] In the "long conversation" between Missionary and chief, Wesleyan missionaries insisted that water belonged in the domain of technical management and not in the domain of ritual. But, argued the Comaroffs, there was a contradiction in the evangelical message. On the one hand the Wesleyan missionaries claimed that the production of water depended on technical innovation, while on the other hand they asserted that the Christian God provided a superior supply of water in effect making themselves rainmakers of a competing order.[147]

The Comaroffs argued that the conversation over who controls the source of water had a significant impact on the Wesleyan missionaries themselves. In their study they described how the Wesleyan missionaries extended their liturgical calendar to include special rainmaking services into the regular cycle of their church activities.[148] Conversely, by entering into this "conversation" over the source and control of water, the Southern Tswana became implicated in modes of rational debate and empirical reasoning making them systematically internalise the very terms they challenged.[149] In this account of the Comaroffs' treatment of the politics of water, we may distinguish its significance in the different contexts and/or at different levels. First there was the level of technical control over natural resources. Here missionaries demonstrated their control over water by digging wells for irrigation purposes. Second there was the level of ritual/symbolic power. Here missionaries presented themselves as superior rainmakers in competition with the chief and his rainmaker. Third there was the level of knowledge and understanding. Here missionaries somewhat contradictorily asserted that

---

[145] Comaroffs, Of Revelation and Revolution, Vol. 1, p. 209.
[146] Comaroffs, 'The Colonisation of Consciousness in South Africa', p. 274.
[147] Comaroffs, 'The Colonisation of Consciousness in South Africa', p. 274. See also Comaroffs, Of Revelation and Revolution, Vol. 1, pp. 208-209.
[148] Comaroffs, Of Revelation and Revolution, Vol. 1, pp. 212-213.
[149] Comaroffs, Of Revelation and Revolution, Vol. 1, p. 213.

natural causes/the Christian/the Christian God provided a better explanation of the ultimate source of water. Fourth there was the level of the "long conversation" between the missionary project and indigenous cultures, which underlay the more overt exchanges and challenges to particular beliefs. The critical moment of the colonisation process, according to the Comaroffs, was when all these different levels converged and came together.[150] The politics of water control was one of the important elements utilised by missionaries in the covert process of conversion, which over time became taken-for-granted in the everyday routine activities of the Southern Tswana people.

When applying the Comaroffs' discursive analysis of the politics of water in our investigations of the construction of a Moravian missionary identity at Clarkson, we likewise explore the significance of the control and management of water in relation to both the process of identity formation in the missionary settlement and in relation to its role in the process of conversion of the Mfengu. Following their settlement on the Koksbosch farm in the Tsitsikamma, Moravian missionaries sought to ensure that they had a regular supply of water for their layed-out garden plots. They dug water trenches, and meticulously lead the water from the mountain slopes to their gardens. Like the Wesleyan missionaries among the Tswana, the Moravian missionaries in the case of Clarkson demonstrated to the Mfengu that -- unlike them -- they were not solely reliant on a regular annual rainfall for their supply of water. In 1844 Moravian missionaries at Clarkson constructed a water mill and later built a wagon-path across the mountain range in order to make the water mill more accessible to colonial farmers from the surrounding areas of the Tsitsikamma. In so doing they demonstrated to the Mfengu that access to, and the use of, water could be managed and controlled.

We have not explored the beliefs and rituals of the Mfengu in celebrating the source of water. However, from the limited primary material available we may note a report written by a Moravian missionary regarding a sangoma who had "opened his heart to the influence of the gospel ... formerly ... [she had] considered missionaries as enemies ... almost as ravenous beasts".[151] From the primary material available there is no indication that the sangoma was a rainmaker. Her former enmity to the missionaries also does not appear to have anything to do with their demonstrated control over water.

---

[150] Comaroffs, 'The Colonisation of Consciousness in South Africa', p. 277.
[151] 'Particulars of Intelligence Respecting the Missions of the United Brethren', pp. 13-14.

Ironically, Clarkson did experience severe water shortages. In 1903 a missionary reported that "drought ... have caused much devastation during the past decade".[152] Given their experiences of water shortages Moravian missionaries made a very clear distinction between water used for domestic and drinking purposes and the water used for agricultural purposes at Clarkson. According to the Clarkson Constitution "the two furrows next to Church Street and Bazia Street is drinking water furrows and may not be dirtied ... the furrows may not be used as drinking water for cattle ... also the water furrows must be kept clean ... for furrows to the gardens and agricultural land application must be made".[153] The water trenches or furrows running down the street in front of each house were for domestic use only and were not to be used by the cattle, sheep or goats owned by residents at Clarkson. Water officials were appointed within the Clarkson mission community to oversee the adherence of residents to the water regulations.[154] In terms of the Clarkson Constitution a distinction was made in the usage of, and participation in the daily management of water required by all members of the mission station. As water was managed and regulated it became an important element of the Moravian Ethic as applied at the Clarkson Moravian mission station.

The selected discursive elements from the Comaroffs study of missionary activities among the Tswana were found to be very useful when applied in our investigations of the constructed Clarksoner Moravian missionary identity. By utilising these discursive elements we were able to reveal some of the inconsistencies prevalent within the Moravian missionary discourse that masked a mixed mode of spatiality among a group of Mfengu, and which concealed instances of impoverished/successful land use among the Clarksoners and Mfengu respectively. In addition, the application of the Comaroffs' elements of discursive analysis displayed more clearly how the missionary discourse reflected and added to the ambiguity surrounding the extent of rights in land held by the Moravian missionaries, the Clarkson missionary community, and the Mfengu.

---

[152] Periodical Accounts, v: 53 (March 1903), p. 225.
[153] Moravian Archive, Clarkson Moravian Mission Station Constitution, article 23 has been translated from "die twee slote wat langs Grootstraat en Baziastraat loop is drinkwaterslote en mag nie vuil gemaak word nie ... die slote mag nie as drinkwater vir vee gebruik word nie ... Ook die waterslote moet skoon wees ... vir slote na kampe moet applikasie ... gemaak word".
[154] Moravian Archive, Clarkson Moravian Mission Station Constitution, article 23.

5.4 Conclusion

In this chapter we have been concerned with how the Clarkson Moravian mission identity was constructed in the Moravian missionary discourse and connected to land. By applying the Comaroffs' elements of discursive analysis of the politics of spatiality, production and water we were able to give some account of the elements that went into the construction of this communal identity. In our application of these discursive elements, we unveiled some of the inconsistencies and contradictions prevalent in the dissimulated meanings of transformed spatiality and land cultivation utilised in producing the constructed Clarksoner Moravian missionary identity in relation to the Tsitsikamma Mfengu. Even more important in this applied discursive analysis was the way in which the meanings given to the successful transformation of the "native" spatial landscape and the flourishing cultivated land were a reflection of the ambiguous rights in Clarkson land held by Moravian missionaries. By connecting meanings mobilised in the construction of the Clarksoner Moravian mission identity to the issue of land use in the missionary discourse, the rights in land of the Clarkson mission community emerged as an important factor in their communal identity.

In establishing who constituted the Clarkson missionary community we showed that it consisted of two groups of indigenous peoples. First there was the "nucleus" of Khoisan converts who accompanied the missionaries in establishing the Clarkson mission station in accordance with the Moravian narrative of the seed. Added to this group were some Khoisan and ex-slaves from the Tsitsikamma who joined the missionary community. The second group consisted of some Mfengu alongside whom the Moravian missionaries had settled at Clarkson, who joined the mission station and became members of the mission community. As Clarkson members they chose to accept and adhere to, and advance the imposed rituals and doctrine of the Moravian Ethic. But their inclusion as members of the mission community was concealed in the Moravian missionary discourse. Through this dissimulation of meaning the Clarkson Moravian missionary community was constructed and differentiated from the Tsitsikamma Mfengu. With the Mfengu constructed as the idle and indifferent other who did not belong to the mission station, the Clarksoners were represented as a devout, orderly and industrious people who belonged to the mission station. Hidden in the dissimulation of meaning was the membership of some, albeit a few, Mfengu at the Clarkson mission station. This Moravian missionary community at Clarkson cannot therefore be said to only have Khoisan and ex-slave origins, but also had Mfengu

origins. Yet these origins were rendered invisible by the increasing ethnicisation of the Mfengu in the Moravian missionary discourse.

In our discursive analysis of the constructed Clarksoner Moravian missionary identity, continuity was produced in the missionary discourse between Clarkson and the commencement/renewal of the Moravian mission at the Cape in Genadendal by utilising elements of the Moravian narrative as a historical resource. The metaphor of the seed, an important element of the Moravian narrative, appears in various forms in the missionary discourse regarding Clarkson. These include the "fruits of faith", the "fruit bearing seed", the "fruit that blossoms and bears fruit", the "Lords vineyard", "branches to the vine", the "bright red strawberry", and "labourers in His harvest". These variations of the seed metaphor legitimated the historical connection produced in the missionary discourse between Clarkson, the older Moravian mission station at the Cape, and the very old history of the Moravians that dates back to the Unitas Fratrum in Czechoslovakia of the 1400s. The history of the Moravians as presented by the missionaries through the narrative of the seed gave the disparate group of Khoisan, ex-slaves, and "native Fingo" peoples at the Clarkson mission station a common history and a sense of common origin upon which their communal Moravian missionary identity was constructed and appropriated. The Moravian historical narrative included the Clarkson missionary community continuing with the journey made by Moravian missionaries and their group of converts from Enon. A silence prevailed over the prior history of the nucleus of converts, ex-slaves, Khoisan and the "native Fingo". The meaning mobilised in the missionary discourse was reified with the Clarkson Moravian missionary community represented as having no history before the arrival of the missionaries in 1839. At the same time a shared common origin was invoked in the Moravian missionary discourse that constructed and constituted a discursive community from among the disparate groups of peoples at the Clarkson mission station. Their differences were translated into similarities through the Moravian narrative of the seed, with the Clarksoners represented as a homogenous group of people having a common Moravian history and a communal Moravian mission identity.

Chapter Six

Resistance, Rebellion and Collaboration, 1846-1900: A Social Historical Context for the Appropriated Clarksoner and Tsitsikamma Mfengu Communal Identities

6.1 Introduction

Chapter six continues the contextual socio-historical analysis begun in chapter four. We further pursue the themes of land and labour and their connection to constructed Moravian missionary and Mfengu communal identities in the broader context of colonial domination. In this chapter we will focus more specifically on the impact of different patterns of indigenous resistance to colonial domination on the shaping of communal identities in relation to land, in particular the Tsitsikamma Mfengu and Clarkson mission communities during the 1840s through to 1900.

The 1850s brought different patterns of frontier conflict to the Eastern Cape in which some "colonial" groupings such as those on the Kat River Settlement also "rebelled" against colonial domination while others like the Mfengu served as allies to the colonial forces in the ongoing frontier wars. Xhosa resistance to the perceived threat of conquest and colonisation of their lands climaxed with the tragic cattle killing movement of 1856. The resulting devastation brought about significant polarization between the Xhosa peoples, on the one hand, and the various indigenous communities allied to the Colony, on the other hand, including the Mfengu peoples and those connected to mission stations. Differential colonial incorporation of a range of indigenous peoples also polarised these communities from each other; while some had access to education and land, e.g. at mission settlements, others did not; a few communities had possession of large herds of cattle, but most did not; some, like the Mfengu received colonial land grants unlike many others who remained dispossessed; and only these were able to cultivate their land. The ushering in of Representative Government at the Cape Colony in 1853 with its qualified franchise based on income and landed property gave further resonance to the polarisation of peoples on the Eastern Cape frontier. All males who were proclaimed British subjects and citizens of the Cape colony were granted the right to vote subject to their ownership of a stipulated size of land, or the possession of

a fixed annual income. This property qualification politicised the land issue, especially forms of land tenure. Conversely the indigenous peoples' new rights in land and their qualified franchise within the Cape Colony did not prove secure and were systematically circumscribed and reduced through government enacted legislature during the1880s and 1890s. The momentous Glen Grey legislation of 1894, for example, was a direct response to colonists' demands for an expanded pool of cheap indigenous labour for both the new and rapidly growing mining industry and for expanding commercial agriculture. The effects on the Moravian mission communities as well as the Mfengu communities were to bring to the fore opposition to the regulations, policies, and practices adopted by both the colonial government and the Moravian Mission Institution itself.

In this chapter we will first briefly describe the context of continued resistance by many Xhosa peoples to colonial expansion during the Eastern Cape frontier wars of the 1840s and 1850s and their aftermath, including the Kat River uprising and the cattle killing movement of 1856. We will be particularly concerned with the differential impacts on the Moravian mission communities, on the one hand, and the Tsitsikamma Mfengu communities, on the other hand. In the case of the mission communities we will trace the evidence of their growing opposition to British colonial domination as well as to Moravian missionary authority. Conversely, in the case of the Mfengu communities we will explore the implications of their continuing alliance with and loyalty to the Colonial forces. As background to these developments we will first give some attention to the significance of the Kat River Rebellion around 1850. Though the Kat River Settlement was at a significant distance from Clarkson and the Tsitsikamma and there is no evidence of any particularly close connection or interaction between them, its history had considerable relevance for Clarkson. As discussed in Chapter 4 above, the Kat River Settlement represented a major historical and political landmark in that dispossessed former Khoisan peoples could obtain independent rights and landed property within the Colony. Accordingly a brief excursus is required on the fate of the Kat River Settlement and its "rebellion", before we will return more specifically to Clarkson and the Tsitsikamma Mfengu. Likewise, the main events of the Xhosa cattle killing movement in 1856 took place a long way from Clarkson and the Tsitsikamma, yet such was the significance of this social and political disaster and of its aftermath for the Xhosa and other peoples in the region that another excursus taking this in is required. We will be especially concerned with the consequences and implications of the aftermath of the Xhosa cattle killing movement for the construction of the Mfengu identity in the

colonial context. We will hereafter examine how the Cape colonial government legislation limited indigenous peoples' rights in land in relation to the franchise property qualification. We will explore the impact that such constrained rights in land had on the shaping of appropriated communal identities, specifically for the Tsitsikamma Mfengu and the Clarkson Mission communities.

6.2 Rebellion Resistance and Collaboration on the Eastern Cape Frontier

6.2.1 The Kat River Settlement Revisited

Escalating resistance to perceived threats of conquest and colonisation culminated in 1846 with an invasion of the colony by the various groups of Xhosa peoples. Although they initially achieved some success, the invading forces were pushed back by British colonial troops who were accompanied and supported by groups of Mfengu and Khoisan peoples.[1] The outcome was that victorious British and Colonial forces dispossessed the Xhosa of further land. Not only did the Colony once again take possession of the region between the Fish and the Keiskamma Rivers, or the Ceded Territory which had been in dispute ever since 1819, but in addition the extensive region between the Keiskamma and Kei Rivers was also annexated. This area was to be administered as the Crown Colony of British Kaffraria.[2] This meant that all those indigenous peoples residing in this incorporated area now became British colonial subjects.[3] A few "locations", or places where they were granted landed property rights, were established for those Thembu and Mfengu peoples who had been loyal to the British colony during the 1846-47 frontier war.

These developments had significant implications for indigenous communities within the Colony and for the Kat River Settlement in particular. The extensive annexation of land advanced the frontier beyond the Fish River up to the Keiskamma River to the new territory of British Kaffraria, geographically a considerable distance from the Kat River Settlement (see map in figure 6 above showing the location of the Kat River Settlement in the Cape Colony). For almost seventeen years up until 1846 the Kat River community had been on the front line of colonial defence and intervention against the Xhosa peoples. During most of that time it had been well supported by the

---

[1] T.R.H. Davenport, South Africa: A Modern History, 4th edition (London, Macmillan, 1991), p. 120.
[2] L. Switzer, Power and Resistance in an African Society: The Ciskei Xhosa and the Making of South Africa (Madison, University of Wisconsin Press, 1993), p. 63.
[3] Davenport, South Africa, p. 119.

colonial office. After the 1846 Eastern Cape frontier war however, the Kat River Settlement no longer had primary strategic significance in the redefined colonial line of defence. Now no longer a major factor in British colonial military strategy, and having largely become redundant as a military node, officials proceeded to disarm the Settlement in 1848.[4] Important colonial constituencies had never fully accepted the "revolutionary" implications, at least in the colonial context, of former dispossessed Khoisan peoples gaining landed property and rights at the Kat River Settlement. Colonists regarded the Settlement inhabitants as unclaimed surplus people and potential available labour.[5] Many of the neighbouring colonial farmers, as well as settler spokesmen like Godlonton, the influential editor of the *Grahamstown Advertiser*, believed that the Settlement was a site of refuge for indigenous peoples with their "innate love of idleness",[6] enabling them to escape gainful employment in the Cape Colony. In the new context of frontier relations, where the Kat River Settlement had lost its strategic significance to Colonial defence, it was also made much more vulnerable to a range of colonial pressures and interventions including threats to the land rights basic to this community's social and political identity.

Though we cannot explore the particular events leading to the Kat River Rebellion in any detail it is clear that these involved a combination of colonial pressures and overcrowding by other groupings. After the 1846 Eastern Cape frontier war some Xhosa peoples were relocated from the Fish River area, to the Blinkwater location within the Kat River Settlement. Initially, the land in this location had been granted by colonial authorities to Hermanus Matroos and his group of followers. These relocations of Xhosa and Mfengu groups exacerbated the overcrowding problem in the Settlement. Added to this was permitted encroachment by colonists of Settlement land.[7] In the Settlement's location along the Mankanzana River, a portion of commonage land was leased by colonial authorities to a hundred Mfengu. The eviction of many peoples denoted as "squatters" from commonage and crown land in various municipalities also resulted in them seeking out the potential safety of the Kat River Settlement.[8] The children of land grant holders at the Settlement

---

[4] T. Kirk, 'Progress and Decline in the Kat River Settlement, 1829-1854', Journal of African History XIV: 3 (1973), pp. 422-423; Elizabeth Elbourne, Blood Ground: Colonialism Missions, and the Conquest for Christianity in the Cape Colony and Britain, 1799-1853 (Montreal & Kingston, McGill-Queen's University Press), p. 265.

[5] T.J. Stapleton, Maqoma, Xhosa Resistance to Colonial Advance 1798-1873 (Johannesburg, Jonathan Ball, 1994), p. 153.

[6] Kirk, 'Progress and Decline in the Kat River Settlement', p. 420.

[7] Kirk, 'Progress and Decline in the Kat River Settlement', pp. 416-423.

[8] Kirk, 'Progress and Decline in the Kat River Settlement', pp. 416-423.

had limited options for obtaining land. Families would often stay together on one plot of land, with parents and their grown children cultivating the shared plot of land. The colonial government failed to provide additional land or to allocate plots to the growing number of residents. Overcrowding was worsened when the already limited available land was encroached upon and used as a dumping ground for British colonial loyalists.[9]

By 1850 a colonial commission reported that the commonage land of the Kat River Settlement contained large numbers of Xhosa, Thembu, and Gqunukwebe peoples. Labelled "squatters", many of these peoples were evicted from the Settlement by colonial officials.[10] A group from the Blinkwater area was also evicted. Hermanus Matroos and his group of followers were only permitted to remain in the Blinkwater area on condition that they do not partake in any rebellious and insubordinate practices against the colony. They were reminded that their rights in the Blinkwater land were based "entirely on sufferance" and could be removed at any time.[11]

Colonial officials also issued a new set of regulations for residency in the Settlement during 1849. Inhabitants were now compelled to make application for residency, register their household at a fee of one pound, followed one week later with quit rental payment. All allocated plots of land had to be enclosed and suitably fenced. Failure to comply with these regulations resulted in forced evictions from the settlement.[12] The growing problem of land scarcity was gravely aggravated in 1849 when colonial officials began selling off portions of Settlement land to colonists.[13] In response, some inhabitants disputed the boundary of the Kat River Settlement and petitioned the authorities, claiming their rights. The residents of Tidmanton stated that "it was quite time that our lands be rightly defined".[14] Another group of Settlement residents also petitioned the colonial government in 1849 stating that "in the land of our fathers, an area of country larger than England, we have scarcely an inch of land on which to set our feet, the Kat River and the sterile spots at the missionary institutions excepted".[15] From such statements it is evident that some former

---

[9] Elbourne, Blood Ground, p. 306.
[10] Kirk, 'Progress and Decline in the Kat River Settlement', pp. 416-423.
[11] C.C. Crais, The Making of the Colonial Order: White Supremacy and Black Resistance in South Africa, 1770-1865 (Johannesburg, Witwatersrand University Press, 1992), p. 166.
[12] Crais, The Making of the Colonial Order, p. 169.
[13] Crais, The Making of the Colonial Order, p. 168.
[14] Crais, The Making of the Colonial Order, p. 169.
[15] Kirk, 'Progress and Decline in the Kat River Settlement', p. 425.

dispossessed Khoisan peoples were beginning to articulate their basic rights to the land at Kat River and to mobilise on the basis of their rights as a distinct community in rebellion against colonial authorities. Many people residing in the Settlement refused to pay the registration tax and quitrent. Colonial authorities responded by evicting more people from the Blinkwater area during 1850. The inhabitants from Fulller's Hoek were also forced out of their homes, which were then burnt down by colonial officials. Some people residing in the Buxton area were also evicted.[16] Through these developments the community representing the incorporation of the formerly dispossessed Khoisan with recognised rights to land and property, were reluctantly forced into rebellion. By the end of 1850 Xhosa and Khoisan inhabitants of the Kat River Settlement joined forces in their rebellion against colonial domination, significantly changing the patterns of conflict on the Eastern Cape frontier in the context of the new frontier war with the Xhosa that began during December 1850.

6.2.2 The Kat River Rebellion and its Aftermath

When the Ngqika Xhosa successfully attacked three military villages in Victoria East during December 1850, the area appropriated from them in the previous frontier war, they were joined in their fight against the British colony by a collection of indigenous peoples that included inhabitants from the Kat River Settlement. Large groups of Maphasa's Thembu, and Maqomo's Xhosa also joined them.[17] Some mission station residents also came in support and joined the rebels.[18] However, most of the Mfengu, Phato's Gqunukwebe, and the Ndlambe Xhosa remained loyal and gave support to British colonial troops.[19] Significantly, large groups of Khoisan and Xhosa inhabitants from the Kat River settlement refused to support British colonial troops in the war when ordered to do so by the colonial office. Hermanus Matroos and his group of Gqunukwebe followers from Blinkwater led the rebellion from the Kat River Settlement.[20] According to Elbourne the rebellion included a place for many women.[21] There were in addition about fifty troops who had

---

[16] Crais, The Making of the Colonial Order, pp. 169-172.
[17] Switzer, Power and Resistance in an African Society, p. 64.
[18] Elbourne, Blood Ground, p. 349.
[19] Davenport, South Africa, p. 120.
[20] Kirk, 'Progress and Decline in the Kat River Settlement', p. 424.
[21] Elbourne, Blood Ground, p. 349.

deserted the Cape Mounted Rifles division in support of the rebels.[22] Hermanus attacked a military post close to Fort Beaufort on 30 December 1850. On 8 January 1851 he led an unsuccessful raid on the town of Fort Beaufort during which he was shot and killed. Willem Uithaalder, a veteran of the Cape Mounted Rifles, replaced Matroos in leading the Kat River rebels.[23] Uithaalder had already begun mobilising farm workers against the "unrighteous English settlers" when he travelled from farm to farm before the outbreak of the war.[24] He was well known and a popular leader among the rebels.

In the context of the renewed frontier war the alliance of the Ngqika Xhosa with Maqoma, Hermanus, Uithaalder and Maphasa posed a significant threat to the destructive might of British and colonial troops.[25] Significantly, from Kirk's account of the Kat River uprising, the Kat River rebels had obtained reinforcements from the landless Khoisan who resided around the Winterberg farms, the Kunap River, and other places. Not all of these people were connected to the Kat River settlement.[26] Maqoma and his people together with their supporting Khoisan and Thembu fighters controlled the Waterkloof area for an extended period during the war. It was from there that they launched their attack on British colonial troops.[27] A Moravian missionary reported in 1853 that "the Governor made an expedition in person into Waterkloof, to clear it thoroughly; yet the result did not meet his expectations ... the enemy had again become invisible, a few Hottentots were taken prisoners, and hanged as traitors, and a number of huts burnt; among the latter, a smithy for repairing firearms".[28] Together, the Kat River rebels and their allies were able to tie down about 4000 British colonial troops for almost eighteen months in the mountainous areas west of the Kat River.[29]

The war eventually ended in 1853.[30] Maqoma and his people together with their supporting Khoisan and Thembu fighters were forced to retreat and vacate the Waterkloof area after their defence was penetrated by British colonial troops and collaborating Mfengu. They subsequently

---

[22] Kirk , 'Progress and Decline in the Kat River Settlement', pp. 424-425.
[23] Elbourne, Blood Ground, pp. 347-348; Stapleton, Maqoma, p. 155.
[24] Kirk , 'Progress and Decline in the Kat River Settlement', p. 425; Elbourne, Blood Ground, p. 349.
[25] Stapleton, Maqoma, p. 155.
[26] Kirk , 'Progress and Decline in the Kat River Settlement', pp. 424-425.
[27] Switzer, Power and Resistance in an African Society, p. 65.
[28] Periodical Accounts, xx: ccxviii (March 1853), p. 406.
[29] Davenport, South Africa, p. 120; Switzer, Power and Resistance in an African Society, p. 64.
[30] Davenport, South Africa, p. 120.

retreated to the Amatola Mountains, and from there moved on to the Transkei after the area became occupied by British colonial troops. The rebels were harshly dealt with. The Kat River Settlement was invaded by a commando consisting of about 800 colonists. According to Tony Kirk, this military invasion was one of few to have occurred in the colony that was initiated by colonists. Inhabitants of the settlement were indiscriminately attacked and killed, whether they were colonial loyalists or rebels. Some of the settlement's children were taken away by the commando and used as indentured labourers within the colony. Those who had abandoned their homes and land in the Kat River Settlement after the devastating commando invasion were compelled to look on while their properties were sold by colonial officials to mainly colonists.[31] The leaders of the Kat River rebels, including such long-standing "loyalists" as Andries Botha, were prosecuted for treason and executed or banished. In many ways this spelled the end of the brave experiment, which for a time had raised such great expectations, of founding a settled community based on providing former dispossessed Khoisan people with independent rights to land.

At the same time the aftermath of the war and the rebellion saw the introduction of further indigenous communities into the Colony, rewarded with land grants for their loyalty and support to the British and colonial authorities. By the end of the war, British and colonial troops had gathered together about 7,000 Mfengu people and 40,000 cattle and goats.[32] Colonial officials proceeded with the settlement and integration of this large group of peoples within the colony on the recently appropriated land. Key elements thereof included the appointment of a superintendent to oversee, supervise and control the activities of the newly incorporated people. Each household had to pay an annual quitrent. Colonial authorities also appointed headmen at each one of the newly established villages/locations.[33] Governor Grey ensured that stringent conditions applied when land allocations were made. Land was granted in terms of the quitrent tenure system to individual male occupants and was about two acres in size. The land had to be used for gardening purposes only. Any disloyalty to the British colonial government made individual landholders liable to forfeit their rights in the allotted portions of land.[34]

---

[31] Switzer, Power and Resistance in an African Society, p. 65.
[32] R.A. Moyer, 'A History of the Mfengu of the Eastern Cape: 1815-1865' (Ph.D. thesis, School of Oriental and African Studies, London University, 1976), pp. 386-387.
[33] Moyer, 'A History of the Mfengu of the Eastern Cape', pp. 389-391.
[34] Moyer, 'A History of the Mfengu of the Eastern Cape', p. 402.

6.2.3 The Impact on the Moravian Mission Communities

Such rights and obligations in land, was not dissimilar to those attached to land granted for mission purposes in which the obligation to support the colony in times of need was placed on mission station dwellers. Soon after the 1850-3 Eastern Cape frontier war began, colonial officials were sent to various Moravian mission stations in the Western Cape like Elim, Genadendal, and Groenekloof (now called Mamre) where all the male inhabitants were addressed. They were reminded of the benefits they had received from the colonial government and were called upon not to forsake the colony in its hour of need. In response, about eight hundred men from the three mission stations volunteered, at the beginning of the war, for a period of six months. They were sent by ship to the Eastern Cape frontier. These volunteers were despised by those Xhosa and Khoisan peoples who had joined the rebellion, many of whom came from the Shiloh Moravian mission station, and against whom the volunteers now had to fight in defence of the colony.[35]

Colonists from Whittlesea, where a large contingent of British colonial troops were stationed, regarded Shiloh to be a nest of rebels, which had to be destroyed. This Moravian mission station comprised of Thembu peoples, many of whom had already joined chief Mapasa's Thembu forces in the war against the colony. There were also many Khoisan peoples residing at the mission station who supported the rebellion. Then there were the Mfengu peoples, of whom most sided with and joined the colonial forces.[36]

Daniel Jantje, an inhabitant of the Kat River Settlement, had visited Shiloh soon after the war began with the aim of mobilising support for the rebellion there. Jantje described an incident to the Shiloh community that had taken place not far from them. It concerned a group of about thirty Khoisan men who had disarmed themselves and surrendered to colonial troops. He shocked his audience when he reported that the troops had killed all the disarmed men.[37] On 29 January 1851 an additional four men from the Kat River Settlement arrived at Shiloh. Two of them were members

---

[35] B. Krüger, The Pear Tree Blossoms: the History of the Moravian Church in South Africa 1737-1869 (Genadendal, The Moravian Book Depot, 1984), p. 238.
[36] Krüger, The Pear Tree Blossoms, p. 240.
[37] S.W. Nielsen, The Twin Blossom of the Pear Tree Bears Fruit the History of the Moravian Church Eastern Province in South Africa (Port Shepstone, Baruk, 1999), p. 80.

of the Shiloh Moravian mission station. News of the arrival of these visitors at Shiloh was sufficient for Captain Tylden, leader of the British colonial troops stationed at Whittlesea, to threaten an attack on the mission station. Captain Tylden demanded that the leader of the Khoisan, Renatus Paarl, together with the four men from the Kat River Settlement be handed over to him as proof of the loyalty of the Shiloh peoples. In response, the Moravian missionary, Bonatz, accompanied the two Shiloh members who had returned from the Kat River Settlement to Whittlesea. On arrival they were immediately imprisoned, leaving Bonatz to return alone to Shiloh.[38] Having lost the trust of the Shiloh residents, he was hereafter unable to address a congregational meeting at the mission station without being personally attacked.[39]

Captain Tylden demanded that all Khoisan inhabitants at Shiloh go to Whittlesea, disarm themselves, and thereafter be escorted as prisoners of war to Cradock.[40] The Shiloh residents refused to obey the command. During January 1851 the Moravian missionary, Bonatz, evacuated Shiloh since he did not wish to be associated with the members' disregard for authority and their rebellious attitudes against the Cape Colony.[41] Most of the Mfengu people left the mission station with him while some joined colonial troops stationed at Whittlesea. Three Khoisan families also left Shiloh with Bonatz. These were the families of Wilhelmina and Charles Stompje, Emmanuel Pieters, and Gideon James.[42] Soon hereafter the battle at Shiloh began.[43] The remaining Thembu and Khoisan inhabitants were joined at the mission station by some of Mapasa's warriors, from where they jointly launched their attack on Whittlesea and defended the Shiloh land. The battle was at its fiercest around the Church in which women and children had taken refuge. Inhabitants successfully repelled colonial attacks and the battle continued for four weeks between Shiloh and Whittlesea. It was only after British colonial troops brought a canon for use in their attacks on the Shiloh residents that inhabitants fled, and evacuated the mission station.[44] The Moravian missionaries returned to Shiloh two months later with their party of loyal Mfengu and Khoisan members, and found much devastation. Many buildings had been burnt down.[45] The church had

---

[38] Nielsen, The Twin Blossom of the Pear Tree Bears Fruit, p. 81.
[39] Nielsen, The Twin Blossom of the Pear Tree Bears Fruit, p. 82.
[40] Nielsen, The Twin Blossom of the Pear Tree Bears Fruit, p. 83.
[41] Krüger, The Pear Tree Blossoms, pp. 239-240.
[42] Nielsen, The Twin Blossom of the Pear Tree Bears Fruit, p. 83.
[43] Krüger, The Pear Tree Blossoms, pp. 239-240.
[44] Krüger, The Pear Tree Blossoms, p. 240.
[45] Krüger, The Pear Tree Blossoms, p. 241.

remained standing like a fort without a roof.[46] In their absence, a number of colonists had also begun to occupy properties at the mission station. For example Wilhelmina Stompje was not even permitted to enter her own hen-house and she had to buy back much of her furniture from a colonist who had taken ownership of it in her absence from the mission station.[47]

After the war colonial troops left Shiloh, and the Moravian mission retained its rights in land thereto despite numerous attempts by colonists to transform the mission station into a village for settlers. Colonists' occupying houses and land at Shiloh were ordered by the colonial office to leave the mission station. Moravian missionaries could now report that the mission station was "rising again from the ashes, but it is becoming the resort of a larger native population than inhabited it at any previous period. Of the 700 persons under the care of our missionaries, about 500 are Fingoos or Caffres, and 200 Hottentots".[48] According to Krüger, many of the Shiloh insurgents were sentenced to two years of hard labour. Over time many of them returned to Shiloh.[49] However, the returning Khoisan peoples were not freely accepted back into the mission fold. Missionaries "received [them] with a degree of hesitation ... but, independent of the earnest request of the Government, there were weighty considerations which induced our brethren not to close the door against them".[50] A Shiloh missionary reported that "it was found next to impossible to avoid admitting so many Hottentots, though on several accounts, an undesirable measure".[51] Applicants for residency at the Shiloh mission station were now required to sign an agreement, which required implicit submission to all Moravian mission regulations, and obligating them to be faithful subjects of the British Government.[52]

The war also had a significant impact on residents at Moravian mission stations in other parts of the Colony like Genadendal, even though many men had gone to the Eastern Cape to add support to the colonial troops at the start of the war. On their return six months later, rumours of an uprising at the mission stations in the Western Cape spread. From Krüger's account it appears that these were started by "a few drunk men" from the mission stations of Elim and Groenekloof (now called

---

[46] Nielsen, The Twin Blossom of the Pear Tree Bears Fruit, p. 85.
[47] Krüger, The Pear Tree Blossoms, p. 241.
[48] Periodical Accounts, xxi: ccxxi (December 1853), p. 25.
[49] Krüger, The Pear Tree Blossoms, p. 241.
[50] Periodical Accounts, xxi: ccxxi (December 1853), p. 25.
[51] Periodical Accounts, xxi: ccxxi (December 1853), p. 26.
[52] Periodical Accounts, xxi: ccxxi (December 1853), p. 26.

Mamre) who had returned, after six months, from the Eastern Cape frontier war, and subsequently uttered threats against the colony and colonists.[53] Significantly this led to increasing tensions within the Moravian mission communities, with signs of resistance against the missionary authorities. Krüger refers to an extract from a Genadendal missionary's diary written in 1851, which described the year as "the most difficult one for our congregation since its beginning, because the inner corruption showed itself more openly ... a party within our congregation is being induced to open opposition against our regulations and to enmity against their teachers by the incitement of our white enemies".[54] According to Krüger a church council and overseer member at the Elim Moravian mission station also went about "inciting" mission residents during 1851 in a campaign to refuse payment of the imposed road tax.[55] Of the Moravian mission stations in the Eastern Cape only Clarkson was not severely damaged during the frontier war. It was in fact to Clarkson that many women and children from the Enon Moravian mission station fled, since it was regarded as a known place of safety during the war.[56]

The frontier war also had a significant impact on the Tsitsikamma Mfengu peoples. In the wider context of the Eastern Cape and its frontier wars, the Mfengu in most cases supported the colonial military interventions. Throughout the 1850-3 war, the Mfengu peoples within the colony, including those residing at Clarkson and in the surrounding Tsitsikamma district, assisted and fought alongside British colonial troops in defeating the alliance of rebels that fought against colonial domination. Nevertheless, the various Mfengu communities residing there were threatened during the war with possible evictions from the land which they had received from the colonial office. The Civil Commissioner of Uitenhage presented a notification to the Moravian missionary at Clarkson, Br. Küster, in which the sale of certain portions of land previously granted to the Tsitsikamma Mfengu was announced. Threatened by possible land evictions the Tsitsikamma Mfengu peoples drew on the support of the Moravian missionaries. Br. Küster acted as intermediary with the colonial office with the aim of securing the tenure of land for the Tsitsikamma Mfengu communities.[57] He presented a statement to the Civil Commissioner of Uitenhage "shewing that, by such measures, the Fingoos would be expelled from the districts which had been assigned to them

---

[53] Krüger, The Pear Tree Blossoms, p. 247.
[54] Krüger, The Pear Tree Blossoms, p. 246.
[55] Krüger, The Pear Tree Blossoms, p. 247.
[56] Krüger, The Pear Tree Blossoms, p. 238.
[57] Periodical Accounts, xxi: ccxxi (December 1853), pp. 25-26.

(with the exception of those who are living at Clarkson)".[58] In response, the commissioner assured the Moravians that he would do his best to ensure that the land would be reserved for the Mfengu peoples residing in the Tsitsikamma. These appeals, through the Moravian missionary Küster as intermediary, achieved success in October 1858 with the registration of the Snyklip, Wittekleibosch and Doriskraal land.[59]

In other ways, too, the frontier war impacted on the Mfengu. Some of the Mfengu had found employment as beach labourers at the Port Elizabeth harbour soon after being resettled in the Tsitsikamma by colonial officials. In his study of Mfengu beach labourers at Port Elizabeth, E.J. Inggs notes that "many of the Fingoos, who are the men employed in discharging the boats, have left for the frontier ... while those still remaining behind have become exorbitant in their demands for pay; and on Monday last they struck for an increase of wages".[60] Aware of the scarcity of labour in the Cape Colony during frontier wars, these workers successfully went on strike in 1852, protesting against the municipality's regulations requiring them to be clothed when wading in the water. Immediately after the frontier war, strikes occurred again in 1854 and 1856, with the beach workers in each instance successfully demanding an increase in their daily wages.[61] The Tsitsikamma Mfengu, certainly compared to other groups of indigenous peoples, managed to sustain and improve their position within the Colony. Their success in this regard was not unrelated to their collaboration with, and support for, the colonial forces.

6.2.4 The Cattle Killing Movement and its Aftermath for the Mfengu

Two years after the war ended, in late 1855, large numbers of cattle began dying in the Eastern Cape. The cattle of both colonists and indigenous peoples were affected by a lung sickness, also called bovine pleuropneumonia. It damaged the respiratory tract of the animals causing a slow painful death. Large numbers of livestock were lost.[62] At the time Europe was also ravaged by the dreadful disease, which had killed thousands of cattle there. In September 1853 a Dutch ship

---

[58] Periodical Accounts, xxi: ccxxi, (December 1853), p. 25.
[59] K. Pienaar, *Historic Overview and Brief Summary*, no date, pp. 13-16.
[60] E.J. Inggs, 'Mfengu Beach Labour and Port Elizabeth Harbour Development 1835-1870', Contree Journal for South African Urban and Regional History 21 (1987), p. 8.
[61] Inggs, 'Mfengu Beach Labour', pp. 5-12.
[62] Crais, The Making of the Colonial Order, p. 204.

delivered its cargo of Friesland bulls at Mossel Bay, a small port between Port Elizabeth and Cape Town. Some of these bulls were infected with this lung-sickness virus, which spread rapidly throughout the colony.[63] The colonial office issued regulations forcing colonial farmers to kill their lung sick animals. By March 1854 the disease had reached Uitenhage from where, according to Peires, a Mfengu traveller with five cattle carried the disease to Fort Beaufort on the border of Xhosaland, from where it spread further.[64]

In a report written in September 1855 a Moravian missionary described how "the colony is again suffering from distemper among the cattle. Last year a disease of the lungs, which was introduced from the westward, carried off a great number of oxen. This year, thousands of horses have died of a complaint somewhat of the nature of bronchitis, which came from the eastward."[65] Jan Fusi, a Mfengu who worked as an interpreter for the Moravian missionaries and who resided at Clarkson, "was obliged to give up his services as interpreter, to provide better for his family. He purchased some horses and a cart, but lost the horses by the prevailing distemper."[66] The disease had also infected cattle at Enon, a neighbouring Moravian mission station located just below the Sunday's River.

> "The distemper among the cattle had caused the inhabitants the loss of many. [However] only a few belonging to the mission had died ... when remarking the other day to one of our people, how thankful we felt that our oxen had been graciously preserved, he replied, yes and I believe that the Saviour will preserve them yet further, for you may be assured that there has been much prayer in the congregation for the cattle of the teachers, and many have themselves assured me that they would pray, that the cattle of the missionaries might be preserved".[67]

Cattle in the British Kaffraria area also became infected by the disease as were the territories of Chiefs Kama, Phato, Mhala, Maqomo, and Sarhili. The Ngqika Xhosa who occupied land north of King William's Town also had their cattle affected. Chief Anta who lived high on the Windvogelberg escaped the devastation. The Xhosa peoples took all kinds of precautions to ensure that the disease did not infect their cattle. These included, amongst others, driving their cattle to secluded

---

[63] J.B. Peires, The Dead: will Arise Nongqawuse and the Great Xhosa Cattle Killing Movement of 1856-7 (Johannesburg, Ravan Press, 1989), p. 70.
[64] Peires, The Dead will Arise, p. 71.
[65] Periodical Accounts, xxi: ccxxviii (September 1855), p. 411.
[66] Periodical Accounts, xxi: ccxxviii (September 1855), p. 407.
[67] Periodical Accounts, xxi: ccxxix (December 1855), p. 472.

and mountainous areas, quarantining colonial cattle from their territories, fencing of pasturage and the burning of grass. But to no avail.[68]

Added to their problems was the destruction of their maize crops by a species of grub that invaded the roots and destroyed the stalks before the corn could be harvested. Excessive rain in some areas of the Cape also caused many of the surviving maize crops to rot.[69] Yet at the Clarkson mission station and the surrounding Tsitsikamma area, the land was being successfully cultivated. A Moravian missionary could report in 1855 that there were "willing and liberal contributions to the Patriotic Fund, by the Fingoos at Clarkson ... not having money they brought baskets full of corn, which they sold for the purpose ... the Governor expressed ... the satisfaction he had derived from their willingness to contribute."[70] However, by June 1856 the Clarkson mission station and its surrounding areas became affected by the prevailing drought. A Moravian missionary noted that "the drought is certainly almost unexampled, and the heat so great that the fruits of the earth suffer much ... every one longs for rain, but that there is no hope at this season, and we must try to be patient till April."[71] The drought had also, amongst others, affected Maqomo's chiefdom leaving many people on the brink of starvation.[72]

Responding to these natural adversities of floods, drought, and diseased cattle in the aftermath of a brutal and protracted 1850-1853 frontier war, people looked to their spiritual leaders for guidance in making sense of their world. In the aftermath of the frontier wars the political authority within the various Xhosa chiefdoms of the Eastern Cape had weakened considerably. A number of spiritual leaders emerged instructing the Xhosa peoples not to cultivate the land and to sacrifice their cattle.[73] The most famous of these were Nongqawuse and Nonkosi, two adolescent young girls.[74] It was towards the end of 1855 that Nongqawuse announced her prophecy in which she claimed that she had been visited by ten young men who came from a place of refuge and wished everything in

---

[68] Peires, The Dead will Arise, p. 71.
[69] Peires, The Dead will Arise, p. 71.
[70] Periodical Accounts, xxi: ccxxix (December 1855), pp. 469-470.
[71] Periodical Accounts, xxii: ccxxxi (June 1856), p. 16.
[72] Stapleton, Maqomo, p. 180.
[73] A similar outbreak, but less severe occurred in 1807, which directly affected the Ngqika Xhosa. The chief addressed the looming disaster of loss of cattle by moving his kraal away from the infected area. By 1855 the affected Xhosa chiefdoms were constrained by colonial expansion and settlement on land in Eastern Cape, and could not easily relocate their peoples to "safer" land. See Stapleton, Maqomo, p. 179.
[74] Crais, The Making of the Colonial Order, pp. 204-205.

the country to be made new. Through her they ordered the Xhosa peoples to kill their cattle, consume their corn, and not to cultivate the land any further.[75] These visionary instructions became known as the cattle-killing prophecies, and implicitly contained an anti-colonial message through its vision of the symbolic restoration of a new cleansed Xhosa community.[76] As these divine directives and predictions swept through Xhosaland, an overwhelming number of Xhosa men and women responded to the call to cleanse their nation so that their country could be made new.[77] According to Switzer, Thembu followers of chief Maphasa who had lost their land during the 1850-1853 Eastern Cape frontier war also responded to the prophecies.[78]

Still, a substantial measure of discord existed among the Xhosa peoples over the validity of the prophecies. Accounts of division among Xhosa families on their beliefs in the cattle-killing prophecies have been well documented by Peires.[79] According to Switzer, individual households, homesteads, and chiefdoms were split over their belief in, and response to, the prophecies. He asserts that most women were fervent believers as were those peoples who held inferior positions in the chiefdoms. The impoverished commoners were the driving force in the cattle-killing movement. Switzer notes that the men were divided in their belief in the prophecies. The group of "unbelievers" included many prominent councillors, the richer homestead heads, and a few chiefs like the Christian chiefs Kama and Dyani Tshatshu, and the Ngqika chief Anta whose chiefdom was the only one not affected by the lung-sickness epidemic. Among the "unbelievers" were also the outcasts of Xhosa society, and most mission station communities. Many of these householders were already competing in the colonial market economy, had sent some of their children to mission schools, and were adopting elements of British colonial culture. As against this the "believers" of the cattle-killing movement wished to preserve the old ways of life and uphold the traditional values of loyalty and sacrifice for the good of the community as a whole. They condemned the "unbelievers" whom they perceived as acting only in their individual self enrichment interests.[80]

---

[75] Crais, The Making of the Colonial Order, p. 205; Peires, The Dead will Arise, pp. 78-81.
[76] Crais, The Making of the Colonial Order, p. 210.
[77] Crais, The Making of the Colonial Order, pp. 208-209.
[78] Switzer, Power and Resistance in an African Society, p. 70.
[79] Peires, The Dead will Arise, pp. 165-181.
[80] Switzer also notes that the antagonistic "red" and "school" folk cultures, which later became a feature of rural Eastern Cape life essentially stems from this period in Xhosa history. Switzer, Power and Resistance in an African Society, pp. 70-71.

Violence erupted at the beginning of 1857 between groups of "believers" and "unbelievers".[81] A Moravian missionary observed the division within Xhosa society and wrote in 1857 how they "sincerely pity these poor starving people, especially those who have been driven from their homes by their countrymen, because they resisted the general superstition, cultivating their land and declining to slaughter their cattle".[82]

The cattle killing movement aimed at the re-creation of a cleansed Xhosa nation through the cattle-killing culminated in the gathering of a great number of "believers" in the prophecies near the mouth of the Kei River in January 1857. In the Shiloh diary of 1857 missionaries recorded that they gathered there to "await the resurrection of their deceased ancestors, which had been foretold by the prophet".[83] According to Switzer the prophets had assigned different dates for the resurrection of deceased ancestors in December 1856 and again in February, April and June of 1857. But nothing happened. Those who had responded to the cattle-killing call were left destitute, having sacrificed all their cattle and having stopped cultivating their land.[84] The Shiloh diary of 1857 further recorded that "the day appointed for the resurrection ... passed without anything extraordinary, all they can now do is to go in crowds into the colony and seek work".[85] From the Moravian mission settlement at Goshen, a missionary reported that "almost every day numbers, especially women, come to Goshen, to beg or look for work. Several families have asked permission to come and live here, and have been admitted on trial."[86]

The famine following this disastrous outcome of the cattle killing movement devastated Xhosa society. In describing the cattle killing event in 1857 a Moravian missionary wrote about how the Xhosa peoples "with the exception of the Tambookies, and one or two other tribes, have inflicted on themselves a more severe injury than even a war would have caused them ... having slaughtered all their cattle, sparing only horses and dogs".[87] According to Crais and Switzer, the aftermath of the cattle-killing left about 400 000 cattle slaughtered, between 35000 and 50000 Xhosa peoples had died as a result of the cattle-killing and within one year of the event about

---

[81] Switzer, Power and Resistance in an African Society, p. 71.
[82] Periodical Accounts, xxii: cxxxvi (September 1857), p. 278.
[83] Periodical Accounts, xxii cxl (September 1858), p. 497.
[84] Switzer, Power and Resistance in an African Society, p. 70.
[85] Periodical Accounts, xxii: ccxxxvi (September 1857), p. 278.
[86] Periodical Accounts, xxii: ccxxxvi (September 1857), p. 278
[87] Periodical Accounts, xxii: ccxxxvi (September 1857), p. 278.

150000 people were left homeless and wandering about in search of food.[88] Governor George Grey exploited the crisis to solve the Colony's perennial labour needs. Many people were seized by colonial officials, especially women, and placed under confinement. The detained Xhosa peoples were either employed as labourers or sent to the colony's labour camps.[89] On their release they were incorporated as labourers within the colony.[90] The indenture of thousands of starving men, women and children labourers were presented by colonial officials as a humanitarian act in which the Xhosa peoples were saved from their own tragic mistake.[91] Grey also took over much of the land which he allocated to colonial settlers. The number of settlers in British Kaffraria had increased, from 949 in 1856 to 5388 by the end of 1858.[92] Included amongst these settlers was a group of German immigrants (mainly Crimean war veterans and peasants) who were granted land on the East London - Stutterheim axis.[93] Most affected by this loss of land were the Rhaharbe Xhosa peoples. The colonial government justified their land dispossession by reporting that the cattle-killing prophecies were an invention by chiefs to force their starving people into a war with the colony.[94] Many chiefs, councillors and commoners of various Xhosa chiefdoms who allegedly had promoted the cattle-killing were detained and imprisoned on Robben Island.

For our purposes, though, it was the consequences of these tragic events for the "loyal" Mfengu people in the Colony that is especially significant. While many Xhosa lost their land and found themselves as indentured labourers within the Colony in the aftermath of the abortive outcome of the cattle killing movement, the differential position of the Mfengu was publicly recognised in colonial law. In June 1857 two laws' were enacted. Act 23 of 1857 reaffirmed the prohibition of "kafirs" and other "native foreigners" from entering the colony without a pass. It also made provision for a penalty of twelve months hard labour when found without an appropriate pass. This law defined the "kafir" as "any of the people commonly called native foreigner, resident in, or entering this colony from or through British Kaffraria or Kafirland".[95] The Act further defined the "other native foreigner" as any "Basuto, Barolong, Mantatee, or other native, resident in any territory adjacent to

---

[88] Crais, The Making of the Colonial Order, pp. 208-209; Switzer, Power and Resistance in an African Society, p. 70.
[89] Switzer, Power and Resistance in an African Society, pp. 72-73.
[90] Switzer, Power and Resistance in an African Society, p. 70.
[91] Stapleton, Maqomo, p. 186.
[92] Switzer, Power and Resistance in an African Society, p. 72.
[93] Davenport, South Africa a Modern History, p. 122.
[94] Crais, The Making of the Colonial Order, p. 170.
[95] T.J. Stapleton, 'The Expansion of a Pseudo-Ethnicity in the Eastern Cape: Reconsidering the Fingo "Exodus" of 1865', The International Journal of African Historical Studies 29: 2 (1996), p. 241.

Kaffirland, and commonly regarded as spoken of as belonging to the Kafir family".[96] Act 24 of 1857 alternatively recognised that "Colonial Fingoes" could be penalised if found without a pass. Through this Act provision was thus made for the issuing of certificates of citizenship, which officially recognised the status and designation of "Fingo" as permanent residents and subjects of the Queen with the guaranteed right to own land within the Cape Colony. The relatively privileged position of the Mfengu did not go unnoticed. There were reports from colonial officials of "Fingoes" emerging from the Rharhabe chiefdoms who had not been rescued in the 1835 Eastern Cape frontier war. Stapleton has argued that these people were simply destitute and hungry Xhosa people who saw better opportunities for survival among the "Fingoised" groups.[97] In the Fingo Reserves of Oxkraal and Kamastone near Queenstown, a colonial official reported that a large number of strangers had entered the two locations and that the local colonists had complained about there now being more than 7000 "souls" who resided in there without an overseer.[98] Governor Grey incorporated this report in his writing to London wherein he described this large group of people as "Fingo" who were massed together. Grey further made known that similar situations existed in all the other Fingo areas.[99] Stapleton has noted that any Xhosa speaking person could have entered a Fingo location, claimed to be Fingo and obtained a certificate of citizenship from a colonial official.[100] If these are indications that in this context the identity of the "Fingo"/ Mfengu remained an ambiguous and fluid matter they also indicate that taking on this communal identity brought definite rewards and advantages.

6.2.4.1 Developments among the Mfengu in the Tsitsikamma Mfengu

The aftermath of the Cattle Killing, recurrent periods of severe drought and the general economic depression of the 1860s brought hard times to the various communities settled within the Colony. Our concern is especially with the Mfengu peoples settled in the Tsitsikamma adjacent to Clarkson. Significant changes in the population around Clarkson had occurred since 1850 when most people residing at Clarkson were Mfengu. Around 1860 a number Mfengu residents actually moved away from Clarkson, left the Tsitsikamma and resettled at Engotini, the newly established Moravian

[96] Stapleton, 'The Expansion of a Pseudo-Ethnicity', p. 241.
[97] Stapleton, Magomo, p. 186; Stapleton, 'The Expansion of a Pseudo-Ethnicity', pp. 238-240.
[98] Stapleton, 'The Expansion of a Pseudo-Ethnicity', p. 240.
[99] Stapleton, 'The Expansion of a Pseudo-Ethnicity', p. 240.
[100] Stapleton, 'The Expansion of a Pseudo-Ethnicity', p. 241.

economy of the indigenous Khoisan and San peoples.[54] The territorial expansion of the Cape colony was driven by the colonists' needs for land, indigenous labour, and cattle. Slaves were brought into the colony from 1658 onwards, and subsequently the colonial economy was based on slavery and forced labour practices.[55] Territorial boundaries shifted constantly, not always in favour of the colonists. Despite the persistent resistance of indigenous peoples to colonial expansion and its accompanying acts of brutality they lost large herds of cattle, and their previous largely unconstrained access to and use of land and water became severely restricted.[56] During the ensuing decades more land around the Cape was forcibly and systematically appropriated by colonists, with land and water resources being claimed as their private property under colonial law. This understanding of ownership was in direct opposition to the beliefs held by indigenous Khoisan peoples who regarded land and water as shared resources to be used in moderation by each passing hunter-gatherer and/or pastoral group.[57] In response to these colonial encroachments many Khoisan participated in raids, counter-raids and frontier wars against the Dutch colonial settlement from the late 1650s onwards and throughout the 1700s in efforts to reclaim their stolen cattle, recover their dispossessed land, and restore access to water resources.[58] Some Khoisan pastoralists reverted to hunter-gatherer practices after their cattle had been appropriated and their social coherency disrupted. [59] Their bold and courageous struggles in defence of their rights and unhindered access to land and water did not succeed in putting a stop to colonial encroachment into the interior, nor to the disruption and marginalisation of their formerly autonomous communities. Other Khoisan groups moved into the more arid areas of the Cape, while some preferred to stay on the fringes of their former land, increasingly employed as servants by colonial farmers.[60] By the time the Moravian missionary, George Schmidt, arrived at the Cape in 1737,

---

[53] R. Elphick and V.C. Malherbe, 'The Khoisan to 1828' in R. Elphick and H. Giliomee (eds.), The Shaping of South African Society, 1652-1840, 2nd edition (Connecticut, Wesleyan University Press, 1979), pp. 11-13.
[54] Elphick and Malherbe, 'The Khoisan to 1828', pp. 18-19.
[55] Leonard Thompson, A History of South Africa, revised edition (New Haven, Yale University Press, 1995), pp. 33-38.
[56] N. Penn, 'Labour, Land and Livestock in the Western Cape during the Eighteenth Century: The Khoisan and the Colonists' in Wilmot G. James and M. Simons (eds.), Class Caste and Colour: A Social and Economic History of the South African Western Cape (New Brunswick, Transaction Publishers, 1992), pp. 1-5.
[57] L. Guelke and R. Shell, 'Landscape of Conquest: Frontier Water Alienation and Khoikhoi Strategies of Survival, 1652-1780', Journal of Southern African Studies 18: 4 (December 1992), p. 805. See also M. Wilson, 'The Hunters and Herders' in M. Wilson and L. Thompson, The Oxford History of South Africa (Oxford, Clarendon Press, 1969), vol. 1, pp. 58-59.
[58] Shula Marks, 'Khoisan Resistance to the Dutch in the Seventeenth and Eighteenth Centuries', Journal of African History xiii: 1 (1972), pp. 69-71.
[59] Guelke and Shell, 'Landscape of Conquest', pp. 820-822.
[60] Guelke and Shell, 'Landscape of Conquest', pp. 811-812.

the Khoisan peoples had largely been dispossessed of their land. Some however retained their independence from colonists by moving between the remaining open spaces of established colonial farms. In this way Khoisan pastoralists, like those residing at Hartebeeskraal in the Overberg, retained some of their mobility within the colony, albeit now considerably limited and on the outskirts of colonial farms.[61]

3.3.2 The Moravian Missionary Project at the Cape

The Khoisan community at Hartebeeskraal was in close proximity to the Zoetemelksvlei cattle post, about a half hour walk away.[62] Shortly after Schmidt's arrival during 1737 in the Cape Colony, some colonial officials requested that he travel with them to their post at Zoetmelksvlei.[63] DEIC cattle posts had been established in the area at Zoetemelksvlei, Tygerhoek, and Ziekenhuis along the Rivier Zonder Einde. By this time the Khoisan communities residing in the Rivier Zonder Einde area had been dispossessed of most of their land by colonists settling under the colony's loan-farm tenure system. While the Hartebeeskraal community still had limited access to land of their own, the threat of dispossession remained. Their land was eventually disposed of as a loan farm by Dutch colonial authorities towards the end of the 1700s.[64] The Captain of the Zoetemelksvlei garrison, J.T. Rhenius, recommended that Schmidt begin his missionary activities among the Hartebeeskraal Khoisan community. He described them as a group of people who lived fairly "peacefully" within the colony.[65] After arriving at the Zoetemelksvlei cattle post, Schmidt set out to visit members of the Khoisan community. He observed that there was one Khoisan family who lived in a colonial-style house, about a half and hour from the cattle post. He acquainted himself with its owner, a man called Africo who was also leader of the Hartebeeskraal Khoisan community.[66] Schmidt observed that initially the Khoisan were cautious of him, believing that he had come to trade with them in cattle. However their confidence in him was gradually established once they realised that he was not there to trade or rob but "to serve them". He

---

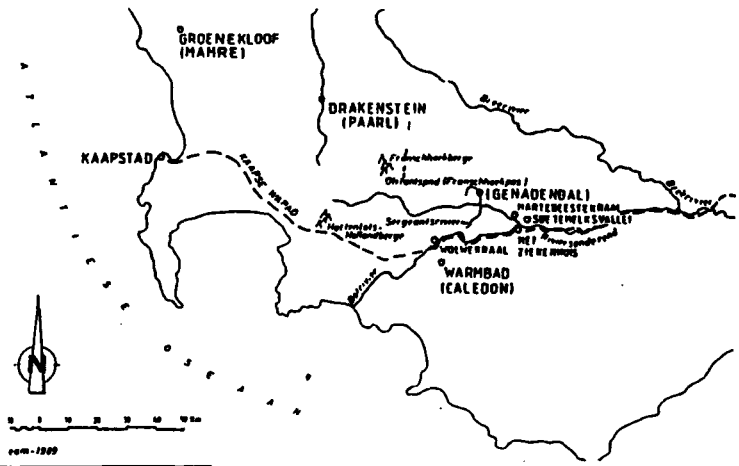
[61] Krüger, The Pear Tree Blossoms, p. 26.
[62] H.C. Bredekamp, 'De(con)struction of an early Collective Khoikhoi Christian Identity in South Africa, 1737-1743', Conference paper, Khoisan Identities and Cultural Heritage, University of the Western Cape, 1997, pp. 2-4.
[63] Krüger, The Pear Tree Blossoms, p. 20.
[64] Bredekamp, 'De(con)struction', pp. 2-4.
[65] Bredekamp, 'De(con)struction', p. 6.
[66] H.C. Bredekamp and J.L. Hattingh (eds.), Dagboek en Briewe van George Schmidt: Eerste Sendeling in Suid-Afrika (1737-1744), trans. J. du P. Boeke (Bellville, Die Weskaaplandse Instituut vir Historiese Navorsing, 1981), p. 45.

noted in his diary that they became more open to visit him - "the people thought that I came to take their cattle and sheep. Now that they see that I wish to serve and help and want nothing from them, their confidence has grown and one after the other told others so that the whole area knows about me and sometimes 2,3,4 come to visit me".[67] Some of the Hartebeeskraal Khoisan people had begun adopting a rudimentary colonial way of life, which included speaking the Dutch language.[68] Schmidt's presence afforded them an opportunity to familiarise themselves with his Moravian way of life and beliefs in Christianity so different from their own beliefs in Ticqua and Gaunab.[69] He began giving Dutch literacy classes, and delivered religious sermons to all those from the community who wished to attend. Africo, who also attended these classes regularly translated the sermons.[70]

Not comfortable with his proximity to the colonial post at Zoetmelksvlei, Schmidt moved from Hartebeeskraal in 1738, and settled in the colonial district of Stellenbosch in a place called Baviaanskloof, later named Genadendal.[71] See map in figure 4 indicating the location of Genadendal in relation to Hartebeeskraal.

Figure 4: shows the geographical location of Genadendal in relation to both Hartebeeskraal and Zoetemelksvallei.

[Source: H.C. Bredekamp, 'George Schmidt se Poging tot Transformasie van n Overbergse Khoikhoi-Gemeenskap, 1737-1743.' Kronos 14 (1988), p. 31].

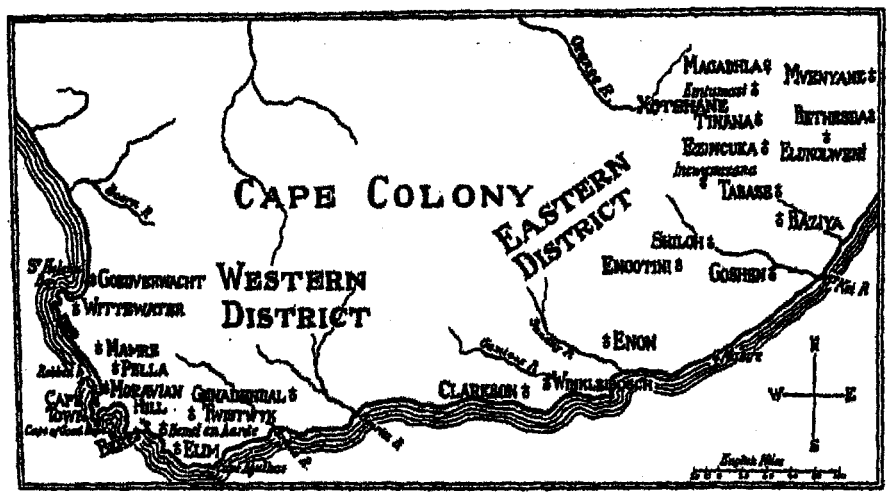


[67] Bredekamp and Hattingh, Dagboek en Briewe, p. 45. In the Afrikaans translated text this appears as "Die mense het ten dele gedink dat ek net gekom het om 'n klompie beeste en skape van hulle te kry. Noudat hulle egter sien dat ek hulle wil dien en help en niks van hulle verlang nie, het vertroue gekry en die een na die ander het vir die ander gesê, sodat die hele omliggende gebied tyding van my is en soms kom 2,3,4, ens. saam om my te besoek".
[68] Bredekamp, 'De(con)struction', p. 6.
[69] Bredekamp, 'De(con)struction', pp. 9-10.
[70] Krüger, The Pear Tree Blossoms, pp. 20-21; Bredekamp and Hattingh, Dagboek en Briewe, pp. 45-69.
[71] Krüger, The Pear Tree Blossoms, pp. 21-22; H.C. Bredekamp, 'George Schmidt se Poging tot Transformasie van 'n Overbergse Khoikhoi-Gemeenskap, 1737-1743', Kronos 14 (1988), p. 24.

He was able to occupy land allocated to him in 1738 by the Governor, which had been granted specifically for missionary purposes. He was now no longer a visitor on the land of the Hartebeeskraal Khoisan community.[72] Schmidt began to establish a Moravian mission settlement at Baviaanskloof by proclaiming the rules and regulations for maintaining good conduct, and by making attendance of his Dutch literacy/religious classes a condition for portioning off land to (potential) converts.[73] At Baviaanskloof his authority was increased by the control he now exercised over rights in land. See map in figure 5 showing the geographical location of Genadenal in relation to Cape Town and Clarkson.

Figure 5: A map showing the geographical location of Genadenal in relation to Cape Town and Clarkson.

[Source: Periodical Accounts Relating to the Missions of the Church of the United Brethren Established among the Heathen, vi: 61 (March 1905) p. 24].



[72] Bredekamp, 'George Schmidt se Poging', p. 24; Krüger, The Pear Tree Blossoms, p. 21. Isaac Balie describes various contested claims of entitlement to the Genadendal land between some Genadendal residents and the Moravian missionaries. The mission station was registered in 1858 with the Deed of Grant given by colonial authorities in the name of the Superintendent of the United Brethren or Moravian Missionary Institution. See Isaac Balie, Die Geskiedenis van Genadendal, pp. 80-82.

[73] Bredekamp, 'De(con)struction', p. 8.

Settlement at Baviaanskloof thus marked the start of a new set of power relations between himself as missionary and the new Khoisan residents - his potential converts. After a year at Bavianskloof, Schmidt allocated individual garden plots in 1739 to his most faithful followers. Each received a measured portion of land.[74] Such allocated portions of land differed completely from any kind of rights in land previously held by indigenous Khoisan people, which typically involved collective uses of land for transhumant pasturage. The colonial model of private property and permanent occupation of land was very different to Khoisan beliefs in caring for the land, whereby pastoralists regularly moved their cattle and sheep from one grazing area to another, allowing parts of the land to temporarily rest.[75] Even though Schmidt had made permanent land allocations to potential converts at Bavianskloof, the traditional transhumant mode of subsistence of the Khoisan pastoralists impelled them to continuously seek out suitable grazing land and access to water resources for their cattle within the confines of Dutch land colonisation. Schmidt was often confronted with the presence, then absence, and then return of different groups of Khoisan peoples at Baviaanskloof. Those attending his Dutch (Bible) reading classes were never constant, even though he insisted and preached in his daily sermons that good conduct involved regular attendance of classes and permanent occupation of land at Baviaanskloof.[76]

Khoisan access to land at the Moravian mission required adaptation to notions of private property and permanent occupation: only individuals had rights to an allocated portion of land, from which the larger Khoisan community was then excluded. Even so, this form of leasehold did not have the same status within the Cape Colony as the loan farms held by colonial Dutch farmers.[77] More importantly, those Khoisan people who were not identified as potential converts were excluded from this land allocation process. Missionary control of access to land was thus used as both a coercive and an exclusionary tool; while including some as members of the new missionary community by giving them land it excluded others who did not meet these requirements. In this way the missionary intervention produced new lines of difference amongst the Baviaanskloof Khoisan community. The Moravian missionaries who later followed Schmidt to the Cape in the 1790s also used this practice of inclusion and exclusion based on

---

[74] Bredekamp, 'De(con)struction', p. 16; Bredekamp and Hattingh, Dagboek en Briewe, p. 75.
[75] Krüger, The Pear Tree Blossoms, p. 22.
[76] Krüger, The Pear Tree Blossoms, pp. 21-22; Bredekamp and Hattingh, Dagboek en Briewe, pp. 83-89.

land allocations within the mission settlement, creating a distinction between the "heathen" and (potential) converted indigenous peoples in relation to secured rights in land.

Schmidt's missionary work at the Cape Colony culminated in the baptism of the first five converts during 1742. When baptised, each person was renamed with their indigenous names replaced by biblical Christian names, signifying their conversion to Christianity.[78] Schmidt baptised Wilhelm first and renamed him "Joshua".[79] The biblical meaning of the name "Joshua" represents the successor to the prophet Moses who had led Israel from the desert to the "Promised Land". The name "Joshua" had also been given to the Herrnhuters' first baptised convert at St. Thomas, the very first Moravian mission to be established.[80] Schmidt baptised Africo and renamed him "Christian".[81] In the historical Moravian narrative the name "Christian" was derived from Christian David, the founder of the Herrnhut community.[82] Schmidt baptised Kybbodo and renamed him "Jonas".[83] Schmidt also baptised two women and gave them biblical names, Verhettge Tikkuie was renamed "Magdalena". The other woman convert was renamed "Christina".[84] Their baptism increased their status within the Baviaanskloof community. They regularly held special meetings with Schmidt, who excluded those who had not been baptised. These baptised converts received additional training in reading, spelling and writing so that they could be equipped to teach others.[85] This group of five baptised Khoisan converts were thus set apart from the general community of Baviaanskloof. In his diary Schmidt addressed each individual baptised member as Brother and Sister. The act of baptism was used as a discursive tool by the missionary to differentiate the social identity of the five baptised converts from that of the surrounding Khoisan peoples. Schmidt addressed each baptised member as Sister Magdalena, Sister Christina, Brother Joshua, Brother Christian, and Brother Jonas respectively. It also established a relation of power of baptised converts over their excluded Khoisan peers. But their baptism did not necessarily make them steadfast in their newly adopted Christian faith. In reports sent to the Brethren at Herrnhut, Schmidt wrote that "his flock was like reeds, swinging to and fro in the wind; the baptised

---

[77] Bredekamp, 'De(con)struction', p. 16.
[78] Krüger, The Pear Tree Blossoms, p. 33.
[79] Bredekamp and Hattingh, Dagboek en Briewe, p. 343.
[80] Bredekamp, 'De(con)struction', p. 20.
[81] Bredekamp and Hattingh, Dagboek en Briewe, p. 343.
[82] Bredekamp, 'De(con)struction', p. 20; Weinlick and Frank, The Moravian Church Through the Ages, pp. 51-52.
[83] Bredekamp and Hattingh, Dagboek en Briewe, p. 347.
[84] Bredekamp, 'De(con)struction', pp. 20-21; Bredekamp and Hattingh, Dagboek en Briewe, p. 345-347.
[85] Bredekamp, 'De(con)struction', pp. 20-21.

members being no better".[86] Their poor and inconsistent attendance as well as the colonists' opposition to the very idea of his mission depressed him. He finally left the Cape Colony in 1744.[87] The original Moravian mission at the Cape had apparently ended in failure.

From later and retrospective perspectives, Schmidt's missionary work at the Cape was re-interpreted as the beginning of the Moravian mission that was re-established at the Cape from 1792 onwards. After he abandoned his work in Baviaanskloof in 1744 he returned to Holland and in 1747 submitted a request to the Dutch Reformed Church that he be ordained as a minister of the Reformed Church in order to return to the Cape Colony. This was refused. He eventually settled at the Moravian settlement in Niesky, where he died in 1785. Schmidt himself never used the Moravian metaphor of the seed when describing his missionary activities in his diaries and letters. However his diaries are filled throughout with references to the Moravian Ethic. In the reconstructed historical Moravian mission narrative, Schmidt's story concluded with he "died during the time allotted to him ... praying for his flock at the Cape".[88]

3.3.3 The Dutch Colonial Response to the Moravian Mission

The inconsistencies of baptised converts were not the only reasons for Schmidt's frustration and departure from the Cape Colony. On the whole Dutch colonists at the Cape and the local clergy of the Dutch Reformed Church during the 1700s opposed missionary work among the indigenous peoples. In particular they found Khoisan conversion to Christianity unacceptable.[89] Many colonists argued that it was inappropriate to convert and baptise the "heathen" since it implied equality within the colony. They asserted that as Christians their privileges could not be applied to the "heathen". [90] The dominant view among Dutch colonists at the Cape was that Schmidt had no right to baptise the five Khoisan converts. In response to objections against the baptisms, a member of the Governing Council responsible for law and order in the colony, Fiscal Pieter van Reede from Oudtshoorn, interrogated two of the baptised converts. Schmidt was called in to attend the meeting and ordered not to engage in any further Khoisan baptisms until further notice. Officially he was, however, still encouraged to continue his missionary work

[86] Krüger, The Pear Tree Blossoms, p. 40.
[87] Krüger, The Pear Tree Blossoms, p. 40.
[88] Krüger, The Pear Tree Blossoms, p. 44.
[89] Krüger, The Pear Tree Blossoms, pp. 36-46.

at Baviaanskloof.[91] The Christian religious practices of baptism, confirmation, and marriage had immense social and symbolic significance to these early colonists at the Cape. As Christians they believed in having the exclusive right to practice religious rituals of baptism and confirmation in relation to the indigenous "heathen" who were not Christian and therefore not entitled to practice such religious rituals. Their conception of Christianity did not require any duty to engage in mission work among the "heathen" but to sustain themselves as a Christian community amid the "heathen".[92] This Dutch colonial communal identity was exclusive, had no proselytising dimension, and set them apart from the indigenous "heathen". The colonial ritual of baptising the children of Christians specifically excluded non-Christian indigenous children.[93] The social status of being included within colonial society by virtue of being Christian was reinforced by the judicial system, which gave a different legal weight to the testimony brought to court by a Christian, than that brought forward by a "heathen".[94] The majority of Dutch colonists and DEIC officials at the Cape claimed Christianity and literacy as their own, believing these to be key attributes of civilisation which differentiated them from slaves, "heathens" and "aliens".[95] In terms of the basic legal-status hierarchy operating in the 18th century Cape Colony slaves, the Khoisan and the Xhosa belonged to a very different and inferior civic and legal category to that of the colonists.[96]

The colonists thus vehemently opposed Schmidt's missionary project at Baviaanskloof even though his teachings incorporated such aspects of the Moravian Ethic as that of loyalty to those in positions of authority, the dignity of work, and good conduct which might otherwise have been seen as contributing to the creating of the "docile workforce" so sought after by them. But Schmidt was not prepared to submit to their authority nor to the creed of the Reformed Church. He asserted that the accreditation of his work did not rest with clergy of the

---

[90] Bettina Schmidt, Creating Order: Culture as Politics in Nineteenth and Twentieth Century South Africa (Nijmegen, Third World Centre, University of Nijmegen, 1996), p. 20.
[91] Krüger, The Pear Tree Blossoms, pp. 33-34.
[92] André du Toit, 'No Chosen People: The Myth of the Calvinist Origins of Afrikaner Nationalism and Racial Ideology', The American Historical Review 88: 4 (October 1983), pp. 920-952. While Dutch colonists at the Cape were for the most part disinterested in proselytising in the eighteenth century, there remains the case of M. Vos and others who embarked on an active missionary drive from Cape Town during the late eighteenth century.
[93] Elizabeth Elbourne, 'Early Khoisan Uses of Mission Christianity', Kronos 19 (1992), p. 5.
[94] Elbourne, 'Early Khoisan Uses of Mission Christianity', pp. 5-6.
[95] Robert Shell presents some evidence that men who chose to present their children by slave/indigenous women at baptismal ceremonies were making claims about their potential inclusion/incorporation into colonial society. See Robert C.H. Shell, Children of Bondage: A Social History of the Slave Society at the Cape of Good Hope, 1652-1838 (Johannesburg, Witwatersrand University Press, 1994).
[96] Du Toit and Giliomee, Afrikaner Political Thought, p. 10.

DEIC at the Cape. He insisted that he was an ordained minister and demanded that if he was not granted the necessary freedom in his missionary work he would return to Holland and thereafter to Herrnhut. Since his wish was not granted, he left the Cape in 1744.[97]

3.3.4 The Moravian Mission Renewed

Following Schmidt's departure from the Cape Colony in 1744, Moravian missionary activity within the colony was terminated, and was only resumed fifty years later during the 1790s. During the interim the Moravians were actively involved in establishing foreign missions in the West Indian Islands in places like St John in 1741, Antigua in 1756, Barbados in 1765, St Kitts in 1777, and Tobago in 1790.[98] It was on a return visit from these West Indies Moravian missions in 1787 that the Moravian Bishop, Johann Reichel, met a Dutch Reformed minister of the Cape and heard from him that "some of Schmidt's converts were still alive, preserving the New Testament, which he had distributed".[99] On his return to Germany Bishop Reichel proposed to the 1789 Synod in Herrnhut that the Moravian mission at the Cape be renewed.[100] The proposal was accepted and an application was submitted to the Council of Seventeen to renew the Moravian mission at the Cape. This application was approved on condition that they did not establish a mission settlement where a Christian congregation already existed. Three Brethren were selected to renew the Moravian mission at the Cape. They were Hendrik Marsveld, a Dutch tailor from Gouda in the Netherlands, Daniel Schwinn, a German cobbler from Odenwald in Germany, and Christian Kühnel, from Herrnhut. They were given permission by the Council of Seventeen to settle at Baviaanskloof, the place previously occupied by Schmidt.[101]

The Moravian missionaries Marsveld, Schwinn and Kühnel arrived in the Cape Colony in 1792. By this time most of the indigenous people living in the Colony and around Baviaanskloof had become even more impoverished and dependent on employment as servants by colonial farmers in the surrounding area. While some individuals within Khoisan communities still

---

[97] Krüger, The Pear Tree Blossoms, pp. 31-40.
[98] Weinlick and Frank, The Moravian Church Through the Ages, p. 80.
[99] Krüger, The Pear Tree Blossoms, pp. 47-48.
[100] Krüger, The Pear Tree Blossoms, p. 48.
[101] H.C. Bredekamp and H.E.F. Plüddemann (eds.), The Genadendal Diaries: Diaries of the Herrnhut Missionaries H. Marsveld, D. Schwinn, and J.C. Khünel, trans. A.B.L. Flegg, Series B4 (vol.1, Bellville, University of the Western Cape Institute for Historical Research, 1992), vol. 1, p. 53.

owned a few cattle, their ability to graze their cattle, hunt and gather food had become almost completely constrained by the encroaching colonial farmers.[102] The demand by colonial farmers for labour increased, as their production expanded in wheat, wine, meat and other agricultural products. After the British occupation of the Cape Colony from 1795 onwards, the demand for these products increased substantially, with farmers requiring more labour to meet market demands. Colonial farmers sought to exert greater access to and control over indigenous labour. An indentured labour and pass system was introduced to ensure the coercive employment and control of Khoisan peoples, especially its women and children.[103] It is within this context that the Moravian mission station was (re) established in the Cape Colony from 1792 onwards. The mission station was now increasingly perceived by many Khoisan peoples as a place of safety and security within a world of social turmoil. Some deserted the farms on which they were "employed on contract" and settled at the mission station on condition that they would abide by the rules and regulations of the Moravian missionaries.[104]

3.4 Reconstructing the Moravian Mission Narrative

The new Moravian missionaries, also settled at Baviaanskloof, like Schmidt fifty years earlier. They described their arrival in their meticulously kept diaries, showing special interest in traces of Schmidt's sojourn fifty years before, especially in the fruit trees he had planted:

> "We arrived at Baviaanskloof ... a good number of walls of his house were still there and in his garden were several trees which we thought he must have planted, also three oaks. In another kraal we heard that three trees remained which he had planted, i.e. an almond, an apricot, and a pear tree. There were also some ruins of hottentot houses (of some people) who had lived with him. As may be imagined the garden looked like a wilderness".[105]

During their trip to Baviaanskloof they were also taken to Sergeants River, the area where they were told women, including Magdalena, who had been baptised by Schmidt, lived. The missionaries described their discussion with Magdalena.

---

[102] Krüger, The Pear Tree Blossoms, p. 53.
[103] Du Toit and Giliomee, Afrikaner Political Thought, pp. 2-12.
[104] Krüger, The Pear Tree Blossoms, p. 67.
[105] Bredekamp and Plüddemann, The Genadendal Diaries, pp. 57-58.

"She said that she still had a book from Schmidt. A woman quickly ran to fetch it. It was well wrapped in two sheepskins and placed in a leather bag. It was a Dutch New Testament, which she had been able to read, but now her eyes were too weak. But another women ... about thirty years old had been taught to read by her father who had been (one of the) baptised ... [The first group of Khoikhoi they met were ministered to] "under the pear - tree planted by Brother Schmidt which is quite large by now we commended the dear Saviour to them".[106]

The hold of the Moravian narrative is evident from the way in which the second group of missionaries were intent on discovering traces of Schmidt's earlier activities at Baviaanskloof. They observed the ruins and remaining walls of the house that Schmidt had built, and the remains of the garden that looked like a wilderness. They also observed the ruins of houses of those indigenous converts who had lived with Schmidt at Baviaanskloof. These Moravian missionaries thus began their missionary project within the Cape Colony by reconnecting with traces of Schmidt's past missionary activities as "preserved seeds" that could still bear fruit. Schmidt's aborted mission at Baviaanskloof was thus never described as a "failure" in the Moravian narrative, but rather as a seed for future development. That was the significance of the fruit trees that Schmidt had planted, which had remained even in his absence, and could now blossom into the Moravian mission at the Cape.[107]

This was to become the established view of the origins of the Moravian mission at the Cape. In the official versions of Moravian missionary history Schmidt's activities at the Cape were later recounted as part of a reconstructed Moravian missionary narrative. The story of the first successful Khoisan conversions at the Cape and the emergence of missionary institutions in the colony were incorporated into the reconstructed historical Moravian narrative. Thus Krüger narrated in *The Pear Tree Blossoms* (1966):

"...Schmidt ... moved to Bavianskloof ... he made a garden and a water furrow, and continued his daily lessons ... His most eager pupils were Africo , another married man Kubido by name, a married woman, called Verhettge, and a young man called Wilhelm ... The daily work gave him an opportunity to preach the gospel in a practical way ... When he pruned peach-trees for Africo, he explained that man was like a tree, which must be pruned ... His flock increased and became used to an ordered life and acquainted with the Saviour ... Coming to a stream, they knelt down and, ... there and then he [Schmidt]

[106] Bredekamp and Plüddemann, The Genadendal Diaries, pp. 61-65.
[107] Krüger, The Pear Tree Blossoms, p. 52.

> baptised him [Wilhelm] by the name of Joshua ... Within two weeks he baptised another four of his flock ... Africo became "Christian", Verhettge "Magdalena", [and] Kubido "Jonas" ... Schmidt left in 1743 ... Even after 1756, she [Magdalena] gathered the others occasionally under the pear tree in Schmidt's garden, reading from the New Testament and praying with them ... waiting for Schmidt's return".[108]

From the perspective of the latter continuation of the Moravian mission from the 1790s onwards, this episode lent itself to the narrative of the "seed". According to this part of the historical Moravian narrative, a "seed" had been brought to the Cape colony and "sown" with the arrival of George Schmidt. The planting of the "pear tree" represents and describes the missionaries' work among the indigenous people residing at the Cape. Later symbolic phrases used by Moravians at the Cape like the "pear tree blossoms", the "pear tree bears fruit", and the twin of the pear tree, represented and described the "growth" of Moravian mission institutions elsewhere in the Cape Colony during the 1800s, as at Clarkson in the Tsitsikamma.[109]

The renewal of their missionary work at Baviaanskloof was conceived as a reconstruction of the missionary community that had been created earlier by Schmidt. In their diaries, they note how they heard from a kraal of indigenous Khoisan people of the remaining three fruit trees, which included the famous pear tree. It was from the responses of the indigenous people whom the missionaries met on their first visit to Baviaanskloof that the iconic elements of the fruit trees, the pear tree, old Lena, and the Dutch Bible came forth in the Moravian narrative. The incorporation of (potential) indigenous "converts" into the missionary community could be construed not as a novel process of acculturation, but rather as the reconstruction of the earlier missionary community. In this way the continuity in some (potential) indigenous "converts" could be represented as having a core of stability over time similar to that of the "hidden seed" of the Moravian narrative. The group of Moravians who came to the Cape to renew the Herrnhut missionary project had heard from a Kraal of Khoisan people that three trees remained in Schmidt's garden – these included an almond, an apricot and a pear tree. Of these three remaining trees the "pear tree" was the most significant since the first group of

---

[108] Krüger, The Pear Tree Blossoms, pp. 21-45.

[109] The metaphors the "pear tree blossoms" and the "pear tree bears fruit" are titles of two books written by Moravian missionaries in South Africa. See Krüger, The Pear Tree Blossoms (1966); and B. Krüger and P.W. Schaberg, The Pear Tree Bears Fruit, The History of the Moravian Church in South Africa Western Cape Province 1869-1980 (Genadendal, The Moravian Book Depot, 1984).

potential "converts" had met under this tree.[110] In the Moravian narrative Magdalena, the old Khoisan woman with her "preserved" Dutch Bible represented one of the "first fruits" of the "pear tree", which had been "sown" by Schmidt and that had been preserved in his garden. The "pear tree" and "Magdalena with her Dutch Bible" are the "seeds" of continuity that connected the Moravian historical narrative of the "seed" to the Cape Colony and to Baviaanskloof in particular.

With this we have come to an important moment in our account of the origins of the communal identity of the Moravian missionary community and its narrative reconstruction. We have shown that the Moravian missionary project had been informed by the Pietist belief and practice of "converting" individuals and forming groups of fellowship. We have so far described how the Moravian communal identity was depicted in terms of a particular historical narrative wherein it's sustained continuity despite apparent discontinuities was represented by the "seed" metaphor. We argued that the metaphor of the "seed" represented the core principles, practices and traditions of the Moravians, which were legitimated by their proclaimed connection with the ancient Unitas Fratrum. These principles and traditions were reformulated by Moravian missionaries in the Cape Colony and constituted as the Moravian Ethic. This contributed to the formation of their own missionary identity, which they imposed on communities of indigenous "converts" while seeking to transform the everyday experiences and perceptions of these indigenous "converts". Critical elements of this imposed missionary identity were the changing mode of subsistence and beliefs in their relation to the land. We have shown that the Cape Moravian mission was not immediately, nor continuously successful since the missionary project was initially aborted in 1744 and only re-established from 1792 onwards. Yet the Moravian narrative does not reflect the failure of the first attempt by Moravians to establish a missionary settlement at the Cape. Furthermore, the beginning of the second attempt at re-establishing a Moravian mission at the Cape was connected not to Schmidt's failures, but rather to the ruins and remnants of the "first-fruits" that remained long after his departure. We have shown that in their re-establishment of the Moravian mission at the Cape, missionaries conceived of their own work as a reconstruction of the earlier missionary community. More significant was the way in which the iconic elements of the Moravian narrative were utilised to represent the Moravian communal missionary identity as

[110] Bredekamp and Plüddemann, The Genadendal Diaries, p. 57.

having a core of stability over time that connected Ganadenal and the groups of indigenous converts living there to the Herrnhuters in Germany and the Unitas Fratum of Czechoslovakia.

3.4.1 Interpretation and Analysis of the Moravian and Missionary Narratives

Discourse theory suggests relevant perspectives for analysing the narrative construction of communal identities. According to Hayden White, a historical narrative transforms a mere list of historical events into a story that has a well defined beginning, middle and ending.[111] Time is an important element in the construction of a historical narrative. In the narrative the different aspects of time, i.e. within-time-ness, historicality, and deep temporality are represented in such a way that endings appear to be linked to beginnings, thereby forming continuity within difference.[112] We will describe the plot of the historical Moravian narrative, and explore the significance of the different temporal and geographical locations with reference to the use of the metaphor of the "seed" in the Moravian narrative. According to David Apter the function of metaphor in identity formations is to bind individuals together and promote a "political" or discursive community".[113] In this section we will analyse the discursive functions of the Moravian narrative in the construction of the Moravian communal identity. We will show that at the most basic level the Moravian narrative functioned in binding together different groups of people, in diverse locations, over great lengths of time, as members of a discourse community involved in the same story.

The Moravian missionary narrative is not just a sequence of events unfolding from 1457 or 1627 to 1792, but the narrative is recounted by the Moravian missionary community from the eighteenth century onwards as a retrospective (re-)construction. As a historical narrative it has a plot with a proper beginning in time, middle, and a conclusion. The core narrative begins with the migration of Amos Comenius and his followers from Czechoslovakia to Poland in 1627. On leaving Czechoslovakia these members of the Unitas Fratrum "beseeched God" to "preserve a

---

[111] Hayden White, The Content of the Form: Narrative Discourse and Historical Representation (Baltimore, John Hopkins University Press, 1987), pp. 43-45. See also our applied theoretical discussion of White in Chapter 2 of this dissertation.
[112] White, The Content of the Form, pp. 51-52.
[113] David Apter (ed.), Ideology and Discontent (New York, The Free Press, 1964), pp. 18-20.

seed to serve him" in the country they were being forced to leave.[114] The middle of the plot consists of a series of historical events involving some families residing in Moravia, Czechoslovakia, seeking asylum. Through Christian David they successfully arrange their immigration from their country of birth to Germany in 1727. This exodus to Germany occurred one hundred years after the first exodus to Poland. The emigrants are granted refuge on the estate of Count Zinzendorf in Dresden. In a sense this serves as the conclusion of the core narrative, though significantly this conclusion was then retrospectively connected not just to the migration of Comenius in 1627 but also to the origins of the Unitas Fratrum in 1457. The narrative also continues with the growth of this religious community through the "sowing of many seeds".[115] Missionaries are sent too many places including the Cape Colony. The "seed", symbolised by the "pear tree" planted by George Schmidt, are "sown" in the Cape Colony when Schmidt baptised some indigenous people in 1742. He renamed each convert and gave each one a Dutch Bible. One such convert, a woman called Verhegte, was renamed Magdalena. The narrative continues fifty years after the departure of Schmidt from the Colony with the arrival of a group of three new Moravian missionaries at the Cape in November 1792. The three missionaries return to the land previously occupied by Schmidt. Here they found a pear tree planted, and the ruins of buildings constructed by him, as well as the old woman that was renamed Magdalena when she had been baptised by him.[116]

The plot concludes with old Magdalena remembering the teacher who had baptised her and who had given her a Dutch New Testament Bible. She shows the three missionaries how she had "preserved" this Book by wrapping it in a leather bag and proceeds to read them a passage from it appropriate for their time of year, the story of the Saviour's Nativity.[117] The careful "preservation" of the Bible by Magdalena shows that the "seed" of beliefs as practised by the "Brethren" had been safeguarded during all that time since the departure of Schmidt. And so the beginning of the Moravian narrative, when Comenius and his refugees beseeched God to "preserve a seed" to serve Him in the country of their birth, is linked to the conclusion of the missionary narrative when Magdalena demonstrates the "preservation of the seed" by

---

[114] Thompson, Moravian Missions, p. 30.

[115] The Unitas Fratrum refugees in Poland in 1627 are placed alongside the refugees from Moravia in Dresden, Germany in 1727 in the narrative. According to White it is the impulse to rank events in terms of their significance for a particular group that is telling its own story that allows for a narrative representation of real events. White, The Content of the Form, p. 10.

[116] Krüger, The Pear Tree Blossoms, pp. 52-53.

[117] Bredekamp and Plüddemann, The Genadendal Diaries, p. 61.

unwrapping the Bible which she had kept and preserved for the past fifty years, thus linking the colonial missionary community to its Moravian origins. With this closure the narrative also exemplifies the higher moral meaning of preserving the Moravian identity through time and advancing the Christian beliefs, practices, and traditions of the "United Brethren".

An important element in the construction of any narrative is the articulation of its spatial locations.[118] The Moravian narrative links three geographical locations. These changing geographical centres coincide with key events in the unfolding plot of the narrative. The beginning of the narrative is located in Moravia (Czechoslovakia), the country from which the first group of refugees fled to Poland. This geographical location represents the "ancient" Church. The second geographical location is that of the conclusion of the core narrative and is that of the estate of Count Zinzendorf in Germany. The settlement established on Zinzendorf's estate was called Herrnhut, with the community settled there often referred to as the Herrnhuters. This geographical location represents the "renewed" Church. The third geographical location is that of the mission narrative and is situated at Baviaanskloof, later called Genadendal, in the Cape Colony. This third change in location occurs when residents of the Herrnhut community are selected to do missionary work amongst the indigenous people at the Cape.

The three geographical locations are certainly very different from each other. Yet within the narrative these are all connected into an integrated whole of "preserving" and "sowing" the "seeds" of a Moravian Ethic. Through this discursively constructed continuity between places, a common identity and shared historical past is produced. The beliefs and practices of the "ancient" Unitas Fratrum are preserved in Czechoslovakia for a hundred years, "renewed" in Herrnhut on the estate of Zinzendorf and constituted as the Moravian Ethic, and were brought to fruition at the missionary settlements amongst indigenous peoples at the Cape. The flow of this narrative from beginning to end evokes a sense of common origin, which eventually also includes all Moravian converts at the Cape. It is this constructed sense of common origin and shared destination, embedded within the historical Moravian narrative, which utilises the narrative's resources of history to construct a Moravian identity that comes to include the converts. The result of this construction is that the history of the indigenous members of the

[118] White, The Content of the Form, p. 17.

Moravian missionary community at the Cape was represented as beginning in time with the arrival of the Herrnhut missionaries. This history did *not* include whatever had happened to them or their ancestors prior to the arrival of the missionaries. Instead the history of the missionary community was reconstructed backwards to include the Herrnhut settlement and the early Unitas Fratrum. On their own, the indigenous peoples at the Cape were represented in the Moravian narrative as a people "without a history". This reification of meaning mobilised, produced and sustained the relations of power of the Herrnhut missionaries over indigenous people, like the Khoisan, living on the mission stations in the Cape Colony. These people were dislocated from their local history, social beliefs, norms and practices, and then taken up within the context of Dutch and British colonialism through the narrative of the "seed" linking their identity to those of other groups of people many thousands of miles away and hundreds of years before.

The historical events and the order within which these appear in the Moravian narrative, is positioned and placed in relation to each other through the constitution of the missionary community as a "discourse community".[119] The activities of the missionary community are centered around the Sunday sermons, the Bible classes and school lessons. Here it is not only the Gospel that is preached or the Bible that is studied but the Moravian narrative is told and re-told, commemorating the key events and exploring the significance of the core metaphors of the seed, etc. It is this narrative and its discursive elements which the missionary comes to share and adopt as its own. In the historical Moravian narrative the emigration of (Unitas Fratrum) refugees from Czechoslovakia to Poland was commemorated in terms of their plea that "God should there preserve a seed to serve Him". The different events, which occur at different moments in time, are discursively connected together in a thread of continuity through the "discursive community" of those recounting the narrative.

The different historical events are ordered around the organising principle of "temporality", that is the reflection of experiences and representations of time. According to Ricoeur, historicity is the manner of organising experiences and representations of time within a historical narrative.[120] "Repetition" is one such manner of organising and representing time, the

---

[119] White, The Content of the Form, p. 16.

[120] Paul Ricoeur, Time and Narrative, trans. K. Mclaughlin and D. Pelleuer (Chicago, University of Chicago Press, 1983), vol. 1, pp. 59-64.

recollection of the past within the historical narrative so that the ending of the narrative is seen to be linked to the beginning. In the Moravian narrative the "repetition" of the "seed" metaphor draws a thread of continuity throughout the narrative, from beginning to ending. Events are recollected from the "birth" of the Unitas Fratrum, through to the renewal of the Ancient Church and the "extension" of this tradition and Christian beliefs within the Cape Colony. In this way a thread of continuity within difference is formed within the historical narrative.[121] Through the "historicity" of the narrative, the separateness of, and discontinuity between, each historical event are drawn together into a comprehensive whole, which connects the beginning to the end of the narrative.

Significantly the narrative excludes historical events between 1627 and 1727 as well as between 1744 and 1792 with no reference made to the (Unitas Fratrum) refugees' settlement in Poland from 1627, nor is any reference made to what happened to the missionary community at the Cape after Schmidt's departure in 1744. This gap of one hundred years between 1627 and 1727, and the gap of fifty years between the 1740s and 1790s become insignificant in the temporality of the narrative, which loops a thread of continuity through the events contained at the beginning and end of the historical narrative. Another omission from the narrative is the lack of any description of the religious background of other Herrnhuter immigrants to Germany. It is only from additional historical research that we are able to ascertain that all these immigrants were not members of the "ancient" Unitas Fratrum. The refugees at Herrnhut consisted of people from various churches and religious groups in addition to the Brethren from Moravia though some did have an actual historical connection with the Unitas Fratrum.[122] Much conflict prevailed among the many different religious groups at Herrnhut, conflict which also does not appear in the narrative. This conflict was only resolved after Zinzendorf presented a constitution to the community for each individual to commit herself and himself too. A further omission from the narrative is the lack of reference to the rather strict regulation of the Moravian Ethic both at Herrnhut and at the Cape. The organic "preservation" and "sowing" of the "seed" was in historical practice rigorously administered. It is through the stringent supervision of the Moravian Ethic that a communal identity was constructed in relation to land used and occupied, and imposed on the "first fruits" of Schmidt's missionary enterprise. A distinction can therefore be made between the discursive continuities

[121] White, The Content of the Form, pp. 51-52.
[122] Krüger, The Pear Tree Blossoms, p. 13.

and communal identity constructed through the Moravian narrative, and the social and other dynamics at work in the actual imposition of the Moravian Ethic on "converts" among the indigenous people in the colonial context. By making such a distinction difficult questions at a theoretical level are raised. What is the relation between the narrative construction of communal identity and the social and cultural dynamics involved in the transformation of a mode of production, transforming the spatial organisation of the indigenous landscape and the imposition of the Moravian Ethic as social discipline? Certainly we should not take the organic metaphor of the seed and its growth and fruition at face value; this may serve to mask the relations of power and domination involved in the missionary project. The Moravian narrative of the seed created a unity and a thread of continuity over different time zones, between different places, and among different groups of people. In the Moravian narrative of the missionary project at the Cape the remaining fruit trees that were referred to, and the identification of old Lena as the woman whom Schmidt had baptised, by the indigenous people whom the missionaries met on their first visit to Baviaanskloof,[123] indicates that aspects of the Moravian narrative had already become taken-for-granted as common-sense assumptions and naturalised by some groups of Khoisan peoples at the Cape. The process of naturalisation of the Moravian narrative of the seed involved a process of conversion in which compliance with the Moravian Ethic as taught by Schmidt was a requirement so that (potential) "converts" transformed their "idle" mode of subsistence from pastoralism to utilising their labour productively by cultivating the land and thereby "serving to increase the glory of God".

3.5 The Imposition of the Moravian Ethic

We have selected specific elements of the Moravian Ethic for attention and in-depth investigation – labour and transformed modes of subsistence, spatial landscapes, and social discipline – that relates more specifically to relations of power and domination in the construction of a Moravian missionary identity.

3.5.1 Labour and Transformed Modes of Subsistence

Schmidt and the Moravian missionaries who followed him promoted a set of Christian norms and principles constituting the Moravian Ethic. These Moravian missionaries sought to convert

[123] Bredekamp and Plüddemann, The Genadendal Diaries, p. 59.

the indigenous peoples through teaching by example the application of their religious and social beliefs, norms and principles. One such belief central to the Moravian Ethic was their understanding that their labour "served to increase the glory of God", and that "idleness" and the "wasting of time" was a "deadly sin".[124] According to J.M. Coetzee, the preachers of Post-Reformation Germany regarded work as a divine edict that all men were to obey. "Idleness" showed disobedience to this edict. Coetzee notes that the Moravian Brethren at Herrnhut in Germany were representative of this Post-Reformation age and wrote into their statutes the requirement that every person who joined the Herrnhut community was compelled to labour for his own bread.[125] Idleness was regarded as sinful. It was believed that through labour and enterprise man should cultivate and thereby become master of the world. Coetzee shows how these Post-Reformation beliefs were incorporated in the Cape colonial discourse and were reflected in the colonists' representations of the Khoisan people.[126] The discourse of the Cape contained numerous descriptions of the Khoisan as "idle" and "lazy" people who "never till the soil".[127] Of course this depended on a particular cultural definition of what counts as labour: in colonial eyes the hunting and gathering and herding activities of the Khoisan did not amount to productive labour but was part of their "idleness". Coetzee argues that once we moved outside the categorical Cape colonial discourse then the Khoisan suddenly appeared to be "busy people".[128]

Moravian missionaries, like Schmidt, who came to the Cape colony, were similarly motivated by their belief in the significance of productive labour as opposed to the traditional practices of local hunting and gathering and herding communities and their subsistence economies. They consciously set out to transform this outlook and mode of production. From the outset Schmidt sought to engage the participation of indigenous people in labour on the land through the cultivation of gardens, both as individuals and as a community, by selectively providing privileged ownership and access to the land to the "converts" who accepted the social discipline of the Moravian Ethic.

---

[124] Weber, The Protestant Ethic, pp. 133 -178.
[125] J.M. Coetzee, 'Idleness in South Africa', Social Dynamics 8: 1 (1982), pp. 1-13.
[126] Coetzee, 'Idleness in South Africa', pp. 4-5.
[127] Coetzee, 'Idleness in South Africa', p. 3.
[128] Coetzee, 'Idleness in South Africa', p. 6.

After being introduced to the Hartebeeskraal community by Africo, Schmidt observed that this Khoisan community was already in the process of selectively appropriating various aspects of Dutch colonial culture. Africo was living in a "hartebeeshuisie", a colonial style dwelling, and he was also in the process of preparing a piece of land for agricultural cultivation.[129] This opened the way for Schmidt to engage Africo as leader of the Khoisan group, showing by example the beliefs, norms and principles that he upheld. It is within this context that Schmidt offered advice on the layout of Africo's garden and the cultivation of the land, which included giving Africo seeds to sow in his garden.[130]

From the outset Schmidt ensured that all those who followed him from the Hartebeeskraal community to Baviaanskloof and wished to settle on his land for an extended period of time, were prepared to accept his supreme power over all activities on this land. They had to abide by his rules and regulations. This approach was not very different to the established power relations between the Herrnhut community and Zinzendorf, with which Schmidt was familiar.[131] Schmidt systematically introduced the indigenous community on his property to an agro-pastoral mode of subsistence, which was also typical of colonists at the Cape. For a period of one year they were only allowed to observe and assist the missionary in the building of his house and the laying-out of his garden.[132] Hereafter, some people, amongst others Africo and Wilhelm, were allocated plots of land by Schmidt, which they were to use for gardening. They grew vegetables and within a few months were able to show their fellow Khoisan community members the literal "fruits" of their labour. Vegetables like carrots could be grown near their huts as opposed to roots having to be gathered in the veld.[133] The small group of emerging indigenous farmers also began to grow wheat. Towards the end of 1739 they were able to harvest their wheat and lay out a communal threshing floor on which horses were used to do the threshing. This first year of harvest certainly made a great impression on other members of the Baviaanskloof community.[134] Schmidt gradually introduced the settled Khoisan community at Baviaanskloof to a fixed seasonal agricultural pattern. The missionary's conversation with selected members of the Khoisan community was aimed at installing intense feelings of guilt

[129] Bredekamp, 'De(con)struction', pp. 6-7.
[130] Bredekamp, 'De(con)struction', pp. 6-7.
[131] Bredekamp, 'De(con)struction', p.12.
[132] Bredekamp, 'De(con)struction', p. 16.
[133] Bredekamp, 'De(con)struction', p. 16.
[134] Bredekamp, 'De(con)struction', pp. 16-17.

within them if his rules and regulations were not obeyed or if they performed some of their "old" cultural and religious practices.[135]

The "first fruits" of Moravian missionary endeavours and "labours" were thus not limited to the formal "conversion" and "baptism" of some indigenous people, but also directed at the systematic transformation in the mode of subsistence of the indigenous people residing at Baviaanskloof from pastoralism to an agro-pastoral mode of subsistence. This was represented by the cultivated vegetable and fruit gardens at Baviaanskloof and the surrounding wheat and barley fields.[136] Agro-pastoralism progressively became a common taken-for-granted mode of production, in the practice of the Moravian missionary, and among the few indigenous people who had formal access to plots of land at Baviaanskloof.[137]

As these new members of the missionary community cultivated their gardens, and gradually managed and controlled the land - "serving and increasing the glory of God" -- the missionary applauded them. In the process they were not themselves "cultivated" and transformed into "loyal and faithful" workers, demonstrating that they were not "idle" nor "wasted time". In 1805 the colonial official, W.S. van Ryneveld, wrote "consider the ordinary free labour already here [in the Cape Colony] ... Hottentots ... will never do ordinary farming work of digging the land ... for any length of time. They prefer to spend their time in laziness and idleness, to suffer want and poverty than to be employed for this work".[138] The Moravian missionaries who followed Schmidt were, like him, determined to reform the "idleness" and the labour practices of the indigenous Khoisan people residing at Baviaanskloof/Genadendal. By encouraging them to cultivate their allocated portion of land productively at the mission station, missionaries gradually transformed their pastoral, hunting and gathering and herding mode of subsistence to "doing ordinary farming work of digging the land for any length of time".[139] The missionaries'

---

[135] Bredekamp, 'De(con)struction', p. 13.

[136] The Comaroffs analysis of the "politics of production" in their case study of the Tswana is relevant to the Moravian missionaries' endeavours to transform the indigenous mode of production of the Khoisan converts. Jean Comaroff and John L. Comaroff, 'The Colonisation of Consciousness in South Africa', Economy and Society 18: 3 (August 1989), pp. 267-296.

[137] Bredekamp, 'De(con)struction', p. 17.

[138] Du Toit and Giliomee, Afrikaner Political Thought, p. 52.

[139] In the case of the Wesleyan missionary project among the Tswana, Jean and John Comaroff have argued that this missionary project was geared towards the transformation of the everyday experiences and perceptions of the lived world of indigenous Tswana communities. The Comaroffs' analysis of the "Protestant work ethic" in their case study of the Tswana is relevant to the Moravian missionaries' endeavours to produce industrious disciplined indigenous workers. See Comaroffs, 'The Colonisation of Consciousness', pp. 277-279.

settlement close to Shiloh.[101] The Moravian missionary, Br. Bauer, noted that the families which had left Clarkson chose to move out of the Tsitsikamma district completely rather than settle among one of the adjacent communities. According to Bauer, "all the Fingoos there belong to four large families, not according to blood relationship, but as under one and the same captain, (ubukosi), and no Fingo likes to go and live on the ground occupied by another tribe. For the same reason they do not wish to come to Clarkson".[102] A report of the missionary at Engotini, Br. Meyer, confirmed an increase in his membership during 1861. Meyer wrote that "families desirous to settle here rapidly followed each other, for which plots of land had to be measured out; a dam and water-course for the purpose of irrigation were constructed under my directions".[103] He further noted that the settlement was principally occupied by Xhosa peoples, "however, a number of Fingoos have settled here".[104] As a result of this movement out of the mission station in the Tsitsikamma, Clarkson and its environment gradually became occupied by "other people of the colony".[105] In 1864 the resident Moravian missionary at Clarkson reported that "there are very few Fingos living in the settlement at Clarkson, but many dwell at different places in the Zitsikamma district".[106]

If a number of Mfengu moved away from Clarkson and out of the Tsitsikamma altogether, the differences between Clarkson and the Mfengu peoples continuing to live on adjacent land also came to be more marked in various ways during this period. Thus the Moravian missionaries acknowledged that the Snyklip Mfengu community, including those who had become members of the Moravian congregation there, "prefer their original abodes to Clarkson, because the land is more fertile".[107] The Mfengu communities in the surrounding Tsitsikamma district had relatively more success in cultivating their land and had large herds of cattle. On a visit during 1864 to the adjacent Mfengu community at Doriskraal, the missionary found that "some of the Fingoos are in good circumstances, one of them, a fine old man, whom we found working in his fields, has sixty head of cattle".[108] When visiting Wittekleibosch he found large tracts of cultivated land, with good crops of wheat and maize. The missionary observed that "some of these natives are rich,

---

[101] Periodical Accounts, xxiii: ccxlvii (June 1860), p. 370; Periodical Accounts, xxi: cclii (September 1861), p. 70.
[102] Periodical Accounts, xxiv: cclvii (December 1862), p. 417.
[103] Periodical Accounts, xxiv: ccliv (March 1862), p. 232.
[104] Periodical Accounts, xxiv: ccliv (March 1862), p. 233.
[105] Periodical Accounts, xxiv: cclvii (December 1862), p. 417.
[106] Periodical Accounts, xxv: cclxiii (June 1864), p. 153.
[107] Periodical Accounts, xxiii: ccxlvi (March 1860), p. 306.
[108] Periodical Accounts, xxv: cclxviii (September 1865), p. 462.

possessing 40-60 heads of cattle, besides 3-400 sheep and goats. Their hearts seem to find their sole delight in these outward possessions".[109] From such reports we gather that the Mfengu communities at Doriskraal and Wittekleibosch had relatively greater success in cultivating and reaping the benefits from their use of the land despite the persistent low rainfall. Other Mfengu settlements in the region likewise did comparatively well. The Moravian missionary, Küster, observed from his visit in 1858 to a Mfengu settlement about 12 miles away from Clarkson that "the circular habitations of these people are placed in two rows, forming a street. Behind the houses there are beautiful gardens".[110] He further noted that "some people possess a large number of sheep and cattle".[111] Their ability to maintain large herds of cattle and sheep indicate that these Mfengu had been able to replace their sickly stock.

Unlike these adjacent Mfengu communities, the hardship of the Clarkson residents continued during this period. Their cattle and horses had been infected with disease followed by recurrent droughts. By 1860 the congregation of about fifty households in the Tsitsikamma at Clarkson were distressed since their "fields and gardens, which at best are not very productive, had yielded less than usual in the previous year, but little work could be obtained of the farmers, they being prevented from tilling the land by the drought; and the necessaries of life were not only dear, but scarcely to be procured".[112] The poverty at Clarkson had not improved by 1864. The persistent low rainfall that continued through 1865 caused the land, on which they depended for their much needed food supply, to be parched and very difficult to plough.[113] The resident Moravian missionary Br. Bauer wrote that "the congregation is so poor, and our sources of income so limited, that we can do very little without aid. There are only three wagons on our settlement, and of cattle, which in this country constitute the principal possession, not above thirty head".[114]

At the same time the changes in the colonial political economy also affected the Tsitsikamma Mfengu peoples in other ways. Thus the availability of thousands of Xhosa/"Fingo" labourers within the Cape Colony had a serious impact on the Tsitsikamma Mfengu beach workers at the Port

[109] Periodical Accounts, xxv: cclxviii (September 1865), p. 463.
[110] Periodical Accounts, xxii: cxl, (September 1858), p. 496.
[111] Periodical Accounts, xxii: cxl, (September 1858), p. 496.
[112] Periodical Accounts, xxiii: ccxlvi (March 1860), p. 306.
[113] Periodical Accounts, xxvi: cclxxiii (December 1866), p. 116.
[114] Periodical Accounts, xxv: cclxii (March 1864), p. 113.

Elizabeth harbour. Some of this influx of additional labourers began to be employed at the harbour from 1857 onwards. When the Tsitsikamma Mfengu beach workers went on strike again towards the end of 1857, they were unsuccessful in obtaining an increase in their wages. According to Inggs they perceived the introduction of Xhosa labourers at the harbour as an infringement of their rights.[115] This changed labour and employment conditions at the Port Elizabeth harbour hindered the flow of resources to the Tsitsikamma at a time when it was most needed to replace the loss of cattle infected by the lung disease. A Moravian missionary described the great scarcity in the Tsitsikamma due to the drought and exclaimed that "even the Fingoos are suffering from hunger".[116] At Snyklip John Zwelibanzi, the Mfengu teacher described the Mfengu peoples in the Tsitsikamma as being "on the whole ... thrifty, but as they have earned little their thriftiness has not helped them much. I know of two families here at Snyklip, who live entirely on wild plants and roots gathered in the fields".[117] The persisting drought had taken its toll resulting in a serious food shortage, poverty and starvation. By October 1866 the persistent drought in the Tsitsikamma district had begun to take its toll on the previously thriving Mfengu communities. John Zwelibanzi, the Mfengu teacher who was now based at Wittekleibosch, reflected on the distress of this community and explained that "in several instances the natives have been obliged to kill some of their cattle for food, a last resort with the Fingoos".[118]

The poverty at Clarkson was aggravated by another outbreak of the cattle-disease during 1867. A missionary described the plight of a member as "one of our people had a short time ago 40 head of cattle and a herd of horses, and now he has not one, disease has carried off all".[119] The report further described how "hardly a single team of oxen ... could be made up here, and there are only a few cows and sheep, which some Fingo women have managed to keep".[120] By June 1874 the Clarkson missionary, Br. Hettasch, wrote "want still rests with a heavy hand over our congregation ... the distress [is] prevalent throughout our entire neighbourhood".[121] Many of these Clarksoners worked for the surrounding colonial farmers and often took their wages in advance in order to

[115] E.J. Inggs, 'Mfengu Beach Labour', pp. 10-11.
[116] Periodical Accounts, xxiii: ccxlvi (March 1860), p. 304.
[117] Periodical Accounts, xxiii: ccxlvi (March 1860), pp. 304-305.
[118] Periodical Accounts, xxvi: cclxxiv (March 1867), p.179.
[119] Periodical Accounts, xxvi: cclxxvi (September 1867), pp. 282-283.
[120] Periodical Accounts, xxvi: cclxxvi (September 1867), p. 283.
[121] Periodical Accounts (March 1875), pp. 290-291.

purchase food and clothing for themselves and their families.[122] But these colonial farmers were also eventually affected by the drought. Persistent poor harvests resulted in them not having enough money to pay the Clarksoners for work done. Farm labourers received payment in the form of grain, which, given their own hunger, they ate the very same day.[123] Of those who found employment, some were engaged by colonial farmers, while others obtained work on the colonial government's public work's programmes in the construction of new roads.[124] The poverty and heaviness over the Clarkson mission community was juxtaposed against the "thriftiness" and "richness" of the Tsitsikamma Mfengu communities who as a last resort had to slaughter some of their cattle for food.

These relative differences in their social and economic conditions tended to reinforce communal differentiation at this time. The flourishing Mfengu communities adjacent to the impoverished Clarkson affirmed their independence in relation to Clarkson and their reluctance to accept the leadership of Moravian missionaries and order of the Moravian Ethic. Successful cultivation of their land was to be an important condition for the constitution of a Tsitsikamma Fingo ethnic identity.

6.3 From Colonial "Fingos" to "Natives" and/or Mfengu

It was at another level and in the different context of the territorial consolidation of the Cape Colony by the annexation of the Transkei that the appropriation of a Mfengu communal identity occurred. The ninth Eastern Cape frontier war during 1877-1878 resulted in the final defeat of independent Xhosa society, the appropriation of their remaining land, and their forceful incorporation into the Cape colony as potential labourers on the mines, commercial farms, and public works programmes. When the war ended in 1878, large numbers of Xhosa peoples had been incorporated into the Colony. [125] To begin with, the former Xhosaland was administered separately as British Kaffraria but between 1879 and 1885 this was gradually amalgamated with the Cape Colony.[126]

---

[122] Periodical Accounts, xxvi: cclxxii (September 1866), p. 79.
[123] Periodical Accounts, xxvi: cclxxvi (September 1867), pp. 282-283.
[124] Periodical Accounts (March 1875), p. 290.
[125] Switzer, Power and Resistance in an African Society, pp. 97-98.
[126] Davenport, South Africa, p. 99.

What these developments meant was that within a few years the "loyal" Mfengu, who had collaborated with colonial forces since the 1830s, and the newly incorporated Xhosa people found themselves alike subjects of the territorially expanded Cape Colony. This raised the question just what the political and social distinction between the Mfengu and Xhosa peoples should henceforth mean. It was in this context that the generic term "native" was introduced into colonial discourse, signalling that from a colonial perspective the differences between Mfengu and Xhosa mattered less than their shared subject status. The term "native" was introduced by the Peace Preservation Act and included both "Fingo" and Xhosa peoples alike.[127] Significantly many "Fingo" communities objected to the implications of this new official terminology. All "natives", including the Mfengu, were compelled to disarm following the promulgation in 1878 of the Peace Preservation Act, or Disarmament Act. However, in the view of the "loyal" Mfengu this amounted to a violation of the rights, along with land grants, earned by their support of the colonial forces over decades of frontier war with the Xhosa. By thus claiming their rights *as* Mfengu they thus implicitly appropriated the communal identity ascribed to "Fingos" in colonial discourse in the 1830s – at the point when colonial discourse determined to negate the distinctions between Mfengu and Xhosa peoples by subsuming these under the generic terminology of "natives". In these ways the outcome of the Eastern Cape frontier war of 1877-78 thus contributed to the internal and enduring ethnic differentiation between "Fingo" and Xhosa, rearticulated after the war as that between the "school" and "red" Xhosa. Without necessarily utilising the ethnic terminology increasing differentiation was made between those who wore traditional dress, were illiterate, non-Christian, and called "red" Xhosa; and those who dressed like colonists, were Christians, had received mission education, been granted land by colonial officials for services rendered in frontier wars, and called "school" Xhosa.[128] It is ironic then that this very war also marked the beginning of the disappearance of the "Fingo"/Xhosa differentiation from the colonial discourse itself.

6.4 Consolidating and Opposing the Colonial Framework

For the Clarkson and Tsitsikamma Mfengu communities the socio-economic and political contexts of both labour and land began to change in fundamental ways during the closing decades of the

---

[127] Peace Preservation Act of 1878.

[128] P. Mayer, Townsmen or Tribesmen: Conservatism and the Process of Urbanisation in a South African City, 2nd edition (Cape Town, Oxford University Press, 1971), pp. 23-33.

19th century. These local communities were not left unaffected by the onset of the mining revolution on the Highveld from the 1870s. Diamond mining started in Kimberly during the 1860s. Gold began to be mined in the Transvaal Colony, a Boer Republic, though the major discoveries of gold on the Witwatersrand only took place in the 1880s. Within a few years the mining revolution brought about major political as well as socio-economic changes. Griqualand West together with Kimberly and its mining operations was incorporated into the Cape Colony in 1880. The British temporarily annexed the Transvaal in 1877, though the Boers regained their independence in 1881.[129] The new mining industry required a large pool of labourers that was to be cheap, unskilled and, most importantly, docile. The residents of the Moravian mission stations, having appropriated the discipline of the Moravian ethic, may well have acquired attributes that corresponded with the industry's labour requirements.

Many impoverished men from Moravian mission stations, including Clarkson, viewed the demand for labour from the growing mining industry as an opportunity to alleviate their poverty. A Moravian missionary, in 1885, observed the social consequences of the new migrant labour patterns:

> "the condition of our people caused us so much anxiety ... Many can no longer maintain themselves and their families by work procured near the station ... Consequently, many of our men have removed to ... Kimberly diamond fields, and ... girls have also been obliged to seek employment in the capital and other towns ... for the most part ... the men absent, [are] absent from home for months, or even years, lose their affection for those who should be dearest to them ... the condition of the aged and of women with young families is specially pitiable".[130]

Labour was also required for the building of the infrastructure needed to support the growth of this new industry. At the same time colonial farmers were developing their own commercial agricultural interests and they too required a growing supply of labour. The changed economic situation within the colony impacted on colonists' perceptions of indigenous farmers who held rights in land within the colony. Their successful commercial activities threatened the interests of colonists.[131] Colonial

---

[129] Switzer, Power and Resistance in an African Society, p. 96.
[130] Periodical Accounts, xxxiii: 349 (December 1885), pp. 408-409.
[131] Switzer, Power and Resistance in an African Society, pp. 97-98.

officials instituted the payment of hut taxes. The inability of indigenous farmers to pay these taxes resulted in the confiscation of live-stock and seizure of land and other property.[132]

In a further step towards ensuring that these growing labour needs would be satisfied the Prevention of Vagrancy and Squatting Act was promulgated in 1879. This Act defined vagrants as "idle and disorderly persons". According to the Act vagrants were persons who could not give satisfactory accounts of themselves when found "wandering about" with no visible or insufficient lawful means of support. Vagrants were also those persons found on farms or loitering about on land without the owner's permission. The Act further stipulated that squatters trespassing on unused crown land and/or mission land were also vagrants. Any person found wandering in a public place without sufficient clothing to be deemed decent, could be labelled "disorderly" and punished in terms of the law for vagrancy.[133] The Act was aimed at ensuring a docile, and accessible indigenous labour-force. The Vagrancy Act was also set on preventing any newly incorporated "natives" from forming alliances with groups of indigenous peoples within the Cape Colony.

6.4.1 From Missions to "Locations"

While thus combating "vagrancy" and putting more stringent labour controls in place fundamental changes were also made to the basis of indigenous entitlements to land within the colony. Colonial authorities at the Cape put in place legislation that permitted the creation of "native locations". These "locations" were intended as secular alternatives to the mission stations. In terms of the Native Locations, Lands, and Commonage Act 40 of 1879, native locations were to be established under the direct control and authority of colonial officials on unused government land. In effect these became labour camps and places where apprehended vagrants could be located, thence to be employed in the growing agriculture, manufacture and/or mining industries.[134] According to the Native Locations Act of 1879 portions of land were to be divided into lots, with each lot granted to individuals under quitrent tenure. The Act further stipulated that land adjoining, or in the vicinity of the lots, was to be set aside as commonage for the communal pasturage of live-stock. Colonial

---

[132] Switzer, Power and Resistance in an African Society, p. 100.
[133] For the Prevention of Vagrancy and Squatting, Act 23, 1879.
[134] To Provide for the Disposal of Lands Forming Native Locations, Act 40, 1879.

officials determined and fixed the number of lots held by each qualifying individual male.[135] In these secular locations emphasis was thus placed on individual ownership under the jurisdiction of appointed colonial officials. Each established location represented an alternative beacon to the numerous mission establishments in which various permutations of communal land tenure still prevailed under the control and authority of particular mission societies.

From 1879 onwards the Cape colonial government's response to, and support for mission stations changed. Colonial laws were promulgated that systematically limited the basis on which rights in land had been granted to indigenous peoples residing at mission stations and on crown land. Thus colonial authorities made provision for mission societies to transfer land from being held in trust for residing communities to land held in freehold by individual occupants of the mission stations. The London Mission Society responded by applying this provision to mission stations like, Hankey, Pacaltsdorp, and Zuurbrak. In many cases the land held under individual title at these places were later sold to colonial farmers.[136] In 1881 the Cape colonial government revoked all previous acknowledged authority vested in missionaries through the promulgated Village Management Act. All villages and communities not classified as municipalities, such as the mission stations and those communities residing on crown land, were affected by this 1881 Act.[137] Colonial officials set out a course aimed at redefining the role of the missionary at mission stations. In terms of the Village Management Act provision was made for the election, from the resident community, of a Board of Management that comprised of at least three persons.[138] When implemented this new structure would separate the secular administration of the village from the practice of the Christian doctrine and ritual. Calls by mission station residents to limit the authority of the missionaries, and clarify the rights in land at the Moravian grant stations in favour of residents resonated with the government's project of controlling the allocation of land to indigenous peoples. The implementation of this new management structure at mission stations was difficult for the colonial

[135] To Provide for the Disposal of Lands Forming Native Locations, Act 40, 1879.
[136] D. Japhta, V. Japhta, L. le Grange, and F. Todeschini, 'Mission Settlements in South Africa', a Pilot Study for the Department of Environmental Affairs, April 1992, p. 42.
[137] Japhta et al., 'Mission Settlements in South Africa', p. 41; To Provide for the Management of Villages and other Communities not being Municipalities, Act 29, 1881.
[138] To Provide for the Management of Villages and other Communities not being Municipalities, Act 29, 1881.

office to supervise and deal with. As a result it was unsuccessfully applied to the mission stations.[139]

6.4.2 Political Organisation and Protest: The Franchise and Land

The final defeat of the independent Xhosa people in the war of 1877-78 and the annexation of the Transkei brought an end to violent resistance to colonial conquest and to a century and more of frontier wars on the Eastern Cape frontier, but it did not mean the end of resistance and opposition to colonial and white minority domination. On the contrary, from the 1880s this resistance took the new form of political organisation within and on the basis of colonial institutions. Significantly the earliest such political organisations emerged in the Eastern Cape, often with prominent Mfengu involvement. A number of organisations emerged during the 1880s, which mobilised their membership around issues of education, land, forced disarmament, the registration of natives as voters, and tax grievances. During 1882 the Ibuma Yama Nyama[140] was launched in Port Elizabeth, and was primarily a Mfengu organisation.[141] In 1884 the Glen Grey's Thembu Association was launched.[142] During 1885 the Peddie Native Association, which was also called the Fingo Association or Manyano Lwabantsundu, was formed as well as the Native Vigilance Association of King William's Town. In 1887 the Fingoland organisation Manyano nge Mvo Zabantsundu,[143] was established.[144] No similar political organisation was yet formed in the Tsitsikamma though there was some political activity since Clarkson was used as a polling station during the 1884 parliamentary election. A report from the resident missionary at the time noted that "not only our own people, but also most neighbouring farmers recorded their votes here, and everything passed off in the most orderly manner".[145]

The political activities of these organisations were propelled forward by the promulgation of the Voters Registration Act of 1887. This Act significantly limited the franchise of those indigenous

---

[139] Japhta et al., 'Mission Settlements in South Africa', p. 41.
[140] In English this means the South African Aborigines Association.
[141] Switzer, Power and Resistance in an African Society, p. 145.
[142] A. Odendaal, Vukani Bantu: The Beginnings of Black Protest Politics in South Africa to 1912 (Cape Town, David Philip, 1984), p. 10.
[143] In English this means the Union for Native Opinion.
[144] Switzer, Power and Resistance in an African Society, pp. 144-153. A portion of the annexed British Kaffraria, between Fish and Keiskamma Rivers, was named Fingoland.
[145] Periodical Accounts, xxxiii: 346 (March 1885), p. 224.

peoples who had held rights in land, albeit as communal property.[146] In terms of the Voters Registration Act of 1887 all forms of communal land tenure were excluded from the property qualification for the franchise in the Cape colony.[147] In the Glen Grey district, in particular, even though the plots of land within each of the eighteen locations were allocated to individuals, the colonial government still regarded the locations as communal land.[148] Mobilisation against the implementation of this Act did not take place on an ethnic basis but was specifically inclusive of all "natives". Meetings were held, resolutions passed, and submission of petitions made to the Cape and British Parliaments. Political mobilisation culminated in the formation of the first regional indigenous peoples organisation called the Ibumba Eliliso Lomzi Yabantsundu[149], which was led by JohnTengu Jabavu, who was also the editor of the first regular newspaper, Imvo Zabantsundu (which means 'Native Opinion').[150] In 1887 an editorial of Imvo Zabantsundu addressed all indigenous peoples and described the aims and objectives of the 1887 Act as:

> "To keep our countrymen from their rights as liege subjects of the queen ... (with) the provisions of the Bill whereby the aboriginal inhabitants of this portion of her majesty's dominion are to be deprived of the privileges they have enjoyed in common with their fellow-subjects, the colonists since British rule were set up in these parts. This Bill seriously affected the rights of the majority of the inhabitants of this country".[151]

Significantly, political opposition to the Act was thus not based on invoking pre-colonial institutions or values; rather it was explicitly based on the "aboriginal people's" rights and privileges as British subjects. This became the basic assumption of the new form of constitutional political opposition and protest of these political organisations.

Increasingly the franchise became a focus of political contestation. Another amendment aimed at limiting the franchise of eligible indigenous peoples was introduced by the colonial government in

---

[146] S. Trapido, 'African Politics in the Cape, 1884-1910', Journal of African History ix: I (1968), p. 81.
[147] Davenport, South Africa, p. 97.
[148] Switzer, Power and Resistance in an African Society, pp. 102-103.
[149] This means the Union of Native Vigilance associations. Switzer, Power and Resistance in an African Society, pp. 144-153.
[150] Odendaal, Vukani Bantu, p. 12.
[151] Muzzling the Natives', Imvo Zabantsundu, 23 March 1887 in T. Karis and G.M. Carter (eds.), From Protest to Challenge: A Documentary History of African Politics in South Africa, 1882-1864 (3 vols., Stanford, Hoover Institution Press, 1987), Vol. 1, pp. 13-14.

1892. The property qualification was raised from 25 pounds to 50 pounds per annum.[152] In addition a literacy test was introduced which required an application form to be filled in, in both Dutch and English. Colonial officials announced that the franchise was to be limited to "civilised" men only. A civilised man now had to own property worth 75 pounds or more, or earn an annual wage of 50 pounds in order to qualify for the Cape franchise.[153] In response the new political organisations mobilised to protect and retain the franchise, both as a means and a symbol of indigenous political rights in the Colony.

Next to the franchise the main focus of political protest was around the right to land. This came to a head with the promulgation of the 1894 Glen Grey Act. This Act made provision for the disposal of land and the administration of local affairs within the Glen Grey district and other proclaimed areas,[154] including land already granted to mission societies either in freehold or in quitrent, as well as the commonage land attached to mission stations. One main objective of the Glen Grey Act was to reduce the size and extent of land previously allocated to indigenous peoples so as to constrain their long-term competitiveness in the colonial market. Another main objective was to shift the basis of entitlement to land from customary notions of communal land to individual private property. The Glen Grey district was accordingly divided into eighteen locations, each of which was divided into individual plots of 4 morgen in size and extent. In the redistribution of the land, each farmer was allotted only one plot of land, which was to be held under quitrent tenure, together with grazing rights in the commonage situated in the associated location. A compulsory annual quitrent of fifteen shillings replaced the annual hut tax of five shillings.[155] The rights in land held by individuals were subject to their regular and timely payment of quitrent, the cultivation of the land, and their lack of criminal records and participation in rebellions against colonial authorities. In many cases titles to plots of allotted land were confiscated by colonial authorities if the quitrent was not paid after a period of one year, or if persons were convicted of criminal offences. In addition, the property could only be inherited by the eldest son of the household or by another designated male heir, provided he held no other property in the district. Women were not permitted in terms of the Glen Grey Act

---

[152] Trapido, 'African Politics in the Cape Colony', p. 81.
[153] Trapido, 'African Politics in the Cape Colony', p. 81.
[154] The Glen Grey District was adjacent to the Queenstown District. The area had been a source of much conflict between colonial settlers and the residing Thembu peoples. By 1894 the Glen Grey district was populated almost entirely by its Thembu residents. Thus, while this district was not itself a Mfengu region, the legislation had implications for the Mfengu in the colony. See Switzer, Power and Resistance in an African Society, p. 101.
[155] Switzer, Power and Resistance in an African Society, p. 102.

to inherit and have rights in land, even if such title was only to one plot of land.[156] Though these provisions specifically applied to the Glen Grey district, and not to other parts of the Cape Colony such as the Tsitsikamma, it evidently had major implications for the future right to the land by both the Mfengu and mission communities.

The promulgation of the Glen Grey Act contributed to the further politicization of the issue of ownership of land between "natives" and colonists in the colony. The mission educated landowning community of the Glen Grey district opposed the Act after they realized that with the reduction in the size and extent of their land they would no longer meet the franchise property qualification criteria, and therefore would not be eligible to vote.[157] A petition was published in Imvo Zabantsundu:.

> "the loyal subjects of her majesty and the Natives of South Africa ... Humbly sheweth ... that a Bill ... passed by the Cape Parliament to provide for the disposal of lands and for the administration of local affairs within the District of Glen Grey and other proclaimed districts ... (and) ... that in the opinion of your petitioners this measure prejudices the rights and property of your majesty's subjects, and is inconsistent with your majesty's treaty obligations with large numbers of Natives who are now forced to surrender their rights to lands under Her majesty's treaties and Proclamations and pay a labour tax such as is at best a qualified slavery".[158]

This petition voiced the concern of the "loyal subjects of her majesty," at the inconsistency of the British government in breaking treaties and obligations with them, which deprived them of their rights and privileges of land ownership.

The Glen Grey Act and other attempts to limit and change their land rights in the Colony held a special threat to the Mfengu. After decades of collaboration the Mfengu peoples had accumulated a fairly substantial amount of land held under both communal and individual land tenure. Through sustained mobilisation against the systematic dispossession of their land, initially hidden within changes made to the property qualification of the franchise, the articulation of an appropriated

---

[156] Switzer, Power and Resistance in an African Society, pp. 102-103.
[157] Switzer, Power and Resistance in an African Society, p. 102.
[158] 'The Future of the Bill', Imvo Zabantsundu, 15 August 1894, in Karis and Carter (eds.), From Protest to Challenge, Vol. 1, p. 17.

Mfengu ethnic communal identity emerged. The tools of meaning used to mobilise this emerging "Fingo" self conception included, amongst others, that of "loyal subjects of her majesty", "her majesty's treaties and obligations", and "rights in land under her majesty's proclamations". In seeking to differentiate themselves as having entitlement to land within the Cape Colony, the "Fingo" were implicitly and explicitly differentiated as a distinct group, separate from other "natives", with particular interests centred on their colonial land grants.[159]

6.4.3 Growing Political Awareness at Moravian Mission Stations

The extension of the Glen Grey Act to communities at mission stations and on crown land by 1910 had wide-ranging implications and evoked different responses. The prospect of changes to the rights in land held by both the mission society, on the one hand, and by residents on the other hand, resulted in escalating conflict and contestation.[160] Significantly this took the form not only of protest against the Colonial authorities and legislation but also of contestation within the missionary communities and against the mission authorities. Many communities associated with the Moravian Mission Society became more articulate and demonstrative in displaying their opposition to missionary authority over access to and use of mission land.

A relevant background to the growing number of disputes around rights in mission land relate to the way in which the Moravian Mission Society categorized their mission stations as either "own" stations, or "grant" stations. Each mission station, whether grant or own station, had its own set of out-stations. The grant stations were those that comprised of land grants received from colonial authorities for missionary purposes, which was to be held in trust by the superintendent at the time for the peoples residing at the mission station. The "own" stations were those where the Moravian Mission Society had purchased the land under similar conditions as colonial farmers, i.e. subject to the payment of a quarterly rental, i.e. quitrent. The sale of land was approved by colonial officials

---

[159] CA 36-65, Petition to the Governor from Certain Inhabitants of Humansdorp, 3 June 1865; CA 43-71, Petition of Tozane, a Fingo Chief and British Subject, 2 August 1871; CA 32-79, Petition of Petrus Mohango of the Incibini, in the Division of Queen's Town, 1879; "Disarmament", Cape Times, 10 December 1878.
[160] Krüger, The Pear Tree Blossoms, p. 295.

and registered with title deeds that recognized the Mission Institution as owner of the property. Such own-stations included, amongst others, Elim and Wittewater.[161]

The grant stations tended to be those where there was most internal contestation related to land rights. The Genadendal, Mamre and Enon Moravian mission stations were classified as grant stations and were issued similar Deed of Grants. In the case of Genadendal, the land was granted on perpetual quitrent to the Superintendent of the United Brethren or Moravian Missionary Institution "for the use of and in trust for such persons as may from time to time be lawfully resident at the Institution of Genadendal". The Deed of Grant further stipulated that, "the said United Brethren shall [only] remain in the full and uncontrolled possession of the church, schools, workshops, houses, gardens and plantations of trees water-leadings and other property currently occupied by them".[162] This was known as the Glebe land as distinct from the full extent of the mission land grant. In addition the Moravian Mission Institution was granted "the right of grazing...on the common land".[163] The Genadendal Deed of Grant was similar to that of Mamre and Enon, and may be used as a marker that defined the Grant stations. Firstly, the mission land was held in trust by the Moravian Mission Institution on behalf of residents. Secondly, the mission land comprised a variation of rights in land for both mission institution and residents. While the mission institution was granted full control and possession of the glebe land, this did not apply to the remaining land held in trust for and on behalf of the residents of the mission station. Thirdly, missionaries were given use rights, and not ownership, of the commonage land used for grazing livestock. By stipulating that the full size and extent of land was to be held in trust by the Moravian Missionary Institution on behalf of the residing peoples, recognition was made of customary rights in land of mission residents who in many instances had resided on and used the land prior to the arrival of the Moravian Missionaries.

---

[161] B. Krüger and P.W. Schaberg, The Pear Tree Bears Fruit, the History of the Moravian Church in South Africa Western Cape Province 1869-1980 (Genadendal, The Moravian Book Depot, 1984), p. 41.
[162] The Genadendal Deed of Grant in Isaac Balie, Die Geskiedenis van Genadendal, 1738-1988 (Kaapstad, Perskor, 1988), p. 82. See also our discussion of Moravian Mission Deed of Grants in chapter 3 and 4 of this dissertation.
[163] Balie, Die Geskiedenis van Genadendal, p. 82. The establishment of the Genadendal Moravian mission station is discussed in chapter 3 of this dissertation.

The rights in land at these old grant stations were the subject of much contestation within the mission communities which became more pronounced in the politicised context resulting from the extension of the provisions of the Glen Grey Act to mission stations as well. A missionary reported:

> "the more the coloured population has been agitated by the events of the past few years, and drawn into the turmoil that has convulsed the political life of the colony, the more does a spirit of unrest and insubordination manifest itself amongst them ... the men and young people earn a livelihood away from the stations, more particularly in towns. By this means our stations which were formerly shut out from the life of the world around them, have now become identified with them".[164]

On the one hand the residents of these grant stations regarded the land as their property. On the other hand the resident missionaries exerted their authority over the use of and access to the land. Residents at the various grant stations believed that "the missionaries were acting in their own interests and in opposition to the coloured people. There were some who claimed and demanded station land as their own".[165] At the Mamre mission station a group of inhabitants completely disregarded the authority and presence of the resident missionary. This group proceeded to bury the deceased without the permission and assistance of the missionary.[166] An awareness of the skewed power relations between missionaries and residents combined with the aspiration to obtain more secure rights in mission land spurred inhabitants at a number of Moravian mission stations from the 1890s onwards to mobilize against their resident missionary. At the Enon Moravian (grant) mission station in 1894, residents confronted the missionary Hennig, asserting that Enon and its surrounding land had been granted to them by Queen Victoria after having fought in the frontier wars against the Xhosa in support of the Colony. They accused the mission of having given away a portion in the past. In response the missionary declared that while some soldiers had settled at Enon, there were many other indigenous people who had also settled at the mission station. At Genadendal, also a grant-station, a group of inhabitants opposed missionaries, demanding that the land be re-surveyed. Assisted by a lawyer this opposition group presented a petition to the colonial government, requesting an official investigation into land rights at Genadendal.[167]

---

[164] Periodicals Account, v: 59 (September 1904), p. 559.
[165] Periodicals Account, v: 56 (December 1903), p. 383.
[166] Periodicals Account, v: 59 (September 1904), p. 560.
[167] Krüger and Schaberg, The Pear Tree Bears Fruit, p. 56.

For their part, and in response to these challenges, the Moravian missionaries tended to insist on the powers granted to them by the Deeds of Grants to hold the land in trust for resident communities. On the one hand they contended that the colonial government could at any time change the conditions attached to the use of, and access to, the land.[168] On the other hand they insisted that for the time being the effective powers were vested in them: "in accordance with the statutes of these and other stations of this kind the missionary has also the supervision of all secular affairs".[169] In 1903 the Moravian Mission Society contended that "as grant stations, the ground property of which belongs neither to the mission nor to the natives, but, as is well known, has only been given by the government to the superintendents for the time being of the mission, to be managed for the benefit of the coloured people".[170] Typically, in the case of Enon Moravian missionary, Br. Hennig, voiced his apprehension in the mission giving up its trusteeship over Enon as a grant-station.[171]

Mission inhabitants articulated their political aspirations against the control and authority of Moravian missionaries with greater force and coherency during the Anglo-Boer war of 1899-1902. Residents were inspired by British colonists who mobilised support during the war with the slogan that all civilized people as voting citizens should receive equal rights, irrespective of their colour. As a result most Moravian mission station residents supported the British during the war, while a few Moravian missionaries sympathized with the Boers in their resistance against British imperialism.[172] At the mission station Mamre, an organization called the "Coloured Political Association of Mamre" was initiated by residents two years before the national "African People's Organisation" was established. This local association was very active during the war and campaigned against the authority of the Moravian mission through petitions which were submitted to the colonial government.[173] At the Elim mission station a woman named Martha Jantjies announced to the inhabitants there that at the end of the war, the British Queen was going to expel German missionaries from the mission station and revoke the payment of all taxes. She formed a local

---

[168] Krüger and Schaberg, The Pear Tree Bears Fruit, pp. 41-42.
[169] Periodicals Account, v: 56 (December 1903), p. 382.
[170] Periodicals Account, v: 56 (December 1903), pp. 382-383.
[171] Krüger and Schaberg, The Pear Tree Bears Fruit, pp. 53-54.
[172] Krüger and Schaberg, The Pear Tree Bears Fruit, p. 69.
[173] Krüger and Schaberg, The Pear Tree Bears Fruit, p. 71.

association of mainly young women and petitioned the Governor to expel the local missionary.[174] The expectation of residents at the mission stations during the war was that they would be awarded full political rights as supporters of the British Crown as well as rights in mission land. However, after the war ended on 31 May 1902 full political rights were not extended to all indigenous peoples, which included mission station residents. The struggle over ownership and secure land rights at the mission stations continued after the war. At Mamre, the opposition group continued their campaign of "who owns Mamre, the missionaries or the inhabitants". The demand for self-government, albeit within the confines of the mission station, and secure land rights independent of Moravian mission were articulated more compellingly after the war.[175]

Some clarity was given to the holding of rights in land at the grant-stations by the promulgation of the Mission Stations and Communal Reserves Act 29 of 1909. This Act terminated the role of missionaries in the secular administration and management of mission land. The power and authority of missionaries to allocate land was now transferred to the resident magistrate.[176] The Governor was furthermore empowered "to cancel and annul the existing title in respect of the mission station ... [and] to cause the remaining area of the mission station to be demarcated and reserved for the use and occupation of the registered occupiers ... [and] to determine who are the persons entitled ... to be occupiers of the land".[177] The Glebe land, which consisted of the church, school, mill, parsonage, and the store buildings, were to become the freehold property of the Mission Society. The village and commonage land were to be administered by an appointed Village Management Board under the authority of government.[178] Opposition groups at various Moravian grant-stations still objected to the Mission Society holding rights in the Glebe land.[179]

At the own-stations the Moravian Mission Society had in most cases purchased the land under similar conditions imposed by the colonial government on colonial farmers subject to the payment of a quarterly rental, i.e. quitrent. The sale of land was approved by colonial officials and registered

---

[174] Krüger and Schaberg, The Pear Tree Bears Fruit, p. 72.
[175] Krüger and Schaberg, The Pear Tree Bears Fruit, p. 79.
[176] Japhta et al., 'Mission Settlements in South Africa', p. 41; To Provide for the Management of Villages and other Communities not being Municipalities, Act 29, 1881, p. 42.
[177] To Provide for the Better Management and Control of certain Mission Stations and certain Lands Reserved for the Occupation of certain Tribes or Communities, and for the Granting of Titles to the Inhabitants of such Stations and Reserves, Act 29, 1909.
[178] Krüger and Schaberg, The Pear Tree Bears Fruit, p. 68.
[179] Krüger and Schaberg, The Pear Tree Bears Fruit, pp. 81-89.

with Title Deed that recognized the Mission Institution as owner of the property.[180] In general, the land rights at the own-stations had been granted in freehold, not held in trust, and not held on behalf of any group of indigenous peoples. In general there tended to be less contestation about land rights at the own-stations, though some cases were more complicated. For example, the Goedverwacht Moravian mission station has been designated as an own-station. However, the farm had been bequeathed by a colonial farmer to a group of ex-slaves and their descendents whom he had employed on his farm. Moravian missionaries came to hear about this group and eventually settled amongst them and systematically took over the administration and payment of its quarterly rental.[181]

In the case of the out-stations the Moravian Mission Institution acknowledged that they had very little control and authority over the peoples residing there, and more importantly no rights in land. The out-stations did not always consist of settled mission communities. In most cases congregants lived scattered in the surrounding area and would periodically commune together at one place. The out-stations effectively were places at which the Mission Society obtained permission to administer its pastoral care to congregants.

In the case of Clarkson, the Mission Society had been granted land by the colonial authorities for the purpose of establishing a mission station among the Fingoes in the Tsitsikamma.[182] It is worthwhile noting that the Moravian Mission Society still regarded Clarkson as a *grant-station* in 1909.[183] However Clarkson was not listed as a mission reserve with the promulgation of the Mission Stations Act of 1909.[184] The Clarkson land was held both in freehold and in trust by the Moravian Mission Society, and later became categorized as an *own-station.*[185] The neighbouring Doriskraal, Snyklip and Wittekleibosch remained categorized by the Mission Society as separate *out-stations* of Clarkson. Even though the Moravian Society had established schools at each *out-*

---

[180] Krüger and Schaberg, The Pear Tree Bears Fruit, p. 41.
[181] Krüger, The Pear Tree Blossoms, pp. 217-219.
[182] The complications and ambiguities surrounding the Clarkson Deed of Grant are discussed in chapter 3 of this dissertation.
[183] Periodical Account, v: 59 (September 1904), p. 560.
[184] The mission stations Mamre, Enon, Genadendal, Shiloh, Goshen and Engotini were all categorised as mission land to which the Mission Stations and Communal Reserve Act of 1909 was to be applied. Periodical Account, viii: 91 (September 1912), pp. 350-352.
[185] The ambiguities contained in the Clarkson Deed of Grant are discussed in detail in section 4.6.1 of this dissertation.

station, the respective Mfengu communities remained independent of the Moravian missionary authority and with rights in land vesting in each community respectively.

In 1895 conflict erupted between the Moravian mission and residents when the missionary Zimmermann and his family were permanently stationed at Wittekleibosch. During 1896 Zimmermann convened a meeting with all adult males and described the mission's intentions to them. Those who opposed his presence on their land chose not to attend the meeting. Those at the meeting were concerned about the cost implications of becoming members of a mission station. They were also apprehensive about the imposition of mission rules and regulations (the Moravian Ethic) and their adherence thereto. The Wittekleibosch Mfengu community lived scattered across their land. For them, the establishment of a closed mission station involved the difficulty of relocating from where they currently resided to a place of central settlement. Conflict escalated during 1897 after the Humansdorp Magistrate appointed Zimmermann as headman and tax collector of the Wittekleibosch Mfengu community. In general the people of Wittekleibosch were opposed to having a missionary appointed as headman and tax collector. This was a position previously held by their local chief. The inhabitants of Wittekleibosch sent petitions against Zimmermann to the superintendent of the Moravian Mission Society. Their opposition became violent when buildings were vandalized.[186]

In rejection of the Moravian mission's intervention at Wittekleibosch, a number of inhabitants joined the Ethiopian Church during 1897.[187] This church was founded in 1892 under the leadership of Mangena Mokone and James M. Dwane. At the time "Ethiopia" was a symbol of independent Africa and a historic centre of African Christianity with deep biblical roots. The Ethiopian Church provided a significant outlet for African Christians who did not want to be subsumed in the established hierarchies of the various denominational churches but wished to found their "independent" organisation.[188] Membership grew significantly in the 1890s and it was during this period that the church was introduced to residents of Wittekleibosch in the Tsitsikamma. A

---

[186] Krüger and Schaberg, The Pear Tree Bears Fruit, pp. 59-60.
[187] Periodical Accounts, v: 53 (March 1903), p. 226.
[188] Switzer, Power and Resistance in an African Society, pp. 182-183. There was also the Ethiopian victory over the Italians at Adowa, an event which further accented the element of independence contained in the name "Ethiopian", especially within the context of colonialism and its accompanying Western missionary movements. See also Davenport, South Africa, p. 210.

Moravian missionary report stated "The Ethiopian Church ... its influences and its intrigues are ... responsible for open declaration of individuals among the people that they do not want our church and our schools any longer. They wish to live in unrestrained indulgence of their own desires, which they would be at liberty to do were they connected with the Ethiopian Church".[189] An opposition school was opened under the banner of the Ethiopian Church. Not having a building, Wittekleibosch residents devised ways to occupy the Moravian school building, resulting in direct conflict with the Moravian missionary.[190] Br. Zimmerman and his family were eventually forced to leave Wittekleibosch.[191] A Moravian missionary report noted that "the advent of a white missionary as the official representative of government was to them [the Mfengu of Wittekleibosch] an indication of undesirable control ... [they] therefore began to look for some other church".[192] Resistance by the Wittekleibosch Mfengu community to Moravian mission authority and their objection to possible changed rights in land complemented the growing political awareness among congregants at the various Moravian mission settlements within the Cape colony. However their independence, prosperity, and connectedness to their land in relation to the Moravian Clarkson mission station enabled this Wittekleibosch Mfengu community to disconnect itself from the Moravian mission in defence of its rights in land thereby effectively affirming a Wittekleibosch Mfengu communal identity.

6.5 Conclusion

In this chapter we have focussed on different patterns of rebellion, collaboration and opposition to the consolidation of colonial domination in the case of different local communities. By threading through our themes of land and labour we have sketched together a social historical context wherein constructed and appropriated communal identities were formed, in particular the communal identities of the Moravian mission Clarksoners and Tsitsikamma Mfengu.

Resistance, rebellion and collaboration were significant elements of the 1850-3 Eastern Cape frontier war. The important alliances between internal groupings in the Colony with Xhosa forces in

---

[189] Periodical Accounts, v: 56 (December 1903), p. 383.
[190] Periodical Accounts, v: 53 (March 1903), p. 226.
[191] Krüger and Schaberg, The Pear Tree Bears Fruit, pp. 59-60.
[192] Periodical Accounts, v: 53 (March 1903), p. 226.

the context of this frontier war involved very different kinds of struggles. While the Xhosa were resisting conquest and colonisation in an effort to secure the survival of an independent Xhosa society; the Kat River and other rebels were already colonial subjects and claiming their rights as such. We briefly described the battles fought at the Kat River settlement and the Shiloh Moravian mission station as noteworthy rebellions during this frontier war. This impacted on the growing awareness against forms of domination amongst peoples residing at various Moravian Mission stations. This awareness made visible sustained relations of power of Moravian missionaries over residents. At the mission stations of Genadendal and Elim, groups were formed in which the authority and imposed regulations of the missionaries were critically questioned, and campaigned against.

The Mfengu peoples residing within the colony remained loyal in their support of the British Colony. Throughout the 1850-1853 frontier war the Mfengu inhabitants of the Kat River and Shiloh settlements remained steadfast in their assistance given to British colonial troops. In 1850 the inhabitants of the Clarkson Moravian mission station still comprised largely of Mfengu. Unlike some of the other Moravian mission stations, the missionaries at Clarkson were not threatened by the formation of opposition groups that campaigned against missionary and colonial authority. The peoples from the Tsitsikamma district on the whole acted in support of the colony. With no dissension and no eminent battles taking place in the district, Clarkson was noted during the war as being a "place of safety" to which women and children from battle-torn areas elsewhere were sent.

In the aftermath of the 1850-1853 frontier war the victorious colonial government appropriated further land. Resistance to colonial domination amongst many Xhosa and Thembu communities took on a spiritual form, and was articulated as the cattle-killing prophecies. These prophecies were preceded by and coincided with the spread of a deadly cattle disease throughout the Cape colony. Believers of the cattle-killing prophecy were convinced that the killing of their cattle and the non cultivation of their land would result in the symbolic recreation of a cleansed Xhosa nation. When the prophecy was not realised thousands of people were left impoverished and in famine. Xhosa labourers within the colony increased dramatically. Many destitute women and children were rounded up by colonial officials, centrally confined, and indentured as labourers within the

colony. The position of relative privilege held by the Tsitsikamma Mfengu, especially the beach workers at the Port Elizabeth harbour were seriously threatened by the sudden over-supply of labour. The unique position of the Mfengu peoples within the Cape Colony was further threatened after the ninth Eastern Cape frontier war of 1877-8 following incorporation of Xhosa peoples into the colony and their designation with the Mfengu as "natives" of the colony. A Fingo ethnic communal identity began emerging in which the Mfengu referred, to themselves, amongst others, as "loyal subjects of her majesty". The theme of the Mfengu as an independent group with rights in land was carried through among the Tsitsikamma Mfengu communities. The forceful opposition of the Wittekleibosch Mfengu Community in particular, in displaying their rejection of Moravian mission authority and its attempts to establish a mission station on their land with possible changed rights in land brought to the fore a constituted, emerging Wittekleibosch Mfengu communal identity.

Chapter Seven

Interlude: The Shaping of Rights in Land and of Official Identities: 1910-1975

7.1 Introduction

In the previous chapter we saw how the allocation of land grants in the Tsitsikamma, both for missionary purposes and to indigenous groups like the Mfengu, impacted on the way in which communal identities came to be differentiated and represented. We examined the spatial organization of the Clarkson mission and Mfengu land as well as the ambiguities surrounding rights in land at Clarkson. We also saw that even though Moravian missionaries had the right to control access to, and use of, the Clarkson land, their ownership of the land was limited in that they were not permitted, in terms of the Deed of Grant, to sell and alienate the land they held in trust for the Tsitsikamma Mfengu. Similar limitations were attached to the mission land, of among others, Genadendal, Elim, Mamre, Enon, Wittewater and Goedverwacht. We saw that at many of these mission stations the residents or members of the mission communities challenged and confronted the authority and rights in land of the Moravian Mission Society. In these cases the mission communities claimed that they were entitled to the land they occupied and used.

In this chapter we do not give an in-depth socio-historical and discursive analysis. Rather, we describe some of the more significant laws and policies promulgated during the period between 1910 and 1975 that shaped and affected rights in land held by land-owning indigenous communities like the Tsitsikamma Mfengu as well as mission communities like the Clarksoners. We will be specifically interested in these laws and policies in so far as the official determining of rights in land influenced the emerging appropriated communal identities. This chapter serves then as a link between the more in-depth socio-historical and discursive analyses of relevant developments up to the end of the 19th century, and the actual forced removal of the Tsitsikamma Mfengu communities in 1977 that will be discussed in the next chapter.

This does not mean that an in-depth socio-historical and discursive analysis of land and communal identity of the Clarkson and Tsitsikamma Mfengu communities during this period would not be

relevant and, indeed, necessary for our purposes. That would amount to denying the local and discursive impacts of segregation and apartheid on the contemporary formation of these communal identities! On the contrary, the point is that this is such an extensive subject in its own right that it cannot possibly be accommodated within the practical confines of the present study. On the other hand, it would not make sense to proceed directly from our historical account and analysis of 19th century developments to the forced removal of the Tsitsikamma Mfengu in 1977 and their successful campaign for restitution of land in the 1990s. We need to provide at least a minimal survey of the legal and policy frameworks put into place during the 20th century in so far as these have a direct bearing on our case study. This can in no way take the place of a proper in-depth socio-historical and discursive analysis but must serve as a practical compromise given the limitations of this study.

In this chapter we will outline the limiting of rights in land held by indigenous peoples through laws of segregation and apartheid promulgated by the Union and the later Republic of South Africa. We will explain some of the territorial and spatial segregation laws and policies enforced by the State, which contributed to the enforced racial and ethnic differentiation between peoples. We will further describe how this officially imposed racial and ethnic differentiation fuelled contestations between residents and missionaries of the Clarkson mission station, on the one hand, and the neighbouring Mfengu communities, on the other hand regarding their respective claims of entitlement to shared portions of commonage land. We will also briefly describe the establishment of an independent indigenous Moravian Church (Western Cape) as successor to the Moravian Mission Society and the transfer of land previously held by it.

7.2 Land and Labour: Consolidating the Legal Framework

The basic legal framework for the official regulation of indigenous land and labour was put into place soon after Union with the promulgation of the Native Labour Regulation Act of 1911 and the 1913 Natives Land Act. These were basically introduced to cater for the needs of the rapidly growing mining industry as well as the expanding commercial agricultural sector. The labour needs of these different sectors were by no means the same. The developing mining industry, on the one hand, required a system of migrant labour, i.e. of predominantly cheap contractual labourers that

would leave the mines at the end of their period of service. Needed was the employment of single males who remained connected with, and who returned to, their families and communities in the "reserves" after their contract expired.[1] The emergent commercial agriculture, on the other hand, required seasonal labourers that were for the most part resident on the farms. In addition to the demand for cheap labour, many of these expanding commercial farmers called on government to release appropriated reserved (indigenous) land and labour for use by the agricultural sector. Through the Native Labour Regulation Act of 1911 the pass system was (re)fashioned, and tied "native" family labour to "white" owned farms. The Act also addressed the labour needs of the mining industry, allowing the employment of migrant labour from outside the borders of South Africa and prohibiting the permanent settlement of employees on mine property.[2]

The 1913 Natives Land Act set out to systematically crush the prospects for indigenous farmers by limiting their access to land so that they could be drawn more easily into the reserved labour market.[3] It was to be the legal platform from which both the basic land rights of indigenous peoples and South Africa's reserve labour system would be shaped.[4] The Natives Land Act consolidated land appropriated during the 1800s by the colonies of the Cape and Natal, and by the Boer republics of the Transvaal and the Orange Free State. This land law made provision for "the purchase and leasing of land by natives and other persons ... in connection with the ownership and occupation of land by natives and other persons".[5] The Act defined "native", inter alia, as "any person, male or female, who is a member of an aboriginal race or tribe of Africa".[6] "Natives" thus included all indigenous peoples of Africa, and so designated an inclusive racial category that, amongst others, incorporated the Khoisan, Xhosa and Mfengu peoples of the Cape. The land allocated to these various groups termed "native" was referred to as "native reserves" and were defined territorial spaces. These designated areas were differentiated from the land appropriated and claimed by colonists, a group of people then officially referred to as "Europeans". In the

---

[1] M. Mamdani, Citizen and Subject: Contemporary Africa and the Legacy of Late Colonialism (Kampala, Fountain Publishers, 1996), p. 68.
[2] Mamdani, Citizen and Subject, p. 69.
[3] Davenport, South Africa: A Modern History, 4th edition (London, Macmillan, 1991), p. 165.
[4] L. Switzer, Power and Resistance in an African Society: The Ciskei Xhosa and the Making of South Africa (Pietermaritzburg, University of Natal Press, 1993), pp. 194-199.
[5] The Natives Land Act, No. 27 of 1913.
[6] The Natives Land Act, No. 27 of 1913.

Tsitsikamma the designated parcels of land held by Mfengu communities were Doriskraal Fingo Reserve, Snyklip Fingo Reserve, and Wittekleibosch Fingo Reserve.

The 1913 Natives Land Act was a law aimed at limiting further indigenous land acquisition so as to aid the recruitment of labour for the growing mining and commercial agricultural industries.[7] According to the Act, land was set side as scheduled areas, in which "no person other than a native shall purchase, hire or in any other manner whatever acquire land in a scheduled native area or enter into agreement or transaction for the purchase, hire or other acquisition, direct or indirect, of any such land".[8] The law thus restricted acquisition of land so that "natives" could only buy or lease land in the listed scheduled areas.[9] This reserved land set aside for native occupation had been shaped by a long history of colonial frontier wars and the eventual defeat and dispersal of indigenous peoples.[10] A number of the reserves and mission settlements that had been created and supported during the 1800s by the colonial governments were included in the list of scheduled areas. However, there were also large tracts of unsurveyed state land occupied and used by indigenous communities as well as native freehold land that were not included on the list.[11] These isolated fragments of remaining native freehold farms were officially classified as "black spots" in the white areas.[12] The scheduled areas reserved for native occupation in 1913 amounted to about 7% of all land in South Africa.[13] The listed scheduled areas in the Humansdorp District in the Eastern Cape Province included the Reserve at Palmiet, the Fingo Reserve, the Snyklip Fingo Reserve, Doriskraal Fingo Reserve, and the Wittekleibosch Fingo Reserve. In terms of the 1913 Natives Land Act then, these reserves were set aside as scheduled areas for native occupation. The Clarkson Mission land was excluded from the 1913 list of scheduled areas.[14] Its exclusion reinforced the differentiation of the Tsitsikamma Mfengu and Clarksoner communities: henceforth

---

[7] Davenport, South Africa, p. 234; Switzer, Power and Resistance in an African Society, pp. 194-195.
[8] The Natives Land Act, No. 27 of 1913.
[9] Switzer, Power and Resistance in an African Society, pp. 194-199.
[10] Mamdani, Citizen and Subject, pp. 65-66.
[11] L. Platsky and C. Walker, The Surplus People: Forced Removal in South Africa (Johannesburg, Ravan Press, 1985), pp. 84-85.
[12] "Black spots" is an official term used to refer to all native freehold and mission land outside of the designated scheduled and released areas, and which was acquired before the promulgation of the 1913 Native Land Act. It was one of the categories of land threatened with removal since the land was located in classified white areas. I will follow Platsky and Walker and refer to all native freehold land whether within or outside of the scheduled and reserved areas that was threatened by the forced removals. See Platsky and Walker, The Surplus People, pp. 44-66.
[13] Platsky and Walker, The Surplus People, pp. 84-85.
[14] The Schedule of Native Areas in The Natives Land Act, No. 27 of 1913.

the land granted to the Tsitsikamma Mfengu peoples would be designated as part of the "native reserves", and be subject to legislation governing such land, but the Clarkson Mission land would be excluded from this. By implication the Mfengu people would be considered as "natives" but not the residents on the Clarkson Mission land who, as members of the Moravian mission community, were not deemed "natives".

Underlying the 1913 Natives Land Act was the principle of territorial segregation, so familiar in the colony of Natal, which was now extended and applied throughout the Union. In this regard the Act was also reminiscent of the Cape colony's Glen Grey land tenure arrangements, since it reinforced and formalized territorial segregation. It also prohibited "native" labour tenants or crop-sharers from leasing white-owned land. Such labour tenants were now officially labeled squatters in terms of the law, and declared illegal residents.[15] These restrictions were however not applicable in the Cape Province, since it conflicted with the "native" franchise that was still protected under the compromise constitution of Union which retained the qualified franchise provisions of the Cape Colony.[16] Even so, many of the native freehold landowners in the Cape Province lost their land due to increasing debt incurred from the imposed quitrent and hut taxes and were forced to sell their land to white farmers.[17] Unable to maintain regular payment of the quarterly land rental, they either sold their land or had their rights therein withdrawn by the State.[18]

The 1913 Natives Land Act made provision for the establishment of a commission to assess the land used and occupied by natives within the Union of South Africa. The Beaumont Commission was set up. In its report issued during 1916 a description of the various types of land used and occupied by the (inclusive) natives were given, which included the scheduled reserves, mission land and reserves, freehold farms, unsurveyed state-land, and unoccupied white land.[19] Some of the recommendations of the commission were later incorporated by the government as amendments to the Natives Land Act. In terms of this report the parcels of land held by indigenous Tsitsikamma communities can be categorized as scheduled reserves and mission land.

---

[15] Switzer, Power and Resistance in an African Society, pp. 195-205.
[16] Platsky and Walker, The Surplus People, pp. 83-84.
[17] Switzer, Power and Resistance in an African Society, pp. 197-199.
[18] Switzer, Power and Resistance in an African Society, pp. 204-206.
[19] Platsky and Walker, The Surplus People, p. 85.

7.2.1 From "Natives" to Official "Ethnic" Units and Customary Land Rights

From the 1920s on the State began changing its policies of native control, disaggregating the generic "native" into different differentiated ethnic units or "tribes".[20] Each tribe was ethnically defined and had its own customary law, enforced by government appointed leaders. According to Mamdani "the ethnically defined customary law was both deeper and more differentiated than the racially defined native: it grounded racial exclusion in a cultural inclusion".[21] The property rights in land in the scheduled areas held by "natives" now differentiated on an ethic basis, were to be significantly affected by this change. In 1927 the South African government promulgated the Native Administration Act.[22] This Act defined the "native" as "any person who is a member of any aboriginal race or tribe of Africa: Provided that any person residing in an area proclaimed [in the schedule to the Natives Land Act, 1913 or any amendment thereof] under the same conditions as a Native shall be regarded as a Native".[23] Significantly this definition posed a basic connection between land and ethnic membership as officially determined by the state. The Native Administration Act proclaimed that "the Governor-General shall be the supreme chief of all Natives in the Provinces of Natal, Transvaal, and Orange Free State".[24] In addition the Governor-General "may... appoint... an officer to be styled native commissioner".[25] The supreme chief together with his set of appointed native commissioners ruled through customary law.[26] The Act further stipulated that "the Governor-General may recognise or appoint any person as chief or headman in charge of a tribe or of a location... the Governor-General may also dispose of any chief or headman so recognised or appointed".[27] Particularly important was the power and authority given to the Governor-General to "define the boundaries of the area of any tribe or of a location, and from time to time alter the same, and may divide existing tribes into one or more parts or amalgamate tribes

---

[20] Mamdani, Citizen and Subject, p. 112.
[21] Mamdani, Citizen and Subject, p. 112.
[22] The Natives Administration Act No. 38 of 1927, aimed at providing "better control and management of Native Affairs".
[23] The Natives Administration Act No. 38 of 1927, Chapter VIII, S35.
[24] The Natives Administration Act No. 38 of 1927. Chapter I, S1.
[25] The Natives Administration Act No. 38 of 1927, Chapter I, S1 and S2(1).
[26] In the Cape Province however, the Governor-General was designated as the High Commissioner of all the natives residing there and ruled through his set of appointed white commissioners who were subject to administrative control under the Department of Native Affairs. In this regard the Cape was unlike the other provinces of South Africa, where the supreme chief ruled through selected native chiefs supervised under the Department of Justice (Mamdani, Citizen and Subject, pp. 71-72).
[27] The Native Administration Act No. 38 of 1927, Chapter II, S2(7).

or part of tribes into one tribe, or constitute a new tribe, as necessity or the good of government of the Natives may in his opinion require".[28] In terms of the Native Administrative Act then, the Governor-General was given the power and authority to divide, amalgamate, and/or constitute tribes at will. In addition, pass areas could be created and defined; and regulations for the control and prohibition of the movement of natives into, within, and/or from such areas could be prescribed.[29] Most significant was that:

> "Whenever he deemed it expedient in the general public interest, order the removal of any tribe or portion thereof or any Native from place to any other place within the Union upon such conditions as he may determine: Provided that in the case of a tribe objecting to such removal, no such order shall be given unless a resolution approving of the removal has been adopted by both Houses of Parliament".[30]

The exercise of the Governor-General's power to order the removal of communities or parts thereof in the general interest of the white agricultural landowning public and the mining industry was to have a significant impact on the Mfengu peoples who occupied land in the scheduled areas of the Tsitsikamma.

7.2.2 Scrapping the Remaining Historical Land Rights

Until the 1930s the indigenous peoples of the Western and Eastern Cape, including the Clarksoners and Tsitsikamma Mfengu, retained some of their historical rights to the land and were not yet completely bound by the segregationist laws governing the property rights in land of natives within the Union of South Africa. On the one hand the Clarkson Mission land had not been included amongst the scheduled areas of the "native reserves" by the 1913 Land Act. On the other hand the Mfengu still retained their qualified franchise rights in the Cape with the recognition this implied of their property rights and so exempted them from many of the constraining "natives land" regulations. Both these "exceptions" to the general segregation order of the Union were done away with in the 1930s. The Representation of Natives Act of 1936 finally stripped all qualifying "natives" in the Cape of their voting rights, and thereby removed the partial protection they had of their rights

---

[28] The Native Administration Act No. 38 of 1927, Chapter II, S5(1)(a).
[29] Mamdani, Citizen and Subject, pp. 71-72.
[30] The Native Administration Act No. 38 of 1927, Chapter II, S5(1)(b).

in land.[31] The Act provided for the compilation of a special "Cape natives voters' roll". [32] This paved the way for those officially differentiated as "natives" at the Cape to be legally bound by the stipulated "natives land" regulations.

The Representation of Natives Act once more re-defined the "native", and stated that the category meant "any member of any aboriginal race or tribe of Africa, other than a race, tribe or ethnic group in the Union representing the remnants of a race or tribe of South Africa which has ceased to exist as a race or tribe".[33] The intention of this laborious and contorted definition was to exclude the descendants of the former Khoisan peoples from the category of "natives": though "natives" were conceived as members of aboriginal races or tribes of Africa, and though the Khoisan peoples had been aboriginal inhabitants of Africa, their descendants were not officially deemed to be "natives". The implication was that if the customary land rights of "natives" were recognized in terms of the designated "native reserves" this did not apply to "non-natives". The Act defined the "non-native" as a person who was not a native, but who was also not "white".[34] The Representation of Natives Act thus differentiated between members of the officially recognized native "tribes of Africa" on the one hand; and those "tribes" and ethnic groups and/or communities on the other hand not recognized by government, and which were officially regarded as having ceased to exist like the Khoisan. The Tsitsikamma Mfengu communities were now redefined as an exclusive tribe/ethnic group in relation to the Clarkson mission community's designation as "non-native". This differentiation held momentous implications for their respective rights to land in the Tsitsikamma: in the case of the "native" Mfengu peoples their claims to land would henceforth be tied to official policies regarding the "native reserves" while in the case of the "non-native" Clarkson community their claims to land would depend on the official determination of the status of the Clarkson Mission land.

This important amendment by the Representation of Natives Act of the earlier definition of the term "native" as used in the Natives Land Act was further developed in the amended Native Trust Land

---

[31] Platsky and Walker, The Surplus People, p. 89.
[32] The Representation of Natives Act No. 12 of 1936, S7(3)(4).
[33] Significantly the definition of "natives" in the Act also provided for social acceptance as a criterion: the category of "native" also included "any other person, not being a European who is desirous of being regarded as a native ... is by general acceptance and repute a native ... follows ... the habits of a native ... uses one or other native language ... [and who] associates generally with natives under native conditions".[33] However, the category "native" excluded "any person ... who is by general acceptance a non-native, and whose parents are or were by general acceptance and repute non-natives". The Representation of Natives Act No. 12 of 1936, S1.
[34] The Representation of Natives Act No. 12 of 1936, S1.

Act of 1936. This Act likewise defined a "native" as "any member of any aboriginal race or tribe of Africa ..."[35] but it added important provisions as to how "aboriginal races or tribes" were constituted in law. Officially, a "recognized tribe" was one which the "Governor General may from time to time constitute or declare to be such by law".[36] This meant that in the last resort the identity of a "native" ethnic group, such as the Mfengu, was as determined by the State. Any rights to land of such a "native" ethnic group was also fundamentally vested in the State. To this end the Natives Trust Land Act of 1936 amended the 1913 native land regulations so as to provide for the establishment of a South African Native Trust. Henceforth the land rights of the Mfengu would in the last resort be vested in the South African Native Trust

This Act also authorized that a further quota of 6.2 million hectares of land be released over a period of time and added to the demarcated scheduled areas. On the one hand, some land that had been overlooked in 1913 was now incorporated into the reserves. On the other hand, however, a number of native-owned farms as well as state-owned land that were historically occupied and used by natives remained excluded from the demarcated reserves. The Beaumont Commission had recommended that these isolated native areas be "protected in their existing rights so that no expropriation of that area or removal of its occupants is carried out except with the consent of Parliament conveyed by an Act".[37] However, the limited protection of these freehold rights was not included in the 1936 Native Trust Land Act; officially they were deemed to be "black spots". The Governor General was in fact authorized to "expropriate any land outside a scheduled native area or released area of which a native is the registered owner".[38] In the Cape there were about sixty-three farms, which amounted to approximately 53300 ha of land that were now classified as "black spots" in terms of the 1936 Native Trust Land Act. The removal of peoples from these classified "black spots" would become a main objective of the government's later policies of "homeland consolidation" through the elimination of all native areas that fell outside the official demarcated boundaries of the reserves.

---

[35] The Natives Trust Land Act No. 18 of 1936, S49.
[36] The Natives Trust Land Act No. 18 of 1936, S11(3).
[37] The Beaumont Commission, U.G. 19-16, p. 6.
[38] The Natives Trust Land Act No. 18 of 1936, S13(2).

The South African Development Trust was established in terms of the 1936 Trust Land Act with the State President as the sole trustee thereof. The South African Development Trust was accordingly given the power to purchase, expropriate, grant, sell, lease, or otherwise dispose of land to natives within the scheduled and reserved areas.[39] However, not all the land that was to be released was specified in 1936. The Trust was tasked with the acquisition, over a period of time, of the outstanding quota of land. When added to the areas scheduled in 1913, the additional released land increased the total amount of land allocated for native use and occupation to about 13% of the total size and extent of land in the country.[40] According to the list of released areas included in the 1936 Native Trust Land Act, the Humansdorp District comprised those of the mission stations of Charlottenburg, Clarkson, and the piece of crown land known locally as the Gap.[41] This meant that ownership of the Clarkson and Charlottenburg properties automatically ceased to vest in the Moravian Mission Society and was now held by the South African Native Trust. Furthermore, the released areas of Clarkson, Charlottenburg and the Gap were now added to the scheduled areas of Doriskraal, Snyklip, and Wittekleibosch. The land was officially set aside for native use and occupation, while rights thereto were vested in the South African Native Trust.

7.3 Racial Classification, Ethnic Categorization and their Impact on Indigenous Land Rights

The rights in land, especially of people residing on Moravian mission stations, were to be further affected by the promulgation of the Coloured Persons Settlement Act No. 7 of 1946, which "provided for the establishment of coloured persons settlement areas [and] for the allotment to coloured persons land".[42] This Act defined the "coloured" as "any person other than a European, an Asiatic ... or a native as defined by S35 of Native Administrative Act No. 38 of 1927".[43] It further defined a coloured persons' settlement as an area of land proclaimed to be such by the Governor-General.[44] The law further stipulated that "no person other than the State or a coloured person shall ... acquire or hold any right or interest in land situated within a coloured person's

---

[39] R.J.M. Jones, Conveyancing in South Africa, 3rd edition (Cape Town, Juta, 1985), pp. 30-31; Natives Trust Land Act No. 18 of 1936, Chapter one; Platsky and Walker, The Surplus People, p. 89.
[40] Platsky and Walker, The Surplus People, p. 92.
[41] The Natives Trust Land Act No. 18 of 1936, First Schedule of Released Areas.
[42] The Coloured Persons Settlement Act No. 7 of 1946.
[43] The Coloured Persons Settlement Act No. 7 of 1946, S1.
[44] The Coloured Persons Settlement Act No. 7 of 1946, S2(1).

settlement".[45] This Act then reserved rights in land in specified areas for classified coloured persons. This law provided The Moravian Missionary Society with an opportunity to assert its perceptions of rightness regarding its rights in land at the various Moravian mission stations, including Clarkson. Of course Clarkson was a complex case, since its rights in land had become vested in the South African Native Trust following the promulgation of the Natives Trust Land Act.

The Moravian Mission Institution poised itself to contest the State's appropriation of rights to the Clarkson mission land. The Superintendent of the Moravian Mission Society at the time, Rev. P.W. Schaberg referred to the Clarkson residents' in communication with the Minister of Native Affairs, as the "original coloured inhabitants".[46] In a letter dated 25 August 1948 the Moravian missionary, Hettasch, observed that the Mission Stations Act of 1909 had not yet been implemented at Clarkson. As discussed previously, both the Clarkson and the Charlottenburg properties were land grants that the mission institution had received from British colonial authorities.[47] In his letter, Hettasch noted that the government had not yet regulated and determined whether the rights in the Clarkson mission land as a grant-station were to be held by the Moravian Mission Institution or the Clarkson community. He further asserted that "the government will be right and duty bound to appoint the Mission as holding the property rights of Clarkson".[48] In 1949 amendments were made to the Mission Stations and Communal Reserves Act of 1909. Herein the classified coloured person was defined in relation to mission land and communal reserves as a "registered occupier" who was "not a white person, a native, or Turk or a member of a race or tribe whose national or ethical home is Asia, and shall include a member of the race or class commonly called Cape Malays or ... Griquas".[49] The 1949 Act was aimed at improving the control of mission stations and communal reserves for coloured persons, and for granting titles to inhabitants of such mission stations and reserves.[50] This certainly strengthened the Moravian Missionary Society's case for the (re)classification of Clarkson and its associated properties as a coloured mission station for

---

[45] The Coloured Persons Settlement Act No. 7 of 1946, S6.
[46] Moravian Archive, Clarkson Documents, Letter from Rev. P.W. Schaberg to the Minister of Native Affairs, 20 March 1950.
[47] See discussion of Clarkson mission land in section 4.6 of this dissertation.
[48] Moravian Archive, Clarkson Documents, Letter from G. Hettasch, 25 August 1948.
[49] Act 12 of 1949, To Amend the Mission Stations and Communal Reserves Act, 1909, of the Cape of Good Hope, and to Provide for that Act to apply throughout the Union.
[50] Act 12 of 1949. Further amendments were made through the Coloured Mission Stations and Reserves Amendment Act No. 35 of 1955; The Coloured Mission Stations and Reserves Amendment Act No. 31 of 1959; The Rural Coloured Areas Act No. 24 of 1963; andThe Rural Areas Act No. 9 of 1987.

"registered coloured occupiers". In an undated memo, a Moravian missionary asserted that "there are different native reserves adjoining Clarkson i.e. Snyklip, Doriskraal, and Wittekleibosch. We should like to keep Clarkson, Charlottenburg, Palmiet River and the Fingo Reserve as a mission station for coloureds".[51] The Population Registration Act No. 30 of 1950, which classified all peoples in South Africa from birth into four racial groups, set the tone for further State intervention in limiting the rights in land of indigenous peoples.[52] When combined with the Group Areas Act No. 41 of 1950, racial/ethnic differentiation in relation to territorial segregation reinforced the separation of the "coloured" people from the previously inclusive "native" peoples. In the case of the inhabitants of the Clarkson Moravian Mission station, the Clarksoners were racially classified as "coloured" as distinct from the Tsitsikamma Mfengu's ethnic classification.

The official racial/ethnic differentiation of the Tsitsikamma Mfengu peoples in relation to the Clarkson (non-native) community exacerbated conflict when demands for exclusive access to and use of the commonage land was made. The Clarksoner and Tsitsikamma Mfengu communities shared two portions of commonage land known as "the Fingo Reserve" and "the Gap". Both the Clarksoners and the Doriskraal Mfengu communities grazed their livestock and cultivated the larger gardens on the commonage land of the Fingo Reserve. The Clarksoners referred to this land as "oorloopgrond".[53] In an interview with a resident of Clarkson the use of the commonage was described as "all our cattle grazed there ... it was mixed ... I must say they worked well together because here they went to church and here we went to church".[54] Some members of the Doriskraal Mfengu community petitioned the magistrate and challenged the authority of the Moravian Mission when these now claimed exclusive rights to the commonage land of the Fingo Reserve.[55] The Snyklip Mfengu community similarly asserted their rights and made exclusive claims of entitlement to the commonage land of the Gap. In defending the Clarkson mission's exclusive rights to the commonage land, the Superintendent of the Moravian Mission Institution, Bishop Schaberg,

---

[51] Moravian Archive, Clarkson Documents, Memo: Fingo Reserve, undated.
[52] The South African Council of Churches and the South African Bishops' Conference, 'Relocations: The Churches' Report on Forced Removals' (Randburg, The South African Council of Churches and the South African Catholic Bishop's Conference, 1984), pp. 24-25.
[53] Interview with Chrissie Sedeku, Clarkson, 6 May 2003.
[54] Interview with Chrissie Sedeku, Clarkson, 6 May 2003. The interview was conducted in Afrikaans. The original transcription is "alle beeste het daar gewei ... dit was gemeng ... ek moet sê hulle het baie mooi saamgewerk want hulle het hier kerk geloop en ons het hier kerk geloop".
[55] Moravian Archive, Clarkson Documents, Letter from G. Hettasch, 25 August 1948.

corresponded with the Minister of Native Affairs, and asserted that "throughout the last 100 years the Fingo Reserve has been used solely by the inhabitants of the mission station".

Schaberg wrote further that:

> "adjoining the mission station there is another piece of land known as the Gap ... it is crown land and has for many years been used by the inhabitants of Clarkson and by the natives residing in the native reserve of Snyklip and is the subject of dispute between the two groups ... the inhabitants of Clarkson could probably be induced to abandon their claim to the Gap if their rights to the Fingo Reserve were guaranteed ... the Fingo Reserve vests in the South African Native Trust". He requested that "the Fingo Reserve automatically cease to vest in the Trust ... [and] be granted in freehold to the Moravian Mission Society, thus preserving the rights of the Society and in particular of the inhabitants of Clarkson in perpetuity".[56]

He thereafter met with the Secretary of Native Affairs and secured the use of the Fingo Reserve for use by the mission residents.[57] However, rights to this land remained vested in the State.

7.4 The Impact of Apartheid Policy and Legislation

Before this dispute over entitlement to the commonage land was resolved, the government reorganized all the reserves, through its promulgation of the Bantu Authorities Act in 1951. This was followed by the Promotion of the Bantu Self-Government Act in 1959, which provided a framework for the establishment of autonomous ethnic units in the reserves. Eight Bantu Authorities were created during the 1960s, which represented officially designated ethnic groups. The Transkei and Ciskei were incorporated into the Xhosa ethnic unit. The constituted ethnic unit in the Ciskei was proportionally represented by Rharharbe Xhosa, Mfengu, Sotho, and Thembu. The Mfengu had successfully petitioned the government for recognition as a separate ethnic group from the Rharhabe Xhosa and were as a result not officially amalgamated within the official designated Xhosa tribe.[58]

---

[56] Moravian Archive, Letter from Rev. P.W. Schaberg to the Minister of Native Affairs, 20 March 1950.
[57] Moravian Archive, Clarkson Annual Report, B. Krüger, 31 December 1951.
[58] Switzer, Power and Resistance in an African Society pp. 323-330.

The new apartheid framework was introduced concurrently with significant institutional changes within the Moravian Mission Society. It had progressively decreased its activities alongside the increasing activities of an emerging indigenous ("coloured") Moravian Church in the Western Cape. The shifting relations of power between mission and Church culminated in the Clarkson mission becoming fully integrated into an established, independent, and self-supporting Moravian Church in the Western Cape region of the Moravian missionary field in South Africa.[59] All land that had been held by the Moravian Mission Society in its administered Western Cape region was transferred to the established independent indigenous Moravian Church (Western Cape), at the cost of one pound per property transfer. Included among these was the Clarkson mission land, which had been administered by this region since regional (East/West) differentiation was instituted by the General Synod in 1869.[60] It was in the transfer of Clarkson mission land as an own-station to the independent indigenous Moravian church (Western Cape), that changes were made to the initial Deed of Grant. The 1959 Title Deed changed the registration of the Clarkson mission station and consolidated the three parcels of land that made-up the mission station, namely Clarkson, Charlottenburg and the Moravian Mission. The Title Deed stipulated that the land was to be transferred from the Moravian Mission Society to the Superintendent of the Moravian Church in the Western Cape for the time being, and held in trust for the Church.[61] In this Title Deed the clause found in the initial Deed of Grant of 1841, which specified the land be held "on behalf of and in trust for the Fingoes",[62] was omitted. This omission would be of great significance when claims of entitlement to the Clarkson land were made by the Tsitsikamma Mfengu during the 1990s.

Official ethnic/racial differentiation was amended again during the 1960s with the re-classification of the native as Bantu. The National Party government steadily implemented its vision of apartheid and mission of limiting rights in land held by indigenous peoples in South Africa. In 1967 a general circular titled "Settling of Non-Productive Bantu Residents in European Areas, in the Homelands" stated that "The Bantu in the European areas who are normally regarded as non-productive and as such have to be resettled in the homelands, are conveniently classified as ... Bantu squatters from

[59] K.T. August, The Quest for being Public Church: The South African Challenge to the Moravian Church in Context (1737-2004), 1st edition (Cape Town, Moravian Printing Works, 2005), p. 164.
[60] August, The Quest for being Public Church, p. 127.
[61] Clarkson Title Deed T3168/1959.
[62] Uitenhage Freehold, 9: 7 (15 December 1841).

mission stations and black spots which are being cleared up".[63] The ethnic Mfengu of Doriskraal, Snyklip and Wittekleibosch were now designated as Bantu, were seriously affected when their land was classified as "black spots" that the government required to be "cleared up". The Bantu Homelands Citizenship Act of 1970 and the Bantu Homelands Constitution Act of 1971 established mechanisms for the eventual independence of the Bantustans now called Homelands.[64] According to this law every classified "bantu" person was to be a citizen of one of the created Bantustans or homelands.[65] The Act stipulated that all "bantu" persons ceased to be South African citizens, were declared "aliens" in South Africa from the date of their respective homeland independence, and could be deported from South Africa to their respective homelands at any time.[66] Through the combined laws of territorial segregation and racial/ethnic differentiation, margins of difference were reinforced between indigenous peoples, as in the case of the Clarkson and Tsitsikamma Mfengu communities.

These categories of racial/ethnic difference were connected to the removal from, or the remaining on, the land to which those especially forced to leave had longstanding historical associations with. In most cases such racial/ethnic differentiation assumed and implied separateness with no possible trace of any shared history. Yet among the Tsitsikamma peoples intermarriage persisted and family ties were knotted.[67] According to the Clarkson Marriage Register such marriages took place throughout the 1900s until as late as 1975.[68] Yet during interviews conducted, momentary silence and blank stares skipped over questions about family and ancestral connections between the "coloured" Clarkson mission station and Mfengu communities.[69] In some significant way the official South African story of territorial segregation and racial/ethnic differentiation had triumphed, leaving both the Clarkson and Tsitsikamma Mfengu communities with a perception that they could not

---

[63] Platzky and Walker, The Surplus People, p. 28.
[64] The Transkei was the first Homeland to be declared independent in 1976. See Switzer, Power and Resistance in an African Society, pp. 324-325.
[65]The Transkei independence was followed by Bophuthatswana in 1977, Venda in 1979, and the Ciskei in 1981. See Platzky and Walker, The Surplus People, p. 18.
[66] Platzky and Walker, The Surplus People, pp. 18-22.
[67] Moravian Archive, Clarkson Moravian Church Office, The Clarkson Moravian Mission Station Marriage Register, 1869-1975
[68] Moravian Archive, Clarkson Moravian Church Office, The Clarkson Moravian Mission Station Marriage Register, 1910-1975. Like amongst others the marriage between Johannes Maqungo of Snyklip and Louisa Wolfkop of Clarkson on 21 June 1915; the marriage between Jakobus Njela and Elsie Anelize Japhta on 25 May 1974; and the marriage between David Grootboom and Katie Windvogel on 4 October 1975.
[69] Interview with Miriam Gamede, Clarkson, 7 May 2003; Interview with Chrissie Sedeku, Clarkson, 6 May 2003.

possibly tell a story that celebrates their shared history, given their official classified racial/ethnic differences.[70] It was the forced removal of Mfengu communities from the Tsitsikamma that further reinforced such racial/ethnic differences.

7.5 Conclusion

The official differentiation of indigenous peoples as "native" and "non-native", ethnic Mfengu and racialised "coloured" in relation to specified demarcated territorial spaces; tied community identity formations to ethnic/racial classifications in its association with historical rights of entitlement to land. These racial/ethnic labels and naming of peoples carried within it meanings of separateness, difference and exclusion/inclusion of some and not others in relation to access to, use and occupation of land. The laws and policies described were to have traumatic implications for the peoples of the Tsitsikamma including the Clarkson mission communities in terms of their respective appropriated communal identities and their rights in land. While we have merely described some of the more significant laws of 1910 - 1975 that shaped and affected rights in land held by land-owning indigenous communities like the Tsitsikamma Mfengu and Clarkson mission communities, a more in-depth socio-historical and discursive analysis hereof remains relevant and necessary but outside the scope of this study.

[70] The Legal Resource Centre lawyer, Kobus Pienaar, who represented the Tsitsikamma Mfengu communities in their land claims lodged against the South African government and the Moravian Church wrote in 2000, "... at Clarkson there are two groups of inhabitants which do not have a shared history. The difference in history coincides with racial difference". Kobus Pienaar, 'Communal Property Arrangements a Second Bite' in Ben Cousins (ed.), At the Crossroads: Land and Agrarian Reform in South Africa into the 21st Century (Bellville, Programme for Land and Agrarian Studies of the University of the Western Cape and the National Land Committee, 2000), p. 328.

Chapter Eight

The Contemporary Clarkson and Tsitsikamma Mfengu Communities: From Dispossession and Forced Resettlement to the Contested Restitution of Land Rights

8.1 Introduction

The previous chapter served as an interlude in which we highlighted some of the more significant laws that impacted both on the rights in land and the formation of communal identities of the Clarksoner and Tsitsikamma Mfengu communities. Government policies of segregation and apartheid, effected limits on the land rights held by indigenous peoples, including those residing in the Tsitsikamma, and these were further compounded by official ethnic and racial classification of peoples. Thus by 1975 the land rights of Clarkson, as an officially differentiated "coloured" mission community, and the land rights of its Mfengu neighbours, officially designated as "bantu" (ethnic) communities, differed significantly. Formally the land rights, including ownership, of the Clarkson mission station vested in the Superintendent of the Moravian Church (Western Cape), while in the case of the different parcels of Tsitsikamma Mfengu land ownership was vested in the South African Development Trust. This differentiation in their official land rights of the two communities had momentous consequences in the course of the 1970s when the apartheid government sought to implement its homeland consolidation policy in terms of which the Tsitsikamma Mfengu had to be resettled in the Ciskei. The result of this official racial/ethnic differentiation was that the Mfengu communities were forcefully removed from their land in 1977, while the Moravian Church (Western Cape) retained possession of the Clarkson land with use and occupation rights therein allocated to members of the Clarkson Moravian mission community. In the early 1980s the dispossessed Tsitsikamma Mfengu lands were sold to "white" commercial farmers. Little more than a decade later this traumatic process was reversed when, in the context of the political transition to a post-apartheid and democratic South Africa the Tsitsikamma Mfengu were successful in claims for restitution of their land adjacent to Clarkson (though ironically in the event the land itself continued to be leased to "white" commercial farmers).

In this chapter we will describe the forced removal of the Mfengu people from the Tsitsikamma, as well as its impact on inhabitants at Clarkson who retained use and occupation rights of the land. We will thereafter examine the process of communal mobilization of the Tsitsikamma Mfengu in

inculcation of the Moravian Ethic of "good conduct", "obedience to those in positions of authority", "loyalty and faithfulness", and "dignified workers" on their Khoisan converts had an ambiguous relation to the colonial demands for a docile labour force. On the whole the colonists saw the mission stations as unwelcome places of refuge obstructing their potential supply of labour; on the other hand the missionaries were actually engaged in inculcating a "work ethic" into their converts which might make them into a more docile and willing labour force. The mission stations certainly did not set out to provide a pool of available cheap "ordinary labour" to colonists. But to the extent that acceptance of the Moravian Ethic required indigenous Khoisan converts to be "good" labourers who were "docile", "obedient" and "loyal", this was in line with the perceptions held by colonists of the Khoisan as an available source of "ordinary free labour" within the colony. Their systematic "conversion" to the colonial mode of production with its accompanying form of management and control of the land, legitimated the colonial usage and domination of the (dispossessed) land. It is through this aspect of "conversion" that the Moravian missionary discourse contributed towards sustaining relations of colonial domination.

3.5.2 Transforming the Spatial Organisation of the Indigenous Landscape

Spatial organisation and built forms are the visible everyday symbols within a society concretely representing the embodied meanings and values of that social system.[140] Any changes in the form, shape and structure of buildings, and/or any changes in the spatial organisation of a society or community indicate that the meanings and values within a social system are being reformed.[141] At the time of Schmidt's arrival and introduction to the Hartebeeskraal community, this indigenous group of people were already in the process of exploring and including building forms similar to those used by colonists. There were also some people within this indigenous community, who were experimenting with the laying out of gardens.[142] Schmidt engaged this group of indigenous people concerning changes to the form, shape and structure of their buildings, using those established within colonial society as reference point. He systematically introduced them to the practice of colonial architecture. He

---

[140] Jean Comaroff's analysis of the "politics of spatial organisation" in her case study of the Tswana is relevant to our investigation of the Moravian missionaries' endeavours to transform the indigenous spatial landscape. See Jean Comaroff, Body of Power Spirit of Resistance: The Culture and History of a Southern African People (Chicago, University of Chicago Press, 1985), p. 124.

[141] Comaroff, Body of Power Spirit of Resistance, p. 124.

invited those indigenous people who had settled around him to first observe, and then assist him in the building of his square-shaped house that was made of clay. In response, some indigenous people like Africo and Wilhelm began assisting each other in the measuring and laying out their own square-shaped clay houses.[143]

Schmidt's contributions to this "conversation" were however guided by his primary missionary task, which was to establish a permanent, land-bound, religious community at Baviaanskloof. He thus persistently encouraged people to build structures of stone and/or clay with firm foundations. For example, Schmidt assisted Africo in measuring and laying out a kraal for his cattle, which was to be made of clay. Using a piece of string they measured the dimensions of the kraal and built a firm foundation.[144] Through the building of square-shaped structures made of stone or clay, the spatial organisation of the commonly known indigenous landscape was steadily transformed. A number of square-shaped buildings existed alongside customary round shaped houses by 1740, only three years after Schmidt's arrival at the Cape. In addition the now fairly settled community made rafters and beams, a communal oven made of clay, and a barn made of clay, in 1741.[145] According to Jean Comaroff, the distribution and design of buildings as introduced by the missionaries, can also express the division between the sacred, and the secular, as well as the division between the public and the private. In addition, the construction of distinct units for agricultural activity, schooling, and so on, reflects the different domains of the missionary civilising project of "conversion".[146] In so far as each domain represented a particular segment of the "face of the clock", the constructed Moravian missionary discourse produced buildings as discursive symbols depicting the schedules and routines of the mission as regulated by the missionary. The impersonal clock is fundamentally the instrument used in industrial capital and colonial production as the tool for internalising the organisation of work. For labour to be compensated independently of the value it generates, time became the measure equitable to money, and thus the impartial yardstick for a "fair wage".[147] The constructed Moravian missionary discourse with its buildings and spatial organisation represented the regulated schedules and routines of the mission aimed at "converting" or, more appropriately, "reforming" the "idleness", "laziness" and "inherent

---

[142] Bredekamp, 'De(con)struction', p. 7.
[143] Bredekamp, 'De(con)struction', p. 17.
[144] Bredekamp, 'De(con)struction', pp. 17-18.
[145] Bredekamp, 'De(con)struction', pp. 17-18.
[146] Comaroff, Body of Power Spirit of Resistance, p. 142.

undisciplined" indigenous people to become "loyal", "punctual", "faithful", and "hardworking" labourers. In this way the "converts" who constituted the missionary community at the Genadendal mission station became "good" workers who were "loyal", dedicated to completing their task, and subservient to those in positions of authority, not only at the mission station but also within the larger colonial society at the Cape.

The contrast between the characteristic round-shaped houses and buildings of Khoisan society, and the square-shaped houses and buildings of the mission and the larger colonial society, represented the differentiation in the "conversation" among indigenous people between the two opposing social systems. Each had its own distinctive form of spatial organisation and building structures.[148] A double set of power relations thus prevailed. On the one hand missionaries established and sustained relations of power over the converted indigenous peoples, while on the other hand those converted indigenous people residing at Genadendal were in relative positions of privilege in relation to other Khoisan people within the colony who did not have security and stability of access to, and use of mission land and other resources as they had at the Genadendal mission station.

3.5.3 A Regulated Social Discipline

Schmidt's method of introducing Moravian beliefs and practices into the "conversation" with indigenous people at the Hartebeeskraal, and later with the missionaries who followed him to Baviaanskloof, was through his literacy/religious classes. These lessons involved the reading and memorising of extracts from the Bible, with each extract accompanied by a sermon comprised of spiritual and moral messages.[149] It is after moving to Baviaanskloof that Schmidt's teachings began placing emphasis on the gathering together of a religious community.

As pastoralists, the Khoisan were used to moving around with their cattle looking for suitable grazing land and water, and gathering roots and herbs for themselves. Even though Schmidt encouraged them to remain permanently at Baviaanskloof if they wished to attend his

---

[147] Comaroff, Body of Power Spirit of Resistance, p. 142.
[148] Comaroff, Body of Power Spirit of Resistance, p. 142.
[149] Bredekamp, 'De(con)struction', p. 12.

literacy/religious classes, the periodic movement away from, and then back to Baviaanskloof persisted and remained a huge problem for Schmidt. In his view their periodic non-attendance of his classes amounted to "disobedience" to his authority and to a lack of "good conduct". The missionary responded by removing the ABC Dutch literacy books from those who were "disobedient", suspended them from attending his classes, and banished them from Baviaanskloof. Some of these indigenous people had however become eager to attend his classes. After being banished by Schmidt, some returned, but their suspension was only lifted after they had demonstrated their repentance and committed themselves to adhering to the missionary's defined "good conduct".[150] The literacy/religious classes and Schmidt's controlled access thereof, was a tool used by the missionary to construct, introduce and sustain the Moravian Ethic of "good conduct" and "obedience to those in positions of authority". On another occasion Schmidt found Africo and some others drunk, having consumed too much liquor. At the literacy/religious class, which followed this incident, Schmidt insisted that all those who wished to continue drinking alcohol and wine had to leave Baviaanskloof immediately.[151] On yet another occasion when some cattle of the indigenous people settled at Baviaanskloof entered Schmidt's enclosed fields, he suspended the literacy/religious classes until two herdsmen had been appointed to look after their grazing cattle.[152]

Schmidt had been exposed to some of the Khoikhoi's religious beliefs in "good and evil" during the first few months of time spent at the Hartebeeskraal. Yet his understanding thereof, throughout his stay in the colony, remained thin and weak. Bredekamp points out that there is very little evidence available about the actual nature of the spirituality of indigenous people at the Cape during the late 1730s. What is clear, however, is the disintegration of the social cultural and spiritual world of the Khoisan during this time amidst bloodshed, colonial carnage and rampant land dispossession.[153] Schmidt continuously urged the group of Khoisan who had followed him to Baviaanskloof to distance them from, and break ties with, all those "other" people from their Khoisan community who were not at all interested in adhering to his set of rules and regulations and becoming orderly and obedient.[154]

---

[150] Krüger, The Pear Tree blossoms, p. 22.
[151] Krüger, The Pear Tree blossoms, pp. 29-30.
[152] Krüger, The Pear Tree blossoms, pp. 29-30.
[153] Bredekamp, 'De(con)struction', pp. 8-10.
[154] Bredekamp, 'De(con)struction', p. 13.

When the second group of Moravian missionaries arrived in 1792, they found, from the indigenous people they met in the surrounding areas of Baviaanskloof, an expectation of wanting to learn. On their first trip to Baviaanskloof the man who had shown them the way was asked, "... whether he had heard that some people were here again who wanted to teach them. He said, yes, the farmers had told them that people would come to teach them".[155] On another occasion, two people working at the Post, was asked by a farmer whether they wished to learn from the missionaries. They answered "yes master". The farmer responded by saying, "... you just wait. You will be beaten up. I have heard these people beat you cruelly. They have brought a whole trunk of rods ... for beating you". The two people whom the farmer was speaking to responded "... we have seen that when the farmer's children have not wanted to learn they were beaten up, so too will we have to put up with beatings".[156] To some indigenous people then, the expectation of wanting to learn was also accompanied by an acknowledgement that "not wanting to learn" or their "lack of good conduct" to the learning process, as determined by the missionaries, would result in some form of punishment. Given their experiences with colonial farmers, they expected such punishment to take the form of inflicted physical bodily harm. But the learners who were "disobedient", and/or who acted without "good conduct", were punished by the missionaries in a similar way that Schmidt had punished his group of learners. They were suspended from attending classes and/or banished from Baviaanskloof, but on no occasion were they beaten or their bodies physically harmed by the missionaries.[157] From the onset then, the Moravian missionaries at the Cape were committed to instilling social discipline as an alternative means of control to that of violent corporal punishment.

Moravian missionaries sought the obedience and good conduct from their groups of learners by installing feelings of fear and guilt in them through their daily sermons, and announcing threats of punishment from God or from the servants appointed by God on those who were not loyal, faithful, or obedient to his teachings and social discipline. Together these properties, which included loyalty to those in positions of authority, and a set of social regulations, constituted the Moravian Ethic. This Moravian Ethic was imposed by missionaries to define and regulate the gestures, behaviour, and the changing circumstances of their learners and

[155] Bredekamp and Plüddemann, The Genadendal Diaries, p. 58.
[156] Bredekamp and Plüddemann, The Genadendal Diaries, p. 72.
[157] Krüger, The Pear Tree blossoms, pp. 57-59.

potential "converts". Moravian missionaries utilised the Moravian Ethic as a form of ritual, which determined the particular properties and stipulated roles for the speaking subjects within the missionary community.[158] In this way they exercised their power in discursively controlling, regulating and constraining the Moravian missionary discourse. The regulated behaviour of these speaking subjects, as constructed within the Moravian missionary discourse, were, amongst others, not being drunk by consuming wine and alcohol, not moving around from place to place, not being absent from the literacy/religious classes, not allowing the grazing cattle to trespass on private property occupied and used by the missionary, not dancing, not playing cards, and not partaking in any immoral act, and not being idle. These became naturalised moral codes and forms of behaviour which over time were taken-for-granted as common-sense rules and modes of discipline, and defined the behaviour of residents at the growing number of Moravian mission stations at the Cape.

3.6 Conclusion

The Moravians were the first religious community to establish a mission station for indigenous Khoisan people at the Cape during the 1730s. In this chapter we described how the early Moravian missionaries who came to proselytise at the Cape constructed a missionary identity for themselves, utilising "resources of history" drawn from their experiences and memories of the religious community at Herrnhut in Germany, from where they came. In the formation of their missionary identity various narrative elements from their Herrnhut experience were brought together to define the Moravian Ethic. It was this set of elements that these early Moravian missionaries imposed on potential "converts" among the indigenous Khoisan people at the Cape as a requirement for their "conversion" to Christianity. We have shown that in the colonial context of land dispossession, indigenous people like the Khoikhoi and San were left landless and destitute. The Moravian mission station at Genadendal represented security not only from the brutality of colonists, but also in access to land. Missionaries allocated each indigenous "convert" a portion of land for residential and garden use. The imposed Moravian missionary identity was thus combined with the secure right to occupy and use of a portion of mission land thereby connecting the formation and imposition of the Moravian missionary identity with entitlement to mission land. The acceptance of, and the adherence to, the

---

[158] Michel Foucault, 'The Order of Discourse' in R. Young (ed.), Untying the Text: A Post Structuralist Reader (Boston, Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1981), p. 61.

Moravian Ethic by indigenous "converts" became part of an overall process of conversion to Christianity.

The activities of these early Moravian missionaries at the Cape were included in the Moravian historical narrative. Metaphors like the "pear tree" and the "first-fruits" described the early Moravian missionary project at the Cape, and are variations of the seed metaphor that is so significant in the historical Moravian narrative. In our analysis we showed that a thread of continuity was produced in the narrative by using the metaphor of the seed connecting the ancient Unitas Fratrum of Czechoslovakia during the 1400s and 1620s, to the Moravian religious community at Herrnhut in Germany during the 1720s, to the missionary project at the Cape. The inclusion of Khoisan into the Moravian missionary community in the historical Moravian narrative of the seed is significant in that it provided people who had been brutally disconnected from their occupation and use of land, their social practices and their communal identity - with a historical past with which they could claim continuity. This connection with historical Moravian narrative through the metaphor of the seed contributed to the formation and imposition of a Moravian missionary identity at the Cape. An important part of our investigation of this constructed missionary identity will be to ascertain to what extent the narrative of the seed has been sustained throughout the different stages of Moravian history in South Africa and at Clarkson in particular.

Chapter Four

The Colonial Context: Land Dispossession and Forced Labour in the Origins of the Clarkson Moravian Mission Station and the Tsitsikamma Mfengu Settlements

4.1 Introduction

In chapter three we presented an account of the Moravian historical narrative as asserting the continuity between the "ancient" church, the "renewed" church, and the missionary project in the Cape colony. We saw that the continuity over time, linking very different historical events and widely dispersed groups, were represented in narrative terms as that of the "hidden seed" which later flourished. Utilising the narrative's historical resources this served to construct and sustain a Moravian communal identity. In the Cape colony the Moravian missionaries utilised the Herrnhut beliefs and practices comprising the "Moravian Ethic" to fashion a discursive Moravian missionary community incorporating the converted who were allowed access to mission land. Schmidt's initial settlement at Baviaanskloof was later re-established in 1792 by missionaries and named Genadendal, and became the main Moravian mission settlement in the Southern Cape.

Moravian missionaries began to extend their work amongst indigenous peoples on the Eastern Cape frontier from as early as 1818. This began with the establishment of the Enon mission station in the Uitenhage district. They also established mission stations at Shiloh, Goshen, and Ngotini, all of which were situated within the Eastern Cape frontier. The Clarkson mission station was established in 1839 and was situated on the Southern Cape coast, just below the Gamtoos River. See the map in figure 5 for the location of these mission stations. In this chapter we will show how the growth of missionary activity on the Eastern Cape frontier coincided with British colonial expansion into the Eastern Cape, the dispossession of land from indigenous peoples, and the increasing use of forced labour in the colony.

Part of the colonial strategy on the Eastern Cape frontier was the introduction of a dense belt of colonisation consisting of mission stations with groups of indigenous peoples interspersed among colonial farms. We will show how the growth of missionary activity on the Eastern Cape frontier was made possible by the issuing of land grants for mission stations by colonial

authorities, and the relation of this to the loss of land held by indigenous peoples. The nature of entitlements to land by groups of indigenous peoples at the Cape, including the Mfengu people, varied greatly. In this chapter we will describe the spectrum of such entitlements to land and how these impacted on land granted by colonial authorities for missionary purposes.

Land dispossession and forced labour are important themes in Eastern Caper frontier history, and were firmly connected to the emerging constructed colonial "Fingo" identity in the aftermath of the 1835 frontier war in particular. In the later sections of this chapter we will explore the gathering together of groups of indigenous peoples found wandering within the Cape colony during and after the 1835 frontier war, as well as their eventual placement as indentured labourers in the service of colonists. We will also describe the issuing of colonial land grants in the Tsitsikamma to the Moravian Mission Institution on the one hand, and to various groups of Mfengu peoples on the other hand. Some of the complications arising from such land allocations will be explored. We will hereafter investigate the emerging relationship from 1840 to 1900 between the residing Clarkson mission station community and the surrounding Tsitsikamma Mfengu communities to the land each occupied, used, and had rights in.

4.2 Land: Dispossession and Colonisation

The Cape colony founded by the Dutch East India Company in 1652 as a refreshment post at Cape Town had expanded some hundreds of kilometres to the East and North by the end of the 18th century, in the process dispossessing the San and KhoiKhoi communities who had long been the indigenous inhabitants of the Western and Southern Cape. Dutch colonial rule came to an end when the Colony was taken over during the British Occupation from 1795 to 1803 and permanently thereafter from 1806 onwards. British colonial officials at first moved to consolidate the colonial order of landed settlement and labour regulation with the Caledon Code of 1809, but then introduced many changes into Cape colonial society. These reforms culminated in Ordinance 50 of 1828 which opened the way for dispossessed Khoisan peoples to acquire property rights in land within the Colony. In this section we will sketch the background developments in the colonisation of land which provided the context for the earliest missionary settlements in the Cape Colony.

4.2.1 Resistance to Land Dispossession on the Closing Frontier

The colonial frontier is best conceived not as a fixed boundary or circumscribed territory but in terms of the process of colonisation. The frontier may be defined as a zone of interspersed settlement in the absence of effective institutional authorities.[1] Over time the frontier moved from the vicinities of Cape Town and the Western Cape into the interior, and it changed from sparse pioneering settlements to more institutional forms of colonising the land. Analytically we can distinguish an opening and a closing phase of the frontier process.[2] The frontier opened with the arrival of the colonists in a given territory of interspersed settlement with indigenous peoples and closed when a single political authority established its hegemony over that territory.[3] The frontier zone thus involved the co-existence of two or more communities with contesting but unresolved claims to land.[4] This contestation for access to material resources like water and land was greatly complicated by the fact that colonial and indigenous conceptions of entitlement and property rights differed in fundamental ways. Furthermore decisions taken by members of any one of the co-existing frontier communities were not sanctioned nor legitimated by any of the other groups/polities of peoples.[5] The absence of a single legitimate authority resulted in fluidity in relationships of conflict and co-operation.[6] In the context of the open frontier all holdings of land were typically contested, with clearly demarcated boundaries only becoming possible once the frontier had closed. Unsurprisingly the open frontier was the scene of endemic violence though also of barter and co-operation cutting across communal lines. During the closing of the frontier relationships became significantly polarised and was marked by increasing effectiveness of colonial social and economic control. Colonial control and domination in the closing of the frontier, according to Davenport, was characterised by the substitution of the rule of law i.e. written laws for the arbitrary powers of commandos, by the registered control of all landed properties based on

---

[1] H. Giliomee, 'The Eastern Frontier, 1770-1812' in R. Elphick and H. Giliomee (eds.), The Shaping of South African Society, 1652-1820, 2nd edition (Connecticut, Wesleyan University Press, 1979).
[2] H. Giliomee, 'The Eastern Frontier', pp. 291-299.
[3] L. Switzer, Power and Resistance in an African Society: The Ciskei Xhosa and the Making of South Africa (Pietermaritzburg, University of Natal Press, 1993), pp. 43-53.
[4] Giliomee, 'The Eastern Frontier', pp. 291-299; N. Penn, 'Labour, Land and Livestock in the Western Cape during the Eighteenth Century: The Khoisan and the Colonists' in W. James and M. Simons (eds.), Class Caste and Colour (New Brunswick, Transaction Publishers, 1992), p. 2.
[5] Giliomee, 'The Eastern Frontier', pp. 296-299.
[6] Susan Newton-King, 'Primitive Accumulation and the Cape Frontier – A Case of Mistaken Identity', (Unpublished paper, Workshop on Precolonial History, University of Cape Town, 1986), pp. 1-4.

official surveyance and by the orderly regulation of indigenous labour based on contract.[7] But this also meant that the indigenous peoples within the colony were subjected to colonial law and confined to operating within an identified demarcated geographical boundary.[8]

Resistance by Khoisan peoples to such colonisation of the land and to the ensuing colonial relations of domination at the Cape took various forms including, amongst others, violent attacks, reluctance to enter colonial employment as servants, deliberate loafing as well as desertion, theft, destruction of property, etc.[9] Susan Newton-King cautions us not to take at face value the repeated complaints of colonists concerning the inertia, moral debasement, and vagrant disposition of their servants.[10] Every stage of colonial expansion into the hinterland was met with fierce and bitter resistance from Khoisan peoples. Henry Bredekamp and Susan Newton-King have argued that the so-called "Bushmen Wars" were a manifestation of the continued resistance by the Khoisan jointly, to the dispossession of their land and livestock.[11] As encroaching colonists gradually pushed the indigenous peoples off their land, many Khoisan reluctantly entered the service of colonists as servants. However, a significant number chose to remain on the periphery of colonial society, and continued living as pastoralists. According to Bredekamp and Newton-King, their changed conditions of living made it difficult for them to sustain any stable form of community. However, these indigenous frontier communities formed new patterns of social organisation, established new kinds of leadership, and formulated new strategies for survival.[12] Individuals and/or groups who deserted employment on the colonial farms moved within the empty spaces of unoccupied land within the colony.[13] Some groups of Khoisan successfully withstood inclusion in the colony's relations of labour and domination over a considerable period of time.[14] By the early nineteenth century a landless class consisting largely of dispossessed Khoisan peoples lived within the Cape Colony. It is by no means the case that they were all in the service of colonists.[15] Numerous Khoisan had remained pastoralists and hunter gatherers on remnants of unappropriated land, in kloofs, and secluded

---

[7] Davenport, South Africa: A Modern History, 4th edition (London, Macmillan, 1991), p. 111.
[8] Giliomee, 'The Eastern Frontier', pp. 291-299; Newton-King, 'Primitive Accumulation', pp. 1-4.
[9] Penn, 'Labour, Land and Livestock', 1992, p. 18.
[10] Susan Newton-King, 'The Labour Market of the Cape Colony, 1807-28' in S. Marks and A. Atmore (eds.), Economy and Society in Pre-industrial South Africa (London, Longman, 1980), p. 197.
[11] H.C. Bredekamp and Susan Newton-King, 'The Subjugation of the Khoisan during the 17th and 18th Centuries', (Unpublished paper, Conference on Economic Development and Racial Domination, University of the Western Cape, 1984), pp. 13-14.
[12] Bredekamp and Newton-King, 'The Subjugation of the Khoisan', p. 13.
[13] Bredekamp and Newton-King, 'The Subjugation of the Khoisan', pp. 16-17.
[14] Penn, 'Labour, Land and Livestock', p. 14.
[15] W.M. Macmillan, The Cape Colour Question: A Historical Survey (London, Faber and Gwyer, 1927), p. 148.

parts of colonial farms.[16] To the extent that this was the case it also meant the persistence of different conceptions of access and entitlement to land, those of the different indigenous communities along with the new imposed colonial order.

4.2.2 Entitlement to Land: Indigenous versus Colonial Conceptions

We can reconstruct a range of differing pre-colonial and indigenous conceptions and practices of access to and entitlement of land. Thus the Xhosa understanding of land was by no means the same as that held by the San and Khoikhoi. The San were a hunter-gatherer society, and unlike the Xhosa did not have power centralised in the position of the chief. San society was far more egalitarian with no member having exclusive rights in material resources. Each member of the San society had equal access to the wider Cape landscape. The San believed that each adult male "had a wind associated with him" and when this wind blew it erased the footprints from where his body had been, "as if identity ultimately resided in the shifting land around him".[17]

The Khoikhoi on the other hand were pastoralists and were always in search of fresh water and good grazing land for their livestock. The various Khoikhoi groups often consisted of extended families with members claiming descent from a single male ancestor. Like the San, the Khoikhoi believed that all members of their group had equal rights of access to all available grazing land and water.[18]

For their part the pre-colonial Xhosa were pastoralist-cultivators. This society consisted of a quasi-federal alliance of clans, a varying number of autonomous political units under chiefs who were members of the same royal lineage. An important task of each local chief was to regulate the access to, and use of, the land. While every adult (married) male had rights in land, their right to use the land was held in trust by the local chief. In each Xhosa political unit the local chief had autonomous control over access to land even though the paramount chief was the recognised head of the Xhosa peoples.[19]

---

[16] Macmillan, The Cape Colour Question, pp. 147-148.
[17] C.C. Crais, The Making of the Colonial Order: White Supremacy and Black Resistance in the Eastern Cape, 1770-1865 (Johannesburg, Witwatersrand University Press, 1992), p. 14.
[18] Crais, The Making of the Colonial Order, pp. 14-15.
[19] Switzer, Power and Resistance in an African Society, pp. 34-36.

The process of colonisation brought these different indigenous communities with their varying conceptions of access to and entitlement of land into increasing conflict with colonial notions and practices of landed property rights. It is of considerable significance that during the early period of colonisation in the course of the 17th and 18th centuries this primarily involved the Khoikhoi and San peoples. It was only from the end of the 18th century, when the Eastern frontier opened, that Xhosa society became centrally involved.

4.2.3 Indigenous Claims to Land under the Colonial System

All of these various indigenous conceptualisations of land differed fundamentally to those imposed during the process of colonisation of land. During Dutch colonial rule at the Cape, trekboers were issued with grazing permits by the DEIC based on a loan farms system.[20] Under this land tenure system, large portions of colonial land were allocated to the trekboers. The smallest of these loan farms were about six thousand acres in size and extent.[21] Under British colonial rule the loan farm tenure system was phased out and replaced in 1813 with a quitrent land tenure system.[22] In this land tenure system, the size and extent of any allocated new farm was not to be more than six thousand acres. Colonial farmers were now obliged to cultivate at least some of the land owned. Under this land tenure system colonial authorities were compelled to survey, register, and issue each allocated portion of land with a Deed of Grant. In addition, landholding colonial farmers were also given the right to sell their property.[23]

In general, these colonial systems of land tenure applied only to the land holdings of the colonists. Colonisation of land did not only mean that the indigenous Khoikhoi and San peoples were effectively dispossessed of their land and could no longer sustain their customary practices of access to and use of the land; it also meant that these indigenous peoples could not gain legitimate claims on land within the Colony. They could not obtain loan farms

---

[20] The loan farm system of the DEIC was an informal system of land tenure introduced in the early 18th century. Farms granted to burghers at a nominal rental on the loan farm system recognised the farmer as occupier of the land with no rights to subdivide or alienate the land by sale or testamentary bequest. The DEIC maintained the right to again take up a farm after one years notice but this was seldom, if ever done. See R.J.M. Jones, Conveyancing in South Africa, 3rd edition (Cape Town, Juta, 1985), p. 4.

[21] Switzer, Power and Resistance in an African Society, p. 42.

[22] In 1813 Sir John Cradock attempted to regulate and begin controlling the Cape colonial system of land tenure. He issued a proclamation that ordered all loan farms to be surveyed with new grants issued. In addition the size of a farm was limited to 3000 morgen and an annual quarterly rental of 250 rix-dollars had to be paid. This annual sum was significantly higher than the annual payment made under the loan farm system. See Jones, Conveyancing, p. 5.

[23] Switzer, Power and Resistance in an African Society, p. 83.

according to the colonial system of land tenure. Only to a very limited extent did some indigenous Khoisan communities manage to obtain colonial recognition of land holdings within the colony or to gain recognition of traditional occupation. In 1803, the Batavian Governor Janssens offered the Khoisan leader, Stuurman, a portion of dispossessed land within the colony, along the Gamtoos River.[24] Colonial authorities also acknowledged the possession of land between the Bushman River and the Sunday's River by indigenous peoples like the Gqunukwebe. However, the official view was that the Fish River was the identified colonial boundary, and all indigenous peoples not in the service of colonists were to reside beyond the frontier.[25] Still, the agreements made with the Gqunukwebe and others indicate that there were historical moments when some colonial recognition of indigenous entitlement to land within the Eastern Cape frontier zone were acceded by colonial officials.[26] These constituted an anomaly in so far as these particular indigenous peoples resided within the frontier far below the Fish River boundary, but were not subject to the colonial domination nor were they forced to enter the services of colonists. Certainly this was not generally accepted by the colonists. The Gqunukwebe and others who continued to hold rights in, access to, and use of, their own land within the colony were described by colonists as "restless wanderers".[27] It remains important to note that such selective recognition of Khoisan rights in land did not confer individual ownership rights as those held by colonial farmers within the colony. In the aftermath of the 1811-12 frontier war, Governor Cradock sealed off the frontier and expelled all indigenous peoples beyond the Fish River boundary, including these previously accepted indigenous landholders. The war of 1811-12 had effectively brought about the closing of the Eastern Cape frontier with the Fish River as official boundary.[28]

4.2.4 The Caledon Code and the Consolidation of the Colonial Land Order

In an important sense the ongoing dispossession of the indigenous peoples during the 17th and 18th centuries and the concomitant colonisation of land was formalised at the outset of the 19th century. British colonial authorities sought to regulate the access to, and use of land by indigenous Khoisan through the Caledon Code, which was promulgated in 1809. Herein colonial authorities asserted that "for the benefit of this Colony at large, it is necessary, that not

---

[24] John Milton, The Edges of War: A History of Frontier Wars, 1709-1878 (Cape Town, Juta, 1983), pp. 46-51.
[25] Milton, The Edges of War, p. 48.
[26] Milton, The Edges of War, p. 58.
[27] Milton, The Edges of War, p. 58.
[28] Giliomee, 'The Eastern Frontier', pp. 291-299.

only the Individuals of the Hottentot Nation, in the same manner as other Inhabitants, should be subject to proper regularity in regard to their places of abode and occupations".[29] The Caledon Code stipulated that all Khoisan should have a "fixed place of abode" and that their dwellings were to be registered. In terms of the Caledon Code they were also prohibited from owning land (with one important exception involving the mission stations to which we will return below). Accordingly the "fixed place of abode" within the colony could not be on land owned by the Khoisan themselves. Registered "places of abode" could only be obtained on colonial farms in the service of colonists, or by the membership of a mission station. Alternatively the choice could be to remain outside the law, as "vagrants" within the colony.[30] In this regard the Caledon Code stipulated that "every Hottentot neglecting [to have a fixed place of abode] shall be considered a Vagabond, and treated accordingly".[31] The enforcement of this proclamation of vagrancy and contracts of hire compelled many Khoisan within the Cape Colony to seek refuge on a mission station if they did not want to enter the service of colonial farmers. Some Khoisan chose the alternative of persisting in their customary migratory practices, and were treated by colonial officials as vagrants. In this context the mission stations did offer the only available measure of land tenure security and personal safety to Khoisan peoples.

Prior to the Caledon Code the process of colonial expansion had been essentially a de facto and informal process. Through various coercive means the Khoisan and other indigenous peoples were pushed off their land and effectively dispossessed while the colonists were able to acquire legitimate title deeds to their farms under colonial authority and law. In so far as this was a gradual and incremental process the indigenous people were effectively left with ever diminishing portions of land not (yet) taken by colonists – but what was left in this way de facto remained *their* land. The Caledon Code significantly changed this position by formally dispossessing the Khoisan peoples of access to and use of all land within the colony. The prohibition of such access to land within the colony turned what had been a de facto process of effective dispossession into a legalised process of land appropriation. With the promulgation of

---

[29] G.W. Eybers (ed.), 'Vagrancy and Contracts of Hire', Proclamation No. 14, 1 November 1809 in Select Constitutional Documents illustrating South African History, 1795-1910 (London, Routledge, 1918), p.17.

[30] Macmillan, The Cape Colour Question, pp. 161-164. Colonial authorities persisted with the efforts to control the indigenous peoples within the colony, including the Khoikhoi. In 1879 they passed Act 23 for the Prevention of Vagrancy and Squatting. This Act was aimed at controlling indigenous people who were unemployed, roaming about without proper control, without sufficient means of support, and those people who were residing on Crown and other lands. In terms of this Act if persons could not give satisfactory accounts of themselves, then they were deemed and taken to be an idle and disorderly person. See Act 23 of 1879.

[31] Eybers, 'Vagrancy and Contracts of Hire', p.17.

the Caledon Code the dispossession and colonisation of Khoisan land had thus been formally consolidated.

However, within two decades the colonial order of colonising the land excluding the indigenous Khoisan peoples was to be overturned – not indeed by returning to pre-colonial systems of land tenure, but by enabling the Khoisan to obtain landed property rights within the new colonial order. Ordinance 50 was promulgated in July 1828 and repealed the Caledon Code regulations. The colonial system with its restrictive and controlled form of land ownership excluding indigenous peoples from land rights formally came to an end. While the new legislation freed indigenous Khoikhoi people from the carrying of passes,[32] it also affirmed the rights of Khoisan peoples to own land within the colony.[33] Colonial authorities envisaged that by recognising the right to freedom of movement, establishing a free labour market and allowing Khoisan to become property owners the apathy and 'lack of industry', theft and desertion would be substantially reduced. John Philip asserted that for "the natives to choose their own masters ... and ...secure to them ... the right which God had given them ... to bring their labour to a free market ... farmers will no longer have occasion to complain of a want of servants".[34] The purpose of the ordinance was to stimulate the colonial economy by encouraging indigenous peoples to enter the colonial labour market.[35] Through Ordinance 50 colonial authorities were also set on establishing a prominent group of Khoisan farmers who in celebration of their emancipation would willingly support the frontier colonists in defence of the colony against the Xhosa on the Eastern Cape frontier.[36] Colonial officials foresaw that mission institutions would no longer be needed as places of refuge, since the law now made provision for the purchase and holding of land by Khoisan peoples.

It was in this context that the Kat River Settlement was established by colonial officials in 1829.[37] The political significance of the Kat River Settlement was that it represented a salient case of Khoisan people exercising landed property rights within the colony. The Kat River Settlement comprised of land, which colonial authorities had appropriated from Chief Maqoma

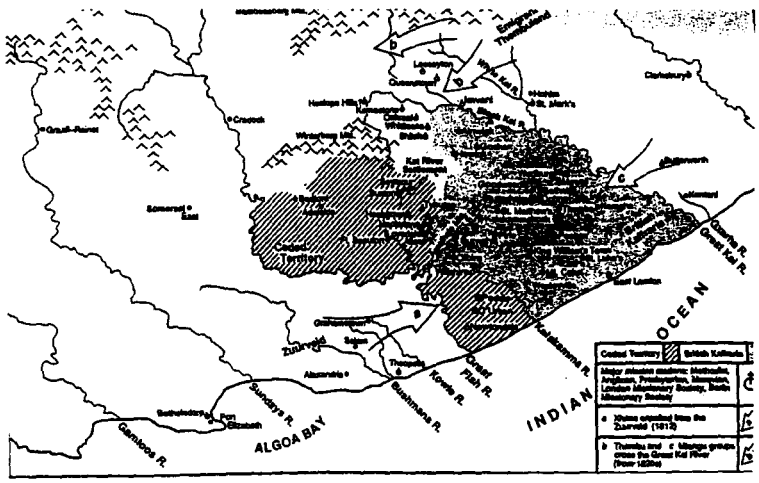
---

[32] Switzer, Power and Resistance in an African Society, p. 84.
[33] Newton-King, 'The Labour Market of the Cape Colony, 1807-28', pp.196-197.
[34] John Philip, Researches in South Africa (2 volumes, London, James Duncan, 1828), p. 329.
[35] Switzer, Power and Resistance in an African Society, 1993, p. 84.
[36] Newton-King, 'The Labour Market of the Cape Colony, 1807-28', p. 199.
[37] Newton-King, 'The Labour Market of the Cape Colony, 1807-28', p. 199.

following his forced expulsion from the area in 1827.[38] A map in figure 6 below shows the location of the Kat River Settlement within the Cape Colony.

The settlement was incorporated into the colony as a buffer against the Xhosa on the open Eastern Cape frontier.[39] In establishing the Kat River Settlement in 1829, colonial authorities moved people to the settlement from the districts of Somerset and Graaf Reinet, the Bethelsdorp and Theopolis mission stations, as well as from the Moravian Mission Station at Enon. Herman Matroos and his following of Gqunukwebe families were later moved from the Fish River to the Kat River Settlement where they were granted land by colonial authorities along the Blinkwater River.[40] Commissioner-General Stockenström divided the settlement into five separate locations. Initially, there were 640 allottments, of erven, each about 6 acres in size and extent. The allotments were granted to individual owners and held in perpetual quitrent. Each portion of land was capable of irrigation with grazing rights for as many cattle as local regulations permitted.[41] There was also the available commonage land. Inhabitants of the settlement received land grants subject to their acceptance of certain regulations, which included a commitment to cultivate the land to its full extent. Initially Stockenström made military service a condition of obtaining land tenure in the settlement. This particular condition was later waived.[42]

Figure 6: Map of the Kat River Settlement within the Cape Colony.
[Source: Switzer, Power and Resistance in an African Society, p. 55].



[38] Davenport, South Africa, p. 44.
[39] Switzer, Power and Resistance in an African Society, p. 56.
[40] Tony Kirk, 'Progress and Decline in the Kat River Settlement, 1829-1854', Journal of African History XIV: 3 (1973), p. 415.
[41] Kirk, 'Progress and Decline in the Kat River Settlement', pp. 413-414.
[42] Kirk, 'Progress and Decline in the Kat River Settlement', p. 414.

In all these respects the Kat River Settlement represented a new beginning for the dispossessed Khoisan who could now gain recognised land rights within the colonial order. For these reasons, too, the fate of the Kat River Settlement with the "rebellion" in 1850 would -- as we shall see below – have momentous significance for the political future of the dispossessed Khoisan communities. It was not to be the Kat River Settlement which would prove able to sustain new kinds of communities for the dispossessed Khoisan within the colony, but rather the mission stations.

4.3 Missionary Settlements within the Colonial Land Order

When missionary settlements were established in South Africa from the 18th century they had to be accommodated within the emerging colonial land order while they also had to take account of customary notions of access to land among the indigenous peoples. Missionary stations had an ambivalent position within the colonial system of land tenure. While colonial land grants for missionary purposes allowed the establishment of missionary settlements these also constituted an important exception in the colonial land order in so far as they provided a way of getting access to land to the indigenous Khoisan peoples. At the same time the missionaries insisted that members of the indigenous communities' allocated land on the missionary settlements had to forego their customary land practices.

The process by which missionaries obtained land for missionary purposes from colonial authorities were largely similar to the process followed by colonists to obtain farms as individual property. The Baviaanskloof land was initially granted to Moravian missionaries by the DEIC to be used for missionary purposes. However, the land grant was not based on the loan farm system. In 1794 Moravian Missionaries who had settled at Baviaanskloof made representations to the Landdrost of Stellenbosch to transform the insecure land tenure of Baviaanskloof into a more secure loan farm.[43] They were not successful at the time. This showed that officials did not consider mission land to be private property. The rights in land of the early Moravian missionaries and the protection afforded to them and their converts during the early 1790s were thus seriously challenged when confronted by the displeasure of colonists and company officials. As more and more land became dispossessed from indigenous peoples at the Cape,

[43] Krüger, The Pear Tree Blossoms, The History of the Moravian Church in South Africa 1737-1869 (Genadendal, The Moravian Book Depot, 1966), pp. 65-66.

British colonial officials sought to standardise the rights in land held by missionaries and those indigenous peoples living on mission land. Already in the 1820s the regulation of rights in land by colonial authorities was used by some missionaries like the Moravian missionary, Hallbeck, as an opportunity for the mission institution to acquire formal rights in land. Hallbeck was particularly concerned with the encroachment of colonial farmers onto mission land and the land surrounding it. This land had in most cases been historically occupied and used by indigenous peoples, many of whom were now settled at the various mission stations.[44] The Moravian Mission Society obtained Deed of Grants to various portions of land in the Tsitsikamma occupied and used by them for mission purposes. It was only in 1858 that Genadendal was eventually issued with a Deed of Grant under the quitrent land tenure system. According to this Deed of Grant the land was granted in perpetual quitrent to the United Brethren or Moravian Missionary Institution for the use of, and in trust for, such persons that may from time to time be lawfully resident at Genadendal.[45] The land was to be used for missionary purposes but with a qualification that the land was not to be alienated, and that it could not be sold on the colonial property market.[46] The limitation placed on the buying and selling of mission land on the colonial property market reinforced the restrictions placed on the Khoisan within the colony to only own land on, and not outside, the mission stations. The qualification placed on mission land granted in perpetual quitrent suggests that such mission land might have had some intermediate status between colonial private property and communal ownership in customary law.

The promulgation of the Caledon Code in 1809 represented a historical landmark in establishing the position of missionary settlements within the colonial land order in relation to members' of the dispossessed Khoisan peoples. On the one hand the Caledon Code stipulated that the Khoisan might legitimately own and lease land under colonial authority and law – but restricted this right in land to the mission stations. On the other hand the Caledon Code formally dispossessed them of access to and use of all land outside of the mission stations. It was through the Caledon Code that a general linkage between mission land and the dispossessed Khoisan communities was established. While they were unable to obtain individual title deeds to colonial farmland, they could obtain individual and communal access to

---

[44] Hallbeck, 'Brief Sketch of the Origin, Progress, and Present State of the Missions of the United Brethren in the Colony of the Cape of Good Hope', Genadendal, 14 November 1823, no. 2 in Draft Settlement of the Lands at Missionary Institutions in South Africa, British Parliamentary Papers vol. 20, pp. 317-321.
[45] I. Balie, Die Geskiedenis van Genadendal, 1738-1988 (Kaapstad, Perskor, 1988), p. 82.

mission land. This amounts to a crucial linkage between mission stations and indigenous communities based on access to land controlled by missionaries.

The mission stations, which were established throughout the Cape colony during the early decades of the nineteenth century, introduced a new type of community. Those dispossessed Khoisan people and ex-slaves who joined these mission stations formed landed settlements under the authority of the missionary. Within these missionary communities very little consideration was given, and almost no reference was made, to historical kinship relationships, nor were the traditional rituals and ceremonial activities bonding people and reinforcing social ties allowed to be practised under the missionary authority. The missionaries proscribed the observance of customary practices and rituals, such as *lobola* (bridewealth), circumcision, beer drinking, and dancing from mission stations. Instead, new social practices were introduced like literacy classes, Bible readings, baptism and confirmation. The social structures of these growing mission communities thus stood in strong contrast to the historical chiefdoms or hunter gatherer communities where power structures were rooted in kinship obligations.[47]

Over time various groups of Khoisan people settled on missionary establishments, responded to the missionary gospel, and for different reasons converted to Christianity. Some were young women and widows who were unwilling to participate in customary arranged marriages, or follow the custom of marrying their brother-in-law. Others were physically disabled; diviners who rejected their vocation, or people who had been expelled for allegedly committing the crime of witchcraft. Many Khoisan people who settled around the missionaries were refugees - orphans, the sick, the aged and the homeless - from the recurrent frontier wars. At each mission station the missionary assumed a position of authority by allocating plots of land and linking this with obedience to the codes, rituals and beliefs of their particular order of Christianity.[48] As described above, those Khoisan people who chose to remain within the colony were restricted by the Caledon Code that prohibited them from access to, use of, and ownership of, land within the colony except on mission stations. Until 1828 and the promulgation of Ordinance 50 dispossessed Khoisan people were not officially allowed to own

[46] Elim Title Deed T18759/1959, Goedverwacht Title Deed T26909/1965, Pella Title Deed T9989/1936, Wittewater Title Deed T8760/1959, Clarkson Title Deed T3168/1959.
[47] B. Schmidt, Creating Order: Culture as Politics in the Nineteenth and Twentieth Century South Africa (Nijmegen, Third World Centre, University of Nijmegen, 1996), p. 55.
[48] Switzer, Power and Resistance in an African Society, p. 115.

land within the colony other than mission land.[49] Access to mission land did not only depend on their conversion to Christianity, but was also subject to them adhering to a set of requirements, rules and regulations as defined and administered by the missionaries. While the mission stations thus provided a significant "escape valve" to dispossessed Khoisan peoples and functioned as effective places of refuge to those unwilling to be forced into labour on colonial farms, missionary control of such access to land as was available to the Khoisan within the colony also served as a powerful means to inculcate new forms of community and conversion to Christianity.

In principle the missionary monopoly of access to land for dispossessed Khoisan peoples within the Colony came to an end with the promulgation of Ordinance 50 in 1828. The "Hottentot Magna Charta" meant that, as at the Kat River Settlement, indigenous peoples no longer had to rely on missionary authorities as their only means for access to land within the Colony. However, by the mid-19th century the colonisation of land and the ensuing landlessness of indigenous people within the Cape colony was largely complete. From the 1830s there was also another major change in the colonial context of missionary activity as the Eastern Cape frontier opened beyond the Fish River and the Colony began incorporating substantial numbers of Xhosa and other non-Khoisan peoples. At the same time missionary settlements also began to be established well beyond the colonial boundaries on the Eastern Cape frontier. Henceforth missionary settlements would relate not only to dispossessed landless Khoisan peoples within the Colony but also to Xhosa and other communities with different customary land practices and whose land had also not yet been colonised to the same extent. This brought about major changes in the dynamics of the emerging new missionary communities.

4.3.1 The Closing Frontier as Context of Missionary Settlements

For more than fifty years after 1776, which was also the period when missionary activities in the Cape Colony were initiated, the Fish River had been designated as the official boundary on the Eastern Cape frontier. In practice the Eastern Cape frontier was a zone of interspersed colonial, Khoisan and Xhosa settlements. In this it differed from the Western and Northern parts of the colony which did not yet include substantial numbers of Xhosa people and where the

[49] Davenport, South Africa, pp. 41-44.

main interaction involved colonists, trekboers and dispossessed Khoisan people. This meant that the contexts of missionary settlements differed significantly on the Eastern Cape frontier compared to other parts of the Colony in that missionaries were bound to take more cognizance of the land practices of indigenous communities and not only of the colonial land tenure system.

Pre-colonial and customary practices of land tenure in relation to missionary settlements thus varied during different periods of colonisation and in different regions of the Colony. The pre-colonial San and Khoikhoi practices of land tenure had already been effectively disrupted and destroyed through colonial expansion and dispossession by the time the earliest Moravian missionaries came to the Cape. In the case of the dispossessed Khoisan communities' customary practices of land tenure had become of mere historical significance and could be largely disregarded and/or overridden by missionaries when establishing control over access to land at mission stations. A possible exception might be the case of George Schmidt in his initial interactions with Africo and the Hartebeeskraal Khoikhoi community as discussed in chapter three. But it appears that the Hartebeeskraal community may no longer have been typical of pre-colonial Khoikhoi pastoral and migratory practices since they were in some stage of transition towards a more settled landed existence. On the whole, these customary practices no longer effectively applied to missionary settlements within the Cape Colony among the dispossessed Khoisan peoples.

In the case of the independent pre-colonial communities beyond the frontier, the converse applied, since missionaries were forced to take serious cognisance of, and adapt to, customary practices of land tenure. Mission stations established beyond the frontier were on land under the uncontested control of indigenous societies and the early missionaries established their mission stations on land, which had been allocated to them by chiefs.[50] The implication was that the local chief had the power and authority to grant missionaries permission to use the land and thus that missionaries seeking to establish mission settlements beyond the frontier had to take cognisance of customary conceptions of land tenure. This did not mean that the missionaries occupying such land were subject to chiefly authority apart from requiring their permission to settle on the land.[51] However, this left relatively less scope and opportunity for

[50] Switzer, Power and Resistance in an African Society, pp. 43-53.
[51] Switzer, Power and Resistance in an African Society, p. 113. The granting of such permission to use the land for missionary purposes by the local chief was not compatible with the colonial conception of land tenure held by

missionaries to introduce their own control of access to land at such mission settlements beyond the frontier.

Missionaries who established settlements on the Eastern Cape frontier with the aim of converting the indigenous Xhosa people were positioned between two very different conceptions of land. The first being the Xhosa understanding that each individual male (usually married) had the right to be allocated land held in communal trust by the Chief. The second was the colonial notion of private property. This was the context of the earliest missionary settlements on the Eastern Cape Frontier by missionaries of the London Missionary Society such as Dr. van der Kemp and John Read.[52] The most complex case involved the disrupted and intermediate "refugee" groupings *within* the Eastern Cape frontier as in the case of the Mfengu at the Clarkson Moravian mission station where missionaries took cognisance of, and acknowledged both customary and colonial practices of land tenure. We will return to this case in greater detail below.

The missionary enterprise only began to take significant effect in the Eastern Cape after 1812 once British colonial power had been established and sustained on the Eastern Cape frontier. But it was especially from the 1830s that the dynamics in the relations of missionaries and indigenous peoples became more complex in various ways. On the one hand the expansion of colonial territory beyond the Fish River incorporated a range of further indigenous groupings within the Colony along with their customary notions and practices of access and use of land. On the other hand these communities were now subject to colonial law and authority and were no longer able to sustain political independence. From 1835 onwards chiefs, both on and beyond the Eastern Cape frontier, became more amenable to the missionaries, with the hope that they would intercede on behalf of indigenous people against the forceful expansion of the growing colonial community and their persistent demands for more land.[53] In an attempt to

---

missionaries who regarded the land used as their private property over which they had exclusive and sovereign control. A crucial question can be asked in relation to converts wishing to settle on the mission land – to what extent would customary notions of land tenure allow access to, and use of, the mission land to be dealt with as a "private" relation between missionaries and converts? This seems to open up all sorts of difficult and complex questions. We will however not address these questions since our case study concerns a Moravian mission settlement located *within* the Eastern Cape frontier and not *beyond* it.

[52] Elizabeth Elbourne notes that both the Anglicans and the Moravians had Episcopal hierarchies. In both churches many believed in the spiritual value of order and submission to authority within the church. See 'Early Khoisan Uses of Mission Christianity', Kronos 19 (1992), p. 5. See also E. Elbourne, 'A Question of Identity: Evangelical Culture and Khoisan Politics in the Early Nineteenth-Century Eastern Cape', Collected seminar papers,the Societies of Southern Africa in the Nineteenth and Twentieth centuries, vol. 18, no. 44.

[53] Switzer, Power and Resistance in an African Society, p. 113.

maintain their power and sustain their interests, chiefs received missionaries as a means of furthering their perceived political prestige and ensuring that a regular communication channel existed between themselves and the colonial authorities.[54] For their part colonial officials, in response to the expansion of the colony and the increasing number of missionary settlements, some of whom had earlier been beyond the frontier, attempted to standardise and limit the access to, and use of, land previously allocated to missionaries by chiefs. This resulted in a dual set of authority relations governing access to land on the Cape Eastern frontier. In mission stations established within the Eastern Cape frontier, the authority to allocate land ultimately rested with colonial officials. But those missionaries, who were requested by colonial authorities to establish mission stations among indigenous peoples beyond the Eastern Cape frontier, were compelled to engage the chief who held rights in land.

By the middle of the nineteenth century the Eastern Cape frontier spanned the Ciskei region between the Fish and the Kei Rivers. Numerous mission stations had been established on both sides of the frontier, both within the colony and outside it. Mission stations which were established between the Fish and the Kei Rivers were located within the Eastern Cape frontier. Mission stations, on the other hand, that were established across the Kei River were located beyond the Eastern Cape frontier. In the Eastern Cape the missionary settlements within the frontier were located on dispossessed land under the hegemony of British colonial authorities that granted land for missionary purposes to the various mission societies. Mission stations that were established beyond the Eastern Cape frontier were situated on land under the authority of the chief of the area.[55] The location of some mission stations situated *within* and *beyond* the Kei River of the Eastern Cape frontier can be seen on the map in figure 6 above. The Wesleyan Methodists already established mission stations beyond the Eastern Cape frontier from 1823 onwards, among the Gqunukhwebe Xhosa at Wesleyville east of the Keiskamma River. The Wesleyan missionary, William Shaw, envisaged establishing a chain of mission stations to Port Natal. Several Wesleyan mission stations were established with this vision in mind.[56] Some colonial authorities supported and endorsed this vision of establishing a chain of mission stations "from Salem to Port Natal". In addition to the Wesleyville mission, further mission stations were established beyond the Eastern Cape frontier at Mount Coke among the Ndlambe, at Butterworth among the Gcaleka, at Clarkebury among the Tembu and Buntingville

[54] J.B. Peires, The House of Phalo: A History of the Xhosa People in the Days of their Independence (Berkeley, University of California, 1981), p. 76.
[55] Switzer, Power and Resistance in an African Society, pp. 43-53.

among the Pondo.[57] The Wesleyans were supported in their endeavours by the Glasgow Missionary Society, which established Lovedale within the Eastern Cape frontier in 1824. The Berlin Missionary Society also joined the Wesleyans in their missionary activities beyond the Eastern Cape frontier. The London Missionary Society eventually also established permanent mission stations beyond the Eastern Cape frontier, at Butterworth and Clarksbury. The Anglicans were assisted by colonial authorities in their missionary activities and began establishing mission stations from the 1850s onwards. The Moravians established mission stations within the Eastern Cape frontier from 1818 onwards at Enon, Shiloh, Goshen, and Ngotini. These Moravian missionaries received land grants for the purpose of establishing mission stations amongst selected groups of indigenous people.[58] The Moravian mission station among the Mfengu at Clarkson in the Tsitsikamma was established later, in 1839. Clarkson, lies securely in the colony on the Southern Cape coast, below the Gamtoos River. See the map illustrating the location of Clarkson in Figure 4.

4.3.2 The Founding of Missionary Communities on the Eastern Cape Frontier

In Chapter 3 we considered the origins of the earliest Moravian missionary community at Genadendal in the Western Cape and the role played by missionary control of access to mission land in relation to the dispossessed Khoisan people. On the open frontier of the Eastern Cape where colonisation of land had not yet been consolidated and the customary land practices of indigenous communities could still to some extent be sustained the positions of the missionaries in founding new missionary communities was much more complex. In different ways the founding of new missionary communities could not rely only on control of access to mission land but also had to take cognisance of the customary land practices of the indigenous communities concerned.

In the historical context of the Eastern Cape frontier the relationship between the missionary and indigenous peoples occupying the land came to echo the trust relationship so characteristic of communal property relations in indigenous Xhosa society. According to Switzer, missionaries took on a chiefly role in the perceptions of indigenous peoples by allocating land to converts subject to their obedience to the behaviour, codes, and rituals of

---

[56] Switzer, Power and Resistance in an African Society, p. 113.
[57] J. Du Plessis, A History of Christian Missions in South Africa (Cape Town, Struik, 1965), pp. 174-175.
[58] Switzer, Power and Resistance in an African Society, pp. 113-114.

Christianity, as taught by them.[59] It was the position of authority held by missionaries, and the control they exercised within mission stations that so resembled the role of chiefs in indigenous society. It was in their position of authority at the mission station, like the chief within indigenous society, that the missionary held the right to grant membership to, and allocate land on, the mission station. This was certainly the case at the various Moravian mission stations, including Clarkson. While the relationship between missionary and convert was very different to that between Chief and member, the essence of a trust relationship as contained in the contractual agreement entered into by (married male) converts with Moravian missionaries could be said to be similar. This contractual agreement involved the allocation of portions of land - a garden plot and a residential plot of land - to converts. The continued security of access to, and use of, this land by converts, was subject to their persistent "good behaviour", "good conduct", and their obedience to those in positions of authority. On the one hand, the authority to allocate land by the missionary thus appears to be similar to the authority held by chiefs who held the right to grant access to and use of the land.[60] On the other hand, the use of specific demarcated portions of land that were allocated to individual (married male) converts affirmed and legitimated the colonial notion of private property.

The relationship to land of intermediary groups like the Mfengu however differed. It is of considerable relevance and significance for this study that the Mfengu, amongst whom the Moravian mission at Clarkson was founded, was not a long established pre-colonial indigenous community. In chapter one we reviewed accounts of the Mfengu in the literature and there indicated that the origins of this group have become a much-contested historical controversy and are in fact closely connected with colonial land grants. Whatever the final outcomes of this debate, it is clear that their position was significantly different to that of traditional and pre-colonial indigenous communities on and beyond the frontier. The question is what were the implications of this for the nature of their interactions with missionaries and the construction of new communal identities at Clarkson? In particular a key question would be whether the Mfengu, like the indigenous communities beyond the frontier, were in control of access to land according to customary practices? If they were, then the missionaries would have had to obtain the consent and permission of the local chiefs in order to initiate a missionary settlement

[59] Switzer, Power and Resistance in an African Society, p. 115.
[60] 'Minutes of Evidence, Cape Native Laws Commission, 1883' in T.R.H. Davenport and K.S. Hunt (eds.), The Right to the Land (Claremont, David Philip, 1974), pp. 34-35.

relation to the claims for restitution of their land near Clarkson. This will include an account of the process of interpellation of the Tsitsikamma Mfengu as subjects as well as of the representation strategies utilised in constructing a contemporary Tsitsikamma Mfengu ethnic community. The use of land as a theme in this symbolic grounding of the Tsitsikamma Mfengu ethnic community will be examined. We will examine the position of the Clarksoner Moravian mission community in the Tsitsikamma Mfengu ethnic discourse and its relation to the discursively constituted contemporary Tsitsikamma Mfengu ethnic community. We will describe and analyse the land settlement agreement which the representatives of the Tsitsikamma Mfengu community entered into with the South African government and the nineteen farmers from whom the land was taken back with special reference to the themes of land and communal identity (membership). Finally, we will examine the most recent developments in the contested claims of entitlement to the Clarkson mission land which culminated in the transformation of the Clarkson mission into a rural town again with special reference to the selected discursive themes of land and communal identity.

8.2 The Tsitsikamma Forced Removals

The general history of forced resettlements in terms of the homeland consolidation has been well documented and described in the literature.[1] Our concern is with one particular case of forced removal, that of the Tsitsikamma Mfengu in 1977. On 27 March 1975 the Select Committee on Bantu Affairs recommended that the House of Assembly approves "the withdrawal of the Bantu tribes, Bantu communities and Bantu persons residing in the areas set out in Schedule B, in terms of the provisions of section 5 of the Bantu Administration Act No. 38 of 1927, as amended by Section 1 of the Bantu Laws Amendment Act No. 7 of 1973".[2] In the attached Schedule B, the list of affected "tribes, communities, and persons" included those residing in the District of Humansdorp in the Cape Province on the "Doriskraal Location, Fingo Location, the Gap, Palmietriver Location, Snyklip Location, Wittekleibosch Location and WitteElsBosch".[3] As we described in the previous chapter the "natives" had by the 1970s been officially differentiated into separate "bantu tribes", including the "Fingo" tribe to which the Tsitsikamma Mfengu belonged, with the Ciskei as their official "homeland". The House of Assembly approved these recommendations on 14 May 1975, after which the various affected Mfengu communities in the Tsitsikamma were

---

[1] L. Platsky and C. Walker, The Surplus People: Forced Removal in South Africa (Johannesburg, Ravan Press, 1981). See also our general discussion on South African claims of entitlement to land in relation to community identity in section 1.6.4 of this dissertation.

[2] Republic of South Africa, 'First Report of the Select Committee on Bantu Affairs', House of Assembly, S.C. 9-75, pp. 2-4.

[3] Republic of South Africa, 'First Report of the Select Committee on Bantu Affairs', House of Assembly, S.C. 9-75, p. 44.

informed of their pending withdrawal and relocation to Elukhanyweni in the Keiskammahoek district of the Ciskei.[4] The Keiskammahoek district is a rather mountainous area, consisting of tree plantations and natural forests with the Keiskamma River running through the centre of the district. Elukhanyweni is located on a hill that marks the point at which the river valley opens up into the Keiskamma basin. The Keiskamma irrigation scheme, around which Ciskei's agriculture was largely organized, is situated in this basin.[5] Soon after the recommendations were approved by the House of Assembly, government officials called a meeting for those people from the various Mfengu communities in the Tsitsikamma who were prepared to move voluntarily. A group of about 50 people who attended this meeting volunteered to move, and were rewarded with plots of agricultural land in Elukhanyweni. They relocated of their own accord from the Tsitsikamma to Elukhanyweni. Those who refused to move called this group of people the "inywaki", which means collaborators. Of this group of relocated volunteers, 14 households were subsequently incorporated into the Ciskeian irrigation scheme at Keiskammahoek.[6]

The majority of people from the different Mfengu communities in the Tsitsikamma resisted the proposed removal. They refused to abandon their historical and communal land and to be relocated to the Ciskei. In response, the State President acted and issued an order for their removal as provided by the "native" Administration Act of 1927.[7] The selected date for the removals was the 15 November 1977. An order was also issued to the South African police authorizing them to arrest and detain any person who refused to "withdraw" from the Tsitsikamma and be moved to Elukhanyweni in the Ciskei.[8] Legal assistance was sought, and on 21 November 1977, when the forced removal was already under way the headman, Steven Sehewula, gave notice of an application on behalf of the community for a legal sanction against the issued order of removal and relocation.[9] The following day an urgent application was brought before the Port Elizabeth Supreme Court requesting that the State President's order be declared null and void.[10] In the application the evictions were opposed on procedural grounds based on the argument that the parliamentary resolution, which had approved the removal, did not comply with all the conditions for authorizing such a removal as set forth in section 5 of the Bantu Administration Act 1927, since it omitted the place from which, as well as the place to which, the Tsitsikamma Mfengu peoples were

---

[4] Platzky and Walker, The Surplus People, pp. 189-190.
[5] Surplus People Project, 'Reports: Forced Removals in South Africa, the Eastern Cape', Vol. 2, January 1983, p. 260.
[6] Platzky and Walker, The Surplus People, p. 190.
[7] See discussion in chapter 7 of this dissertation.
[8] Platzky and Walker, The Surplus People, pp. 189-193.
[9] Platzky and Walker, The Surplus People, pp. 189-196.
[10] Tsitsikamma Exile Association, *Return to our Land*, September 1991.

to be moved. Judgment was eventually made in favour of the State.[11] An appeal against the judgment was lodged by the headman, but was later withdrawn. Other members of the Mfengu communities also attempted to appeal against the judgment, but the court declined permission for this on the grounds that it was only the person in whose name the initial case had been made, who could lodge such an appeal.[12]

The majority of the Mfengu peoples from the Tsitsikamma resisted the forced removal to Keiskammahoek for as long as they could. They were evicted from their land from 21 November 1977 onwards over a period of two months. By the end of January 1978, the Mfengu reserves in the Tsitsikamma had been emptied of its peoples. Altogether about 400 families had been forcefully moved from their land by government officials, in many cases at gun-point, and were resettled at Elukhanyweni in the Keiskammahoek district of the Ciskei.[13] Officially those removed were compensated for their buildings, but not for their dispossessed land. Most people received compensation of between R80.00 and R180.00.[14] Government officials argued that, since the land had initially been held by *ticket of occupation* from the 1850s onwards, and since all rights thereto later vested in the State's "native" Land Trust, the Tsitsikamma Mfengu land dispossession did not require any compensation. In the event the law thus served as a means for depriving them of their land rights: the law disclaimed rather than secured their rights in the land. However, a substantive issue emerging from these particular forced removals was that the Tsitsikamma Mfengu peoples were evicted from land which had been included in the 1913 list of scheduled areas under the Land Act. They were removed from land that had specifically been set aside by government for "native" use and occupation. In this sense some legal grounds for contesting these forced removals remained.

The land set aside for the Tsitsikamma Mfengu at Elukhanyweni was not equivalent to what they had in the Tsitsikamma. In a few cases a household received about 3 ha of arable land and had access to the commonage grazing land, which was about 25 ha. However the majority of relocated people only received house plots. Those who had managed to take their livestock with them lost it in the drought, some were sold, and others were stolen.[15] In all these ways the forced resettlement of the Tsitsikamma Mfengu proved disastrous to the communities. It also seriously impacted on the long-established communal practices and relations of the three Mfengu communities from

---

[11] Platzky and Walker, The Surplus People, p. 195; Surplus People Project, 'Reports', p. 256.
[12] Platsky and Walker, The Surplus People, p. 195; Surplus People Project, 'Reports', p. 256
[13] Platzky and Walker, The Surplus People, pp. 189-196.
[14] Platzky and Walker, The Surplus People, p. 199.
[15] Platzky and Walker, The Surplus People, pp. 196-199.

Doriskraal, Snyklip and Wittekleibosch, that had largely evolved separately under the leadership and authority of their respective headmen -- each having developed its own unique relation to land used, occupied and owned in the Tsitsikamma -- appear to have been merged together on resettlement at Elukhanyweni into one consolidated group. Even apart from this the removal itself and the attempted resistance to this contributed to the breakdown of old, and the forging of new communal associations and identities. The shared experience of the forced removals from the Tsitsikamma was captured in the numerous interviews done by the Surplus People Project. Interviewee after interviewee spoke about the collectivity of the experience and used such descriptive phases as "we tried to resist by attending some meetings about resistance to our removal", "we organized ourselves as a community".[16] Others described how "we were like animals on the GG trucks", "we were brought on overloaded buses with children and men were on the GG trucks with furniture", "we were brought by the trucks and ordered to erect your tent".[17] The forced removals had fractured the separate Tsitsikamma Mfengu communities. While many people remained in Elukhanyweni after the forced relocation, many others moved yet again in search of work to George, Mossel Bay, Knysna, Plettenburg Bay, Humansdorp, Uitenhage, Port Elizabeth, Grahamstown, and East London.[18]

8.2.1 The Clarkson Mission Community Left Behind in Possession of their Land

Unlike their neighbours, the Clarkson "coloured" Moravian mission community were not forcefully removed from their land, even though the Clarkson mission land and its associated land of Charlottenburg had previously been included on the government's list of released areas. With the reclassification of Clarkson as a "coloured" mission station in the 1950s, ownership rights in the land had once again shifted, this time away from the South African Development Land Trust and back to being vested in the independent Moravian Church (Western Cape). This technical provision provided the legal protection which left the Clarksoners in undisturbed occupation of their land while their neighbouring Mfengu communities were forcefully removed to Keiskammahoek.

In 1976 the now independent Moravian Church (Western Cape), also known as the *Evangeliese Broederkerk in die Westelike Provinsie*, leased the Clarkson portion (farm 654) of the mission land, which amounted to 889 ha in size and extent, to the Kareedouw Boerdery (Farming) Company for

---

[16] Platzky and Walker, The Surplus People, p. 193.
[17] Surplus People Project, 'Reports', pp. 257-258.
[18] Tsitsikamma Exile Association, *Return to our Land*, September 1991.

a lease term of twenty years.[19] An annual incremental rent was payable to the Provincial Board of the Moravian Church (Western Cape) and not to the Clarkson mission community. The initial annual rental was R1514, 00 and increased annually to the total annual sum of R9259, 00 in the twentieth lease year. At the mission station the Clarkson residents were restricted to the use of their residential and garden plots. It was the commonage land at the Gap and especially at the Fingo Reserve, which provided space for grazing cattle and other livestock. However, the 1975 order for "the withdrawal of Bantu tribes ... communities ... [and] persons residing in the areas" as set out for the District of Humansdorp,[20] included the commonage land of the Gap and the Fingo Reserve. While the Clarksoners were not forcefully removed from their residential plots and homes, they did lose access to, and use of, the commonage land that they had shared with the neighbouring Mfengu communities. Moreover the construction of the national road, the N2, effectively prevented the Clarksoner mission community from continued use of the commonage land. It became near impossible to drive herds of cattle across the national road safely.[21] The large parcels of agricultural land that were attached to the mission station, remained largely unused by the local Clarksoners, since these portions of land were leased out to "white" farmers by the central administration of the Moravian Church (Western Cape), the Provincial Board. The cultivated garden plots became fodder for the cattle and other livestock. These gardens were just never cultivated in the same way again after the forced removals in 1977. Thus, even if they did not suffer the complete disruption of the forced removals like the Tsitsikamma Mfengu, these did directly and indirectly impact negatively on the Clarksoners.

In an attempt to recapture some of the feelings that people at Clarkson had at the time of these forced removals we interviewed some of the older residents of Clarkson. One person remembered the evictions as "we did not know ... that the thing would unfold in this way ... We felt very sorry for the people. Because the people who lived around Clarkson, they were taken away in such a wild and inhuman manner".[22] Another person remembered, and said "I think if each one of us could grab a family, and said come, we will build you a house here next to mine, then the Clarksoners would have done that. Because they were really saddened by what had happened. But financially

---

[19] The lease agreement was dated 8 November 1985 and backdated for occupation and use of the land to 1 June 1976. The Director of the Kareedouw Boerdery at the time was Gert Josephus van Vollenhoven. See The 'Notarial Contract', K111/85, Protokol No. 466A.

[20] Republic of South Africa, 'First Report of the Select Committee on Bantu Affairs', House of Assembly, S.C. 9- 75, Schedule B, p. 44.

[21] Interview with Chrissie Sedeku, Clarkson, 6 May 2003.

[22] Interview with Wilson Wolfkop, Clarkson, 6 May 2003. The interview was conducted in Afrikaans. The quotation is translated from "maar ons het nie geweet ... die ding sou onvanklik so ontrafel soos hy nou verstaan jy toe't ons maar net toe kry ons eintlik die mense jammer verstaan jy omdat die mense so wild en op so 'n onaardelike manier hier weggevat was destyds rondom Clarkson".

we were not able to say to that group of people: come, we will build a house behind mine. It was a sad story, a story of tears".[23] The Rev. Jantjies, a minister of the Moravian Church (Western Cape) working at the time in Clarkson, recounted that he attempted to mediate with government officials and regularly questioned them on the need for them to proceed with the Tsitsikamma forced removals. He added "now then, a person came to the conclusion that there was nothing that we could do. And then there were the threats that people like us must not get involved in the matter because this was a difficult time, you could be imprisoned for this issue".[24] In response to the Tsitsikamma forced removals the Moravian Church, on behalf of its membership and of the Clarkson community in particular, protested against the forced relocation of the Mfengu to the Ciskei. The Moravian Synod rejected all government policies of forced removal.[25] The scope and extent of the Moravian Church's support of its member communities struggling against the forced removals have not been fully documented. Subsequent support by the Moravian Church included an offer that the displaced Tsitsikamma Mfengu peoples be settled on church land. This offer was however not taken-up due to internal differences among the dislocated Mfengu peoples.[26]

Being a Clarksoner during this time of apartheid upheaval certainly afforded individual protection, security, and perpetuity in their right of access to, and use of, the mission land. No doubt this strengthened the Clarkson community's attachment to the land they occupied. For the Mfengu the trauma of dispossession and forced resettlement elsewhere served to intensify their attachment to "our land" in the Tsitsikamma in both material and symbolic ways. However, in retrospect it has become clear that the Clarksoners' relatively privileged experience under apartheid served in some ways to deligitimise their claim to the mission land, if not in the eyes of the Clarksoners themselves, then certainly in the eyes of others including the Tsitsikamma Mfengu. The fact of the matter is that under apartheid the Clarksoners experienced relative security by not becoming targets of dispossession and forced resettlement, and in that sense they benefited from the resettlement, at least in relation to their neighbouring communities, the Tsitsikamma Mfengu.

---

[23] Interview with William Uithaler, Clarkson, 6 May 2003. The interview was conducted in Afrikaans. The quotation is translated from "Ek dink as ons elke een kon gaan en 'n gesin daar kon gryp en gesê het kom bou vir jou 'n huis hier langs my dan sou die Klerksoners dit gedoen het. Want hulle was rêrig hartseer toe die ding gebeur het. Maar finansieël was ons nie in staat om vir daardie groep mense te sê kom ons sit vir jou 'n huisie hier agter myne op nie. Dit was 'n droewige storie, 'n storie van trane".

[24] Interview with Rev. Jantjies, Clarkson, 6 May 2003. The interview was conducted in Afrikaans. The quotation is translated from "nou ja, dan het 'n mens maar tot die slotsom gekom dat ons maar niks daaraan sal doen nie en dan was daar ook nog die dreigemente gewees dat ander soos ons moet uit hou uit die saak uit ... want dit was mos 'n moeilike tyd, jy kon vir hierdie saak ook opgesluit word".

[25] *Die Huisvriend*, 1991; Interview with Bishop Ulster, Kuilsriver, April 2003.

[26] *Minutes of meeting held Between the Moravian Church and the Tsitsikamma Exile Association*, held on 3 July 1991, p. 6.

8.3 Reconstructing a "Community" for the Dispersed Tsitsikamma Mfengu Peoples in Relation to their Land Claims

8.3.1 A Petition to the Government for the Restoration of Land Rights in the 1980s

During the 1980s the Tsitsikamma Mfengu continued with their efforts to challenge their resettlement in Keiskammahoek. Individuals, such as Isaac Tembani, acted on behalf of the wider (dispersed) Tsitsikamma Mfengu peoples and petitioned the government to review its decision on the Tsitsikamma evictions and land dispossession. This had no effect. During 1982 the South African Government proceeded to sell the Tsitsikamma Mfengu land to "white" farmers. The land was perceived as being potentially the most productive land in the region. Community leaders led by Isaac Tembani sought the support and assistance of the Progressive Federal Party (PFP), which was the official government opposition party at the time. The PFP challenged the sale of the Tsitsikamma Mfengu land in Parliament on procedural grounds, and argued that if the land was sold then Parliament was in breach of the 1913 Land Act since the Tsitsikamma Mfengu reserves had not been removed from the 1913 list of scheduled areas reserved for "native" use and occupation. In terms of the 1913 "native" Land Act such reserved land could not be owned by "white's", and therefore the land could not be sold. Only a resolution of parliament could order the excision of land from the 1913 list of scheduled areas. However, compensatory land had to be provided so that the total quota of land set aside for "native" use and occupation remained unchanged.[27] A select committee was appointed to investigate the excision of the Tsitsikamma Mfengu land from the list of scheduled areas. This committee reported to parliament in June 1982 and recommended the immediate removal of the land from the list of scheduled areas, since the sale thereof could only follow the adoption of such a resolution. The parliamentary resolution was passed on 12 June 1982 and included a portion of land in Queenstown as replacement for the excised Tsitsikamma land. This portion of land was later incorporated into the Transkei.[28] The Ciskei was therefore not compensated as the designated "homeland" which received the evicted Tsitsikamma Mfengu peoples.[29] In this way the dispossession of Tsitsikamma Mfengu land was questioned by the PFP, then the government's official opposition party, and disputed in parliament, but only in terms of procedural fairness based on whether policy guidelines and legal stipulations had been followed. When parliament found that the procedures set out for the relocation and

---

[27] Platzky and Walker, The Surplus People, p. 200.
[28] Platzky and Walker, The Surplus People, pp. 200-201.
[29] The Surplus People Project, 'Report', p. 280.

displacement of Tsitsikamma Mfengu communities had not been adhered to, resolutions were passed that "corrected" the procedural error. This left the substantial validity and fairness of the communities' forced removal and dispersal by the state largely unchallenged. In a further attempt to challenge the evictions and Tsitsikamma land dispossession, community leaders in August 1983 sent a letter of appeal for assistance and intervention to the Director of Human Rights at the United Nations Organisation (UNO), requesting the organization to intercede with and to approach the South African government on their behalf, on human rights and procedural grounds.[30] It is unclear whether such an intervention was made. Further appeals for support and intervention on their behalf were made to the South African Council of Churches, the Black Sash, NG Church, National Party, and even to the Broederbond. These were all unsuccessful. During October 1985 a petition in favour of returning to the Tsitsikamma land, which consisted of 1200 names, was sent to the Minister of Constitutional and Development Affairs, Dr. Viljoen. A response was received on 4 February 1986, which advised petitioners that their request for return of their land could not be acceded to. Soon hereafter a State of Emergency was declared in June 1986, which restricted all further attempts in taking forward the claim for restored rights in the Tsitsikamma land.[31]

The dispossessed land was advertised for sale to "white" farmers in a local newspaper, the Eastern Cape Herald, during February 1982.[32] The Fingo Reserve, Snyklip, the Gap and Doriskraal were grouped together and were formally consolidated in 1985 into farm number 788.This was then subdivided into fourteen portions, of which the twelve portions placed on sale were purchased in 1983. WitteElsBosch and Wittekleibosch were grouped together, consolidated into farm 787 and subdivided into nine portions most of which were purchased during 1985. Two portions of land from both farm 788 (portion one and two) and farm 787 (portions one and two), altogether amounting to about 1946 ha in size and extent, remained vested in the State.[33] Altogether nineteen farmers purchased various portions of land, which they with the assistance of government grants developed into flourishing commercial dairy farming units.[34]

---

[30] Tsitsikamma Exile Association (Fingo), *Letter from T. Makamba as General Secretary to the Rev. M. Wessels as Chairman of the Board of the Moravian Church in Southern Africa*, 29 May 1991, p. 7.

[31] Tsitsikamma Exile Association (Fingo), *Letter from T. Makamba as General Secretary to the Rev. M. Wessels as Chairman of the Board of the Moravian Church in Southern Africa*, 29 May 1991, pp. 6-8; *Minutes of the Meeting Held between the Moravian Church and the Tsitsikamma Exile Association*, held on 3 July 1991, p. 8.

[32] 'Notice of State Land Available in the Republic', Eastern Cape Herald, 12 February 1982.

[33] K. Pienaar, *Historic overview and Brief Introductory Summary*, no date, p. 47.

[34] K.T. August, The Quest for being Public Church: The South African Challenge to the Moravian Church in Context (1737-2004), 1st edition (Cape Town, The Moravian Printing Works, 2005), pp. 251-253.

8.3.2 Calling the Dispersed Tsitsikamma Mfengu Peoples Together to Claim their Land

It was the historical speech of President F.W. de Klerk on 2 February 1990 that created the social and political space for more effective communal mobilization for land restitution. De Klerk's speech announced the repeal of many oppressive apartheid laws. In April 1990 the Legal Resource Centre (LRC), a human rights' NGO, received legal instructions from a group of aged Mfengu (Tsitsikamma) community representatives who were concerned that the "white" farmers who occupied their land could sell the land they bought in 1983. This group of aged community representatives informed the LRC that they wished to regain their ancestral land.[35]

The LRC had been established in the 1970s as a non-profit public interest law centre. Its purpose was and is to provide legal service to the vulnerable, marginalized, poor, and landless people and communities of South Africa who have suffered discrimination including race, gender, or historical circumstances.[36] Consistent with its commitment to oppose all forms of discrimination and to enable the vulnerable and marginalized to assert and develop their rights the LRC took on the Tsitsikamma Mfengu land claim case. It appointed a researcher to investigate the Tsitsikamma area and the Mfengu land claim, and also appointed a professional lawyer, Kobus Pienaar, as legal advisor.[37] In taking up this case the LRC brought with it, an approach of seeking creative and effective solutions drawn from a range of strategies, which included impact litigation, participation in partnerships and development processes, education, and networking within and outside South Africa.[38]

A delegation of community representatives requested advice from the LRC on how to take forward a campaign against the State for the return of the Tsitsikamma Mfengu land.[39] For the LRC the first step in assisting these relocated Tsitsikamma Mfengu communities was to set up a representative structure in view of the difficulty that since the time when the people were forcefully removed they had become scattered over the Southern and Eastern Cape.[40] Under the guidance of the LRC a unitary association of Tsitsikamma exiled Mfengu peoples was formed, with the establishment of local branch structures in areas like Humansdorp, Port Elizabeth, Keiskammahoek, Plettenberg

---

[35] Legal Resource Centre, *Report on the Mfengu Land Case*, 27 July 1991.
[36] Legal Resource Centre, 'Mission Statement', http://www.lrc.org.za/About/, 20 July 2005.
[37] *Minutes of the Meeting held between the Moravian Church and the Tsitsikamma Exile Association*, held on 3 July 1991, p. 8.
[38] Legal Resource Centre, 'Mission Statement', http://www.lrc.org.za/About/, 20 July 2005.
[39] Legal Resource Centre, *Report on the Mfengu Land Case*, 27 July 1991.
[40] Legal Resource Centre, *Report on the Mfengu Land Case*, 27 July 1991.

Bay, and the Tsitsikamma. These branch structures were to meet weekly. A co-ordinator for the established association was appointed who initially worked from the LRC office, tasked with ensuring that regional representatives hold regular feedback meetings. The LRC spent a considerable amount of time in putting in place infrastructural support that would facilitate the receipt and execution of instructions.[41] The new association was called the Tsitsikamma Exile Association (Fingo) or TEA (Fingo). The process was spearheaded by the drafting of a petition for the "return to their land" and the collection of signatories.[42] The petition was circulated among the local branches during November and December 1990. This process was co-ordinated through the LRC office by an appointed TEA (Fingo) coordinator. All established local branches and regional structures participated and about 2200 signatures were collected. The petition contained the following:

> We the Exiled Fingo from the Tsitsikamma, who were forced off our land at gun point in 1977 still claim that Tsitsikamma belongs to us and is our heritage. We have never in any way acknowledged the authority of the government that has caused us to become landless people. We hereby give notice that we are making preparations to return to the land that is rightfully and inalienably ours"

The petition was employed as a mobilizing tool to establish local branch committees in the different areas of the South Western and Eastern Cape, including Elukhanyweni and Keiskammahoek in the Ciskei, East London, Grahamstown, Uitenhage, Port Elizabeth, Humansdorp, Plettenburg Bay, Knysna, George, and Mossel Bay.[43] More importantly, it was utilized to hail people - ("hey, you there!") - into place as social subjects of an ethnic Tsitsikamma "Fingo" discourse.[44] While the petition was being circulated, members from the already established local committees met at a general meeting in Port Elizabeth to launch the TEA (Fingo) and elect its executive committee.[45] These executive members were mostly much younger than the initial group that had approached the LRC, except for Isaac Tembani who had also been part of the initial group of representatives. Those elected were mostly resident in Port Elizabeth. Attendance of this general meeting marked the first response of the scattered Tsitsikamma Mfengu peoples to being interpellated. It is by no means clear that all former members of the Tsitsikamma Mfengu communities responded or, indeed, that only they responded. It can thus not be assumed that there necessarily was a very

---

[41] Legal Resource Centre, *Report on the Mfengu Land Case*, 27 July 1991.
[42] Tsitsikamma Exile Association, *Return to our Land: an update on our struggle*, September 1991.
[43] Tsitsikamma Exile Association, *Return to our Land: an update on our struggle*, September 1991.
[44] Our discussion of the hailing or interpellation of persons as social subjects of a discourse draws on the theoretical works of Althusser and Pêcheux, which we discuss in section 2.6 of this dissertation.
[45] Tsitsikamma Exile Association, *Return to our Land: an update on our struggle*, September 1991.

close linkage between the membership of the Tsitsikamma Mfengu communities who had been forcibly removed in 1977 and the "Mfengu Community" which was mobilized from 1990 to reclaim their land. This is by no means to dispute that there must have been a substantial linkage and overlap between these different incarnations of the (Tsitsikamma) Mfengu communities. But the key point is that those who responded to the call were those who perceived themselves as being addressed as belonging to the Mfengu whose families had been forcefully removed in 1977 from their land in the Tsitsikamma.[46] It was by responding to the interpellation that some people joined the numerous local committees, which led to the establishment of the TEA (Fingo). They were thereby constituted as subjects of an ethnic Tsitsikamma "Fingo" discourse.

Drawing on the network, partnerships, support and infrastructure of the LRC, the TEA (Fingo) began a systematic media campaign aimed at informing potential members of its activities aimed at reclaiming their land in the Tsitsikamma. Activities to which the dispersed Tsitsikamma Mfengu peoples could respond, and participate in, were regularly announced in the local newspapers. During February 1991 the TEA (Fingo) made known that the "banished Fingo tribesmen" were "to visit the graves of their ancestors for the first time since being banished from the area". It was reported that "the sites would be cleared as they had become very overgrown due to 13 years of enforced neglect" and that "the grave cleaning exercise would be conducted in an orderly way, without causing a disturbance in the area".[47] Between fifty and eighty people responded to the call and participated in the grave-cleaning ritual,[48] which connected the contemporary Mfengu communities with the deceased who had lived on and used the land in the past and who had been buried in the "overgrown and neglected" graveyards. The use of the grave-cleaning ritual may be regarded as an invented tradition and a representational strategy utilized in the process of communal identification to produce continuity with a historical past that was legitimately connected to the Tsitsikamma land.

Central to this process of communal mobilization was the development of a "Fingo" ethnic narrative, a story that was told and retold on various occasions, as a representational strategy giving meaning to belonging to this community. The "Fingo" ethnic narrative comprised of a set of selected historical events and shared experiences, which began to be publicly told from February

---

[46] The interpellation of Tsitsikamma Mfengu ensued proceeded through newspaper articles like these 'The Mfengu People Fight to Regain Tribal Land they Lost at Gunpoint', Cape Times, 22 April 1991; 'The Mfengu People have become a cause Celebré in the National Row Over Land Claims', Sunday Times, 28 July 1991.
[47] 'Banished "Fingo" Tribesmen to visit Ancestor's Graves', Evening Post, 18 February 1991.
[48] 'Plight of the Tsitsikamma Fingos', Evening Post, 26 February 1991; 'Fingos Visit Ancestral Graves in Tsitsikamma', Eastern Province Herald, 26 February 1991.

1991 onwards. The following is a composite account of the "Fingo" ethnic narrative drawn from a range of news reports covering their activities during this period:

> "During the raging of the Mfecane in the early 1800s, a number of tribes from southern Natal were driven southwards to settle among the Xhosa. They sided with the British during the border war, forming a buffer against the Xhosa, and in repayment for their loyalty were given land. They were told they were landowners on the same footing as the white man. When the land was registered the title deeds said it was to be held in trust for the Mfengu and their descendents.[49] ... The land was originally given to the Fingo people by Sir George Grey (sic!) in the 1830s.[50] ... The Fingo people of the Eastern Cape, were the first black people to get the vote in South Africa ... they have since lost the vote – and the land at the Tsitsikamma which had been given to them by the British in repayment for their loyalty to the colonial government of the day ... At gun point they were forced off their land[51] ... in 1977 ... and relocated to Ciskei under the governments homeland consolidation policy[52] ... [now] a dispersed community and most have never forgotten their former homes and lifestyles.[53] ... They returned for the first time in 13 years to tend to the graves of their ancestors".[54]

Their historical claims to the land granted and held during British colonialism, the land lost during apartheid, and the land now reclaimed by the constituted contemporary Tsitsikamma Mfengu community connected the daily lives of all the dispersed people who were responding and being hailed as social subjects in the formation of the ethnic Tsitsikamma Mfengu discourse. The shared feelings of sorrow, loss of dignity, and violation experienced during the 1977 forced removals gave further meaning to perceptions of "belonging to" this discursive community. This "Fingo" ethnic narrative did not wholly correspond with the relevant history of the Mfengu and excluded some key events and elements of that history. The retold contemporary "Fingo" ethnic story excluded the complex set of historical events that had led to four distinct groups of Mfengu peoples being settled in the Tsitsikamma from the 1830s at the request of colonial farmers who demanded from the colonial office that they be adequately supplied with "Fingo" labourers.[55] The historical divisions between these different groups of Mfengu who had been settled in the Tsitsikamma with separate colonial land grants were also excluded from the narrative. The story told was rather of a landscape without territorial or communal divisions that is 6000 ha in size and extent, and which belonged to

---

[49] 'Fingo Exiles Pledge to Reclaim Land', Sunday Tribune, 24 February 1991.
[50] 'Fingoes visit Ancestral Graves in Tsitsikamma', Eastern Province Herald, 26 February 1991; 'Fingoes Visit Ancestral Graves in Tsitsikamma', Eastern Province Herald, 24 February 1991;
[51] 'Fingo Exiles Pledge to Reclaim Land', Sunday Tribune, 24 February 1991.
[52] 'Fingoes visit Ancestral Graves in Tsitsikamma', Eastern Province Herald, 26 February 1991; 'Fingoes Visit Ancestral Graves in Tsitsikamma', Eastern Province Herald, 24 February 1991;
[53] 'Mfengu Ex-farmers Hopeful for Lost Land', Evening Post, 16 February 1991.
[54] 'Fingo Exiles Pledge to Reclaim Land', Sunday Tribune, 24 February 1991.
[55] Forced labour and the movement of numerous armed groups of Xhosa peoples through the Cape colony during the Eastern Cape frontier war of 1834-35 is discussed in chapter 4 of this dissertation.

the exiled and dispersed Tsitsikamma Mfengu peoples now constituted as a unified homogenous contemporary ethnic community. The persistent public use of the name "Fingo" to refer to the Tsitsikamma peoples, who had been forcefully removed from their land, certainly connected them as members of the contemporary ethnic community though ironically on the basis of a term that had a long and contested political history going back to the colonial discourse of the 1830s. In this unfolding contemporary "Fingo" ethnic narrative the identification of the subject with the dominating interdiscourse was clearly an imaginary identification. Following Pecheux, when appropriated words and expressions from the inter-discourse have been reordered and rearranged, then a new discursive practice is formulated, causing a rupture with the identification in the interdiscourse. This modality of identification is called dis-identification.[56] In the case of the contemporary Tsitsikamma Mfengu community, terms, classifications and naming, as well as expressions and selective resources of history appropriated from the dominating colonial and apartheid discourses have been reordered and rearranged. From these fissures of identification in the interdiscourse the "Fingo"/Mfengu emerged as subject of the ethnic Tsitsikamma Mfengu discourse. The previous subjectivisation in the colonial and apartheid interdiscourse was not freely nor spontaneously embraced. The identification was therefore not that of the "good subject". Neither was an opposing position adopted in which all meaning imposed through the dominating colonial and apartheid interdiscourse, is negated. Rather, aspects of the colonial "Fingo" narrative, the shared experiences of dispossession under apartheid, racial and ethnic terms, classifications, and meanings appropriated from the interdiscourse took on a new form and order in the modality of dis-identification. The selective appropriation and reorganizing of aspects of meaning present in this modality of dis-identification thus gave rise to a new discursive practice namely the Tsitsikamma Mfengu ethnic discourse.

As a foundational myth the colonial story of "Fingo" origin dating back to the Mfecane, linked the discursive Tsitsikamma Mfengu community to societies of people in Southern Natal that preceded the Mfecane.[57] Such a strategy of representation successfully contributed in presenting the contemporary Tsitsikamma Mfengu ethnic community as primordial and steeped in timeless tradition, even though the histories of the Mfengu peoples within the Cape colony actually dates only from 1835, while the Tsitsikamma Mfengu peoples received their land grants in 1837.[58] Yet through the re-telling of this foundational myth the origin of the contemporary Tsitsikamma Mfengu

---

[56] See our theoretical discussion of Pêcheux's three types of modalities of identification of discursive subjects with the dominating interdiscourse in section 2.6 of this dissertation.

[57] See our theoretical discussion of what representational strategies and discursive mechanisms are deployed to construct our commonsense views of belonging to a community in section 2.5 of this dissertation.

[58] See discussion in section 4.6 of this dissertation.

community was historically located not just beyond the 1977 forced removals but rooted in the distant past prior to the Mfecane of the early 1800s.[59] As a constructed foundational myth, the disarray and turmoil that set in amongst the Tsitsikamma Mfengu peoples following the 1977 forced removals was converted, at least at the level of discourse, to provide the representation of a homogeneous community linked by a historical narrative which predates the ruptures of colonialism. People dispersed across the Eastern Cape began responding to being hailed as social subjects of an ethnic Tsitsikamma Mfengu discourse. Equally significant was the symbolic grounding of the retold story using land as a discursive theme within the ethnic discourse. Land as a discursive theme comprised of resources of history like the land grants received from colonial officials for loyalty to the British colony in frontier wars waged against the Xhosa; becoming landowners within the Cape colony as males and thereby qualifying for the franchise like other male colonists; losing the vote; losing rights in land and finally being forcefully moved off the land previously owned. Symbolic grounding of the constituted ethnic community on assertions of entitlement to land included calls for "return to our land", "my father told us this land is ours", "we bought this land with our life", and "we fought for this land".[60] As a strategy of representation the symbolic grounding of land as a discursive theme certainly added to producing a homogenous, unified discursive community that belonged together despite the actual dispersal of people after the forced removals and past historical differences between the separate communities that resided in the Tsitsikamma prior to being relocated to Elukhayeweni at Keiskammahoek in the Ciskei.

During 1991 a "white" Paper was issued based on the Abolition of Racially Based Land Measures Act, which stated that the return of the actual land to the victims of forced removals was not feasible. In terms of the Abolition of Racially Based Land Measures Act, the State President was empowered to establish and nominate members to an Advisory Commission on Land Allocation to consider cases of land restitution. The scope of this Advisory Commission was limited only to state-owned land, and land that had not yet been developed. The land claim of the Tsitsikamma Mfengu thus fell outside the scope of this Advisory Commission.[61] In response the LRC, together with other non-government organizations like the Surplus People's Project, brought together representatives of various landless communities among whom it worked. Altogether thirteen dispossessed communities, including a Tsitsikamma Mfengu delegation, came together on 23-24 March 1991, to petition government and hold a national picket, which protested against the official policies of land reform and land restoration that excluded land that had been forcefully removed by the state. The

[59] The story of "Fingo" origin and the historical debate surrounding it is described in section 1.6.3 of this dissertation.
[60] Tsitsikamma Exile Association, *Return to our Land*, September 1991.
[61] *Minutes of the Meeting held between the Moravian Church and the Tsitsikamma Exile Association*, held on 3 July 1991, p. 9.

Tsitsikamma Mfengu delegation included people joining the picket line in Keiskammahoek, King Williams Town, Port Elizabeth and Humansdorp.[62] This coordinated national action initiated by the non-government organization sector, gave momentum to the mobilization of peoples affected by the forced removals, like the Tstitsikamma Mfengu. In a picket by a group of women from the Black Sash on the market square in Port Elizabeth, placards were held up proclaiming "return the Fingo land" and "Fingoes" want to go home". These women also distributed pamphlets issued by the TEA (Fingo) to people passing by.[63] The leaflet asserted that the land still belonged to the "Fingos" and had been registered in trust for them. It further asserted that "we refuse to buy back our birthright and ground our ancestors paid for with their blood" and demanded the return of their land.[64] The picket hailed individuals into place as social subjects of the ethnic Tsitsikamma Mfengu discourse within which the discursive contemporary "Fingo" community was constituted.

The campaign for the "return to their land" gained further momentum in 1991 when the TEA was informed that some of the nineteen farmers' permitted by the State to purchase the dispossessed Tsitsikamma land, intended selling their farms.[65] In addition the looming abolition of the Land Act had implications for the TEA(Fingo)'s land claim, causing the rights in land vested in the South African Development Trust (SADT) to shift and become vested in the South African State President with the power to decide how the land was to be disposed of. In an attempt to safeguard the Tsitsikamma Mfengu land rights, the LRC advised the TEA (Fingo) to cause legal action to be taken on their behalf. On 10th and 13th May 1991, the LRC served a combined Supreme Court Summons on the SADT, the Minister of Public Works and Land Affairs, the State President, and the nineteen farmers occupying the dispossessed Tsitsikamma Mfengu land. After extensive consultation fourteen plaintiffs were selected to take forward the court action, all of whom were direct descendants of the originally state appointed Mfengu chiefs in whose names the original farms were registered and held in trust by the Civil Commissioner of Uitenhage.[66] At the time of the issuing of the Combined Summons, seven of the plaintiffs were resident at the Elukhanyeweni location in Keiskammahoek. Three were resident at the Nomzamo location in Humansdorp. Three lived in Port Elizabeth and one resided at the Weston Location in Hankey. This meant that the fourteen selected plaintiffs represented the different Tsitsikamma Mfengu communities fairly well. Three of the plaintiffs were from Snyklip, three came from Doriskraal, another three came from

---

[62] *Minutes of the Meeting held between the Moravian Church and the Tsitsikamma Exile Association*, held on 3 July 1991, p. 9.
[63] 'Black Sash Holds Fingo Land Demo', Eastern Province Herald, 20 March 1991.
[64] 'Sash Holds Poster Demo for Fingos', Evening Post, 21 March 1991.
[65] Tsitsikamma Exile Association, 'Return to our Land: an update on our struggle', September 1991.
[66] Legal Resource Centre, *Report on Mfengu Land Case*, unpublished, 27 July 1991.

Wittekleibosch, and two had originally resided in the Palmiet River area before being forcefully removed there from.[67] The Combined Summons claimed that procedurally the order of removal from the Tsitsikamma had "no force or effect" since it failed to specify the place to which the people were to be moved. It further acknowledged that by 1982 five pieces of land (Snyklip, Doriskraal, Wittekleibosch, the Gap, Fingo Reserve, and Palmiet River) were removed from the Schedule attached to Act 18 of 1936, and that by 1985 the Title Deeds of these five pieces of land had been endorsed and transferred to the State, [68] which retained the first two portions from both farm 787 and 788, (four portions in total), as well as farm 584. The Summons maintained further that the Tsitsikamma Mfengu people were wrongfully and unlawfully evicted from their land and were entitled to the restoration and possession of their land.[69] The Common Summons was later withdrawn following the implementation of a settlement agreement reached after lengthy negotiations with all concerned parties.[70]

In addition to the pending court case, the TEA (Fingo) approached the charismatic Bishop Desmond Tutu to speak on their behalf with representatives of the South African government. Bishop Tutu publicly announced that he, too, was a Mfengu, and that he would be leading the TEA (Fingo) delegation in its first meeting with the State President, F.W. de Klerk.[71] Given the Bishop's charismatic public status and support, his public assertion that "I am also a Mfengu" played a significant part in furthering the public cause of the Tsitsikamma Mfengu. The TEA (Fingo) delegation included a representative from the Moravian Church Provincial Board (Western Cape). The meeting was held at the Union Building on 15 July 1991.[72] When Bishop Tutu addressed the State President, he described what had happened to the Mfengu people and their land as a result of the forced removals. He added that as a Mfengu descendent himself, he was personally involved.[73] In the meeting the general secretary of the TEA, Thobile Makhamba, described the Tsitsikamma Mfengu people as a reasonable, disciplined, and organized community who wanted

---

[67] *Combined Summons in the Supreme Court of South Africa* (South Eastern Cape Local Division), in the matter between S. Mtselu and thirteen other plaintiffs and the South African Development Trust and 22 other Defendants, 7 May 1991, Case No. 1306/9.

[68] We have not included the Mfengu community of the Palmiet River in our social historical account since we have been primarily concerned with the land and ambiguous entitlements to land surrounding Clarkson and its adjacent Mfengu portions of land.

[69] *Combined Summons in the Supreme Court of South Africa,* Case No. 1306/9.

[70] Legal Resource Centre, *Mfengu Case Report Compilation*, 15 January 1994 to March 1994.

[71] 'The Mfengu People have Become a Cause Celebré in the National Row over Land Claims', Sunday Times, 28 July 1991.

[72] Legal Resource Centre, *Draft Notes, on Meeting with the State President F.W. de Klerk*, Union Building, held on 15 July 1991. The Moravian Church was represented by Rev. B.C.P. Lottering. Bishop Tutu was accompanied by his Personal Aid Rev. Mazwi Tisani, his Press Secretary John Allan, and Bishop Bruce Evans of the Port Elizabeth Diocese of the Anglican Church.

[73] Legal Resource Centre, *Draft Notes, on Meeting with the State President F.W. de Klerk*, Union Building, held on 15 July 1991, p. 2.

neither confrontation nor wished to embark on illegal action. He spoke about "our community" at the time of the removal in 1977, which consisted of about 450 family units, as being a tightly woven community that occupied 8000 ha of land. Makhamba explained further that even though the land had been registered in trust for the Mfengu, each family possessed its own plot of land that amounted to about four morgen in size and extent. Some families held larger portions of land. This land was used for crop cultivation and was held separately from the communal grazing land. Makhamba described how if one person was too old to farm, or alternatively managed to find employment outside the Tsitsikamma, then someone else would cultivate the land for the family who owned that particular portion of land. Makhamba explained further that not all of the members of "our community" were farmers who cultivated the land. Some were factory workers, storemen, clerks, policemen, nurses, ministers of religion, teachers, shop-owners, builders, plumbers, carpenters, taxi-owners, agriculturalists, foresters, while many others were farm workers.[74] The internal divisions and territorial boundaries of the distinct Mfengu communities based at Snyklip, Wittekleibosch and Doriskraal were not highlighted in the retold contemporary "Fingo" story. Rather the Tsitsikamma Mfengu people were represented as a homogenous unified community with diverse professions some of which were no longer related to cultivating the land.

8.3.3 A Unified Homogenous Contemporary Tsitsikamma Mfengu Ethnic Community as Basis for the Claims to Land Restitution

In the event, the TEA (Fingo), as representatives of the Tsitsikamma Mfengu community chose the path of a negotiated settlement with the state and the nineteen Tsitsikamma farm owners. It thereby disregarded the option of pursuing the pending court case on the basis of the issued Common Summons.[75] Some progress had been made in negotiations with the state regarding the restoration of rights in land to the Tsitsikamma Mfengu (exile) community. In these negotiations the first land settlement offer made by the state was presented during September 1992. In terms of this initial offer only a portion of Snyklip, the Gap and Wittekleibosch together with the farm "Nuwe Plaas" were to be returned. This offer also included some developmental assistance. When this initial offer was rejected, negotiations continued. A second offer was made by the state on 28 January 1994, which included the return of all land at Snyklip and the Gap that was situated below

---

[74] Legal Resource Centre, *Draft Notes, on Meeting with the State President F.W. de Klerk*, Union Building, held on 15 July 1991, pp. 5-7.

[75] Legal Resource Centre and the Tsitsikamma Development Trust (Mfengu), *Report to Members of the Tsitsikamma Community*, June 1994, p. 2.

the N2 national road, as well as the return of Doriskraal and the Fingo Reserve.[76] This offer only dealt with the return of land and did not include the provision of houses, even though the homes of many had been demolished after the move to the Elukhanyweni location at Keiskammahoek in the Ciskei.[77]

The TEA (Fingo) held a community convention on 12 February 1994 to consider this offer. Representatives at this convention came, amongst others, from Port Elizabeth, Grahamstown, Mosselbay, George, Knysna, Plettenberg Bay, Kleinbos, Oubosrand, Sea Vista, Kareedouw, Humansdorp, Tsitsikamma, and Keiskammahoek.[78] These representatives had to decide on the acceptance or rejection of the offer made by the State. Rejection of the offer would mean either that they would have to pursue possible claims for a monetary settlement, or the option of taking their claim to the Land Claims Court that was to be established after the national democratic elections on 27 April 1994.[79] It was at this convention that a mandate was obtained for a Deed of Settlement to be concluded with the State and the nineteen farmers who at the time owned the land.[80] Settlement was encouraged despite the exclusion of "Nuwe Plaas", the top portions of Snyklip and the Gap, and the omission of a small piece of Wittekleibosch.[81] At this convention the TEA (Fingo) was also instructed to establish a Trust as the legal entity to which ownership of the land would be transferred, and held on behalf of the Tsitsikamma Mfengu community.[82] Representatives at the Convention requested the community leadership and the negotiating committee to explore all possible options for speeding up the process of settlement. Discussions also centered on whether members should be permitted to return to live on the 4 morgen sized plots they occupied and used before their forced removal from the land. The assumption made at this convention was that few people were ready to take up farming immediately. The priority was therefore to establish a central town on non-productive farm land. Such a town was to have an autonomous and democratic local authority, and not be an exclusively Mfengu location, nor be under the control of the Moravian Church.[83]

---

[76] Legal Resource Centre and Tsitsikamma Development Trust (Mfengu), *Report to Members of the Tsitsikamma Community*, June 1994, p. 2.
[77] Legal Resource Centre and Tsitsikamma Development Trust (Mfengu), *Report to Members of the Tsitsikamma Community*, June 1994, p. 3.
[78] Legal Resource Centre and Tsitsikamma Development Trust (Mfengu), *Report to Members of the Tsitsikamma Community*, June 1994, p. 2.
[79] Legal Resource Centre, and Tsitsikamma Development Trust (Mfengu), *Report to Members of the Tsitsikamma Community*, June 1994, p. 3.
[80] Tsitsikamma Development Trust (Mfengu), *Amended Deed of Trust*, Cape Town, 1998, p. 4.
[81] Legal Resource Centre and Tsitsikamma Development Trust (Mfengu), *Report to Members of the Tsitsikamma Community*, June 1994, p. 3.
[82] Tsitsikamma Ddevelopment Trust (Mfengu), *Amended Deed of Trust*, Cape Town, 1998, p. 4.
[83] Legal Resource Centre and Tsitsikamma Development Trust (Mfengu), *Report to Members of the Tsitsikamma Community*, June 1994, p. 3.

In line with these decisions at the convention a Trust was established and registered on 25 March 1994, and named the Tsitsikamma Development Trust (Mfengu), or the TDT (Mfengu).[84] Eight leaders of the TEA (Fingo) were incorporated as appointed trustees of the TDT (Mfengu).[85] An official negotiated land settlement agreement was concluded on 25 March 1994 between the TDT (Mfengu), the State, and the group of nineteen farmers. This settlement agreement was recognized both by the representatives of the Tsitsikamma Mfengu and more widely as a historical achievement. Not only did it mean that the Tsitsikamma Mfengu campaign for restitution of their land from which they had been forcibly removed in 1977 had achieved success, but it was also hailed as the first major case of land restitution in the post-apartheid era of South Africa. Indeed, the Tsitsikamma Mfengu land settlement significantly preceded the historic founding democratic election in South Africa in 1994. Equally important was that the settlement had been reached in the absence of any official land reform/restitution policy and laws to guide the process. Waiting for such land reform guidelines to be adopted by Parliament and then to be put in place, would have delayed the settlement of the land claim.[86]

More specifically the settlement agreement involved the restoration of rights to 5858 ha of land in the Tsitsikamma. Effectively rights in land had been restored and were now held by the TDT (Mfengu) on behalf of the Tsitsikamma Mfengu community. The settlement agreement involved a large payment by the State to the TDT (Mfengu) of a total sum of R37 680 000 from which to purchase the respective Tsitsikamma farms at an amount totaling R35 720 000. The balance amounted to a total sum of R1 960 000 that was to be administered by the TDT.[87] In resolving the Tsitsikamma land claim the State acknowledged that the land settlement was reached under the old apartheid laws, and that the Tsitsikamma Mfengu could make further claims to land in the Tsitsikamma under the new constitution.[88] The settlement agreement included the lease of the nineteen farms back to the nineteen farmers for a period of nine months at a rental payment of R144 208 every two months. The lease of the returned land, rather than the occupation and allocation of portions thereof to qualifying members, was to be an interim arrangement operable

---

[84] Tsitsikamma Exile Association (Fingo) and Tsitsikamma Development Trust (Mfengu), *Agreement of Settlement,* Supreme Court of South Africa, Case no. 1306/91, Cape Town, 1994, p. 6.
[85] Legal Resource Centre, *All Members of the Tsitsikamma Community who were forcibly Moved During 1977,* Report, June 1994, p. 5.
[86] Legal Resource Centre, *All Members of the Tsitsikamma Community who were forcibly Moved During 1977,* Report, June 1994, p. 4.
[87] Tsitsikamma Exile Association (Fingo) and Tsitsikamma Development Trust (Mfengu), *Agreement of Settlement,* Supreme Court of South Africa, Case No. 1306/91.
[88] Legal Resource Centre and Tsitsikamma Devlopment Trust (Mfengu), *Report to Members of the Tsitsikamma Community,* June 1994, p.4.

until a development and land management plan by the TDT (Mfengu) and its members had been completed.[89]

The settlement agreement went far to ensure that the government subsidised commercial dairy farming operations would not be interfered with after the restoration of rights in land. Settlement of the land claim was reached subject to the TDT's (Mfengu) commitment to formulate a plan for the continued productivity and large-scale commercial development of the agricultural land.[90] Not wanting to jeopardise the continued intensive commercial dairy farming programme in any way, and unable to conclude a development and land management plan with its membership, the TDT (Mfengu) entered into long term leases with the very farmers from whom the land had been taken back.[91] The interim lease contracts were renewed and extended. Of the nineteen farms, three were leased out for a period of about ten years, two farms were subject to a two year lease agreement, an additional two farms had been leased out for a period of three years, five of the farms were subject to a five year lease contract, and two farms had been leased for a period of seven years. Only one farm had not been leased out and was available for immediate occupation.[92] During internal discussions held with its members, the TDT (Mfengu) argued that the land could be leased out because there was no immediate need for all the land to be allocated, even if there had been a development and land management plan in place. From an exclusively development and management point of view the TDT (Mfengu) claimed that to control the access, allocate land, and ensure that all the land was worked would be a near impossible task. The TDT (Mfengu) asserted that in terms of the legal negotiated land settlement, it had the power to renew and extend the leasing of the land held on behalf of the Tsitsikamma Mfengu people.[93] The TDT (Mfengu) further argued that, because the planning process would take time, it had to safeguard its assets and make it earn money.[94] Furthermore, it recalled that lengthy discussions had taken place with members of the community in which Trustees showed that the option of returning to their original portions of land was not feasible.[95] The TDT (Mfengu) therefore did not take account of the rights

---

[89] Legal Resource Centre and Tsitsikamma Development Trust (Mfengu), *Report to Members of the Tsitsikamma Community*, June 1994, p. 5.
[90] The National Land Committee, 'Mfengus Return Home After 17-Year Struggle', Land Update (May-June 1994), p. 16.
[91] Tsitsikamma Development Trust (Mfengu), *The Resettlement of the Mfengu Community to the Tsitsikamma Region*, November 1995.
[92] Legal Resource Centre, *Draft Summary of Issues Facing the Tsitsikamma Development Trust (Mfengu)*, 12 May 1995, pp. 9-10.
[93] Legal Resource Centre, *Draft Summary of Issues Facing the Tsitsikamma Development Trust (Mfengu)*, 12 May 1995, pp. 9-10.
[94] Legal Resource Centre, *Draft Summary of Issues Facing the Tsitsikamma Development Trust (Mfengu)*, 12 May 1995, p. 10.
[95] Legal Resource Centre, *Draft Summary of Issues Facing the Tsitsikamma Development Trust (Mfengu)*, 12 May 1995, p. 12.

of the members of the dispossessed Tsitsikamma Mfengu community to exercise their restitution rights. In effect this meant that the issue of restitution had been shifted from individual membership level to that of community level, of which the TDT (Mfengu) could claim to be representatives. In other words, it was their responsibility to safeguard the "community's" interests, even if this meant that individual members of that community could not exercise their rights to land.

When the TDT(Mfengu) leased the land back to the "white" farmers, they effectively handed over the occupation and use of the land as well as the exercise of their land rights as "owners" to these farmers, albeit temporarily. The significant question here is who is the "they"? Is it the TDT(Mfengu) as representatives of the community or is it the actual members of the community? There is thus a double process of "handing over" the effective exercise of the restitution of rights in land: (1) by the TDT(Mfengu) to the nineteen farmers by leasing the land to them, and (2) by the members of the Tsitsikamma Mfengu community to the TDT(Mfengu) to act on their behalf as representatives. What remains important is that the members of the Tsitsikamma Mfengu community have ended up unable to return to the restituted land while the TDT(Mfengu) is in the position to dispose of the income generated by the leases. A critical question that falls outside the scope of this dissertation would be whether the representatives on the TDT(Mfengu) would have wanted to return to the land in their own right. If not, the implication would be that effectively those who did not have a personal interest in returning to the land made decisions obstructing the wishes of those who did want to do so.

According to K. Gray and S.F. Gray, in their article "The Idea of Property", the holding of rights in land reflects a deep sense of belonging and established relations of power. Conversely denial of the effective exercise of such rights could bring about disempowerment and disorientation in the realization that my presence on the land is unacceptable and prohibited.[96] In the case of the Tsitsikamma Mfengu community, leasing out the land to the very farmers from whom the land had been taken back prevented members of the Tsitsikamma Mfengu community from asserting their complete and exclusive physical control over land in which their rights had officially been restored. Effectively they were denied access to reside on, and make use of or develop, the land that had been returned to them.[97] More significantly, the right to restitution of their land and the "reclaiming of our land" had been utilized as a resource of meaning in the "Fingo" ethnic discourse representing a unified homogenous discursive community. In practice this resulted in a basic

[96] K. Gray and S.F. Gray, 'The Idea of Property in Land' in S. Bright and J. Dewar (eds.), Land Law: Themes and Perspectives (Oxford, Oxford University Press, 1998), pp. 19-22.
[97] 'Growing Bitterness Over Land Restitution', Business Day, 13 March 1996.

contradiction in that the land which had been successfully returned was unavailable because it had been leased out. This contradiction destabilized the very basis upon which the contemporary Mfengu community was created. The transaction of leasing-out of the returned land re-established the relations of power of the respective lease-holding farmers who now held exclusive rights of occupation and use thereof, albeit temporarily through the lease agreements entered into with the TDT (Mfengu). The decision to engage in land lease transactions also established the TDT (Mfengu) in a relation of power over the wider Tsitsikamma Mfengu community. As trustees and owners of the returned land, the TDT (Mfengu) were set on exerting and sustaining relations of power since it now legally held the returned 6000 ha of land in trust and on behalf of the Tsitsikamma Mfengu community.

The contradictory outcome of the settlement agreement produced strains and divisions within the Tsitsikamma Mfengu community. A group of concerned community members began opposing the leasing-out of the returned land. Most of these opposition members were people who came from Wittekleibosch, and who now lived in Humansdorp and Port Elizabeth.[98] This group of concerned community members also included some of the more aged (male) community representatives as well as those leaders from the previous TEA (Fingo), like Isaac Tembani, who had not been incorporated as appointed trustees of the TDT (Mfengu). When this Concerned Group, who came largely from the Wittekleibosch area of the Tsitsikamma, challenged the TDT (Mfengu), the constructed unity and homogeneity of the contemporary Mfengu community was disrupted and destabilized. Members of this Concerned Group alleged that the Trustees had acted outside of their powers when concluding long-term land lease agreements with at least eighteen of the farmers from whom the land had been taken back.[99] While most of the TDT (Mfengu) trustees were residents of Port Elizabeth, many people of the Concerned Group had relocated to the Tsitsikamma, to live on pieces of vacant farmland at a place called "Guava Juice". According to an LRC report, this opposition group planned to go from farm to farm slaughtering the animals and forcing the reoccupation of the land with the aim of coercing these farmers to cancel their lease agreements with the TDT.[100] This did not happen. The Concerned Group successfully appealed to the Land Claims Commissioners, Wallace Mgoqi and Peter Mayende as well as the Member of Parliament, Gill Marcus, to intervene in the activities of the TDT during April 1995. The Trust was

---

[98] Legal Resource Centre, *Draft Summary of Issues Facing the Tsitsikamma Development Trust (Mfengu)*, 12 May 1995, p. 12.
[99] Legal Resource Centre, *Draft Summary of Issues Facing the Tsitsikamma Development Trust (Mfengu)*, 12 May 1995, pp. 10-12.
[100] Legal Resource Centre, *Draft Summary of Issues Facing the Tsitsikamma Development Trust (Mfengu)*, 12 May 1995, p. 11.

directed to co-opt two new trustee members from the Concerned Group. In addition, a forum consisting of sixteen community members was established to broaden community participation in the decisions made by the Trust.[101] The Concerned Group persisted in petitioning government officials to intervene. During March 1996 the Minister of Land Affairs announced to the LRC the appointment of Helena Dolny who was to be charged with a brief for conducting interviews with all role players in the Mfengu Tsitsikamma Community so that tension in the land reform project could be discussed in an informed manner. At a TDT (Mfengu) General Meeting that was held on 13 April 1996 in Keiskammahoek a decision was taken that at least two of the land lease agreements should be re-negotiated or cancelled so that settlements for some of the returning Mfengu could be established at Wittekleibosch and Snyklip. This decision was followed up by a meeting between the TDT and three chief spokespersons of the Concerned Group. In this meeting a resolution was made that Helena Dolny should accompany a delegation consisting of two Trustees and two members of the Concerned Group to one of the farmers so as to discuss ("without prejudice" was added by the LRC) the possibility of shortening his land lease agreement.[102]

Issues of land access and land use among the returning Tsitsikamma Mfengu peoples remained largely unresolved. More recently, in 2003, a letter was sent by the Concerned Group, now calling itself Umanyano Lwana Tsitsikamma, to the Minister of Agriculture requesting her intervention in the dispute between the concerned Mfengu community and the TDT (Mfengu).[103] It has persisted in opposing decisions taken by the TDT (Mfengu) regarding the leasing of the restored land back to the previous landholding farmers who had been advantaged by, and gained substantially from, apartheid laws and policies. The grievance of the Concerned Group was that these same farmers continued to benefit from the Mfengu land, while the larger returning Tsitsikamma Mfengu community had to live in abject poverty on very small portions of land allocated to them with no regular access to clean water and basic services. The fairly substantial income from the lease agreements have for the most part gone into covering the administrative and management costs of the TDT (Mfengu). The concerned Group have objected to the TDT (Mfengu) having entered numerous joint venture commercial agricultural agreements with some of the lease-holding "white" farmers from which the local members of the Tsitsikamma Mfengu community did not receive any

---

[101] Legal Resource Centre, *Report Concerning The Mfengu/Tsitsikamma Project*, 3 June 1996, pp. 3-4.

[102] Legal Resource Centre, *Report Concerning The Mfengu/Tsitsikamma Project*, 3 June 1996, p. 7. When I conducted in-depth interviews in the Clarkson and Tsitsikamma area during 2003, one of the group interviews conducted consisted of Mfengu people who were residing on land in Guava Juice, Doriskraal and Snyklip with no basic services, and with limited rights to use the land.

[103] Umanyano Lwama Tsitsikamma, Letter to the Minister of Agriculture, Requesting Your Intervention on the Dispute Between the Community and the Tsitsikamma Development Trust (Mfengu), 10 October 2002.

benefit. Other concerns included allegations of corruption, as well as the misuse and mismanagement of finances.[104]

In the case of the Tsitsikamma Mfengu peoples, the complex historical and political relationships of individuals and groups from Snyklip, Doriskraal and Wittekleibosch within each respective community were largely disregarded.[105] The stress on the homogeneous nature of the contemporary Mfengu community overlooked the possibility that members could in the past have been connected to competing groups within their respective communities. In the case of Doriskraal, Snyklip, and Wittekleibosch dynamic relations of power influenced the way in which each historical community asserted their respective and unique relation to the land they possessed and owned. These complex historical relationships and differences are inconsistent with the contemporary notion of a unified and homogenous Tsitsikamma Mfengu community. This effective "silence" in the strategy of representation may be regarded as an instance of dissimulation which contributed towards establishing and sustaining relations of power of the TDT (Mfengu) over its growing membership despite opposition.

Clarifying who qualified for membership in the unified contemporary Tsitsikamma Mfengu ethnic community remains important, especially after the successful return of land as a scarce resource in present day South Africa. The Amended Deed of Trust, drafted by the LRC, defined the qualifying categories of membership in terms of this notion of a unified contemporary Tsitsikamma Mfengu community. Members were only permitted to endorse decisions taken by the appointed TDT (Mfengu) trustees,[106] regarding the distribution of rights in land that involved access to, use and occupation of the land. Persons who were eligible as members of the Tsitsikamma Mfengu Community and the TDT (Mfengu) were called "specified beneficiaries", which comprised of three distinct categories. First were the "primary beneficiaries", which included the existing members of the TEA (Fingo) who were part of the community that had lost their land. Then there were the "secondary beneficiaries" that comprised of similarly dispossessed persons who could be included as members at the Trustees' discretion. The third category was called "tertiary beneficiaries", which embraced any other disadvantaged persons who could be included as members at the discretion of the Trustees.[107] The Trustees were thus granted a large measure of discretionary power to

---

[104] Umanyano Lwama Tsitsikamma, Letter to Minister Thoko Didiza of the Department of Agriculture Requesting Intervention in Dispute between the Community and the TDT, 10 October 2002.

[105] See discussion in Chapter 6 of this dissertation.

[106] The initial trustees were appointed and thereafter re-elected at each annual general meeting. An appointed trustee holds its position for a period of two years before having the election procedure repeated. See the Tsitsikamma Development Trust (Mfengu), *Amended Deed of Trust*, 29 October 1998, S8.

[107] Tsitsikamma Development Trust (Mfengu), *Amended Deed of Trust*, 29 October 1998, pp. 12-13.

determine the membership in terms of "secondary" and "tertiary beneficiaries" who need not be actual members of the Tsitsikamma Mfengu community. Since 1994, the annual general meetings have been flooded with large crowds of people, unknown to many of the "primary beneficiaries".[108] Many of these people could have qualified as members of the Tsitsikamma Mfengu community at the discretion of Trustees, in terms of the Amended Deed of Trust. The shift in membership of the community indicates that a change has occurred in the nature and meaning of the constructed contemporary Mfengu community. When the contemporary "Fingo" narrative first began to be publicly told, its symbolic grounding was on the Mfengu peoples' return to their ancestral land and the reclaiming of land. After the land had been successfully restored to Tsitsikamma people and held on their behalf by TDT (Mfengu), other categories of people could now become members of the Mfengu community by virtue of having been disadvantaged under the apartheid regime. However they did not necessarily share the history of the Tsitsikamma Mfengu peoples, nor shared the experiences of being forcefully removed there from. After the land settlement incoming members had the expectation of benefiting from the land through the TDT (Mfengu) by sharing in the income accrued from these lease agreements. The shift in the categories of membership that followed the settlement of the claimed Tsitsikamma Mfengu land thus heralded a reconstitution of the contemporary Tsitsikamma Mfengu community.

These developments also had implications for the Clarkson community. In the early 1990s, and parallel to negotiations with the State, the TEA (Fingo) also commenced negotiations with the Moravian Church regarding its claim of entitlement to the Clarkson mission land and the use of Clarkson as the place where most of the returning Mfengu from Keiskammahoek could be settled. However, given the persistent grievances of the Concerned Group and mounting community pressure after the land settlement in 1994, the TDT (Mfengu) embarked on a campaign to assist selected families who wished to settle on portions of the returned agricultural land that had not been leased-out.[109] However, Clarkson remained the most important selected place of settlement for most of the returning Tsitsikamma Mfengu people.

---

[108] Interview with Isaac Tembani, Guava Juice, 9 May 2003. Tembani was a prominent leader of the previous TEA (Fingo).

[109] Legal Resource Centre, *Report on the Mfengu Tsitsikamma Project*, 3 June 1996, p.4.

8.4 The Contested Clarkson Mission Land and the Construction of the Clarksoner Mission Community as the "Constitutive Outside" in the Ethnic Tsitsikamma Mfengu Discourse

The Mfengu campaign for the "return of our land", and more particularly when some of them returned to live in the Tsitsikamma, had implications for the Clarkson Moravian mission station and community. Clarkson was identified by representatives of the returning Mfengu community as a residential site for all those who wished to return to the Tsitsikamma. A second land claim was made by the Mfengu in 1991 for the return of the Clarkson mission land that had historically been held in trust for them by the Moravian Church since 1839.[110] The Mfengu Clarkson land claim was not directed towards the State. The claim of entitlement to the Clarkson mission land was directed against the Moravian Church (Western Cape).[111] It involved a set of negotiations with the Moravian Church separate from those entered into with the South African Government, and did not concern the land from which the Mfengu had been forcefully removed during the 1970s. In addition, the claim of entitlement to the Clarkson land made by the Mfengu pre-dated the 1913 Native's Land Act. It therefore did not involve the specific set of historic dispossessions that were highlighted and addressed in the process of land restitution in post-apartheid South Africa as outlined in the Restitution of Land Rights Act of 1994. Technically the claim of entitlement to the Clarkson land was invalid in terms of the Restitution of Land Rights Act of 1994 since the claim pre-dated the 1913 Land Act, and no record of forced removals existed since the State was not the transgressor. This highlights a major limitation of the South African government's post - 1994 attempts at restitution of dispossessed land in South Africa.

8.4.1 The Moravian Church and the Clarkson Mission Community

The Mfengu claim on the Clarkson mission land was based on the grounds that the Moravian Church had established a mission station at Clarkson in 1839 among forebears of the Mfengu Tsitsikamma people. The TEA (Fingo), supported by the LRC, highlighted that the Clarkson land on which the Church had settled then, had been granted by British colonial authorities and was to be held in trust for the Mfengu people and their descendants. By the 1990s the Clarkson Moravian mission community had appropriated both a racialised "coloured" and Moravian mission identity. The community firmly followed the Moravian Church calendar in which the Unitas Fratrum and

---

[110] Legal Resource Centre, *Report on Visit to Rev. Wessels*, no date.

[111] The Moravian Church Western Cape merged with the Moravian Church Eastern Cape during 2000 and formed the united Moravian Church of Southern Africa.

Herrnhuters with Zinzendorf were commemorated each year. The establishment of the Moravian Mission in South Africa through George Schmidt was also commemorated as well as the establishment of the mission in the Tsitsikamma at Clarkson. The most noteworthy commemorated event of the Church calendar remains the celebration of the "13th August Festival of Brotherly Love", which marks the Herrnhuters acceptance of a village constitution and "Brotherly Union Compact".[112] A week later the children are brought together in the celebration of the "children's festival" of Christian awakening and conversion.[113] Lent and Easter are commemorated each year by following the prescribed Moravian liturgy. On a visit to Clarkson in 1996, I observed the annual Moravian Easter Saturday grave-cleaning ritual of deceased relatives. As with most other Moravian Churches, this ceremony is annually followed with a congregational walk from the Church to the graveyard before sunrise on Easter Sunday morning.[114] However, the ceremony has been appropriated differently at Clarkson. As congregants assembled at the Church, men and women separate around the rectangle perimeter of the grounds next to the Church. The Brass-Band plays a selection of hymns and lead congregants on their walk to the graveyard. These celebrated Moravian events certainly connected the Clarksoners to all other Moravian congregations in South Africa and more particularly to the historical Moravian narrative. As with other Moravian Congregations, the burial ceremonies at Clarkson also followed the prescribed Moravian liturgy. Pre-burial services, popularly called "waak dienste",[115] by congregants, also took place at Clarkson. However at Clarkson, all congregants and family attending the funeral first assemble at the home of the deceased where they hold an initial sermon and prayer. Hereafter the coffin is carried by congregants/family members from the house to the Church. On leaving the house the funeral procession following the coffin includes the Brass Band, then the immediate family, and thereafter by all congregants. At the Church the coffin is carried in through the backdoor, while family and congregants enter the church through the front door. After the burial ceremony, all those who participated in the ritual stand in line to wash their hands. The Clarkson rituals show that elements of the Moravian Ethic have been appropriated and reordered, with elements of remembered practices that fall outside Moravian rituals being included, thus bringing to the fore rituals that are unique to Clarkson. This reordering of appropriated elements of meaning from the Moravian interdiscourse resulted in an emerging Clarkson Moravian mission identity.[116] The identity of this mission community is tied to the place, Clarkson. The community had over time cultivated deep

---

[112] See our discussion of the distinctive features of the Herrnhut Community in chapter 3 of this dissertation.
[113] In South Africa the festivals have become known and celebrated as "die dertiende Augustus Fees" with the children celebrating "kinderfees" and the Christian awakening of Suzanna Kühnel.
[114] This ritual has become known as "die opstandingsdiens".
[115] Translated into English this means protecting and looking over the deceased.
[116] See our theoretical discussion on Pecheux's modalities of identification in chapter 2 of this dissertation.

connections to the land occupied since the 1830s, while its constructed history as a contemporary community goes beyond arrival in the Tsitsikamma, and is linked to Enon, Genadendal, and then to Herrnhut and the Unitas Fratrum.

Any claim of entitlement to land at Clarkson cannot therefore disregard the historical land rights (albeit complex and ambiguous), and the nuanced history of the emerging communal identity of the people residing at Clarkson. This dynamic of a changing, non-static emerging Clarkson communal identity did not feature in the formulated claim of entitlement to land made by the LRC in its creative solutions and strategies offered to the TEA (Fingo). Instead the Clarkson community was presented as a homogeneous '"coloured" 'Moravian mission community with no possible connection to the Tsitsikamma Mfengu. In the formulated claim of entitlement to the Clarkson land, the Moravian Church was held accountable as a signatory to the 1990 Rustenburg Declaration, and specifically to the resolution contained therein on land restitution and the commitment to "examine its land ownership and work for the return of all land expropriated from relocated communities to its original owners".[117] Negotiations with the Moravian Church were throughout underpinned by the Rustenburg Declaration, the repeal of significant repressive apartheid laws, and the growing momentum of consultations by the South African government with the ANC and other anti-apartheid organizations aimed at concluding a negotiated political settlement bringing about a transformed South African State.

An initial meeting was held during January 1991 between the lawyer from the LRC acting on behalf of the TEA, Kobus Pienaar, and the Superintendent of the Moravian Church, Rev. Martin Wessels. Discussed was the extent of support and assistance that the Moravian Church could give to the TEA and its members, the TEA (Fingo)'s commitment to cooperate with the Moravian Church, and the holding of certain portions of land by the Moravian Church that had been granted in trust to the Tsitsikamma Mfengu peoples.[118] Wessels informed the LRC that the Moravian Church had 659 adult members in Keiskammahoek, 465 members in New Brighton, and 33 members in Kareedouw all of whom were Tsitsikamma Mfengu descendants.[119] The Moravian Church was set on giving its assistance and support to its members in whatever activities they intended launching to ensure the return of their land, in particular the activity of grave cleaning.[120] In this meeting the Church was

[117] South African Council of Churches, 'Rustenburg Declaration',1990.
[118] Legal Resource Centre, *Report of Meeting to Rev. Wessels of the Moravian Church*, 16 January 1991.
[119] Legal Resource Centre, *Report of Meeting to Rev. Wessels of the Moravian Church*, 16 January 1991.
[120] Legal Resource Centre, *Report of Meeting to Rev. Wessels of the Moravian Church*, 16 January 1991.

requested to consider releasing some land in Clarkson for the initial return of some families from Keiskammahoek to the Tsitsikamma.[121]

The TEA (Fingo) began a successful national media campaign to strengthen its position in negotiations with the Moravian Church. The media campaign of the TEA (Fingo) began a few months before its initial meeting with the Moravian Church. In its publicity efforts the TEA (Fingo) highlighted selective elements from the Clarkson Deed of Grant and emphasized that the Clarkson land was being held in trust by the Moravian mission for the Mfengu and their descendents.[122] Soon after the Common Summons was served in 1991, the media coverage announced that "as yet the "Fingo" Exile Association has not targeted the Church. Its primary aim is to recover land "Fingoes occupied until the end of 1977. Further media coverage cited the Moravians as running "a mission at Clarkson on 2700 ha ... on behalf of and in trust for the "Fingoes".[123] The report continued by stating that "the dilemma the Church faces is causing concern ... efforts are being made to find the original deed".[124] Soon hereafter a report appeared in a local newspaper stating that "for their part the Mfengu might accept a compromise involving the return of 2700 ha of land, taken over by the Moravian Church in the late 1950s in obscure circumstances".[125] The Church responded by affirming that it had given its "financial and moral" backing to the "Fingo" People in their fight against apartheid's wrongs.[126] By implication no public recognition was given to the resident Clarkson mission community and their historical attachment to the mission land. The public demand made by the TEA (Fingo) and the later TDT (Mfengu) in the 1990s for the "return of our land" largely disregarded the historical political relation that the Moravian missionary community of Clarkson had with the same land. In a later news report titled the "Fingoes Launch land battle" the Clarkson mission land was depicted as "at Clarkson, at the foot of the Kareedouw mountains ... the prospect of hundreds of Moravian "Fingoes arriving to squat ... fills many with dismay".[127] Still the resident Clarkson mission community was not in any way mentioned. The article further noted that the "Fingo" Exile Association had not as yet targeted the Church since its primary focus was to recover the land removed in 1977.[128] The continuing silence regarding the people who actually lived on the contested Clarkson mission land, and had done so since the 1830s remains significant. As a strategy of dissimulation, the silence was effective in excluding the

---

[121] Legal Resource Centre, *Report of Meeting to Rev. Wessels of the Moravian Church*, 16 January 1991.
[122] The ambiguities in the Clarkson Deed of Grant are discussed in section 4.6.1 of this dissertation.
[123] 'Church backs Tribe's Quest to go Back Home', Sunday Times, 31 March 1991.
[124] 'Church backs Tribe's Quest to go Back Home', Sunday Times, 31 March 1991.
[125] 'Mfengu People Fight to Regain Tribal Land They Lost at Gunpoint', Cape Times, 22 April 1991.
[126] 'Church Backs Tribes Quest to go back Home', Sunday Times, 31 March 1991.
[127] 'Fingoes Launch Land Battle', Sunday Times, March 1991.
[128] 'Fingoes Launch Land Battle', Sunday Times, March 1991.

resident Clarkson Moravian mission and created allegiance and solidarity among the social (Tsitsikamma Mfengu) subjects who claimed entitlement to the Clarkson land. According to Hall, the process of identification requires what is left outside, that is its "constitutive outside" to consolidate its process of articulation.[129] Even though the Clarksoners were historically deeply connected to the Tstisikamma Mfengu in having shared ancestors, through marriages, shared surnames, shared histories – this community of people were not incorporated into the contemporary "Fingo" narrative. Yet it is through the omission and silence as a strategy of dissimulation that the Clarkson Moravian mission community became intrinsically connected to the process of contemporary Tsitsikamma Mfengu ethnic identification. As the "constitutive outside" the excluded Clarkson Moravian mission community consolidated the very process of contemporary Tsitsikamma Mfengu ethnic identification.

But how did the Clarksoners respond? The Clarkson Moravian mission community responded to the information it was receiving through the media. Its representatives in the local Church Council and Opsienersraad compiled a memorandum in June 1991, which reflected the views of the mission community. The memorandum stated that Clarkson did not belong to the Mfengu due to the development and change that took place over the centuries. It questioned the validity and origin of the documents referred to by the contemporary Tsitsikamma Mfengu community and insisted that the Moravian Church had ownership.[130] It furthermore asserted that the Mfengu had to prove that they in fact were "Mfengu". It recognised that not all the returning Mfengu people were Moravians, and asserted that only those who were members of the Moravian Church would be granted the right to stay at Clarkson. It noted that in the past the Mfengu in Snyklip, Doriskraal and Wittekleibosch "had refused to live under the authority of the Church".[131] It declared that if there was to be unity then problems of communication and obedience to the rules of the mission station were to be addressed.

---

[129] See theoretical discussion of Stuart Hall in chapter 2 of this dissertation.

[130] Clarkson Moraviese Broederkerk, *Mandaat van Kerkraad en Opsienersraadslede*, 7 June 1991.

[131] The original Afrikaans text is "het geweier om onder the gesag van the Kerk te staan" in Clarkson Moraviese Broederkerk, *Mandaat van Kerkraad en Opsienersraadslede*, 7 June 1991.

The memorandum expressed the concern that:

> "Where do we stand as Clarksoners, after all the attempts made to develop our community? We are aware that Mfengu, especially those under the ANC influence, are not hindered in obtaining their goal. What happens to our houses, built under great difficulty and great expense if they decide to occupy and claim Clarkson with force? The Provincial Board must give guidance. The ANC has strong influence that is why we fear intimidation".[132]

The Clarksoners in many ways acknowledged the relations of power established and sustained by the TEA (Fingo) through their links with the ANC, given its current political influence. The Clarksoner memorandum was shortly followed by a community meeting in June 1991, in which members of the Provincial Board were present. At this meeting, some residents voiced their concern over the media reports, which claimed that "the Church sits with land that belongs to the Mfengu".[133] Others described how "we shed many tears when people went away. We are happy if they come back with the same spirit".[134] There were also persons present at the meeting who indicated that, while they were not opposed to the inclusion of the Mfengu at Clarkson, they were concerned that they had no grazing land for their cattle since all the available mission land had been leased out to "white" farmers by the Provincial Board. Added to this were those who indicated that, while they were not opposed to the inclusion of the Mfengu at Clarkson since the Provincial Board had already given them permission to reside at Clarkson, they were worried about the already limited employment opportunities in the region.[135]

The first formal meeting between the TEA (Fingo) and the Moravian Church occurred on 3 July 1991, long after these partisan perceptions of the local history of entitlement to land at Clarkson had been established through the use of the public media. Representatives at this first meeting included the Moravian Church, the Clarkson mission community, the TEA (Fingo), as well as the Bishop B. Evans of the Anglican Church Diocese of Port Elizabeth and Rev. P. Bowen of the

---

[132] The original Afrikaans text is "waar staan ons as Clarksoners, na al die pogings wat aangewend is om vooruitgang van die gemeenskap te bevorder? Ons is daarvan bewus dat die M'fingoes, veral diegene onder A.N.C. invloed, vir niks stuit nie om hul doel te bereik nie. Wat word van ons huise wat met harde moeite en groot onkoste opgerig is as hulle sou besluit om Clarkson met geweld vir hulself toe te eien? Die bestuur moet in hierdie verband raad gee ... die A.N.C. het sterk invloed daarom is daar 'n vrees vir intimidasie" in Clarkson Moraviese Broederkerk, *Mandaat van Kerkraad en Opsienersraadslede*, 7 June 1991.

[133] The original Afrikaans text is "Kerk sit met grond wat aan Fingoes behoort" in *Minutes of Clarkson Community Meeting* held on 15 June 1991.

[134] The original Afrikaans text is "ons baie trane gestort het toe mense weg is. Ons is bly as hulle terugkom met dieselfde gees" in *Minutes of Clarkson Community Meeting*, held on 15 June 1991.

[135] *Minutes of Clarkson Community Meeting*, held on 15 June 1991.

Anglican Church who had been a minister in the Tstisikamma at the time of the forced removals during 1977. In this meeting the TEA (Fingo) asserted that:

> "one of the main fears we have is that if we do not unite in the divisions that our country is beset with between coloured and African, apartheid practices will be further strengthened. We now have a chance to prove that these divisions could be overcome. We know that Clarkson was in the past declared a coloured group area. As a result we were divided. Sometimes it is in moments of honesty said to us that we are the Bantu ... kaffirs, with whom the so-called "coloured" people want nothing to do. These fears are real ones. ... If these fears continue then apartheid is winning, we have then become successfully divided. ... The Church cannot play the role of spectator and watch the divisions growing amongst the communities instead of becoming one of the key ... players in overcoming the legacy of apartheid that we are saddled with".[136]

While Clarkson is correctly described as having been declared a "coloured" racial area, the people residing there were now represented as having been racially antagonistic to the "Bantu "Fingo" tribe". The constitutive outside now began to be constructed racially as the "coloured" other. Any dissatisfaction from the Clarksoners with decisions taken during the negotiations was now readily construed as Clarksoner "coloured" racism. The TEA (Fingo) continued its presentation by asserting that it was not the intention "to take back what is not ours, we need a place to fight from, a bridgehead, a foothold onto the land. We are looking for shelter and we believe the church will provide. ... But we must clearly state that we are not wanting to take over Clarkson as the feeling might be".[137] In response to those present at the meeting, representatives of the TEA (Fingo) noted that there was a history of "people of colour living together ... There was a history of unity of the people living together and ... it was apartheid that separated families. Hence colour was not seen as an issue. An instance that highlighted the intermix and unity of the people was the way in which people adopted each others surnames and at times changed them from Xhosa to Afrikaans and the other way around e.g. Grootboom to Mtimkulu and Ndluvu to Oliphant".[138] Yet this shared history of people living together was not a significant element in the contemporary "Fingo" narrative. As discussed above, the Clarksoner mission community was effectively excluded from the ethnic "Fingo" narrative, and this absence was extended to omit any reference to a shared past. In this initial meeting between the Moravian Church and the TEA (Fingo), representatives of the

---

[136] Legal Resource Centre, *Minutes of the Meeting held between the Moravian Church and the Tsitsikamma Exile Association*, held on 3 July 1991, p. 2.
[137] Legal Resource Centre, *Minutes of the Meeting held between the Moravian Church and the Tsitsikamma Exile Association*, held on 3 July 1991, p. 3.
[138] Legal Resource Centre, *Minutes of the Meeting held between the Moravian Church and the Tsitsikamma Exile Association*, held on 3 July 1991, p. 5.

Clarkson mission community pledged their support for the resettlement of some of the returning Mfengu people at Clarkson. However the following fears and demands were set forth: "the need to know the timing, place of reoccupation, how and when and what type of infrastructure would be available and how an orderly return would ... take place. ... The Church and the Mfengu would have to abide by the rules and ordinances of the Church ... Fears that the ANC would intimidate the community was discarded".[139]

The main reason given by the TEA (Fingo) for a total of about 50 families wanting to return to the Tsitsikamma was that their presence in the area would demonstrate a symbolic victory over both the "white" farmers and the NP government. Their presence in the Tsitsikamma would establish a strong footing from which the TEA (Fingo) could enter into negotiations with the state. It further declared that a certain degree of confidence would be created among the Mfengu community in being protected and supported by the Church.[140] Negotiations around the Clarkson land culminated in an initial agreement in 1991, which set the stage for the first group of fifty Mfengu families to return to Clarkson.[141] By 1993 a housing development, called Silvertown,[142] had been completed, in terms of the Less Formal Township Act No. 113 of 1991, and about 50 Mfengu families moved into the newly established settlement.[143] The spatial layout of Silvertown was similar to that of the central Clarkson mission village. Each residential site had an attached garden plot used for subsistence cultivation. The silent spaces in the contemporary ethnic Mfengu Tsitsikamma discourse regarding the community on the contested Clarkson land now began to be filled with "returning" Mfengu.

The TDT (Mfengu), as a registered legal entity, took-over from the TEA (Fingo) in March 1994 after concluding a land settlement agreement with the State, and thereafter took over the continuing negotiations with the Moravian Church regarding its claim of entitlement to the Clarkson mission land. In March 1994 Kobus Pienaar described the negotiations with the Moravian Church as being "delicate" having progressed to discussions on the transformation of Clarkson into an autonomous local authority open to all persons, not only Mfengu or Moravian. He noted that as signatory to the Rustenburg Declaration the Moravian Church leadership were determined to support this process

---

[139] Legal Resource Centre, *Minutes of the Meeting held between the Moravian Church and the Tsitsikamma Exile Association*, held on 3 July 1991, p. 5.

[140] Legal Resource Centre, *Minutes of the Meeting held between the Moravian Church and the tsitsikamma Exile Association*, held on 3 July 1991, p. 10.

[141] Tsitsikamma Exile Association, *Return to Our Land*, September 1991, p. 6.

[142] The name Silvertown was given to the settlement by both Clarksoners and incoming Mfengu residents because the corrugated iron used to build the houses shined with silver glitter on most sunny days in Clarkson.

[143] *Motivating Memorandum, Application for the Designation of Land for Less Formal Settlement*, December 1992; Tsitsikamma Exile Association, *Return to Our Land*, September 1991, p. 6.

of transformation.[144] Pienaar further described the Clarksoners as viewing the imminent return of the Mfengu to Clarkson with caution.[145] While the Moravian Church undertook to cooperate fully and facilitate the establishment of an appropriate vehicle to implement the housing development project and establishment of a local authority for the area, it remained concerned about its members at Clarkson. The Moravian Church indicated that it was concerned about the future of its members and was morally obligated to ensure that their position was not detrimentally affected by the proposed development. The Church indicated that it required from the negotiation forum a clear indication that the existing rights of all the established residents at Clarkson would be respected. The Church also pointed out that it had to ensure that redress of the inequities of apartheid did not result in the taking away of rights from members of the Clarkson community, who were also victims of the same repressive system.[146] Negotiations had progressed substantially. Yet the demand amongst the Clarksoners remained that "the character of the mission station be maintained".[147] A growing concern of the Clarksoners became the size of the incoming Tsitsikamma Mfengu community to Clarkson, reflected in "we know that the Mfengu sometimes bring a large group of people together under the title of family. When we define a family, we speak of a father, a mother, and unmarried children under the age of 21 years of age".[148] The outcome of a TDT survey conducted during October 1995 showed that 388 families wished to settle at Clarkson while a total of 458 families wished to settle directly on the Tsitsikamma Mfengu farm lands.[149] Yet Clarkson remained the focal point of negotiations as being largely the (only) place of choice for settlement of the returning Tsitsikamma Mfengu.

The lengthy negotiations with the Moravian Church stalled during 1995, after the Moravian Church refused to enter into a Land Availability Agreement with the TDT (Mfengu). Such an agreement would have ensured that all of the 175 residing families at Clarkson received transferred (full) ownership of all the sites they occupied. Full ownership of land occupied would also have been transferred to the 54 returning Mfengu families who resided at Silvertown in Clarkson.[150] The Church was described as the "obstacle to ending Mfengu exile", "dithering" and "threatening to

---

[144] 'Victory ... but now for the Tensions of Coming Home', Supplement to the Mail and Guardian, 25 March 1994.
[145] 'Victory ... but now for the Tensions of Coming Home', Supplement to the Mail and Guardian, 25 March 1994.
[146] Letter from Syfret Godlonton-Fuller Moore INC. to Roger Matlock, *Development of Clarkson*, 25 May 1994.
[147] The original Afrikaans text is "die karakter van die Sendingstasie moet behoue bly" in Letter from Kerkraad en Opsienersraad to Rev. B.C.P. Lottering, *Ontwikkeling te Clarkson*, 30 December 1995.
[148] The original Afrikaans text is "ons weet dat the M'fengu soms 'n groot groep mense bymekaar kan bring, onder die vaandel van Gesinskap/Familieskap. Wanneer ons egter 'n familie definieër, praat ons van 'n vader, moeder en ongetroude kinders onder die ouderdom van 21 jaar" in, Letter from Kerkraad en Opsienersraad to Rev. B.C.P. Lottering, *Ontwikkeling te Clarkson*, 30 December 1995.
[149] Legal Resource Centre, *Report on the Mfengu Tsitsikamma Project*, 3 June 1996, p.4.
[150] Legal Resource Centre, *Cape Town Report on the Mfengu Tsitsikamma Project*, 3 June 1996, p. 5.

upset the resettlement programme which will end the Mfengu community's years of banishment".[151] The "dithering" of the Church was largely due to concerns that the layout of the proposed housing development was going to significantly reduce the size of the residential area with its attached garden plots of the existing Clarkson mission residents. Some Clarkson residents threatened and chased a land surveyor away after he had entered and measured their houses and plots of land without prior consent during 1995.[152] In response the Moravian Church Provincial Board asserted that the town planning needed to be addressed so that the land usage and existing lifestyle of the Clarkson inhabitants would not be interfered with nor limited.[153] In a memorandum to all mission station dwellers the Moravian Church Provincial Board addressed some of the concerns of the Clarksoners by asserting that the proposed housing development would not interfere with the historical character of the mission station, the development would not take place between the two existing streets of Clarkson and therefore would not reduce the land currently attached to each residential and garden plot. The housing project was rather to be established around the Silvertown housing area in Clarkson. All persons' rights in land at Clarkson were to be strengthened with the possibility of these rights being transformed from communal ownership into individual private ownership of each residential site with its attached garden plot.[154]

At a community meeting held in Clarkson during January 1996, at which some Mfengu representatives were also present, a Clarksoner exclaimed that "God het vir die mense plek gegee".[155] Another resident continued by stating that "presently we speak of Clarkson as a mission station and not as a town. If the development continues then the Clarkson mission station falls away and we then only talk of town planning".[156] A Mfengu representative at the meeting described how thankful she was for the meeting about Clarkson development and "thankful for opportunity of 50 / 50, we want to be together. No apartheid. Sad that division is there. We must become one. I will be glad if development comes right".[157] Another Clarkson resident asserted that "we are not

---

[151] 'Church is Obstacle to Ending Mefengu's Exile', Sunday Times, 19 November 1995.
[152] Interview, Oom Matheus, Clarkson, 1996.
[153] Letter from Van Rooyen to the Moravian Church (Western Cape), *NEWHCO East Cape/Yourselves: Development of 775 Erven at Clarkson in Terms of Joint Venture Agreement*, 8 November 1995.
[154] Letter from the Moravian Church Western Cape Regional Board to the Kerk-en Opsienersraad Clarkson, *Ontwikkeling te Clarkson*, 19 January 1996; Moravian Church Western Cape Regional Board Memorandum, *Aan Alle Inwoners van Clarkson*, 19 January 1996.
[155] Translated into English this means "God gave the people a place". Minutes, 'Clarkson: Resettlement of the Mfengu', Clarkson, 28 January 1996, p. 2.
[156] The original Afrikaans text is "huidelik praat ons van Clarkson as sendingstasie en nie as dorp nie. As ontwikkeling voortgaan dan verval sendingstasie Clarkson en dan praat ons net van dorpsontwikkeling" in Minutes, *Clarkson: Resettlement of the Mfengu*, Clarkson, 28 January 1996, p. 3.
[157] The original Afrikaans text is "dankbaar vir geleentheid en 50/50. ... ons will saam wees. Geen apartheid nie. Ook hartseer dat skeiding daar is. Ons moet een word. Ek sal bly wees as ons met ontwikkeling sal regkom" in Minutes, *Clarkson: Resettlement of the Mfengu*, Clarkson, 28 January 1996, p. 3.

against the return of the Mfengu. The reality is that they were not removed from Clarkson".[158] A Mfengu representative stated that "I want to go and live on the land. I am not against people who want to stay here".[159] Yet another Mfengu representative stated "I speak of the Tsitsikamma people. I support the Church. The Trust must meet the people".[160] In a memorandum addressed to all "inwoners" or residents of Clarkson, the Chairperson of Provincial Board of the Moravian Church, Western Province, Rev. B.C.P. Lottering, attempted to appease some of the concerns of the Clarkson mission community over the possible changes that development may make to the "historical character" of the mission station.[161] The negotiations remained in a delicate balance between the TDT (Mfengu) and the Moravian Church. However, the Mfengu peoples living in the Tsitsikamma and at Clarkson were prepared to "become one" and support the development at Clarkson.

An alternative source of community pressure was exerted on the negotiation process when a mass demonstration/march ("optog") was held in Clarkson on 15 March 1996. A notice of the mass demonstation/march was sent to residents of Clarkson "we herewith wish to inform you of a march that will take place on Saturday 16 March 1996 at eight o'clock from Bazia Street to Church Street. Your support and participation will be highly appreciated. Come and take part as we strive for a better life for all in Clarkson".[162] Clarksoners were invited to participate in a form of community action, which was to be directed against the Moravian Church and its local leaders at Clarkson. The demonstration included the handing over of a memorandum to the local Moravian Church leadership. Demands included therein were, amongst others, that Clarkson be upgraded and that "the Mfengu ... mix with the coloureds",[163] a town be established as soon as possible, the new constitution of South Africa be implemented at Clarkson, and that Clarkson belonged to the new South Africa and must therefore be changed. The memorandum also rejected the rules and regulations of the local Moravian Church leadership, and demanded that the church hand over the land to its owners.[164] Included in the memorandum was a statement that "the garden route zone community says enough is enough, to the Moravian Church leaders who oppressed the people for

---

[158] The original Afrikaans text is "ons is nie teen the terugkeer van die Mfengu nie. Die werklikheid is dat hulle nie van Clarkson verwyder is nie" in Minutes, *Clarkson: Resettlement of the Mfengu*, Clarkson, 28 January 1996, p. 5.

[159] The original Afrikaans text is "ek wil op die land gaan bly. Ek is nie teen mense wat hier wil bly nie" in Minutes, *Clarkson: Resettlement of the Mfengu*, Clarkson, 28 January 1996, p. 6.

[160] The original Afrikaans text is "Ek praat van Tsitsikamma mense. Ek ondersteun kerk ... Trust moet met Mfengu ontmoet" in Minutes, *Clarkson: Resettlement of the Mfengu*, Clarkson, 28 January 1996, p. 4.

[161] Voorsitter van die Streekbestuur, Br. Lottering, *Aan Alle Inwoners*, Streek B, 19 Januarie 1996.

[162] Original Afrikaans text is "hiermee wil ons u in kennis stel van 'n optog wat op Saterdag 16 Maart 1996 om agt uur vanaf Baziastraat tot en met Kerkstraat sal plaasvind. U ondersteuning en teenwoordigheid sal hoog waardeer word. Kom deel in ons strewe na 'n beter lewe vir almal in Clarkson" in Anonymous, *Notice of Mass Demonstration*, 15 March 1996.

[163] Anonymous, *Memorandum of Mass Demonstration*, 16 March 1996.

[164] Anonymous, *Memorandum*, 16 March 1996.

so long ... we the victims of apartheid policies and laws demand property rights here at Clarkson".[165] The memorandum was concluded with the slogan "the people of Clarkson shall govern".[166] The mass demonstration through the two streets of Clarkson certainly added to the fear, anxiety and frustration stemming from the mission community's perceptions of possible loss of land and change of place. At the same time, the show of local support for change at Clarkson strengthened and sustained relations of power of the Mfengu delegation, the TDT (Mfengu), in negotiations with the Moravian Church.

The stalled negotiations recommenced again, and were hereafter chaired by the Deputy Minister of Land Affairs, Mr. Tobie Meyer. Negotiations culminated in the establishment of a Communal Property Association at Clarkson on 16 August 1996, and the conclusion of a 99-year lease agreement with the Moravian Church,[167] which made land available at Clarkson for the accommodation of about 400 returning Mfengu families to the Tsitsikamma.[168] Since the Moravian Church Synod had not authorised the selling/alienation of the mission land, a 99 year lease agreement presented an alternative long term extension of reasonable secured rights in land. The land was to be held for the benefit of the members of the CCPT who qualified for rights of occupation in terms of individual participation agreements entered into with the CCPT.[169] The Communal Property Association Agreement included the allocation of land for residential purposes, the establishment of a communal property trust association, and the building of a housing development scheme at Clarkson.[170]

8.5 The (re)Shaping of Communal Identity at Clarkson as a Rural Town

The Clarkson Communal Property Trust (CCPT) was established in August 1996 and comprised of a 50% representation from the Clarkson Moravian mission community and the Moravian Church on the one hand, and 50% representation from the Tsitsitkamma Mfengu community and the TDT (Mfengu) on the other hand. The LRC was instrumental in drafting the Communal Property Trust Agreement.[171] The 50% / 50% structure was a significant outcome of lengthy land entitlement

---

[165] Anonymous, *Memorandum*, 16 March 1996.
[166] Anonymous, *Memorandum*, 16 March 1996.
[167] Legal Resource Centre, *Cape Town Report on the Mfengu Tsitsikamma Project*, 3 June 1996, p. 5.
[168] the Deputy Minister of Land Affairs, Mr Tobie Meyer, Press Release, *Clarkson Development*, 18 December 1995.
[169] Moravian Church in South Africa, Koukamma Local Municipality and Trustees of the Clarkson Communal Property Trust, *Land Availability Agreement*, Clarkson, 6 April 2002, p. 1.
[170] Legal Resource Centre, *Chronology of Events: Clarkson Development Project*, no date, p. 16; Clarkson Communal Property Association, *Notarial Deed of Trust*, 16 August 1996.
[171] Moravian Church in South Africa, Koukamma Local Municipality and Trustees of the Clarkson Communal Property Trust, *Land Availability Agreement*, Clarkson, 6 April 2002, p. 1.

negotiations and indicated a formal recognition of the two communities, the Clarksoner Moravian Mission and Tsitsikamma Mfengu, as equal partners of the Clarkson land in a shared structure. In terms of the agreement, the members and beneficiaries of the CCPT were defined as persons eighteen years and older who held a certificate of membership issued to them by the CCPT. Qualifying members had to either be residents of the Clarkson mission station, or "specified beneficiaries" in terms of the amended Trust Deed of the TDT (Mfengu). However, any other persons could also be accepted as members at the discretion of the elected CCPT trustees.[172] This is an interesting and significant conception of membership in the context of the transition from colonial and apartheid structures to a democratic dispensation. In our account we have shown that the historical basis of community membership, in the case of the Tsitsikamma Mfengu, has been an ethnic linkage and affiliation in the case; and in the case of the Clarksoner Moravians, a missionary-controlled access to the land. The TDT (Mfengu) definition of the grounds of membership breaks with both of these, but is not (yet) a fully democratic conception of membership. The TDT (Mfengu) membership qualification actually amounts to a notion of membership-by-co-optation. This is a long-established conception of membership in South African history (e.g. it was the basis of membership of the heemraden assisting the landdrost in Dutch colonial times; it was the principle on which the NGK church councils were established as well as the Freemasons and the Broederbond). But it is not a modern democratic conception of membership. One obvious implication concerns the relations of power. With co-optation vested in the hands of the Trustees, they have discretionary power to decide on whom to co-opt as members. In the context of Clarkson the vital question would be how this power of co-optation would be applied in relation to actual or prospective residents of Clarkson. The modern democratic conception of membership would start from the latter, and not the other way round. If the Trustees had discretionary power to refuse prospective residents permission to reside at Clarkson, or even to evict de facto residents, then that would make this a significant matter. But if it did not amount to that then it could be regarded as a mere transitional formality.

The number of Mfengu peoples who returned to the Tsitsikamma, and came to Clarkson after the completion of the housing development scheme, was significantly less than the approximately 575 houses built.[173] On completion the housing scheme was called Smartie Town, because each house was painted a different colour. Funds for the building of houses were obtained solely from the government's housing subsidy and not from the TDT (Mfengu). The completed housing

---

[172] Clarkson Communal Property Association, *Notarial Deed of Trust*, 16 August 1996.
[173] Interview with Florence Mtambo, Tsitsikamma, 9 May 2003. At the time of the interview Florence Mtambo was the chairperson of the CCPT.

development scheme was the climax of all negotiations and contestation over access to, use and management of the mission land between the TDT (Mfengu) and the Moravian Church. It created the necessary space and place for some of the returning Tsitsikamma Mfengu peoples. On arrival in Clarkson, each household was allocated a house in Smartie Town by the CCPT, demonstrating the exercise of its powers of discretionary co-optation. But the number of people who took up accommodation in Clarkson was significantly less than anticipated and planned for. A senior member of the CCPT explained that "they decided to come and settle here and then they left."[174] There are about 300 returning Mfengu households who have settled in Clarkson. Others chose to remain at their places in Keiskammahoek, East London, Karreedouw and elsewhere. A substantial number of the returning Mfengu insisted on being resettled on the land which had been forcefully removed from them, and so moved from Clarkson to small available pieces of vacant land on Snyklip, Doriskraal, Wittekleibosch, and the Fingo Reserve now called Guava Juice. The senior member of the CCPT noted that the appointed housing consultants had initially applied for 575 residential sites to be built at Clarkson. However on completion they had great difficulty in obtaining the necessary numbers of returning Mfengu people to take up accommodation therein. They then went to the surrounding farms "trying to get more people to come and stay in Clarkson".[175] Of the remaining 275 newly built houses in Smartie Town, some were initially occupied, then vacated, while other houses remained vacant from the onset. When people departed from the houses that had been allocated to them, they left Clarkson with no subsequent trace. The necessary procedures for the vacant houses to revert to the administration of the CCPT were not completed, and the houses remained registered on the name of the initial occupiers. Some of those who remained in Smartie Town and who were not satisfied with the location and/or condition of their allocated houses, could now freely choose, from the 275 vacant houses, where they wished to stay. Many households moved around Smartie Town shifting their occupation of houses, without ensuring that the CCPT kept the necessary administrative record of their change of place.[176] The housing development consultants with the approval of the CCPT sent out scouts to the neighbouring farms in the Tsitsikamma area, advertising there that vacant houses were available for occupation at Clarkson. Many families without houses from the Clarkson mission village also settled in Smartie Town. The result was a sizeable residential development comprising for the most part of people who had little or no historic relationship with the previous Clarkson mission community or with the returning Tsitsikamma Mfengu people.[177] There is a silence within the ethnic Tsitsikamma Mfengu discourse regarding the large number of people who were neither

[174] Interview with Florence Mtambo, Tsitsikamma, 9 May 2003.
[175] Interview with Florence Mtambo, Tsitsikamma, 9 May 2003.
[176] Interview with Florence Mtambo, Tsitsikamma, 9 May 2003.
[177] Interview with Rev. Moos, Clarkson, 8 May 2003; Interview with William Uithaler, Clarkson, 6 May 2003.

descendants' of the Clarkson mission residents, nor connected in any way to the returning Tsitsikamma Mfengu people. The qualifying membership granted to the incoming 275 families who obtained houses in Smartie Town indicates the exercise of CCPT's powers of discretionary co-optation.

In April 2002 the Moravian Church entered into a Land Availability Agreement with the Koukamma Local Municipality regarding the statutory position of Clarkson as a rural town. In terms of this Land Availability Agreement the Koukamma Local Municipality was authorized to take all necessary steps that would ensure the transfer of individual residential sites at Clarkson to persons who had entered into participation agreements with the CCPT. The garden plots that adjoined the older mission station residential plots were included in the transfer of residential sites to qualifying persons. This made the plots in the older (mission station) part of Clarkson substantially larger. In most cases these plots were set to be owned by the "coloureds" of Clarkson. The municipality was to own all public open spaces at Clarkson. This agreement, when fully implemented would shift Clarkson from communal property ownership to individual ownership of residential land.[178] The transfer from communal ownership to individual ownership became extremely complicated when applied to Smartie Town, since many of the initial occupiers who remained the official residents of the houses in terms of the CCPT administration system, had long moved out and remained largely untraceable.

By 2003 Clarkson had been established as a rural town and comprised of residential plots at the old mission that included Church Street and Baziaar Street, the first extension at Silvertown, and the more extensive housing development at Smarty Town. The Moravian Church is only one of many other churches that now service congregants of the extended Clarkson. For school goers there are two very small schools. The playground of each school is separated by a shared fence. The older school to which many of the Tsitsikamma Mfengu had gone before being forcefully removed, is now de facto for "coloured" Afrikaans speaking learners, while the recently established second school is de facto for "black" and primarily Mfengu Xhosa speaking learners.[179] Exclusions at each school are based on language educational usage and preference. Even though it is planned to relocate the second school to another place in Clarkson, the glaring problem of racial/ethnic separation remains.

---

[178] Moravian Church in South Africa, Koukamma Local Municipality and Trustees of the Clarkson Communal Property Trust, *Land Availability Agreement*, 6 April 2002, p. 5.

[179] Interview with Florence Mtambo, Tsitsikamma, 9 May 2003; Interview with Rev. Mcubusi, Clarkson, 5 May 2003.

The explanation of a senior member of the CCPT was that:

> "people struggled with their language because ... Afrikaans was the first language ... people said they used to have their own school ... so I think they went to the Department of Education for assistance ... I was expecting that maybe the Department get one teacher a Xhosa teacher ... but they did say they will try to give them their own school ... because we moved more and more families and then we had a bigger number of people now".[180]

The Department's motivation for two separate schools at Clarkson is that this was needed because "the kids started fighting you know, we had lots of problems we had to go and sort out. We haven't solved most of the problems ... They don't understand each other; that is the problem".[181] The racial antagonism amongst learners in the rural town of Clarkson appears to be a relatively new development. This may be contrasted with the celebration of a shared Tsitsikamma history in the ethnic Tsitsikamma Mfengu discourse during the early 1990s in the context of the communal mobilization for restitution of their land. The discursive representation of the Clarkson mission station community as "the constitutive outside" in the process of contemporary Mfengu ethnic identification may have contributed to the construction of the differentiated and racialised "coloureds".

This racial antagonism also emerged in the demand of the non-Clarkson Moravian mission residents "we wanted a community graveyard for people who are not church members, who cannot afford the church".[182] The new community graveyard was to be developed adjacent to the older mission graveyard, and was to be exclusively for people of the "community" exclusive of the Clarkson Moravians which have been effectively differentiated as the racialised "coloured other".

Economic development initiatives started by the local municipality, such as the sewing and bakery projects, have also been hampered by incipient racial antagonism. These development projects were not supported by the local Clarksoners.[183] The co-ordinators of these projects were residents of Clarkson and had been appointed by the local municipality and not the CCPT. The projects were also funded by the local government department of social welfare and not by the CCPT, nor by the Moravian Church or by the TDT (Mfengu). The CCPT did not encourage the locals to participate in the Municipal development projects since these were not initiated by it, and since it had no control

[180] Interview with Florence Mtambo, Tsitsikamma, 9 May 20.
[181] Interview with Florence Mtambo, Tsitsikamma, 9 May 2003.
[182] Interview with Florence Mtambo, Tsitsikamma, 9 May 20.
[183] Interview with T. Lawak, Clarkson, 8 May 2003.

over who were appointed to lead these projects. These latent conflicts between Clarkson mission and Mfengu structures as represented by the CCPT on the one side with the Municipal structures and its representatives on the other side indicates a transition from the historical structures of governance to a new and more regularized dispensation of local government.

8.6 Conclusion

The Tsitsikamma Mfengu communities at Doriskraal, Snyklip, and Wittlekleibosch were forcefully removed from their land in 1977 by government officials even though their land still remained scheduled as reserved land for the designated "bantu Fingo tribe". The communities were resettled at Elukhanyweni in the Keiskammahoek District of the Ciskei. Even though these communities had evolved separately in the Tsitsikamma, they were forcefully thrown together in Keiskammahoek with access to very little land. At the same time the Clarkson Moravian mission station community in the Tsitsikamma, officially designated as "coloured", remained in possession of the land it used and occupied. It was this experience under apartheid that would later serve to deligitimise their claim of entitlement to the Clarkson land as a "coloured" mission community in the eyes of the dislocated Tsitsikamma Mfengu peoples. Attempts to mobilize a coherent communal response to the land dispossession remained unsuccessful during the 1980s. Despite attempts made in petitioning government officials to consider reversing the enacted forced removal of the Tsitsikamma peoples, the land was eventually consolidated into two large farms during the 1980s, portioned and separately sold to nineteen farmers. It was only with the abolishment of racially based laws in 1991 that legal and political space was opened for renewed attempts to mobilize a coherent communal response to reclaim the dispossessed Tsitsikamma Mfengu land.

After thirteen years of relocation the coherency of the former communities before 1977 had been shattered and the dispersed Mfengu peoples from the Tsitsikamma had begun to form new connections. Even so the call for restitution of their historical rights to the land in the Tsitsikamma found strong popular support. With the assistance of the Legal Resource Centre a core group initiated the process of communal mobilization around the call for land restitution, hailing Tsitsikamma Mfengu peoples through a consolidated national and international media campaign. The story told and retold in the Tsitsikamma Mfengu ethnic discourse utilized representational strategies like a selected narrative of the colonial "Fingo" history, the grave-cleaning rituals as an invented tradition, and so constructed a foundational myth that drew on the shared experience and suffering of the forced removals. The set of selected historical events, symbols and rituals used to

represent a shared set of experiences and sorrows grounded and gave meaning to the belonging to (membership of) the contemporary Tsitsikamma Mfengu community. However the rearrangement and reordering of words and expressions led to identification of the subject in a modality of dis-identification and the formation of a new discursive practice namely the Tsitsikamma Mfengu ethnic discourse. In this process of dis-identification the Clarksoner Moravian mission community was excluded and utilized within the ethnic discourse as the "constitutive outside" against which a unified homogenous Tsitsikamma Mfengu community identification was formed. The Clarksoner Moravian mission community as a discursive object of the ethnic discourse was represented as the racial "coloured" other. The TEA (Fingo) and the later TDT (Mfengu) successfully established and sustained relations of power in its claim of entitlement to all land in the Tsitsikamma including the Clarkson mission land. In negotiations with the Moravian Church land was effectively obtained for two housing developments at Clarkson namely Silvertown and Smartie Town. Despite having a shared history, shared associations and family relations, incipient racial and ethnic differences appropriated from the dominant apartheid interdiscourse emerged leading to pronounced racial divisions at the schools, economic development initiatives, and use of burial sites.

The established and sustained relations of power of the TEA (Fingo) and the later TDT (Mfengu) was largely based on the successful interpellation of subjects in the constituted unified homogenous discursive contemporary Tsitsikamma Mfengu ethnic community. Yet this contemporary discursive community was disrupted and destabilized by the very resources of history that was left out of the "Fingo" narrative in the Tsitsikamma Mfengu ethnic discourse. Historical differences between the separate Mfengu communities at Snyklip, Doriskraal, and Wittekleibosch that prevailed before 1977 were overlooked. After the successful land settlement with the South African government, these differences re-emerged as fissures in the constructed discursive unity of the Tsitsikamma Mfengu ethnic community. A group of concerned community members, who came primarily from Wittekleibosch, emerged after the TDT (Mfengu) leased the returned Tsitsikamma Mfengu land to the very same nineteen farmers from whom the land had been taken back.

The discursive use of land as a representation strategy in the symbolic grounding of belonging to community with space, a vision of a past place, and rights of entitlement in land remains significant in the constitution of the contemporary ethnic Tsitsikamma Mfengu community. Equally important is the discursive unraveling of this very symbolic grounding when the returned land and rights thereto

was passed on, albeit temporarily, to the same farmers who had benefited from the forced removal of the various Mfengu communities from the Tsitsikamma. But the voices of the group of concerned members were lost in the re-articulated membership criteria of the constituted contemporary Tsitsikamma Mfengu community under the leadership of the TDT (Mfengu). After a Land settlement agreement was entered into with the South African government and nineteen farmers, the criteria for membership to the contemporary Tsitsikamma Mfengu community was extended to include peoples previously disadvantaged by apartheid laws. Many people were admitted as members of the TDT (Mfengu) who had no prior history of connection to the Tsitsikamma land, and this contributed further to the unraveling of the symbolic grounding upon which the discursive ethnic community had been produced. Redefining who belonged to the discursive community heralded the reconstitution of the contemporary Tsitsikamma Mfengu ethnic community.

Some of these people obtained rights to houses that had been built at Smarty Town in the Clarkson, following lengthy negotiations with the Moravian Church. Smarty Town was specifically established to accommodate the numerous returning Mfengu people to the Tsitsikamma. In practice returning to the Tsitsikamma meant settlement at Smarty Town in Clarkson. Large numbers of Mfengu peoples chose not to settle at Clarkson despite statements made by the TDT (Mfengu). Empty houses were largely filled with farm workers from the surrounding area who had no connection at all to the returning Tsitsikamma Mfengu, nor any relation to the Clarksoner Moravian mission community. The constructed racial ethnic dichotomy between "coloured" Moravian Clarksoner mission community and the now "black" Tsitsikamma Mfengu ethnic community omitted the presence of a large number of people in the rural town of Clarkson who were neither Moravian Clarksoner nor Tsitsikamma Mfengu people. As a strategy of dissimulation, this omission in the reconstituted contemporary Tsitsikamma Mfengu community in the ethnic discourse, served to establish and sustain the relations of power of the TDT (Mfengu) in the Tsitsikamma and at Clarkson in particular. More significant was its influence on the sporadic irruption of racial/ethnic violence between school goers at Clarkson as recently as 2003.

Most significant has been the contemporary transformation of the historic Clarkson mission station and Mfengu locations into regularised municipal and local government structures. In the transitionary phase of institutional development from historical structures to democratic governance; the emerging power struggles have been between the new local government structures, the TDT (Mfengu) and the CCPT. When the mission land was made available by the Moravian Church to the local government to manage and control, the power of discretionary co-

optation exercised by the CCPT became significantly limited. The outcome of this complex three-way conflict suggests that the emerging power at Clarkson and in the Tsitsikamma is that of the local government.

Chapter Nine

Conclusion

9.1 General Arguments and Interpretation of Study

In this dissertation we have been concerned with the notions of communal identity of the Clarkson mission station residents and Tsitsikamma Mfengu and their respective claims of entitlement to land. We have shown some of the ways in which these communal identities were discursively constructed in the Moravian missionary and official government discourses. We investigated some of the elements appropriated from these inter-discourses which were rearranged and utilised in discursive community formations linked to historical claims of land entitlement.

The most recent and concerted claims of entitlement to land in the Tsitsikamma emerged in the aftermath of the forced removal by government officials during 1977 of Mfengu communities residing in the Tsitsikamma. This occurred despite the land still being listed as scheduled land and reserved for the designated "Native Fingo tribe" in terms of the 1913 and 1936 Land Acts. Assisted by the LRC two land claims were lodged in the early 1990s. One of these claims was against the South African State and nineteen white farmers for restitution of the land from which these Mfengu communities were forcefully removed in 1977. The second claim was against the Moravian Church for holding the Clarkson mission land on behalf of, and in trust for, the "Fingos" since the establishment of the Moravian mission station in 1839.

Our interest in this topic was first captivated by this second land claim, which involved the Clarkson Moravian mission community in a dispute with the dispossessed Tsitsikamma Mfengu community regarding the historical legitimacy of their claims of entitlement to the mission land. The Clarksoners' declaration of entitlement to the mission land, based on having occupied and worked the land for many generations, contradicted the Tsitsikamma Mfengu people's testimonies of having "shed blood" for their land. These contested claims of entitlement to the Clarkson mission land in the 1990s gave us an opportunity to enter a discursive hermeneutical circle - a circle of interpretation of a pre-interpreted domain relating to the functions and significance of the contested Clarksoner/Mfengu land claims in their respective socio-historical formations of communal identity.

9.1.1 Community through Racial and Ethnic differentiation

In the Tsitsikamma Mfengu "return our land" campaign during the early 1990s the Clarksoners were represented as a "coloured" community which functioned as the constitutive outside in the discursive process of contemporary Mfengu communal identification. In this process of communal mobilisation the Mfengu themselves were constituted as a contemporary ethnic group represented as having had a longstanding relationship with the Tsitsikamma land. In their popular "return our land" campaign, racial and ethnic differentiations were for the most part presented as fixed categories; in the contemporary retelling of the "Fingo" ethnic narrative the Clarksoner and the Tsitsikamma Mfengu communities had no noteworthy interaction or historical association. But this essentialising and racialising of the "coloured" Clarksoner mission community, as against the ethnic Mfengu community depends on problematic and misleading categorisations which are themselves contested historical constructions. Through a brief social historical analysis we highlighted the fairly recent history, uses and changing definitions of such categories as "coloured" and "native". Each name/label became an important element of the dominating official discourse, with racial/ethnic differentiation in relation to specified parcels of land becoming the basis for the separation of communities, and in some cases, but not in others, of their eventual forceful relocation. Through the contextual grounding of our discourse analysis we showed how such naming/labelling of peoples were appropriated from the dominant interdiscourse and utilised in contemporary processes of community identification. Such categorisations of communities should therefore not be taken at face value, the more so when these are drawn upon in mobilising discursive communities around claims of entitlement to land. Its end result may be the resurgence of incipient ethnic/racial conflict with sporadic outbursts of violence.

Following their land dispossession and relocation to the Keiskammahoek district in the Ciskei the notion of an ethnic Mfengu identity within the broad category of "native" facilitated the merging of the three historically distinct Tsitsikamma Mfengu communities. In general when we choose not to take-for-granted ethnic categories as fixed entities, then the objective of investigation becomes that of critically interpreting the dynamic changing history and politics

surrounding contesting communities' claims of entitlement to land and the discursive symbols' that each may utilise in promoting the legitimacy of their respective historical relations to the land claimed.

9.1.2 Moravian Mission Identity and Land

Throughout the negotiations over claims of entitlement to the Clarkson land during the 1990s, the resident mission community persisted in asserting that they were not opposed to the return of the Tsitsikamma Mfengu but that the character of the Moravian mission station should be maintained. A commitment to preserving the tone and environment of the Moravian mission, remains a unique attribute of most Moravian mission station communities in South Africa, including that of Clarkson. Annual celebrations held by both rural and urban Moravian congregations commemorate, amongst others, Zinzendorf and the establishment of the Herrnhut settlement as well as the formation of the Unitas Fratrum. This shared communal notion of being Moravian is intrinsically connected to the crucial role played by the Moravian historical narrative in linking different groups of people over widely dispersed times and places. As our analysis of the Moravian historical narrative showed, the reconstructed Moravian mission history utilised a variety of metaphors, all variations of the singular metaphoric theme of the "(hidden) seed". This discursively connected the "ancient" Unitas Fratrum of Czechoslavakia during the 1400s and 1620s to the "renewed" Moravian community at Herrnhut established in Germany during the 1720s. By means of the reconstructed historical past a notion of common origin and historical continuity of the independent Moravian Church was produced, which was extended to include the South African Moravian mission communities. In this augmentation of the historical narrative the seed metaphor appeared as "the pear tree" and the "first fruits", with variations thereof appearing as "the pear tree blossoms", "the pear tree bears fruit", and "the twin of the pear tree". In the history of the Clarkson Moravian mission station the seed metaphor appeared most frequently as the "fruit bearing seed", the "fruits of the vine", and "labourers in His harvest". In this case the variations of the "seed" metaphor again produced a historical continuity of the constituted Clarkson mission community with Herrnhut and the Unitas Fratum. In the Moravian missionary discourse the Clarkson Moravian mission community was on the one hand deprived of any local pre-history, and on the other hand discursively accorded a history through the Moravian narrative of the "seed" that was shared with Moravian mission communities far removed in space and time.

Our investigation showed that the imposition of the Moravian ethic on the basis of the missionaries' control of access to mission land was central to the construction of a Moravian mission communal identity in the 18th and 19th centuries. What was the longer term historical legacy of this Moravian ethic by the close of the 20th century? A defining feature of the Clarkson mission community during the 1990s was their insistence that the returning Mfengu obey the rules and regulations that had become so much part of the organization and management of the mission station. Collectively these rules and regulations were directed at ensuring "discipline", "order", "good conduct", and "hard labour"; which we have referred to as the 'Moravian ethic'. In our study we have traced some of its uses and function - initially transplanted by missionaries from their experiences at Herrnhut, then imposed on established mission communities and later appropriated by mission communities themselves like that at Clarkson. Indigenous converts' acceptance thereof and adherence thereto was an integral part of their overall process of conversion to Christianity. Even though the application of the Moravian ethic differed from mission station to mission station, a reciprocal allegiance was mobilised among Moravian members across mission stations and later between rural and urban congregations. This produced a commonality within the emerging Moravian mission identity that permitted the movement of "converts" between mission stations. Such a reciprocal allegiance produced a discursive unity between Moravian mission communities at the Cape and their historical origins in Germany and Czechoslovakia. This discursive unity over place and time has persisted through the progression from Mission Society to independent (indigenous) Moravian Church with congregations in both urban and rural areas of South Africa incorporating elements thereof in appropriated Moravian communal identities.

For our purposes the Clarkson mission community's use of both the Moravian ethic and of their Moravian mission history to legitimate rights of entitlement to the Clarkson land is especially significant. At the same time these very elements were utilised in the ethnic Fingo discourse to construct the Clarksoners as the excluded 'constitutive outside' in relation to which the contemporary ethnic Tsitsikamma Mfengu discursive community was formed. This point is not only of theoretical interest but has important political and policy implications especially when NGOs and government officials are inclined to take contested ethnic / racial categorisations at face value. Our investigation has shown that the crude dichotomy posing a "coloured" Clarksoner mission community against a dispossessed ethnic Tsitsikamma Mfengu community rides roughshod over a much more complex history of shared experiences and individual and communal interaction. Here a suitably designed investigation of community identity and its

historical/political relations to land will be most useful for informed decision making that does not knowingly advantage one marginalised community above another, and thereby exacerbate unresolved conflict.

9.1.3 The Tsitsikamma Mfengu Identity and Land

When the Tsitsikamma Mfengu popularised their campaign during the 1990s for the return of their dispossessed ancestral land, the LRC and TEA (Fingo) presented a historical narrative in which they were described as a "Fingo tribe" with origins in Southern Natal who, after having fled the Mfecane, settled amongst the Xhosa in the Eastern Cape. Furthermore this "tribe" was given land in the Tsitsikamma by British colonial authorities for their loyalty to the Queen during frontier wars. This narrative drew much of its historical elements from what we have termed the received view of the origin of the Mfengu. While noting that the origins of the "Fingo"/Mfengu have become a matter of intense historical controversy, we have not entered that debate in this thesis. We have rather concerned ourselves with the more immediate appearance of the "Fingo"/Mfengu on the colonial scene following the 1835 Eastern Cape frontier war itself, and specifically with the relocation of four groups of Mfengu to the Tsitsikamma in 1837. We have argued that the received version of this history cannot be accepted at face value and highlighted the inconsistencies in the official colonial account of the origins of the "Fingo". We argued that this account amounted to a dissimulation of meaning which concealed the rounding-up of wandering refugees and captured indigenous peoples who were used within the colony as forced labourers, and thereby contributed to sustained relations of colonial domination. Equally important has been the role of the residual intermediaries within the colony that became known as "Fingo"/Mfengu who continued after 1835 to be involved in highly controversial roles on the Eastern Cape frontier, and who received land grants from British colonial authorities for their loyalty and support therein.

Our account focussed on four such groups of Mfengu who were settled in the Tsitsikamma area in 1837, with land granted to each group. More than a century later, in the 1990s, the Tsitsikamma Mfengu "return our land" campaign included the slogan "we bought this land with our life; we fought for this land", alluding to notions of sacrifice and loss of life similar to the traditional idea of right to land achieved in conquest. This notion of rights to land is suggestive of the controversial roles of the "Fingo"/Mfengu on the Eastern Cape frontier. It was however not their colonial collaborative history that was drawn upon to legitimate claims of entitlement to

land in the Tsitsikamma, but rather the forceful dispossession of land that had been bequeathed to them by the British Queen as described in the Deed of Grant in 1841. The reference point in these land claims became the issued colonial Clarkson Deed of Grant, taken to have a significance independently of its controversial political and historical context. We have not been concerned with a determination of the significance of this contested Deed of Grant in law, but with its discursive and political significance.

Equally significant has been the Tsitsikamma Mfengu community's contemporary demand in the 1990s for the return of their ancestral land. The very idea of making claims of entitlement to ancestral land typically signals a historical claim of entitlement to land and brings to the fore a possible history of connectedness to land that precedes colonial intrusion. Rituals like the Tsitsikamma grave-cleaning ceremonies in many ways legitimised this notion of ancestral land and affirmed entitlement thereto. Issuing a rightful claim of entitlement to the Clarkson land was especially necessary when confronted by the Clarkson mission community's assertion of also having historical associations with the disputed land. Our study has shown that the history of the four Mfengu groups in relation to the Tsitsikamma land only commenced in 1837. This notion of ancestral land concealed a rather recent history filled with political controversies and complexities. Thus when considering the contested claims of entitlement to the Clarkson mission land without grounding the deeds registry of land in its political and historical context, then one already marginalised community may unknowingly or knowingly be advantaged at the expense of another.

9.1.4 Land, Communal Identity and Community

In the case of the Tsitsikamma Mfengu restitution of their land, celebrated as a landmark restitution of land case in the new democratic South Africa, the restoration of land by the State actually did not result in access to and use of land by the dispossessed community since most of the returned land was leased back to the "white" farmers. These commercial farmers continued uninterruptedly after 1994 with their programmes of large-scale dairy farming activities. On the basis of the negotiated agreement the TDT (Mfengu) decided not to apportion land to the returning Mfengu but rather to continue with the commercial dairy farming activities. This decision was carried through despite there being serious and sustained objections and demands for access to use the land for small-scale farming by some members of the community who had moved back to the Tsitsikamma. This ironic outcome of the "successful"

land restitution to the dispossessed Tsitsikamma Mfengu must raise serious questions as to who the actual beneficiaries of this restoration are and how democratic the process actually was.

The final Tsitsikamma Mfengu land settlement agreement entered into with the State and the nineteen farmers included a new definition of community membership with significant implications for the composition of the Mfengu community. In effect the Tsitsikamma Mfengu community has been reconstituted and no longer consists primarily of those families who had been affected by the forced removals during the 1970s. In principle membership of this community has been extended to become inclusive of all previously disadvantaged peoples in South Africa. In general such progressions in community formations are part of the familiar taken for granted organic evolution of modernity. However, the abrupt regulated change in community membership from exclusivity to inclusivity subject to the approval of the TDT (Mfengu) concealed relations of power with the Trustees holding veto rights over membership. The exercise of such power is acutely visible at annual general meetings in which ordinary members have to ratify decisions taken and appoint Trustees.

In the case of the second land claim issued by the Tsitsikamma Mfengu against the Moravian Church regarding the Clarkson mission land we have traced the role of the non-governmental organisations such as the LRC and funding institutions. The possibility of availing themselves of financial, administrative and media support greatly enhanced the position of the Mfengu in constructing a legitimate historical claim of entitlement to the Clarkson mission land - even though the claim itself was not valid in terms of the Restitution Act of 1994 since it pre-dated 1913 and despite the fact that the land claim against the Moravian Church did not relate to the forced removal of peoples from the land. Communities like the Tsitsikamma Mfengu who are provided with access to financial and other necessary resources have been able to ensure that their voices are heard and supported when faced with conflicting claims of entitlement to land. But this may have happened at the expense of other marginalised communities like the Clarksoners, which did not have similar support and access. Thus the mobilisation of communal identity within present-day South Africa should not be taken at face value, more so when these are connected to claims of entitlement to scarce resources like land. Certainly those communities who do not have a history of mobilisation on the basis of their identity to defend group interests, as in the case of the Clarkson mission community, may well be disadvantaged. If some voices relevant to the settlement of contesting land claims are not

heard, and therefore not considered, then the outcome of land restoration may well be prejudiced and result in reproducing inter/intra community conflict over the access and use of returned land.

Following the successful conclusion of the land claim negotiations Clarkson has been transformed into a rural town with an added housing development scheme opened to all qualifying members of the established Clarkson Communal Property Trust (CCPT). This settlement agreement stipulated that all previously disadvantaged persons were eligible to reside in the rural town subject to the approval of the CCPT. More recently the Moravian Church entered into a Land Availability Agreement with the local municipality, with all qualifying persons obtaining individual ownership rights to residential sites occupied. Residents of the rural town now include previously disadvantaged South Africans who were not members of either the Clarkson mission or Tsitsikamma Mfengu communities. With this development Clarkson has been positively incorporated into the mainstream of transformation in South Africa. However, social relations in the rural town have been haunted by the constructed racial ethnic dichotomy between the Coloured Moravian Clarksoner mission community and the ethnic Tsitsikamma Mfengu community with sporadic racial/ethnic violence has occurred between school goers in the rural town as recently as 2003.

9.2 General Significance of the Study

We located this study within both a descriptive and a critical approach through our use of applied discourse analysis. Our investigation revealed a dynamic progression in the historical construction and appropriation of communal identities in relation to claims about land entitlement. However, the question may be raised to what extent the case of the Tsitsikamma Mfengu and Clarkson mission communities is an exception to the general pattern in South African restitution.

More generally the significance of our case study lies in our application of John Thompson's analytical framework for the methodology of interpretation and the various complementing aspects of discourse theory. The theoretical basis of this study has evolved into being distinctly eclectic in character, with no attempt made on our part to construct a general theory of communal identities and claims to land. This rather eclectic approach to applied discourse analysis enabled us to bring to the fore significant discursive shifts within the Clarksoner

mission and Tsitsikamma Mfengu communal identity formations in relation to the ambiguities in rights to land. In general then, when grounded in a social historical context of colonial land dispossessions and colonial demands for the use of indigenous labour, communal identity formations can be placed on an interconnected discursive continuum. In this way we can begin to reveal the ways in which processes of contemporary communal identification regularly utilise selected elements like naming/labelling, historical events and shared experiences from the inter-discourse in the constitution of present-day community formations in order to legitimate claims of entitlement to land. The current common usage of "tribal", "traditional" and "ancestral" can be interpreted not as unique primordial phenomena prevailing outside the realm of modernity, but as historical and discursive constructions. As part of the progression of modernity discursive processes of communal identification are linked to claims of entitlement to land and bound up in past and present relations of power and domination. Such an approach to discourse analysis contributes to an enquiry into historical contestation, the reproduction of present day inter/intra community conflict, and questions surrounding the legitimacy of claims of entitlement to land.

The research topic of "communal identity and historical claims to land in South Africa: the cases of the Clarkson Moravian mission and the Tsitsikamma Mfengu" has uniquely positioned us to critically explore the sustained historical linkages between the Moravian Mission Society and the contemporary Moravian Church in South Africa. Our critical discourse analysis and interpretation of the reconstructed narrative of the seed remains significant in revealing the historical depth and connections of the independent indigenous Moravian Church (incorporating its mission stations like that at Clarkson) with the long departed Moravian Mission Society. The history of the Moravian mission in South Africa combined with a contextual analysis of colonial expansion, land dispossessions, forced labour, as well as colonial resistance, rebellion, and collaboration has located this study on a path that makes a meaningful contribution to developing an inclusive and comprehensive narrative of South African Christianity within a general South African history.

The study may also be significant in the more general South African context of investigations into land restitution claims, especially for the numerous remaining unresolved contested rural communal claims of entitlement to land. In many cases communities have drawn on elements of pre-colonial and colonial history to justify and legitimate preferential entitlement to claims lodged. This has made contemporary constituted community identities an integral part of such

land claims. Creative solutions to contested communal claims of entitlement to land aimed at promoting restored dignity and justice are necessary. These should not avoid addressing historical rights to land within a comprehensive context of pre-colonial, colonial and mission history. To this end our study has hopefully made some contribution through its applied discourse analysis. This has involved both a descriptive and critical approach in examining elements of meaning utilised in the historical and discursive construction and appropriation of communal identities in relation to land. Through our critical approach to applied discourse analysis we have endeavoured to reveal the underlying mechanisms that account for relations of power and domination, including those involved in communal identities that may be taken-for-granted. It is when the selective uses of labelling/naming, rituals, selected historical events and shared experiences are made known and placed within its historical and political context; that we begin to provide an interpretation of sustained relations of power and domination.

9.3 Conclusion

The outcome of this study is that by focussing on the historical rights to land of the two communities in our case study, we have been able to enter the complex and controversial colonial and missionary histories involved in these communal claims of entitlement to land. We have not limited ourselves to the 1913 cut-off date as the end of a prescribed historical period within which to review the validity of each contesting claim. When the Mfengu were forcefully removed from the Tsitsikamma in 1977 racial/ethnic categories had long been appropriated and become taken-for-granted descriptions of communities living alongside each other. In fact since 1913 racial/ethnic labelling found in the official discourse had been systematically introduced, produced, and sustained in relation to rights in land used and occupied. Deeds registry enquiry and the use of Deed of Grants as objective independent documents to provide historical evidence needs to be complemented by a historical approach to resolving claims of entitlement to land, especially contesting claims to land. By shifting our focus to an investigation of historical rights in land, we have grounded our study by taking into consideration the relevant political and historical contexts that pre-date 1913. It is the emerging complexities, ambiguities and nuanced histories of mission, land dispossession, forced labour, resistance, rebellion and collaboration that contributes to the resolution of contested land claims; and not the reformulation of a received macro narrative from which elements are appropriated by contemporary communities through which to display legitimacy of entitlements to land. If our purpose is to seek dynamic solutions to contemporary inter and intra-community

conflicts, then it becomes necessary to shift our focus in investigations of communal land entitlement claims to grounding historical rights in land enquiry within relevant political and historical contexts that pre-date 1913.

Bibliography

A. Manuscripts

Cape Archive. CA 1/AY8/24. W.H. Dutton to the Civil Commissioner of Albany. 2 May 1835.

Cape Archive. CA 1/AY8/24. Notice. Headquarters Camp. Dabakazi. 3 May 1835.

Cape Archive. CA 1/AY8/55. Colonial Office. Somerset. 22 July 1835.

Cape Archive. CA 1/AY8/86. Civil Commissioner's Office. Grahamstown. 14 June 1835.

Cape Archive. CA 1/AY8/86. Civil Commissioner's Office. Winterberg. 7 September 1835.

Cape Archive. CA ACC519/2 (No. 18). 18 May 1835.

Cape Archive. CA ACC519/3. Colonial Office. 4 December 1835.

Cape Archive. CA ACC519/3. Skeleton of a Plan for the Arrangement of Facts Calculated to Exhibit the True State of Colonial Affairs to Uninformed Prejudiced Persons in England. William Boyce. 12 October 1835.

Cape Archive. CA ACC519/3. Report of the Commissioner for Locating the Fingo Tribes. 5 October 1835.

Cape Archive. CA ACC519/4. Address given by Smith. Enclosure No. 15. 7 January 1836.

Cape Archive. CA LG 592. Hudson to Civil Commissioner of Uitenhage. Grahamstown. 31 August 1837.

Cape Archive. CA LG 592. Hudson to the Civil Commissioner of Uitenhage. 18 September 1837.

Cape Archive. CA LG 592. Hudson to Civil Commissioner of Uitenhage. 27 September 1837.

Cape Archive. CA LCA 4/9. Proclamation. 5 December 1836.

Cape Archive. CA LCA 4/9. Treaties. 5 December 1836.

Cape Archive. CA 49-65.Brownlee. Memorandum.1864.

Cape Archive. CA 36-65. Petition to the Governor from Certain Inhabitants of Humansdorp. 3 June 1865.

Cape Archive. CA 43-71. Petition of Tozane, a Fingo Chief and British Subject. 2 August 1871.

Cape Archive. CA 32-79. Petition of Petrus Mohango of the Incibini, in the Division of Queen's Town. 1879.

Moravian Archive. Letter to Hallbeck from Küster. Koksbosch. 26 February and 10 March 1839.

Moravian Archive. Letter to Hallbeck from Küster. Koksbosch. 5 May 1839.

Moravian Archive. Missions Conf. Prodoc. 1839-1846.

Moravian Archive. Missions Conf. Prodoc. 1846-1855.

Moravian Archive. Missions Conf. Prodoc. 1868-1872.

Moravian Archive. Schmidt. Extracts of the Diary of Genadendal and Periodical Accounts proving the Loyalty of the Missionaries and its Congregation. Unpublished. No date.

Moravian Archive. Schmidt. Die Sendingwerk van die Broederkerk in Suid Afrika. Unpublished. No date.

Moravian Archive. Memorandum: Fingo Reserve. No date.

Moravian Archive. Clarkson Documents. Letter from G. Hettasch. 25 August 1948.

Moravian Archive. Letter from Rev. P.W. Schaberg to the Minister of Native Affairs. 20 March 1950.

Moravian Archive. Letter from Rev. P.W. Schaberg to the Minister of Native Affairs. 20 March 1950.

Moravian Archive. B. Krüger. Clarkson Annual Report. 31 December 1951.

Clarkson Moravian Church Office. The Clarkson Moravian Mission Station Marriage Register. 1869-1975.

Clarkson Moravian Church Office.The Clarkson Moravian Mission Station Marriage Register. 1910-1975.

Moravian Archive. Clarkson Moravian Mission Station Constitution.

Notarial Contract. K111/85. Protokol No. 466A. 8 November 1985.

Moravian Archive. Die Huisvriend. 1991.

B. Government Publications

Vagrancy and Contracts of Hire. Proclamation No. 14. 1 November 1809. In G.W. Eybers. (Ed.). 1918. Select Constitutional Documents illustrating South African History, 1795-1910. London. Routledge.

Hallbeck. Brief Sketch of the Origin, Progress, and Present State of the Missions of the United Brethren in the Colony of the Cape of Good Hope. Genadendal. 14 November 1823. No. 2. Draft Settlement of the Lands at Missionary Institutions in South Africa. British Parliamentary Papers. Vol. 20.

Sub-Enclosure 15 May 1835, Enclosure No. 8. British Parliamentary Papers. Vol. 21

Copy of a Despatch from Governor Sir B. D'Urban to the Earl of Aberdeen, 19 June 1835. Sub-enclosure No. 3, Enclosure No. 8. British Parliamentary Papers Vol. 20.

Results of a Census of the Colony of the Cape of Good Hope. 1865. G.20-66.

Results of a Census of the Colony of the Cape of Good Hope. 1878. G42-76.

Peace Preservation Act of 1878.

For the Prevention of Vagrancy and Squatting Act 23, 1879.

To Provide for the Disposal of Lands Forming Native Locations Act 40, 1879.

To Provide for the Management of Villages and other Communities not being Municipalities Act 29, 1881.

'Minutes of Evidence. 1883. Cape Native Laws Commission'. The Right to the Land. Ed. T.R.H. Davenport and K.S. Hunt. Claremont: David Philip, 1974.

Results of a Census of the Colony the Cape of Good Hope. 1905. G.19-1905

To Provide for the Better Management and Control of certain Mission Stations and certain Lands Reserved for the Occupation of certain Tribes or Communities, and for the Granting of Titles to the Inhabitants of such Stations and Reserves, Act 29, 1909.

The Natives Land Act No. 27, 1913.

The Beaumont Commission. U.G. 19-16.

The Natives Administration Act No. 38, 1927.

The Representation of Natives Act No. 12, 1936.

The Natives Trust Land Act No. 18, 1936.

The Coloured Persons Settlement Act No. 7, 1946.

The Coloured Mission Stations and Communal Reserves Amendment Act No. 12, 1949

The Coloured Mission Stations and Reserves Amendment Act No. 35, 1955.

The Coloured Mission Stations and Reserves Amendment Act No. 31, 1959.

The Rural Coloured Areas Act No. 24, 1963.

First Report of the Select Committee on Bantu Affairs. House of Assembly. S.C. 9-75.

The Rural Areas Act No. 9, 1987.

Communal Property Associations Bill, 1995.

Restitution of Land Rights Act No. 22, 1994.

Land Tenure Core Group. 'Land Tenure Reform Document'. 13 May 1996.

Commission on the Restitution of Land Rights. 'Land Restitution in South Africa Our Achievements and Challenges'. 26 May 2003.

C. Deeds Registry Documents

Clarkson. Uitenhage Freehold. 9:7 (15 December 1841).
Clarkson. Title Deed. T3168/1959.
DorisKraal. Uitenhage Freehold. 11:1 (30 October 1858).
Elim. Title Deed. T18759/1959.
Fingo Reserve. Uitenhage Freehold. 10:16 (15 November 1851).
Goedverwacht. Title Deed. T26909/1965.
Palmiet River. Uitenhage Freehold. 11:2 (30 October 1858).
Pella. Title Deed. T9989/1936

Snyklip. Uitenhage Freehold. 11:3 (30 October 1858).
Wittekleibosch. Uitenhage Freehold. 11:4 (30 October 1858).
Wittewater. Title Deed. T8760/1959.

Letter from Bell to Reverend D. Hallbeck. Fingo Reserve. Uitenhage Freehold 10:16A (15 November 1851).

Division of Humansdorp. Lease Agreement. No. 72 (15 November 1875).

D. Reports, Minutes and Correspondence

Anonymous. *Notice of Mass Demonstration.* Clarkson. 15 March 1996.

Anonymous. *Memorandum of Mass Demonstration.* Clarkson. 16 March 1996.

Combined Summons in the Supreme Court of South Africa (South Eastern Cape Local Division). S. Mtselu and thirteen other plaintiffs and the South African Development Trust and 22 other defendants. Case No. 1306/9. 7 May 1991.

Cooper, D. *Report on Trip to Tsitsikamma.* October 1991.

Clarkson Kerkraad en Opsienersraad. Letter to Rev. B.C.P. Lottering. *Ontwikkeling te Clarkson.* 30 December 1995.

Clarkson Communal Property Association. *Notarial Deed of Trust.* 16 August 1996.

Legal Resource Centre. *Chronology of Events: Clarkson Development.* No date.

Legal Resource Centre. *Report on Visit to Rev. Wessels.* No date.

Legal Resource Centre. *Report of Meeting with Rev. Wessels of the Moravian Church.* 16 January 1991.

Legal Resource Centre. *Minutes of the Meeting held between the Moravian Church and the Tsitsikamma Exile Association.* 3 July 1991.

Legal Resource Centre. *Draft Notes.* Meeting with State President F.W. de Klerk. Union Building. 15 July 1991.

Legal Resource Centre. *Report on the Mfengu Land Case.* 27 July 1991.

Legal Resource Centre. *Motivating Memorandum. Application for the Designation of Land for Less Formal Settlement* (Chapter 1: Less formal Township Establishment Act, 1991 [Act 113 of 1991]). December 1992.

Legal Resource Centre. *Documents of Algoa Regional Services Council.* 1994.

Legal Resource Centre. *Mfengu Case Report Compilation.* 15 January 1994 - March 1994.

Legal Resource Centre and the Tsitsikamma Development Trust (Mfengu). *Report to Members of the Tsitsikamma Community.* June 1994.

Legal Resource Centre. *Report to All Members of the Tsitsikamma Community who were Forcibly Moved during 1977.* June 1994.

Legal Resource Centre. *Draft Summary: Issues Facing the Tsitsikamma Development Trust (Mfengu).* 12 May 1995.

Legal Resource Centre. 1996. *Chronology of Events: Clarkson Development Project.* January 1996.

Legal Resource Centre. *Report Concerning the Mfengu/Tsitsikamma Project.* 3 June 1996.

Legal Resource Centre. *Mission Statement.* http://www.lrc.org.za/About/. 20 July 2005.

Minutes of Clarkson Community Meeting. 15 June 1991.

Minutes of Meeting between Moravian Church and Tsitsikamma Exile Association (Fingo). 3 July 1991.

Moraviese Broederkerk. *Mandaat van Clarkson Kerkraad en Opsienersraadslede.* 7 June 1991.

Moravian Church Western Cape Regional Board. Letter to the Kerkraad en Opsienersraad Clarkson. *Ontwikkeling te Clarkson.* 19 January 1996.

Moravian Church Western Cape Regional Board. *Memorandum: Aan Alle Inwoners van Clarkson.* 19 January 1996.

Moravian Church. Notice from Rev. Lottering. *Aan Alle Inwoners.* 19 January 1996.

Moravian Church. *Minutes of Clarkson Mission General Meeting on Clarkson Resettlement of the Mfengu.* 28 January 1996.

Moravian Church in South Africa, Koukamma Local Municipality and Trustees of the Clarkson Communal Property Trust. *A Land Availability Agreement.* Clarkson. 6 April 2002.

Pienaar, K. *Historic Overview and Brief Summary.* No date.

South African Council of Churches. *Rustenburg Declaration.* 1990.

Syfret Godlonton-Fuller Moore. Letter to Roger Matlock. *Development of Clarkson.* 25 May 1994.

Tobie Meyer, Deputy Minister of Land Affairs. *Press Release: Clarkson Development.* 18 December 1995.

Tsitsikamma Exile Association (Fingo). *Letter from T. Makamba to the Rev. M. Wessels.* 29 May 1991.

Tsitsikamma Exile Association (Fingo). Poster. *Clarkson Memorial Service: We are Returning to Our Land.* August 1991.

Tsitsikamma Exile Association (Fingo). *Return to our Land.* August 1996.

Tsitsikamma Exile Association (Fingo). Pamphlet. *Return to Our Land.* September 1991.

Tsitsikamma Development Trust (Mfengu). *The Resettlement of the Mfengu Community to the Tsitsikamma Region.* November 1995.

Tsitsikamma Development Trust (Mfengu). *Amended Deed of Trust.* Cape Town. 29 October 1998.

Umanyano Lwama Tsitsikamma. *Letter to the Minister of Agriculture, Thoko Didiza. Requesting Intervention in the Dispute between the Community and the Tsitsikamma Development Trust (Mfengu).* 10 October 2002.

Van Rooyen and Estratiou. Letter to the Moravian Church (Western Cape). *NEWHCO East Cape/Yourselves: Development of 775 Erven at Clarkson in Terms of Joint Venture Agreement.* 8 November 1995.

E. Newspapers and Periodicals

Bernstein, Henry. 'Social Change in the South African Countryside? Land and Production, Poverty and Power.' Journal of Peasant Studies 25: 4 (1998).

Bredekamp, H.C. 'Verhettge Tikkuie, Alias Moeder Lena van Genadendal, 1739-1800.' Quarterly Bulletin of the South African Library 41: 4 (June 1987).

Bredekamp, H.C. 1988. 'George Schmidt se Poging tot Tansformasie van 'n Overbergse Khoikhoi-Gemeenskap, 1737-1743.' Kronos 1988: 14.

'Onmin oor Hervestiging van Fingo's by Clarkson.' Die Burger 18 December 1995.

'Growing Bitterness Over Land Restitution.' Business Day 13 March 1996.

'A Story of Native Wars by an Aged Fingo.' Cape Monthly Magazine January – June 1877: XIV.

'Disarmament.' Cape Times 10 December 1878.

'The Mfengu People Fight to Regain Tribal Land they Lost at Gunpoint.' Cape Times 22 April 1991.

Cobbing, Julian. 'The Mfecane as Alibi: Thoughts on Dithakong and Mbolompo.' Journal of African History 1988: 29.

Coetzee, J.M. 'Idleness in South Africa.' Social Dynamics 8: 1 (1982).

Comaroffs, Jean and John L.. 'The Colonisation of Consciousness in South Africa.' Economy and Society 18: 3 (August 1989).

Ditlhake, Abie. 'Land Reform Programme: A Nemesis of the Rural Poor?' Land Update (March 1998).

Du Toit, André. 'No Chosen People: The Myth of the Calvinist Origins of Afrikaner Nationalism and Racial Ideology.' The American Historical Review 88: 4 (October 1983).

Du Toit, André. 'On Ideology.' South African Journal of Philosophy 13: 3 (1994).

'Notice of State Land Available in the Republic.' Eastern Cape Herald 12 February 1982.

'Fingos Visit Ancestral Graves in Tsitsikamma.' Eastern Province Herald 24 February 1991.

'Black Sash Holds Fingo Land Demo.' Eastern Province Herald 20 March 1991.

'Mfengu Ex-farmers Hopeful for Lost Land.' Evening Post 16 February 1991.

'Banished Fingo Tribesmen to visit Ancestor's Graves.' Evening Post 18 February 1991.

'Plight of the Tsitsikamma Fingos.' Evening Post 26 February 1991.

'Sash Holds Poster Demo for Fingos.' Evening Post 21 March 1991.

Elbourne, Elizabeth. 'Early Khoisan Uses of Mission Christianity.' Kronos 1992: 19.

Eldredge, Elizabeth A. 'Sources of Conflict in Southern Africa, c. 1800-1830: The Mfecane Reconsidered.' Journal of African History 1992: 33.

Etherington, N. 'Recent Trends in the Historiography of Christianity in Southern Africa.' Journal of Southern African Studies 22: 2 (1996).

Everingham, Mark and Crystal Jannecke. 'Land Restitution and Democratic Citizenship in South Africa.' Journal of Southern African Studies 32: 2 (2006) forthcoming.

Grove, Richard. 'Scottish Missionaries, Evangelical Discourse and the Origins of Conservative Thinking in South Africa, 1820-1900.' Journal of Southern African Studies 15: 2 (1989).

Guelke L. and Shell, R. 'Landscape of Conquest: Frontier Water Alienation and Khoikhoi Strategies of Survival, 1652-1780.' Journal of Southern African Studies 18: 4 (December 1992).

Hamilton, Carolyn. 'The Character and Objects of Chaka: A Reconsideration of the Making of Shaka as Mfecane Motor.' Journal of African History 1992: 33.

'Muzzling the Natives.' Imvo Zabantsundu 23 March 1887. From Protest to Challenge: A Documentary History of African Politics in South Africa, 1882-1864 Vol. 1. Eds. T. Karis and G.M. Carter. 3 vols. Stanford: Hoover Institution, 1987.

'The Future of the Bill.' Imvo Zabantsundu 15 August 1894. From Protest to Challenge: A Documentary History of African Politics in South Africa, 1882-1864 Vol. 1. Eds. T. Karis and G.M. Carter. 3 vols. Stanford: Hoover Institution, 1987.

Inggs, E.J. 'Mfengu Beach Labour and Port Elizabeth Harbour Development 1835-1870.' Contree Journal for South African Urban and Regional History 1987: 21.

Jabavu, D. 'The Fingo Slavery Myth.' The South African Outlook (June 1935).

James, Deborah. '"After Years in the Wilderness": The Discourse of Land Claims in the New South Africa.' The Journal of Peasant Studies 27: 3 (2000).

James, Deborah. 'Hills of Thorns: Custom, Knowledge and the Reclaiming of a Lost Land in the New South Africa.' Development and Change 2000: 31.

Kirk, Tony. 'Progress and Decline in the Kat River Settlement, 1829-1854.' Journal of African History XIV: 3 (1973).

Lalu, P. 'The Grammar of Domination and Subjection of Agency: Colonial Texts and Modes of Evidence.' History and Theory 2000: 39.

Lehmann, Hartmut. 'Pietism and Nationalism: The Relationship between Protestant Revivalism and National Renewal in Nineteenth-Century Germany.' Church History 51: 1 (1982 March).

Lester, Alan. 'Settlers, the State and Colonial Power: The Colonisation of Queen Adelaide Province, 1834-1837.' Journal of African History 1998: 39.

'Victory ... but now for the Tensions of Coming Home.' Mail and Guardian 25 March 1994.

'Whose Land Is This.' Mail and Guardian 17 February 1995.

'Queen Reminded of Broken Promise.' Mail and Guardian 24 March 1995.

'District Six: Restitution or Development.' Mail and Guardian 6 September 1996.

'Land Court Faces its First Tough Decision.' Mail and Guardian 8 December 1996.

'Bushman Left to Rot in the Karoo.' Mail and Guardian 14 March 1997.

Marks, Shula. 'Khoisan Resistance to the Dutch in the Seventeenth and Eighteenth Centuries.' Journal of African History xiii: 1 (1972).

National Land Committee. 'Mfengus Return Home After 17-Year Struggle.' Land Update. May-June 1994.

Omer-Cooper, J.D. 'Debate: Has the Mfecane a Future? A Response to the Cobbing Critique.' Journal of Southern African Studies 19: 2 (1993).

Peires, J.B. 'Debate: Paradigm deleted: the Materialist Interpretation of the Mfecane.' Journal of Southern African Studies 19: 2 (1993).

Periodical Accounts Relating to the Missions of the Church of the United Brethren Established Among the Heathen. Xx: ccxviii (March 1853).

Periodical Accounts Relating to the Missions of the Church of the United Brethren Established Among the Heathen. Xxi: ccxxi (December 1853).

Periodical Accounts Relating to the Missions of the Church of the United Brethren Established Among the Heathen. Xxi: ccxxviii (September 1855).

Periodical Accounts Relating to the Missions of the Church of the United Brethren Established Among the Heathen. Xxi: ccxxix (December 1855).

Periodical Accounts Relating to the Missions of the Church of the United Brethren Established Among the Heathen. Xxii: ccxxxi (June 1856).

Periodical Accounts Relating to the Missions of the Church of the United Brethren Established Among the Heathen. Xxii: ccxxxiv (March 1857).

Periodical Accounts Relating to the Missions of the Church of the United Brethren Established Among the Heathen. Xxii: cxxxvi (September 1857).

Periodical Accounts Relating to the Missions of the Church of the United Brethren Established Among the Heathen. Xxii: cxl (September 1858).

Periodical Accounts Relating to the Missions of the Church of the United Brethren Established Among the Heathen. Xxiii: ccxlvi (March 1860).

Periodical Accounts Relating to the Missions of the Church of the United Brethren Established Among the Heathen. Xxiii: ccxlvii (June 1860).

Periodical Accounts Relating to the Missions of the Church of the United Brethren Established Among the Heathen. Xxiv: cclii (September 1861).

Periodical Accounts Relating to the Missions of the Church of the United Brethren Established Among the Heathen. Xxiv: ccliv (March 1862).

Periodical Accounts Relating to the Missions of the Church of the United Brethren Established Among the Heathen. Xxiv: cclv (June 1862).

Periodical Accounts Relating to the Missions of the Church of the United Brethren Established Among the Heathen. Xxiv: cclvii (December 1862)

Periodical Accounts Relating to the Missions of the Church of the United Brethren Established Among the Heathen. Xxiv: cclix (June 1863).

Periodical Accounts Relating to the Missions of the Church of the United Brethren Established Among the Heathen. Xxv: cclxii (March 1864).

Periodical Accounts Relating to the Missions of the Church of the United Brethren Established Among the Heathen. Xxv: cclxiii (June 1864).

Periodical Accounts Relating to the Missions of the Church of the United Brethren Established Among the Heathen. Xxv: cclxvii (June 1865).

Periodical Accounts Relating to the Missions of the Church of the United Brethren Established Among the Heathen. Xxv: cclxviii (September 1865).

Periodical Accounts Relating to the Missions of the Church of the United Brethren Established Among the Heathen. Xxvi: cclxxii (September 1866).

Periodical Accounts Relating to the Missions of the Church of the United Brethren Established Among the Heathen. Xxvi: cclxxiii (December 1866).

Periodical Accounts Relating to the Missions of the Church of the United Brethren Established Among the Heathen. Xxvi: cclxxiv (March 1867).

Periodical Accounts Relating to the Missions of the Church of the United Brethren Established Among the Heathen. Xxvi: cclxxvi (September 1867).

Periodical Accounts Relating to the Missions of the Church of the United Brethren Established Among the Heathen. Xxviii: 299 (June 1873).

Periodical Accounts Relating to the Missions of the Church of the United Brethren Established Among the Heathen. (March 1875).

Periodical Accounts Relating to the Missions of the Church of the United Brethren Established Among the Heathen. Xxxii: 331 (June 1881).

Periodical Accounts Relating to the Missions of the Church of the United Brethren Established Among the Heathen. Xxxii: 335 (June 1882).

Periodical Accounts Relating to the Missions of the Church of the United Brethren Established Among the Heathen. Xxxii: 340 (September 1883).

Periodical Accounts Relating to the Missions of the Church of the United Brethren Established Among the Heathen. Xxxiii: 346 (March 1885).

Periodical Accounts Relating to the Missions of the Church of the United Brethren Established Among the Heathen. Xxxiii: 349 (December 1885).

Periodical Accounts Relating to the Missions of the Church of the United Brethren Established Among the Heathen. V: 53 (March 1903).

Periodicals Account Relating to the Missions of the Church of the United Brethren Established Among the Heathen. V: 56 (December 1903).

Periodicals Account Relating to the Missions of the Church of the United Brethren Established Among the Heathen. V: 59 (September 1904).

Periodical Account Relating to the Missions of the Church of the United Brethren Established Among the Heathen. Viii: 91 (September 1912).

Robins, Steven. 'Land Struggles and the Politics and Ethics of Representing "Bushman" History and Identity.' Kronos 2000: 26.

Robins, Steven. 'NGOs, "Bushmen" and the Double Vision: The ≠ Khomani San Land Claim and the Cultural Politics of Community and Development in the Kalahari.' Journal of Southern African Studies 27: 4 (2001).

Ross, R. 'Oppression, Sexuality and Slavery at the Cape of Good Hope.' Historical Reflections 6: 2 (1979)

Ross, R. 'The Rule of Law at the Cape of Good Hope in the 18th Century.' Journal of Imperial and Commonwealth History ix: 1 (October 1980).

Shell, R.C.H. 'The Changing Functions and Effects of the Domestic Slave Market at the Cape, 1652-1833.' International Journal of African Historical Studies 25: 1 (1992).

Stapleton, T.J. 'Oral Evidence in a Pseudo-ethnicity: the Fingo Debate.' History in Africa 1995: 22.

Stapleton, T.J. 'The Expansion of a Pseudo-Ethnicity in the Eastern Cape: Reconsidering the Fingo "Exodus" of 1865.' The International Journal of African Historical Studies 29:2 (1996).

'Fingoes Launch Land Battle.' Sunday Times March 1991.

'Church backs Tribe's Quest to go Back Home.' Sunday Times 31 March 1991.

'The Mfengu People have become a cause Celebré in the National Row Over Land Claims.' Sunday Times 28 July 1991.

'Fingo Exiles Pledge to Reclaim Land.' Sunday Tribune 24 February 1991.

'Church is Obstacle to Ending Mfengu's Exile.' Sunday Times. 19 November 1995.

Trapido, S. 'African Politics in the Cape, 1884-1910.' Journal of African History Ix:I (1968).

Thorp, Daniel B. 'New Wines in Old Bottles: Cultural Persistence among Non-White Converts to the Moravian Church.' Transactions of the Moravian Historical Society 1998: 30.

Van der Walt, A.J. 'Land Reform in South Africa Since 1990 – An Overview.' South African Public Law, 10: 1&2 (1995).

Woods, Roger. 'Discourse Analysis: the Work of Michel Pêcheux.' Ideology and Consciousness 1977: 2.

Worden, N. 'Violence Crime, and Slavery on Cape farmsteads in the Eighteenth Century.' Kronos 1982: 5.

F. Books, Articles, Theses, and Papers

Alexander, J.E. Narrative of a voyage of Observation among the Colonies of Western Africa in the Flag ShipThalia and of a Campaign in Kaffir-Land on the Staff of the Commander-in-Chief in 1835. Vol. 2. London: Henry Colburn, 1837.

Anderson, Benedict. Imagined Communties: Reflections on the Origin and Spread of Nationalism. London: Verso, 1983.

Apter, David. ed. Ideology and Discontent. New York: The Free Press, 1964.

Althusser, L. 'Ideology and Ideological State Apparatus (Notes Towards and Investigation).' Lenin and Philosophy and Other Essays. Ed. L. Althusser. Trans. B. Brewster. New York: Monthly Review, 1972.

Addison, W.G. The Renewed Church of the United Brethren, 1722-1930. London: Society for the Promoting of Christian Knowledge, 1932.

August. K.T. 'The Quest for being Public Church: A Study of the South African Moravian Church in Historical and Contemporary Perspective.' PhD dissertation. University of Stellenbosch, 2003.

August K.T. The Quest for being Public Church: The South African Challenge to the Moravian Church in Context : 1737-2004. 1st edition. Cape Town: Moravian Printing Works, 2005.

Ayliff, J. and Whitehead, J. History of the Abambo Generally Known as Fingos. Butterworth: Gazette, 1912.

Balie, Isaac. Die Geskiedenis van Genadendal, 1738-1988. Kaapstad: Perskor, 1988.

Bouch, R. 'The Mfengu Revisited: The 19th Century Experience of one Mfengu Community through the Eyes of Historians and Contemporaries.' Societies of Southern Africa in the Nineteenth and Twentieth Century Vol. 17. Institute for Commonwealth Studies. University of London,1992.

Bredekamp, H.C. 'De (con)struction of an Early Collective Khoekhoe Christian Identity in South Africa, 1737-1743.' Unpublished Paper. Conference on Khoisan Identities and Cultural Heritage. University of the Western Cape, 1997.

Bredekamp, H.C. and J.L. Hattingh. eds. Dagboek en Briewe van Georg Schmidt: Eerste Sendeling in Suid-Afrika (1737-1744). Trans. J. du P. Boeke. Bellville: Die Wes-Kaaplandse Instituut vir Historiese Navorsing, 1981.

Bredekamp H.C. and Susan Newton-King. 'The Subjugation of the Khoisan during the 17th and 18th Centuries.' Unpublished paper. Conference on Economic Development and Racial Domination. University of the Western Cape, 1984.

Bredekamp, H.C. and H.E.F. Plüddemann. eds. The Genadendal Diaries: Diaries of the Herrnhut Missionaries H. Marsveld, D. Schwinn and J.C. Kuhnel. Trans. A.B.L. Flegg. Series B4. Vol.1. Bellville: University of the Western Cape Institute for Historical Research, 1992.

Bredekamp, H.C. and R. Ross. eds. Missions and Christianity in South African History. Johannesburg: Witwatersrand University Press, 1992.

Brown, William M.D. The History of the Christian Missions of the Sixteenth, Seventeenth, Eighteenth, and Nineteenth Centuries vol.1, 3rd edition. London: Thomas Baker, 1864.

Brock, Peter. The Political and Social Doctrines of the Unity of the Czech Brethren in the Fifteen and Early Sixteen Centuries. London: Mouton, 1957.

Brown Marj et al., 1998. Land Restitution in South Africa: A Long Way Home. Cape Town: IDASA, 1998.

Bullock, Stallybrass, and Stephen Trombley. eds. The Fontana Dictionary of Modern Thought 2nd edition. London: Fontana, 1988.

Bundy, C. The Rise and Fall of the South African Peasantry. London: Heinemann, 1979.

Cochrane, James. Servants of Power: The Role of the English-speaking Churches in South Africa. Johannesburg: Ravan, 1987.

Comaroff, Jean. Body of Power Spirit of Resistance: The Culture and History of a South African People. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1985.

Comaroff, Jean and John Comaroff. Of Revelation and Revolution: Christianity, Colonialism and Consciousness in South Africa vol. 1. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1991.

Comaroff, Jean and John Comaroff. Of Revelation and Revolution: The Dialiectics of Modernity on a South African Frontier vol. 2. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1997.

Crais, C. The Making of the Colonial Order: White Supremacy and Black Resistance in the Eastern Cape, 1770-1865. Johannesburg: Witwatersrand University Press, 1992.

Crais, C. The Politics of Evil: Magic, State Power, and the Political Imagination in South Africa. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002.

Cousins, Ben. ed. At the Crossroads: Land and Agrarian Reform in South Africa into the 21st Century. Bellville: Programme for Land and Agrarian Studies of the University of the Western Cape and the National Land Committee, 2000.

Davenport, T.R.H. and K.S. Hunt. eds. The Right to the Land. Claremont: David Philip, 1974.

Davenport, T.R.H. South Africa: A Modern History 1st edition. Johannesburg: Macmillan, 1977.

Davenport, T.R.H. South Africa: A Modern History 4th edition. London: Macmillan, 1991.

De Gruchy, John. ed. The London Missionary Society in Southern Africa: Historical Essays in Celebration of the Bicentenary of the LMS in Southern Africa, 1799-1999. Cape Town: David Philip, 1999.

De Kock, L. Civilising Barbarians: Missionary Narrative and African Textual Responses in Ninetenth Century South Africa. Johannesburg: Witwatersrand University Press, 1996.

Delius, Peter. The Land Belongs to Us: The Pedi Polity, the Boers and the British in the Nineteenth Century Transvaal. Transvaal: Ravan, 1983.

Delius, Peter. A Lion Amongst the Cattle: Reconstruction and Resistance in Northern Transvaal. Randburg: Ravan, 1996.

Du Plessis, J. A History of Christian Missions in South Africa. Cape Town: C. Struik, 1965.

Du Toit, André and H. Giliomee. Afrikaner Political Thought: Analysis and Documents, 1780-1850. Vol. 1. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1983.

Du Toit, Andries. 'The End of Restitution.' At the Crossroads: Land and Agrarian Reform in South Africa into the 21st Century. Ed. Ben Cousins. Bellville: Programme for Land and Agrarian Studies of the University of the Western Cape and the National Land Committee, 2000.

Elbourne, Elizabeth. 'To Colonise the Mind: Evangelical Missionaries in Britain and the Eastern Cape, 1790-1837.' PhD thesis. Oxford University, 1992.

Elbourne, Elizabeth. 'A Question of Identity: Evangelical Culture and Khoisan Politics in the Early Nineteenth Century Eastern Cape.' Collected Seminar Papers. The Societies of Southern Africa in the Nineteenth and Twentieth Centuries Vol. 18. Institute for Commonwealth Studies. University of London, 1992.

Elbourne, Elizabeth. Blood Ground: Colonialism, Missions, and the Conquest for Christianity in the Cape Colony and Britain, 1799-1853. Montreal: McGill-Queens University Press, 2002.

Elbourne, E. and R. Ross. 'Combating Spiritual and Social Bondage: Early Missions in the Cape Colony.' Christianity in South Africa: A Political, Social, and Cultural History. Eds. R. Elphick and R. Davenport. Oxford: James Curry, 1997.

Eldredge, E.A. 'Slave Raiding Across the Cape Frontier.' Slavery in South Africa: Captive Labour on the Dutch Frontier. Eds. E.A. Eldredge and F. Morton. Boulder: Westview, 1994.

Elphick, R. and V.C. Malherbe. 'The Khoisan to 1828.' The Shaping of South African Society, 1652-1840. Eds. R. Elphick. and H. Giliomee 2nd edition. Connecticut: Wesleyan University Press, 1979.

Elphick, R. and R. Davenport. eds. Christianity in South Africa: A Political, Social, and Cultural History. Oxford: James Currey, 1997.

Eybers, G.W. ed. Select Constitutional Documents illustrating South African History, 1795-1910. London: Routledge, 1918.

Fairclough, Norman. Language and Power. London: Longman, 1989.

Foucault, Michel. Discipline and Punish: The Birth of the Prison. Trans. Alan Sheridan. New York: Vintage Books, 1979.

Foucault, Michel. 'The Order of Discourse.' Untying the Text: A Post Structuralist Reader. Ed. Robert Young. Boston: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1981.

Gerdener, G.B.A. Recent Developments in the South African Mission Field. London: Marshall Morgan and Scott, 1958.

Giliomee, H. 'The Eastern Frontier, 1770-1812.' The Shaping of South African Society, 1652-1820. Ed. R. Elphick and H. Giliomee 2nd edition. Connecticut: Wesleyan University Press, 1979.

Godlonton, R. A Narrative of the Irruption of the Kaffir Hordes into the Eastern Province of the Cape of Good Hope, 1834-1835. Cape Town: Menrant and Godlonton, 1836.

Goldin, Ian. Making Race: The Politics and Economics of Coloured Identity in South Africa. Cape Town: Maskew Miller Longman, 1987.

Gollin, G.L. Moravians in Two Worlds: A Study of Changing Communities. New York: Columbia University Press, 1967.

Gray, Richard. Black Christians and White Missionaries. New Haven: Yale University Press, 1990.

Gray, K. and Gray, S.F. 'The Idea of Property in Land.' Land Law: Themes and Perspectives. Eds. S. Bright and J. Dewar. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1998.

Hall, R., Peter Jacobs and Edward Lahiff. 'Final Report.' Occasional Paper Series no. 10. Programme for Land and Agrarian Studies. University of the Western Cape, September 2003.

Hall, R. 'Rural Restitution: Evaluating Land and Agrarian Reform in South Africa.' Series no. 2. Programme for Land and Agrarian Studies. University of the Western Cape, September 2003.

Hall, Stuart. 'The Question of Cultural Identity.' Modernity and its Futures. Eds. S. Hall and D. Held. Cambridge: Polity, 1992.

Hall, Stuart. 'Who Needs Identity?' Questions of Cultural Identity. Eds. Stuart Hall and Paul du Gray. London: Sage, 1996.

Hamilton, J.T. A History of the Church Known as the Moravian Church, or the Unitas Fratrum, or the Unity of the Brethren, during the 18th and 19th Centuries. Bethlehem: Times Publishing, 1900.

Hodgson, J. Servants of the Xhosa: A Study of the Origins and Development of the Traditional Concepts of the Supreme Being. Cape Town: Oxford University Press, 1982.

Hodgson, Janet. 'A Battle for Sacred Power: Christian Beginnings among the Xhosa' Christianity in South Africa: A Political, Social, and Cultural History. Eds. R. Elphick and R. Davenport. Oxford: James Currey, 1997.

Holmes, J. Historical Sketches of the Missions of the United Brethren for Propogating the Gospel Among the Heathen, from their Commencement to the Year 1817. London: Nisbet and Simkin and Marshal, 1827.

Hutton, J.E. A History of Moravian Missions. 2nd edition. London: Moravian Publication Office, 1922.

Jacobs, P.P. and H.C. Pauw. "n Gemeenskapstudie van die Mense van Clarkson.' Instituut vir Beplanningsnavorsing. Geleentheids Publikasie No. 52. Universiteit van Port Elizabeth, December 1994.

Japhta, D. Japhta, V. Le Grange, L. and F. Todeschini, F. 'Mission Settlements in South Africa.' A Pilot Study. Department of Environmental Affairs, 1992.

Jannecke, Crystal. 'The Fingo / Mfengu: a Case Study in Land and Identity.' B.Soc.Sci (Hons) thesis. Political Studies Department, University of Cape Town, 1997.

Jones, R.J.M. Conveyancing in South Africa. 3rd edition. Cape Town: Juta, 1985.

Karis, T. and G.M. Carter. eds. From Protest to Challenge: A Documentary History of African Politics in South Africa, 1882-1864. 3 vols. Stanford: Hoover Institution, 1987.

Keegan, Timothy J. Colonial South Africa and the Origins of Racial Order. Cape Town: David Philip, 1999.

Keegan, T. ed. Moravians in the Eastern Cape, 1828-1928: Four Accounts of Moravian Mission Work on the Eastern Cape Frontier. Trans. F.R. Baudert. Cape Town: Van Riebeeck Society, 2004.

Kepe, Thembela. 'The Problem of defining Community: Challenges for the Land Reform Programme in Rural South Africa.' An occasional paper. Series No. 6. Programme for Land and Agrarian Studies. University of the Western Cape, 1998.

Krüger, B. The Pear Tree Blossoms: the History of the Moravian Church in South Africa Western Cape Province 1737-1869. Genadendal: Moravian Book Depot, 1966.

Krüger, B. and P.W. Schaberg. The Pear Tree Bears Fruit: The History of the Moravian Church in South Africa Western Cape Province 1869-1980. Genadendal: Moravian Book Depot, 1984.

Kuper, A. and J. Kuper. eds. The Social Science Encyclopedia 2nd edition. London: Routledge, 1996.

Landau, P.S. The Realm of the Word; Language, Gender, and Christianity in a Southern African Kingdom. Portsmouth: Heinemann, 1995.

Latrobe, C.I. Journal of a Visit to South Africa, with some account of the Missionary Settlements of the United Brethren, near the Cape of Good Hope 2nd edition. London: L.B. Seeley, 1821.

Legassick, M. 'The Griqua, the Sotho-Tswana and the Missionaries, 1780-1840: The Politics of a Frontier Zone.' PhD thesis. University of California, 1969.

Legassick, M. 'The Northern Frontier to c. 1840: The Rise and Decline of the Griqua People.' The Shaping of South African Society, 1652-1829. Eds. Richard Elphick and H. Giliomee. Cape Town: Maskew Miller Longman, 1989.

Le Grange, L. 'Moravian Mission Stations in the Western and Southern Cape Conservation Study.' School of Architecture and Planning. University of Cape Town, 1991.

Lester, Alan. Imperial Networks: Creating Identities in Nineteenth-Century South Africa and Britain. London: Routledge, 2001.

Levin, Richard and D. Weiner. eds. "No More Tear ..." Struggles for land in Mpumalanga, South Africa. Trenton: Africa World, 1997.

Lewis, J. 'The Rise and Fall of the South African Peasantry: A Critique.' Unpublished paper. Centre for African Studies. University of Cape Town, 1983.

Lewis, A.J. Zinzendorf the Ecumenical Pioneer: A Study in the Moravian Contribution to Christian Mission and Unity. Philadelphia: Westminister Press, 1962.

Lund, F. 'Lessons From Riemvasmaak for Land Reform Policies and Programmes in South Africa.' Vol. 2. Programme for Land and Agrarian Studies and Farm Africa, 1998.

Macdonell, Diane. Theories of Discourse: An Introduction. Oxford: B. Blackwell, 1987.

Macmillan, W.M. The Cape Colour Question: A Historical Survey. London: Faber and Gwyer, 1927.

Majeke, N. The Role of Missionaries in Conquest. Cumberwood: APDUSA, 1952.

Mamdani, M. Citizen and Subject: Contemporary Africa and the Legacy of Late Colonialism. Kampala: Fountain, 1996.

Mason, J.C.S. The Moravian Church and the Missionary Awakening in England: 1760-1800. Suffolk: Boydell, 2001.

Mason, J.E. 'Fortunate Slaves and Artful Masters: Labour Relations in the Rural Cape Colony during the Era of Emancipation, ca.' Slavery in South Africa: Captive Labour on the Dutch Frontier. Eds. E.A. Eldredge and F. Morton. Boulder: Westview. 1994.

Mayer, P. Townsmen or Tribesmen: Conservatism and the Process of Urbanisation in a South African City 2nd edition. Cape Town: Oxford University Press, 1971.

Mogope, Kgopotso. 'Community and Diversity.' At the Crossroads: Land and Agrarian Reform in South Africa into the 21st Century. Ed. Ben Cousins. Bellville: Programme for Land and Agrarian Studies of the University of the Western Cape and the National Land Committee, 2000.

Mostert, Noel. Frontiers: The Epic of South Africa;s Creation and the Tragedy of the Xhosa People. London: Jonathan Cape, 1992.

Moyer, R.A. 'A History of the Mfengu of the Eastern Cape: 1815-1865.' PhD thesis. School of Oriental and African Studies. London University, 1976.

Milton, John. The Edges of War: A History of Frontier Wars, 1709-1878. Cape Town: Juta, 1983.

Morton, F. 'Slavery in South Africa.' Slavery in South Africa: Captive Labour on the Dutch Frontier. Eds. E.A. Eldredge and F. Morton. Boulder: Westview, 1994.

Mqhayi. 'Itayala Lama Wele.' R.A. Moyer, 'A History of the Mfengu of the Eastern Cape: 1815-1865.' PhD thesis. School of Oriental and African Studies. London University, 1976.

Murray, Colin. Black Mountain: Land, Class, and Power in the Eastern Orange Free State 1880s-1980s. Johanesburg: Witwatersrand University Press, 1992.

Murray, Colin. 'Land Reform in the Eastern Free State: Policy Dilemmas and Political Conflicts.' The Agrarian Question in South Africa. Ed. Henry Bernstein. London: Frank Cass, 1996.

Newton-King, Susan. 'The Labour Market of the Cape Colony, 1807-28.' Economy and Society in Pre-industrial South Africa. Eds. S. Marks and A. Atmore. London: Longman, 1980.

Newton-King, Susan. 'Primitive Accumulation and the Cape Frontier – A Case of Mistaken Identity.' Unpublished paper. Workshop on Pre-colonial History. University of Cape Town, 1986.

Nielsen, S.W. The Twin Blossom of the Pear Tree Bears Fruit, the History of the Moravian Church Eastern Province in South Africa. Port Shepstone: Baruk, 1999.

Odendaal, A. Vukama Bantu: The Beginnings of Black Protest Politics in South Africa to 1912. Cape Town: David Philip, 1984.

Omer-Cooper, J.D. The Zulu Aftermath: A Nineteenth Century Revolution in Bantu Africa. London: Longmans, 1966.

Parker, Ian. Discourse Dynamics. London: Routledge, 1992.

'Particulars of Intelligence Respecting the Missions on the United Brethren.' No. 43. In South African Religious Pamphlets of the South African Bound Pamphlet. No. 33.

Peires, J. The House of Phalo: A History of the Xhosa People in the Days of their Independence. Johannesburg: Ravan, 1981.

Peires, J.B. The Dead will Arise: Nongqawuse and the Great Xhosa Cattle Killing Movement of 1856-7. Johannesburg: Ravan, 1989.

Penn, N. 'Labour, Land and Livestock in the Western Cape during the Eighteenth Century: The Khoisan and the Colonists.' Class Caste and Colour: A Social and Economic History of the South African Western Cape. Eds. Wilmot G. James and M. Simons. New Brunswick: Transaction, 1992.

Philip, John. Researches in South Africa. 2 vols. London: James Duncan, 1828.

Platsky, Laurine and Cheryl Walker. 1985. The Surplus People: Forced Removal in South Africa. Johannesburg: Ravan, 1985.

Pienaar, K. 'Communal Property Arrangements: A Second Bite.' At the Crossroads: Land and Agrarian Reform in South Africa into the 21st Century. Ed. Ben Cousins. Bellville: Programme for Land and Agrarian Studies of the University of the Western Cape and the National Land Committee, 2000.

Ricoeur, Paul. Time and Narrative. Trans. K. Mclaughlin and D. Pellauer. Vol. 1. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1983.

Rimius, Henry. A Candid Narrative of the Rise and Progress of the Herrnhuters: Commonly Called Moravians or Unitas Fratum, with a Short Account of their Doctrines Drawn from their Own Writings. London: A. Linde, 1753.

Ross, R. Cape of Torments: Slavery and Resistance in South Africa. London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1983.

Sales, Jane. The Planting of the Churches in South Africa. Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1971.

Sales, Jane. Mission Stations and the Coloured Communities of the Eastern Cape: 1800-1852. Cape Town: A.A. Balkema, 1975.

Shell, R.C.H. 'Slavery at the Cape of Good Hope.' 2 vols. PhD dissertation. Yale University, 1986.

Shell, R.C.H. 'The Family and Slavery: The Cape Slave Society, 1680-1838.' The Angry Divide: Social and Economic History of the Western Cape Eds. M. Simons and W.G. James. Cape Town: David Philip, 1989.

Schmidt, Bettina. Creating Order: Culture as Politics in Nineteenth and Twentieth Century South Africa. Nijmegen: Third World Centre. University of Nijmegen, 1996.

Smaby, B.P. The Transformation of Bethlehem. Philadelphia: University of Pensylvania Press, 1988.

Soga, H. The South-Eastern Bantu. Johannesburg: Witwatersrand University Press, 1930.

South African Council of Churches and the South African Bishops' Conference. Relocations: The Churches' Report on Forced Removals. Randburg: The South African Council of Churches and the South African Catholic Bishop's Conference, 1984.

Spanenberg, A.G. The Life of Nicholas Lewis Count Zinzendorf. London: Samuel Hodsworth and Amen-Corner, 1838.

Stapleton, T.J. Magomo, Xhosa Resistance to Colonial Advance 1798-1893. Johannesburg: Jonathan Ball, 1994.

Surplus Peoples Project, 'Report: Forced Removals in South Africa, Eastern Cape.' Vol. 2. Cape Town, 1983.

Switzer, Les. Power and Resistance in an African Society: The Ciskei Xhosa and the Making of South Africa. Pietermaritzburg: University of Natal Press, 1993.

Teachers of the Fulneck Academy, The Moravian Atlas, 1853.

Thompson, Augustus C. Moravian Missions: Twelve Lectures. London: Hodder and Stoughton, 1882.

Thompson, L.M. The Cape Franchise. Johannesburg: South African Institutes of Race Relations, 1949.

Thompson, L. A History of South Africa. Revised edition. New Haven: Yale University Press, 1995.

Thompson, L. 'Co-operation and Conflict: The Zulu Kingdom and Natal.' The Oxford History of South Africa: South Africa to 1870. Eds. M. Wilson and L. Thompson. Cape Town: David Philip, 1982.

Thompson, John B. Studies in the Theory of Ideology. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1984.

Thompson, John B. Ideology and Modern Culture: Critical Social Theory in the Era of Mass Communication. Cambidge: Polity Press, 1990.

Troeltsch, Ernst. The Social Teaching of the Christian Churches. Vol. 2. London: George Allen and Unwin, 1931.

Tyeman, L. The Life and Times of Rev. John Wesley. London: Hodder and Stoughton, 1871.

Uithaler, W.C. 'Clarkson: Honderd en Fyftig Jaar op Pad, 1839-1989.' Geleentheidspublikasie No. 47. Instituut vir Beplanningsnavorsing. Departement Antropologie. Universiteit van Port Elizabeth. Oktober, 1994.

Unterhaler, Elaine. Forced Removal: The Division, Segregation and Control of the People of South Africa. London: International Defence and Aid for Southern Africa, 1987.

Van der Ross R.E. ed. Say It Out Loud: The APO Presidential Addresses and other Major Political Speeches 1906-1940. Bellville: The Western Cape Institute for Historical Research, University of the Western Cape, 1990.

Watson, K. 'The Kafir Police on the Eastern Cape Frontier: 1835-1850.' BA (Hons.) thesis. Department of History. University of Cape Town, 1981.

Weber, Max. The Protestant Ethic and the Spirit of Capitalism. London: Unwin University Books, 1930.

Webster, A. 'Land Expropriation and the Labour Extraction Under Cape Colonial Rule: The War and the Emancipation of the Fingo.' MA thesis. Rhodes University, 1991.

Webster, A. 'Unmasking the Fingo: The War of 1835 Revisited.' The Mfecane Aftermath: Reconstructive debates in Southern African History. Ed. C. Hamilton. Johannesburg: Witwatersrand University Press, 1995.

Weinlick, J.R. Count Zinzendorf. New York: Abingdon, 1956.

Weinlick, J.R. and A.H. Frank. The Moravian Church Through the Ages: The Story of a Worldwide Pre-Reformation Protestant Church. Bethlehem: The Moravian Church in America, 1996.

White, Hayden. The Content of the Form: Narrative Discourse and Historical Representation. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1987.

Wilson, M. 'The Hunters and Herders.' The Oxford History of South Africa. Eds. M. Wilson and L. Thompson. Vol. 1. Oxford: Clarendon, 1969.

G. Interviews

Gamede, Miriam. Interview. Interviewed by Crystal Jannecke. Clarkson, 7 May 2003.

Rev. Jantjies. Interview. Interviewed by Crystal Jannecke. Clarkson, 6 May 2003.

T. Lawak. Interview. Interviewed by Crystal Jannecke. Clarkson, 8 May 2003.

Oom Matheus. Interview. Interviewed by Crystal Jannecke. Clarkson, 1996.

Rev. Mcubusi. Interview. Interviewed by Crystal Jannecke. Clarkson, 5 May 2003.

Rev. Moos. Interview. Interviewed by Crystal Jannecke. Clarkson, 8 May 2003.

Mtambo, Florence. Interview. Interviewed by Crystal Jannecke. Tsitsikamma, 9 May 2003.

Tembani, Isaac. Interview. Interviewed by Crystal Jannecke. Tsitsikamma, 9 May 2003.

Sedeku, Chrissie. Interview. Interviewed by Crystal Jannecke. Clarkson, 6 May 2003.

Uithaler, William. Interview. Interviewed by Crystal Jannecke. Clarkson, 6 May 2003.

Bishop Ulster. Interview. Interviewed by Crystal Jannecke. Kuilsriver, April 2003.

Wolfkop, Wilson. Interview. Interviewed by Crystal Jannecke. Clarkson, 6 May 2003.

amongst them. However, if the Mfengu did not have independent access to land, then they were beholden to missionary authorisation to gain access to land.

The land granted by colonial authorities was often accompanied by a set of conditions as in the case of Genadendal. In the case of Clarkson such conditions stipulated that the land was to be held in trust for and on behalf of the Mfengu, and furthermore that the land should not be alienated or disposed of without the permission of colonial authorities.[61] The origins of the dispensation that the Clarkson mission land be held in trust for the Mfengu, is of considerable significance for our primary questions regarding contested claims of historical entitlement to the Clarkson land. Unlike some of the other cases we have referred to where mission and its adjacent land had been historically occupied by indigenous peoples, many of whom were now settled at the various mission settlements, the position of the Mfengu at Clarkson and in the Tsitsikamma were different. They were "refugees" from elsewhere who could not lay historical claim to having occupied or used the Tsitsikamma land in pre-colonial times. But if the idea of a Mfengu land trust was not based on historical entitlements to land derived from pre-colonial times, then what was its origin? In the first instance colonial authorities had rewarded the Mfengu with land for services rendered in the frontier wars. In the case of the Tsitsikamma these land grants were coupled to the establishment of the Clarkson mission station, which effectively gave rise to a double set of power relations - on the one hand between converts and missionaries, and on the other hand between the Mfengu and missionaries as local stand-ins for colonial authorities. This double set of power relations indicate that there were two kinds of communities living alongside each other at Clarkson. On the one hand there was the missionary community with conversion as a requirement for membership and access to land, which involved a trust relationship with the missionary as a quasi-customary authority. On the other hand there was the Tsitsikamma Mfengu community where conversion was not a required condition for membership or for access to land. This relation of trust actually involved colonial authorities, with missionaries functioning as local-stand-ins. Even if the Mfengu had not been a prior ethnic group, this would open the way to a different kind of community compared to that of the mission settlement, one in which the Moravian ethic would not be central. The colonial land grants would be the founding fact for this community. In either case it is clear that

[61] See the Clarkson Deed of Grant, Uitenhage Freehold 9: 7 (15 December 1841) and the Clarkson Title Deed T3168/1959. In 1841 the land was granted to the Moravian Missionary Society of the United Brethren, which was subsequently transferred to the established indigenous Moravian Church in the Western Cape, South Africa in 1959.

the position of the Tsitsikamma Mfengu peoples was significantly different to that of traditional and pre-colonial indigenous communities residing beyond the frontier.

4.4 Labour: Colonial Forced Labour Practices and Missionary Settlements

If missionary settlements had a special role and significance in the colonial land order, much the same was true of their place in the colonial order of labour relations. For almost two centuries the colony had developed as a slave society until the slave trade was abolished in 1807 and the slaves emancipated in the 1830s.[62] However, the formal emancipation of the slaves did not bring about the end of "slavery", i.e. of different forms of forced labour practices ranging from the relatively institutionalised use of indentured labour to de facto "slave raids" by commandos on the open frontier.[63] In Chapter 3 we already commented on the unwillingness of the dispossessed Khoisan to enter service on colonial farms evoking an endless colonial litany regarding the "idleness of the Hottentots" as a justification for the widespread resort to forced labour practices. On the Eastern Cape frontier and especially from the 1830s this perennial colonial "labour problem" developed important new configurations. This section will briefly survey these developments with a view to their significance for the role of missionary settlements on the Eastern Cape frontier.

4.4.1 The Commando System and Indentured Labourers

One source of the colonial forced labour practices on the open frontier was a by-product of the commando system.[64] The commando system was the major institution for corporate self-defence developed by trekboer society in the absence of effective policing or state security, but it was also the means through which indigenous peoples were captured, brought into the

---

[62] Robert Ross, 'Oppression, Sexuality and Slavery at the Cape of Good Hope', Historical Reflections 6: 2 (1979), pp. 421-433; Robert Ross, 'The Rule of Law at the Cape of Good Hope in the 18th Century', Journal of Imperial and Commonwealth History ix: 1 (October 1980), pp. 5-16; Robert Ross, Cape of Torments: Slavery and Resistance in South Africa (London, Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1983); R.C.H. Shell, 'Slavery at the Cape of Good Hope' 2 vols. (Ph.D. dissertation, Yale University, New Haven, 1986); R.C.H. Shell, 'The Family and Slavery: The Cape Slave Society, 1680-1838' in M. Simons and W. James (eds). The Angry Divide: Social and Economic History of the Western Cape (Cape Town, David Philip, 1989), pp. 20-39; R.C.H. Shell, 'The Changing Functions and Effects of the Domestic Slave Market at the Cape, 1652-1833', International Journal of African Historical Studies 25: 1 (1992), pp. 285-336; N. Worden, 'Violence Crime, and Slavery on Cape farmsteads in the 18th Century', Kronos 5 (1982), pp. 43-60.

[63] Elizabeth A. Eldredge and Fred Mouton (eds.), Slavery in South Africa: Captive Labour on the Dutch Fontier (Boulder, Westview Press, 1994).

[64] Penn, 'Labour, Land and Livestock', pp. 13-14.

colony, and then used as "indentured" labourers or "*inboekselinge*".[65] The victims of such forced labour were most often indigenous children who had been captured during a raiding expedition. From 1775 onwards, colonial authorities approved the indenture of Khoisan and slave children on colonial farms as "*inboekselinge*", or apprentices. Colonists claimed that this was a paternalist measure in the interest of the orphans or refugees resulting from frontier wars but as often as not children were removed from the care of their parents and community, held captive, and rendered dependent on their colonial masters.[66] Colonial regulations stipulated that these forced child labourers were bound to live and work on colonial farms until the age of twenty-five. Under British colonial rule this system of "inboekselinge", i.e. indentured child labour, continued in an amended form.[67] As part of the British Empire, Cape colonial authorities were compelled to prohibit slave trading at the Cape from 1807 onwards. Despite this, practices of indentured child labour persisted, and intensified, becoming one of the principal sources of labour for decades thereafter.[68]

4.4.2 Labour Control and the Caledon Code

In response to colonists' outcry over the shortage of labour following the official abolition of the slave trade in 1807, British colonial authorities enforced a set of regulations that were directed at exerting more effective control over the non-slave labour within the colony. The Caledon Code was promulgated in 1809 with the aim of regulating Khoisan labour within the colony.[69] It stipulated that all Khoisan persons found within the colony were to enter the service of colonial farmers. In addition, when travelling within the colony they were compelled to carry a pass, issued by designated colonial authority. Failure to carry and produce such a pass could result in the person being apprehended as a "vagrant" and heavily fined, imprisoned, and/or subject to forced labour for government purposes.[70] The enforcement of the Caledon Code compelled Khoisan residing within the Cape Colony to either become a member of a mission station, or enter the service of colonists. Alternatively they could persist in choosing the life of an "outlaw" within the colony as "vagabond".

---

[65] Penn, 'Labour, Land and Livestock', 1992, p. 14.
[66] Morton, 'Slavery in South Africa', 1994, pp. 251-261.
[67] Eldredge, 'Slave Raiding Across the Cape Frontier', 1994, p. 98.
[68] Eldredge, 'Slave Raiding Across the Cape Frontier', 1994, p. 97-108.
[69] Macmillan, The Cape Colour Question, p. 161.
[70] Macmillan, The Cape Colour Question, pp. 161-162; Eybers, 'Vagrancy and Contracts of Hire', p.17.

Still, despite the Caledon Code the number of indigenous Khoisan labourers within the colony continued to be too small to meet the ever-increasing demands for labour by colonists.[71] Even before 1820 colonists were concerned about the serious shortages in indigenous labour and blamed this on the effect of the mission stations; they perceived the Khoisan people as "hiding behind the artificial barriers created by mission stations".[72] These perceptions were shared by British settlers from the 1820s who also perceived the removal of substantial numbers of potential indigenous wage labourers from the broader colonial society by allowing them to settle on the mission stations, as placing them outside the control of civil colonial authorities.[73]

4.4.3 The "Mantatees" as Indentured Labourers

The employment of non-Khoisan peoples on farms within the colony appears to have changed from 1825 onwards. Until this time colonial law did not allow the employment of Xhosa or other indigenous peoples from beyond the frontier in colonial service. One reason for this change may have been the effects of the Mfecane taking place in the interior at this time. Col. Henry Somerset, the senior officer in command of the British forces in the Eastern Cape, reported, in a dispatch dated 31 March 1825, that there had been an influx of refugees over the past 12 months from war-torn lands beyond the Orange River. Somerset evidently saw this as an opportunity to relieve colonial labour needs by recruiting the refugees as indentured labourers. He described how "many of these have since wandered into the Graff-Reinet district and it has become a question how to dispose of them ... I have taken upon me to direct that they should be apprenticed to the English settlers ... according to their ages".[74] Somerset reported four months later in 1825 that there are now some 300 "Mantatees" in the districts of Graaff-Reinet and Somerset East, who were in a state of dreadful want and emaciation.[75] After 1826 colonial legislation permitted the apprenticeship of "Mantatees" to "respected and dependable persons" within the colony. In this way the precedent had been set of formally extending the colonial labour order to incorporate non-Khoisan people as indentured labourers.

---

[71] Switzer, Power and Resistance in an African Society, p. 83.
[72] Crais, The Making of the Colonial Order, p. 130.
[73] Crais, The Making of the Colonial Order, p. 130.
[74] Quote in Newton-King, 'The Labour Market of the Cape Colony, 1807-28', p. 192.
[75] Newton-King, 'The Labour Market of the Cape Colony, 1807-28', p. 192.

"Mantatees" was a term used by colonists to refer to the SeSotho refugees who were fleeing the Mfecane wars, and who had found work on colonial farms.[76] Some historians have questioned this description, and have rather argued that the "Mantatees" consisted largely of indigenous women and children captured by local commando groups and colonial slave raiding parties.[77] At the time colonists claimed that they employed Individuals and groups of refugees who had fled into the colony.[78] They did not see this as an unmixed blessing solving their labour problems. The refugee labourers frequently deserted the employment of colonial farmers and proceeded to occupy unused or unclaimed land within the colony. Colonists perceived such actions as a violation of their private property rights and described the labourers as "living in a state of idleness".[79] According to a colonist's account, as cited by Dundas, "they [the refugee labourers] showed an invincible determination not to make themselves useful to their employers".[80]

A key and much-contested event in this context was the battle of Mbolompo. In August 1828, Colonel Somerset led a large commando, against Chief Matiwane's Ngwane in Mbolompo. In correspondence with Bourke on 29th August 1828, Somerset described his victory at Mbolompo as "I directed the whole of my force, particularly the mounted part to collect all the women and children they [could] find".[81] The captured women and children were taken by British colonial troops to Fort Beaufort. It was from there that the Mbolompo prisoners were indentured to colonial farmers.[82] In the story of the "Aged Fingo", recorded by a settler many years later and published in 1877, Platje Mhlanga presented a participant account of his experiences during the Mfecane including the battle of Mbolompo. Mhlanga was amongst those who escaped and who went back to the country of the Basutos.[83] Mhlanga must have been one of the many indentured labourers who had been captured during commando expeditions and raids by colonists and became an indentured labourer with a colonial master. The "market" for Mantatees ended with the promulgation of Ordinance 49 in 1829, which sought to regulate the anticipated entry of Xhosa labourers into the colony.

---

[76] Mason, 'Fortunate Slaves and Artful Masters', 1994, p, 90.
[77] Switzer, Power and Resistance in an African Society, p. 84. See Julian Cobbing's revisionist argument in 'The Mfecane as Alibi: Thoughts on Dithakong and Mbolompo', Journal of African History, vol. 29 (1988), pp. 489-499.
[78] Mason, 'Fortunate Slaves and Artful Masters', p, 90.
[79] Crais, The Making of the Colonial Order, pp. 130-131.
[80] Crais, The Making of the Colonial Order, p. 131.
[81] Quoted in Cobbing, 'The Mfecane as Alibi', p. 503.
[82] T.J. Stapleton, Magomo, Xhosa Resistance to Colonial Advance 1798-1893 (Johannesburg, Jonathan Ball, 1994), pp. 55-56.
[83] 'A Story of Native Wars by an Aged Fingo', Cape Monthly Magazine, New Series XIV (January – June 1877), pp. 248-252.

4.4.4 Ordinance 49 and the Introduction of Xhosa Labourers into the Colony

The sudden growth in the colony's settler population, of about 5000 British settlers who were brought to the Cape colony in 1820, amplified the already widespread demand by colonists for additional land and labour.[84] A number of these colonial settlers responded to the demand of the British textile industry for raw wool, and became exporters thereof. Settled in the Eastern Cape, a few became prosperous commercial farmers owning large colonial farms.[85] These influential settler farmers needed more labour to meet the demand of the growing export market for raw wool. In some cases colonists became involved in the capture of largely Xhosa women and children whom they encountered during raiding expeditions on the Eastern Cape frontier.[86]

This labour crisis was greatly exacerbated when the promulgation of Ordinance 50 in 1828 repealed the Caledon Code of 1809, including the laws that had authorised the apprenticeship of Khoisan children. The colonial system of labour controls, premised on the assumption that, apart from those on mission stations, the Khoisan peoples must at all times be in employment, had now formally come to an end.[87] Ordinance 49 was promulgated in the following year, in 1829, and provided the legal force through which to address colonists' appeals for solutions to their labour shortage.[88] In terms of Ordinance 49, Xhosa labourers could henceforth be entered into service on colonial farms but were prohibited from moving within the colony without a pass. More importantly, Ordinance 49 effectively served to legitimate the forceful procurement of indigenous labour through employment of "refugees" within the Colony and labour raids beyond it.[89] Though Xhosa society beyond the Eastern Cape frontier for the time being retained its political independence and social cohesion under the authority of various chiefs the door had been opened for incorporation of Xhosa labourers in the colonial labour order.

---

[84] Davenport, South Africa, p. 39.
[85] Crais, The Making of the Colonial Order, p. 134.
[86] Eldredge, 'Slave Raiding Across the Cape Frontier', p. 93.
[87] Switzer, Power and Resistance in an African Society, p. 84.
[88] Newton-King, 'The Labour Market of the Cape Colony, 1807-28', p. 196-197.
[89] Stapleton, Maqomo, Xhosa Resistance to Colonial Advance, p. 55; Switzer, Power and Resistance in an African Society, pp. 52-56.

4.5 The Origins of the Mfengu in the Context and Aftermath of the 1835 Frontier War

Governor D'Urban's solution to the Eastern Cape frontier security was to extend imperial sovereignty and push the Eastern Cape boundary further east, beyond the Fish River to the Kei River. This involved crushing Xhosa resistance and extensive land dispossession.[90] Hintsa, Paramount Chief of the Gcaleka Xhosa, refused to enter the war in support of the British colonial armed forces. They in turn launched a full-scale war against the Gcaleka Xhosa, which ultimately resulted in the brutal death of chief Hintza.[91] It was in this volatile context that the "Fingoes"/Mfengu first appeared as an intermediary grouping on the colonial scene of the Eastern Cape frontier. Significantly the "Fingoes" were to prove loyal and dependable military allies of the colony in subsequent Eastern Cape frontier wars.[92] For our purposes the incorporation of the "Fingoes" into the colony was the single most important consequence of the war. As we saw in the literature survey in the Introduction it is a matter of considerable historical controversy whether their ultimate origins should be sought in the context of the Mfecane, or not. We will not attempt to pursue that controversy here. Instead our concern is with the immediate origins of the Mfengu on the colonial scene of the Eastern Cape frontier itself. Of that, too, there are different versions on record.

4.5.1 "The Flight of the "Fingo" Nation"

The colonial version of the immediate origins of the people, as recorded in official documents and missionary narratives, tells a story of the "emancipation" by British troops of a substantial community of "refugees" which had been held in bondage, if not slavery, by the Gcaleka Xhosa in the course of the 1835 frontier war. In a celebrated eyewitness account the traveller J.E. Alexander described how "dark masses of Fingo warriors were seen advancing down the hills" on 24th April 1835 to join the British colonial troops in the frontier war.[93] Subsequently a

---

[90] Timothy, J. Keegan, Colonial South Africa and the Origins of Racial Order (Cape Town, David Philip, 1999), p. 143.

[91] Davenport, South Africa, pp. 117-118; Stapleton, Maqoma, Xhosa Resistance to Colonial Advance, p. 90; Peires, The House of Phalo, pp. 109-111; Webster, 'Unmasking the "Fingo": the War of 1835 Revisited' in C. Hamilton (ed.), The Mfecane Aftermath: Reconstructive Debates in Southern African History (Johannesburg, Witwatersrand University Press, 1995), pp. 250-251; P. Lalu, 'The Grammar of Domination and Subjection of Agency: Colonial Texts and Modes of Evidence', History and Theory 39 (2000), pp. 45-68.

[92] Keegan, Colonial South Africa and the Origins of the Racial Order, p. 147.

[93] J.E. Alexander, Narrative of a voyage of Observation among the Colonies of Western Africa in the FlagshipThalia and of a Campaign in Kaffir-Land on the Staff of the Commanderin Chief in 1835 (London, Henry Colburn, 1837), Vol. 2, p. 110.

colonial military detachment under the command of Captain Warden with about three hundred "Fingo" warriors set out to rescue and escort the missionaries and traders from the Clarkebury mission station to their camp at the Butterworth mission station.[94] In this dramatic fashion the "Fingo" had joined forces with the British forces and their missionary allies in the midst of the ongoing frontier war. At stake, though, was a more substantive alliance. A notice in the colonial government gazette dated 3rd May 1835 described how eight "Fingo" chiefs had requested the British colony "...to receive them under British protection as subjects of the King of England, that they might return to the colony with the troops, and be settled in or near it".[95] This notice included a response from the Commander-in-Chief who stated "that ... the emancipation of 6000 human beings from the very lowest state of slavery ... would obviously assist his measures in the present war and render ... a most important benefit to the colony ... he, therefore ... received them as free British subjects".[96] Within days this was followed by the emancipation of the people from the very heart of Xhosaland by British troops. In his eyewitness account Alexander also described the "flight of the "Fingo nation" from "Amakosa bondage", guarded by British troops on 7th May 1835. Altogether this group amounted to a total of seventeen thousand people who were escorted "across the Kye River to find a new country under British protection".[97] According to a colonial government sub-enclosure dated 15 May 1835, "the Fingo nation having being liberated out of bondage by his Excellency Sir B. D'Urban ... counted 2000 men, 5 600 women, and 9 200 children".[98] Altogether this amounted to a total sum of 16800 persons. A report from the D'Urban Papers dated 18 May 1835, connects the "Fingo" communal identity with the death of Hintza by noting that immediately after Hintza's death "... one hundred and fifty Fingo families amounting to about one thousand souls [who] here placed themselves under my protection".[99] This is a considerably lower estimate of the total number of "Fingoes" who were supposed to have placed themselves under British protection. In any event a large group of people were settled by colonial authorities around Fort Peddie, which is situated just above the Fish River, where they received their first land grants from British colonial authorities.[100] Here they resided under the protection of the colonial government in what was otherwise officially described as "the present uninhabited worse than useless district between the Fish River and the lower Keiskamma River. They will soon

---

[94] Alexander, Narrative of a voyage of Observation among the Colonies of Western Africa, pp. 111-113.
[95] CA 1/AY8/24, Notice, Headquarters Camp Dabakazi, 3 May 1835.
[96] CA 1/AY8/24, Notice, Headquarters Camp on the Dabakazi, 3 May 1835.
[97] Alexander, Narrative of a voyage of Observation among the Colonies of Western Africa, pp. 144-145.
[98] British Parliamentary Papers, Vol. 21, Sub-Enclosure in Enclosure No. 8, 15 May 1835.
[99] CA ACC519/2, (No. 18), 18 May, 1835.
[100] J. Ayliff and J. Whitehead, History of the Abambo Generally Known as Fingos (Butterworth, Gazette, 1912),

...furnish the best of all barriers against the entrance of the Kaffirs into the Fish River".[101] In short, according to the colonial account, after being "liberated" from the oppressive Gcaleka, the "Fingoes" were henceforth considered to be subjects of the Queen of Britain.

4.5.2 Reports of Wanderers and Refugees in Flight

A rather different version of the immediate origins of the "Fingoes" in the context of the 1835 frontier war may be gleaned from various contemporary accounts and reports of different groups of "wanderers" and "refugees" within the colony, sometimes described as "Fingoes". Colonists and missionaries sent numerous reports to the colonial office, concerning the entry and movement of armed groups from beyond the frontier into the colony. The reports of colonists included the "Fingoes" as one category of people who were found "wandering" about the colony in armed groups but also indicated that they were not the only such group. Thus in June 1835 the Civil Commissioner's office in Grahamstown received reports about the many "Fingoes" who were "roaming about the country and ...they are not easily distinguished from the caffres by the inhabitants".[102] In this report, and in many others sent to the colonial office, colonists complained about their inability to distinguish between the Xhosa who were at war with the colony and the "Fingoes" who were under the protection of the colony. In a further report dated 22 July 1835 a colonist referred to the "Fingoes" who have become colonial subjects", and questioned whether Ordinance 49 could be applied to them.[103] He voiced his apprehension about the implications of this confusion in a report, and stated that some Xhosa "may slip into the colony under the denomination of "Fingoes" stating that "it is difficult to find out whether those wandering about ... belong to that class or not".[104]

---

p. 1.

[101] CA 1/AY8/24, Notice, Headquarters Camp on the Dabakazi, 3 May 1835; Alan Lester, 'Settlers, the State and Colonial Power: The Colonisation of Queen Adelaide Province, 1834-1837', Journal of African History, vol. 39 (1998), p. 227; Davenport, South Africa, p. 58.

[102] CA 1/AY8/86, Civil Commissioner's Office, Grahamstown, 14 June 1835.

[103] CA 1/AY8/55, Colonial Office, Somerset, 22 July 1835.

[104] CA 1/AY8/55, Colonial Office, Somerset, 22 July 1835.

In further correspondence with the colonial office, a colonist stated:

> "the Fingoos are entering this part of the colony [the Winterberg] in vast numbers, there have been passing my house within the last month at least six hundred, the men of which are armed with assegais, one party which passed consisted of upwards of seventy ... it gives the Kafirs an opportunity of coming among us and passing for Fingoos the difference is so trifling that it is difficult to distinguish the one from the other".[105]

On 4 December 1835 the colonial office received a report that the "Graaff Reinet ... districts ... [are] so full of wandering frontier tribe people ... These people are Mantatees, Bechuanas and Fingoes who will not take service and whose flocks increase while those of the farmers diminish".[106] From these reports we can infer that these colonists were aware that an indigenous grouping called the "Fingos" had been recognised as colonial subjects unlike the Xhosa, but had considerable difficulty in differentiating between armed groups of "Fingoes" and Xhosa peoples moving about the colony in the absence of an armed colonial escort. Contrary to the official story of the simultaneous "flight" and single exodus on the 7th May 1835 of 16 800 people of the "Fingo nation" these reports rather indicate the presence of numerous and diverse groups who were wandering about within the colony, and who may, or may not, have been "Fingoes".

There are also other reasons to be suspicious of the official statistics regarding the "Fingo migration" since the various numbers just don't add up. Following a census taken of all "Fingoes" located at Fort Peddie by October 1835 commissioner Bowker announced that "the bulk of the "Fingo" people have dispersed, or otherwise deserted the territory allotted to them".[107] In the October 1835 census, Bowker recorded that the remaining number of "Fingoes" at Fort Peddie were less than one thousand people. Yet colonial officials had reported that the single "flight of the Fingo nation", had numbered 16 800 people in total. It is highly unlikely that more than 16000 people could either have been relocated within the colony and/or deserted the Peddie location within four months of arriving there. It is also unlikely that it was this dramatic "flight of the Fingo nation" which was the sole source fulfilling the official colonial promise that the "Fingoes ... will besides, afford to the colonists a plentiful supply of excellent

---

[105] CA 1/AY8/86, Civil Commissioner's Office, Winterberg, 7 September 1835.
[106] CA ACC519/3, Colonial Office, 4 December 1835.
[107] ACC 519/3, Report of the Commissioner for Locating the Fingo Tribes, 5 October 1835.

hired servants"[108] in the aftermath of the 1835 war. From where then did colonists obtain their supply of labour?

4.5.3 Collaborating Chiefs, Peace Treaties, and British Subjects

In the aftermath of the 1835 war there were certainly some Xhosa chiefs who were collaborating with the British colonial authorities.[109] At the end of the war, these collaborating Chiefs and their peoples were allowed to remain in the annexed territory, renamed the Queen Adelaide Province. The annexation of Queen Adelaide Province was annulled in 1836 under Governor Glenelg. In consequence some of the collaborating chiefs once again found themselves among the Xhosa peoples in the Eastern Cape frontier conflict. A new Treaty System was devised by Lord Glenelg and implemented by Stockenström as Lieutenant-Governor, and so post-dated the repeal of the annexed Queen Adelaide Province.[110] Colonial authorities envisaged the Peace Treaty system as substitute for the annexation of territory. It was through these Peace Treaties that a number of chiefs and their respective chiefdoms became British subjects.[111] According to the treaties the contracting Xhosa chiefs, "Fingoes and Tambookies had rights of occupancy in the Queen Adelaide Province or Ceded Territory, with each chief placed in a location under the authority of a colonial appointed resident agent as well as a *pakati* or police.[112] From a colonial census published in February 1836, the total number of Xhosa located in the ceded territory of the Queen Adelaide Province numbered 73 800. This number excluded the total number of "Fingoes" who had been escorted into, and placed at the margins of the colony.[113]

The aim of the colonial government was to establish a "new order of things" that would create a "barrier" of loyal groups of intermediaries. This constructed group was to have a shared "common interest", which consisted of the security of the colony, education, the Christian

---

[108] CA 1/AY8/24, Notice, Headquarters Camp on the Dabakazi, 3 May 1835.
[109] CA 1/AY8/24, W.H. Dutton to the Civil Commissioner of Albany, 2 May 1835; Lester, 'Settlers, the State and Colonial Power', p. 225.
[110] Lester, 'Settlers, the State and Colonial Power', p. 225. The official reason for the Treaty System was that "the only effectual defence of the colony is a barrier of kafirs but under the influence of British law and attached to the colony by their having a common interest and a common feeling with British subjects" (CA ACC519/3, Skeleton of a Plan for the Arrangement of Facts Calculated to Exhibit the True State of Colonial Affairs to Uninformed Prejudiced Persons in England, William Boyce, 12 October 1835).
[111] CA LCA 4/9, Vol. 3, 1837, Proclamation, 5 December 1836; CA LCA 4/9, Vol. 3, 1837, Treaties, 5 December 1836; Davenport, South Africa, p. 118; K. Watson, 'The Kafir Police on the Eastern Cape Frontier: 1835-1850' (B.A. (Hons.), Department of History, University of Cape Town, 1981), pp. 5-20.
[112] Watson, 'The Kafir Police on the Eastern Cape Frontier', pp. 5-20.

religion with its accompanying rituals, and rights in land under British colonial rule.[114] This ambitious scheme of colonisation was not realised. In the process, though, some intermediary groupings did remain within the Colony and continued as allies of the colonial forces in ensuing frontier conflicts. These residual intermediaries became known as the "Fingo" and were to be involved in highly controversial collaborative roles on the Eastern Cape frontier. As longer term colonial residents two basic questions still had to be resolved: what was to be the nature of their communal identity, and what was the nature and basis of their land rights?

4.6. The Colonial Land Grants to the Tsitsikamma Mfengu

This thesis is not concerned with the general history of the Mfengu in the course of the 19th and 20th centuries, but more specifically with that of a particular grouping, the Tsitsikamma Mfengu. In general the Mfengu were given land by colonial authorities for their participation in, support for, and collaboration with, the British during the 1835 Eastern Cape frontier war. Their presence within the Eastern Cape frontier between the Fish River and the Keiskamma River as envisaged by colonial authorities was to serve as an effective buffer on the frontier between colonists and the Xhosa. More importantly they were to "become ... the best militia for the protection of that tract of country, which for the last 25 years has been the vulnerable part of the colony, to the entrance of the savages".[115] They would also be a "supply of hired servants ... especially for farming purposes ... [which] will be of the greatest benefit to the [colonial] community".[116]

This was also the context of the emergence of the Tsitsikamma Mfengu as a particular community. During 1837 Lt. Governor Stockenstrom ordered the Commissioner of the Uitenhage District to relocate a group of Mfengu from Peddie to the Tsitsikamma region of the Eastern Cape.[117] The origins of the Tsitsikamma Mfengu may thus be found in this colonial land grant and official intervention relocating them in the Tsitsikamma. However, in their

---

[113] Lester, 'Setters, the State and Colonial Power', p. 227.
[114] CA ACC519/3, 'Skeleton of a Plan for the Arrangement of Facts calculates to Exhibit the True State of Colonial Affairs to Uninformed Prejudiced Persons in England', William Boyce, 12 October 1835; CA ACC519/4, Address given by Smith, Enclosure no. 15, 7 January 1836.
[115] British Parliamentary Papers vol. 20, 'Copy of a Despatch from Governor Sir B. D'Urban to the Earl of Aberdeen', 19 June 1835, Sub-enclosure no. 3, in Enclosure no. 8.
[116] British Parliamentary Papers, vol. 20, 'Copy of a Despatch from Governor Sir B. D'Urban to the Earl of Aberdeen', 19 June 1835, No. 3 Sub-enclosure in Enclosure 8.
[117] R.A. Moyer, 'A History of the Mfengu of the Eastern Cape 1815-1865' (Ph.D. thesis, School of Oriental and African Studies, London University, 1976), pp. 355-366.

communal self-conception a much stronger bond with the land became articulated. Krüger asserts that the Tsitsikamma Mfengu called the land on which they were settled "blood-ground", since it had been granted to them by colonial authorities as compensation for the blood that they had shed in their support of the colony during the Eastern Cape frontier wars.[118] It is a question for research whether these historic claims of entitlement to the land as "blood ground" were articulated in colonial times or only emerged retrospectively in the later context of the 1990s.[119]

What the historical records show is that in 1837 some Mfengu were moved from Peddie by colonial troops, resettled in the Tsitsikamma, and there granted government or "crown" land.[120] Colonial officials anticipated that some of these "escorted" Mfengu might not be taken into the service of colonists. In addition, they also took into account the refusal from some of the relocated Tsitsikamma Mfengu to being employed by colonists. Colonial officials envisaged that the Tsitsikamma land granted to the Mfengu would ensure that those not employed in colonial service, either permanently or temporarily, would have a "fixed place of abode". In this way any perceived "wandering" about the colony could be controlled and prohibited.[121]

The government land granted in 1837 was only surveyed and registered during October 1858. The first Tsitsikamma land grant was at Snyklip. See diagram of the location of Snyklip, Doriskraal and Wittekleibosch in relation to Clarkson in figure 2. This portion of land was 1500 morgen or about 1285ha in size and extent, and was to "be held by the Civil Commissioner of Uitenhage in trust for the "Fingoes of the tribe of Umblatze and those who are descendants from him".[122] The diagram of the Deed of Grant stipulated that the land was to be held by Umblatje and his descendants "by ticket of occupation".[123] In addition the occupation of land by Umasayediva and his descendants, who had established themselves at Wolvekop, was not to

---

[118] Krüger, The Pear Tree Blossoms, p. 199.

[119] Tsitsikamma Exile Association, *Clarkson Memorial Service: We are Returning to Our Land*, Poster, August 1991; Tsitsikamma Exile Association, *Return to Our Land*, Pamphlet, September 1991; 'Onmin oor Hervestiging van Fingos by Clarkson', Die Burger, 18 December 1995. These historic claims of entitlement to land are described and problematised in chapter one, and examined further in chapter eight of this dissertation.

[120] LG 592, Hudson to Civil Commissioner of Uitenhage, Grahamstown, 31 August 1837; LG 592, Hudson to the Civil Commissioner of Uitenhage, 18 September 1837; LG 592, Hudson to Civil Commissioner of Uitenhage, 27 September 1837.

[121] LG 592, Hudson to Civil Commissioner of Uitenhage, 27 September 1837.

[122] Uitenhage Freeholds 11: 3 (30 October 1858).

[123] Uitenhage Freeholds 11: 3.

be affected by the Snyklip land grant.[124] The second Tsitsikamma land grant was at Doriskraal. This portion of land was 490 morgen or about 420ha in size and extent, and was to "be held by the Civil Commissioner of Uitenhage in trust for the tribe of Uzweebe who are now resident there and their descendants".[125] The land was also to be held "by ticket of occupation".[126] The third portion of land was at Palmiet Rivier. This portion of land was 660 morgen or about 565ha in size and extent, and was to "be held by the Civil Commissioner of Uitenhage in trust for Platje Geduld alias Uthloa, and those "Fingoes" who are descendants from him together with any other tribe of Makupula". The land was to be held "by ticket of occupation".[127] The fourth portion of land was at WittekleiBosch. This portion of land was 1800 morgen or about 1542ha in size and extent, and was to "be held by the Civil Commissioner of Uitenhage in trust for Matomela, and those Fingoes who are descendants from him".[128] Here the land was also to be held by ticket of occupation. It was amongst these groups of Tsitsikamma Mfengu that the Clarkson mission station was established in 1839. Some of the land in the Tsitsikamma that had been set aside for the Mfengu was subsequently entrusted to the Moravian missionaries by colonial authorities for the purposes of establishing a Moravian mission station.

It was in response to a request from Governor Napier that Moravian missionaries sought to establish a mission settlement in the Tsitsikamma among the relocated Mfengu communities. They positioned themselves in the midst of these Mfengu communities who lived dispersed over large portions of land in the Tsitsikamma, and proceeded to establish the mission station on the farm Koksbosch, later renamed Clarkson. On their arrival the missionaries were welcomed by the Mfengu community residing on the Koksbosch farm, and in particular by their chief, Manqoba, known to colonists as Bladje. A formal deed of grant was not issued to this group of Mfengu. There was also a small Khoisan settlement on the Koksbosch farm. The question is what were the implications of this Mfengu community having prior occupation of "government" land; both for the nature of their interactions with the Moravian missionaries as well as with regard to the construction of their communal identity. In particular a key question would be whether in the self-conception of the Mfengu access to the Tsitsikamma "crown" land were determined by colonial law or according to customary practices? If the latter, then the

---

[124] Uitenhage Freeholds 11: 3. The Wolvekop group of Mfengu were different to the settled Snyklip group of Mfengu. This difference was however not acknowledged in the contemporary restitution of land claim made in the 1990s. See discussion of the 1990s Tsitsikamma Mfengu land restitution claim in chapter eight of this dissertation.
[125] Uitenhage Freeholds 11: 1 (30 October 1858).
[126] Uitenhage Freeholds 11: 1.
[127] Uitenhage Freeholds 11: 2 (30 October 1858)
[128] Uitenhage Freeholds 11: 4 (30 October 1858).

Moravian missionaries would have had to obtain the consent and permission of the local Mfengu chiefs residing in the Tsitsikamma in order to initiate a missionary settlement amongst them at Clarkson. However, if the Mfengu did not have independent access to the Tsitsikamma "government" land, then they were beholden to missionary authorisation to gain access to land within the frontier.

According to Krüger's account, chief Manqoba expressed the wish to have the missionaries present at their settlement.[129] This suggests that Moravian missionaries not only responded to the request by the Governor Napier, but also themselves requested permission from the chief and local community to settle and establish a mission station on their land (as would typically be the case with indigenous communities beyond the Eastern Cape frontier). This acknowledgement of the authority of the local chief occurred within the Eastern Cape frontier, in a context where the Mfengu did not have the final decision on entitlement to land.[130] Irrespective of the technical position in colonial law this implied that in practice a somewhat ambiguous position may have been reached regarding the recognition of entitlements to the land. On the one hand Moravian missionaries were granted land for mission purposes on the Koksbosch farm in the Tsitsitkamma by the colonial authorities. On the other hand the local "Fingo" chief granted them permission for the same purpose. The colonial Governor at the Cape requested that the Moravian mission station established on the Koksbosch farm be named Clarkson, in honour of the British abolitionist - Thomas Clarkson.[131]

The Mfengu settlements in the Tsitsikamma were dispersed on a landscape that was very different to the mission settlements previously established by the Moravians at places like Genadendal. The new missionary community also involved different kinds of indigenous members. The Moravian missionaries brought with them to Clarkson a "nucleus of converts" from the Moravian mission community of Enon, a mission station established in 1818 within the Eastern Cape frontier.[132] Enon and Shiloh, as well as the Elim Moravian mission station in the Western Cape, had been established in a similar way, with missionaries bringing with them a

---

[129] Krüger, The Pear Tree Blossoms, 1966, p. 200.
[130] These two different conceptions of land are discussed in section 4.3 of this dissertation.
[131] Krüger, The Pear Tree Blossoms, pp. 202-205.
[132] Krüger, The Pear Tree Blossoms, pp. 200-202. The Methodist, Anglican and Presbyterian mission societies did not appear to have utilised a similar "nucleus of converts" when first entering indigenous societies to establish mission stations. These mission societies however ordained "African" clergy. Most of these ordinations occurred during the later part of the nineteenth century. See Switzer, Power and Resistance in an African Society, pp. 122-127.

"nucleus of converts" gathered together from the older Moravian mission stations.[133] Five families from Enon arrived at Clarkson in February 1839 together with the missionaries Küster and Halter.[134] Together, as was the practice at other Moravian mission stations at the Cape, they started the Clarkson mission station. From the outset they held regular church services each Sunday, one in Xhosa for the visiting Mfengu and the other in Dutch for the "nucleus of converts". A Mfengu interpreter, who had previously worked for a British missionary, assisted them. According to Krüger, he admonished "others not to plague the missionaries with requests for better pasture, but to be grateful for the opportunity to hear the word of God".[135] Krüger describes how one of the interpreters regularly gathered his neighbours and repeated the sermons that he had heard at Clarkson to them.[136] The Moravian missionaries realised that the Mfengu would continue to live in their kraals, dispersed across the Tsitsikamma. However, they believed that some of them could become members of the Clarkson congregation. The "first fruits" were baptised in 1840 during the Easter celebrations.[137] Chief Manqoba and some other "Fingoes" were baptised towards the end of that same year.[138]

In addition to the Enon group of converts who had come to Clarkson, a number of ex-slaves and Khoisan peoples were also permitted to settle at Clarkson provided that "they showed an earnest desire to hear the gospel".[139] It is this expanded group including the converted Mfengu that established themselves as the Clarkson Moravian missionary community. Over time, many of the original "nucleus of converts" from Enon moved on to settle at the Shiloh mission station and other places.[140]

However, not all aspects of the missionary settlement at Clarkson were equally successful or harmonious. Some of the Mfengu residing in the vicinity of Clarkson as well as those from the surrounding Tsitsikamma areas were offended by attempts of the Moravian missionaries to intervene in their customs and social practices.[141] They became hostile to the activities of the missionaries, and blamed them for making their children rebellious. In response, Chief

---

[133] Krüger, The Pear Tree Blossoms, p. 201.
[134] W.C. Uithaler, 'Clarkson: Honderd en Fyftig Jaar op Pad, 1839-1989', Geleentheidspublikasie no.47 (Instituut vir Beplanningsnavorsing, Departement Antropologie, Universiteit van Port Elizabeth, Oktober 1994), p. 2.
[135] Krüger, The Pear Tree Blossoms, p. 201.
[136] Krüger, The Pear Tree Blossoms, p. 203.
[137] Krüger, The Pear Tree Blossoms, p. 203.
[138] Krüger, The Pear Tree Blossoms, p. 203.
[139] Krüger, The Pear Tree Blossoms, pp. 200-204.
[140] Krüger, The Pear Tree Blossoms, p. 252.
[141] Krüger, The Pear Tree Blossoms, p. 203.

Manqoba resolved with his councillors in 1841 that the time had come for them to return to Peddie since the missionaries were undermining his authority as Captain of his Mfengu.[142] Their move back to Peddie preceded the outbreak of the seventh Eastern Cape frontier war in 1846. [143] The Mfengu participated in this war as allies of the colonial forces, including some of the Tsitsikamma Mfengu. From a letter received by the missionary Kolbing in 1846, the missionary B. Schmidt recalls that "from Clarkson and the Zitzikamma 120 or 130 Fingoes had been drafted to the army".[144] Chief Manqoba returned to Clarkson a few months later. He was then quite ill and died soon after returning to the mission station.[145] A more detailed description of the Tsitsikamma Mfengu and the making of community in the context of rebellion, resistance, and collaboration within the Cape Colony will be given in chapter 6. The move away from and then return to Clarkson by Chief Manqoba and some of his followers was repeated on other occasions by the Mfengu living alongside Clarkson. Some became part of the mission station, accepted its rules and regulations as well as the authority of the Moravian missionary. But on the whole the relationship with Clarkson and its land remained ambivalent and inclusive.

4.6.1 The Clarkson Land Grants and the Differentiation of the Mission and Tsitsikamma Mfengu Communities

In this section we will be concerned with the complex status of the Clarkson land granted to the Moravians and the specific conditions and stipulations that applied to different parts of this colonial land grant. More specifically we will be interested in the particular issue pertaining specifically to Clarkson i.e. the distinction between the "Fingo" trust land from the core mission land granted to the Moravians under colonial law. This is not so much a matter of different conceptions or interpretations of land tenure, but rather a question of what the relation between the "Fingo" trust land and the Moravian mission land grant at Clarkson was in law. For this purpose we will leave aside the ambiguous significance of the welcome/permission given by the "Fingo" chief and community residing on the Koksbosch farm.

In response to the Governor's original request to establish a mission station among the relocated "Fingoes" the Moravian Missionary, Rev. D. Hallbeck, had proposed a set of

---

[142] Krüger, The Pear Tree Blossoms, p. 204.
[143] Krüger, The Pear Tree Blossoms, pp. 228-230.
[144] Schmidt, 'Extracts of the Diary of Genadendal and Periodical Accounts proving the Loyalty of the Missionaries and its Congregation', no date, p. 1.
[145] Krüger, The Pear Tree Blossoms, p. 204.

conditions to the colonial government on 12 November 1838. These conditions stipulated the jurisdiction of the core mission land granted to the missionaries. The Hallbeck conditions were almost all accepted by the Cape colonial authorities. The colonial official, John Bell, responded and qualified the land granted to the Moravians for mission purposes in a letter dated 14 November 1838.

> "You will undertake the formation of a missionary institution at Koksbosch ... amongst the Fingo settlements at Tzitzikama ... with those conditions in general, that ... the missionary to be employed at the proposed institution shall be permitted to maintain the discipline of the United Brethren's Church within the same [institution], without hindrance or molestation on the part of this government, or any of its officers or servants ... A portion of land of about 500 morgen in extent ... shall be set apart for the institution, with a view to its being granted to Superintendent of the Brethren's mission society in this Colony, on behalf of that Society, for the express purpose ... for the erection thereon of all necessary buildings ...It shall not be in the power of the said Society to sell ... or otherwise dispose of the said land, if the Society [wishes to] relinquish the institution, the lands ... shall revert to the Government ... the government land adjacent to the institution shall ... be reserved for the use of the Fingoes principally and for such other natives of colour as shall be duly authorised to reside in the neighbourhood of, and shall be acknowledged in connection with the institution ... the missionaries shall have the right to admit to the institution such labourers and tradesmen and their families, as the superintendent shall see fit, they being Hottentots or other natives of colour ... the missionaries shall be at liberty to extend their labour to other natives of colour besides the Fingoes, or even any other colour of the neighbouring population".[146]

Significantly the Bell letter referred explicitly to the "Fingo" settlements in the Tsitsikamma, and the Moravian mission institution that was to be established amongst them on the Koksbosch farm. It is also important to note that the Bell letter stipulated that only a portion of the Koksbosch land, about 500 morgen in extent, was to be set aside for Moravian missionary purposes. Bell thus distinguished between colonial crown land allocated for "Fingo" settlement, and land allocated to the mission institution specifically for missionary purposes. This may be taken to mean that in terms of this original land grant the Moravian missionaries were not granted similar control over the remaining Koksbosch farm land, nor were they granted similar control over the land adjacent to Koksbosch on which "Fingo" communities resided. The

[146] Bell, 'Letter to Reverend D. Hallbeck', Fingo Reserve Deed of Grant, Uitenhage Freehold 10 -16A, surveyed on 19/12/1848 and registered on 15/11/1851. The Title Deed of the Fingo Reserve merely certifies that the land is to be "reserved" for the use of the "Fingoes" "principally" and subject to the arrangements set out in the Bell letter.

Tsitsikamma land grants made by colonial authorities to the "Fingoes" thus had a distinct status from that of the land grant made to the Moravian Mission Society.

As far as that part of the land granted to the Moravians for missionary purposes was concerned, the Bell letter authorised them to control and dispense of access to land specific to the established mission institution. This included allocating portions of land on the mission station to indigenous converts including local "Fingoes", Khoisan or other "natives of colour", as well as freed slaves. The Moravian Missionaries sought from the outset to ensure that access to the mission station would not be restricted to the "Fingoes" from the surrounding area only. The Bell letter however very clearly stipulated that Clarkson mission land was not to be sold or disposed of by the Moravians, thereby limiting their authority over, and rights in, the land. With only a portion of the Koksbosch land set aside for mission purposes upon which Clarkson was established, and the remainder of the Koksbosch land set aside for "Fingo" settlements principally this amounted to a *dual* land grant. The conditions stipulated in the Bell letter thus added to the ambiguities already prevalent in the historical claims to the Clarkson land.

The Clarkson land was officially registered in the name of the Moravian Missionary Society in 1841.[147] In some vital respects the stipulations of the Clarkson Deed of Grant differed from those set out in the Bell letter. The Deed of grant stipulated that Clarkson was granted in freehold to the superintendent, for the time being, of the Moravian Missionary Society in the Cape Colony. More specifically the Clarkson land was granted "with full power and authority to possess [the land] in perpetuity". However the permission for the Moravians to dispose of the land or alienate the land had been crossed out. It is important to note that whatever the legal status of this kind of "freehold in trust", in practice it meant that the Moravian Missionary Society was put in a position to control the actual access to, and use of the Clarkson land.[148] The Moravian Missionary Society thus held the land in trust with full power to possess the land in perpetuity, while their right to dispose of or alienate the land was withheld.[149] Significantly the Deed of Grant also stipulated that the land was *to be held on behalf of and in trust for the "Fingoes"* now residing at the institution of Clarkson which was characterised as "a piece of ground ... containing about 1038 morgen" or 889ha in size and extent.[150] The Clarkson Title Deed of 1841 thus did not differentiate between portions of land on Koksbosch set aside for

[147] See the Uitenhage Freehold 9: 7 (15 December 1841).
[148] See discussion in section 4.3 of this dissertation on the allocation of mission land.
[149] Clarkson Deed of Grant, Uitenhage Freehold 9: 7 (15 December 1841).

missionary purposes as against that set aside principally for "Fingo" settlement, as had been specified in the Bell letter. The whole of the Koksbosch farm land, 889ha, was now to be held on behalf of, and in trust for, the "Fingoes". This was quite an ambiguous change in the nature of the land grant. On the one hand, the size of the Clarkson mission station had now increased considerably to encompass the whole farm. On the other hand, all of this extended missionary land was now deemed to be held in trust for the "Fingoes". In terms of the Clarkson Deed of Grant the adjacent "Fingo" land was no longer comprised of the remaining portion of the Koksbosch farm. The territorial boundary had been shifted by the Deed of Grant, and was now between the Clarkson Moravian mission station on the one hand and the adjacent "Fingo" land comprised of Snyklip, Doriskraal, and Wittekleibosch on the other hand.[151] A diagram illustrating its location in relation to Clarkson is shown in Figure 2 above. The adjacent land of Snyklip, Doriskraal, Wittekleibosch were granted to different "Fingo" communities, with each portion of land held in trust by the Civil Commissioner of Uitenhage.[152] The Clarkson Deed of Grant thus resulted in quite a significant shift from the 1838 Bell letter and the conception of a dual Clarkson land grant. In effect it amounted to a discrepancy or tension between the legal determinants of the Clarkson Deed of Grant and the prior political historical arrangements.

Colonial officials subsequently also granted an additional portion of land called Charlottenburg, which lies adjacent to the Clarkson land, to the Moravian Missionary Society. This portion of land was formally registered in 1851 and granted to the superintendent for the time being of the Moravian Missionary Society. The land was also to be held on behalf of and in trust for, the "Fingoes" resident at the institution of Clarkson.[153] The size and extent of the Clarkson mission station was further increased when the Moravian missionaries acquired an additional third portion of land in 1875. This portion of land was registered as the Moravian Mission, and was initially held subject to the payment of a quarterly rental commonly known as quitrent. 1843 colonial land policy made provision for all crown land held under quitrent to be converted to freehold or redeemed quitrent by the payment of a fixed sum.[154] In the Deed of Grant of the

---

[150] Clarkson Deed of Grant, Uitenhage Freehold 9: 7.

[151] Snyklip, Uitenhage Freehold 11: 3 (30 October 1858); Doriskraal, Uitenhage Freehold 11: 1 (30 October 1858); Wittekleibosch, Uitenhage Freehold 11: 4 (30 October 1858).

[152] Snyklip Uitenhage Freehold 11: 3 (30 October 1858). The Snyklip farm was held in trust by the Civil Commissioner for the "tribe of Umblatze"; Doriskraal, Uitenhage Freehold 11: 1 (30 October 1858). The Doriskraal farm was held in thrust by the Civil Commissioner of Uitenhage for the "tribe of Uzweebe"; Wittekleibosch, Uitenhage Freehold 11: 4 (30 October 1858). The Civil Commissioner of Uitenhage held the Wittekleibosch farm in trust for the "tribe of Matomela".

[153] See Uitenhage Freeholds 10: 16 (15 November 1851).

[154] Jones, Conveyancing in South Africa, p. 5.

Moravian Mission, the land was "let to the ... Superintendent of the Moravian Missionary Society in South Africa".[155] The Moravian Mission was thus not held on behalf of, nor was it held in trust for the "Fingoes" as in the case of Clarkson and Charlottenburg. According to oral accounts from residents at Clarkson, the land known as the Moravian Mission was commonly called "Koopgrond", since residents at the time had made a substantial monetary contribution towards the purchase of this property.[156]

For our purposes the significance of the dual land grant involved in the origins of the Clarkson Moravian missionary settlement and the Tsitsikamma Mfengu relocations is above all in the implications for the construction of their respective communal identities. As far as the initial land grant at Clarkson for missionary purposes was concerned the Moravian missionaries could exercise their right, as stipulated in the Bell letter, to "admit to the institution such labourers and tradesmen and their families as the superintendent shall see fit". This was comparable to the conditions applying in the construction of the original missionary community at Genadendal as discussed in Chapter 3. However, this did not apply in relation the adjacent "Fingo" communities who could rely on their own land grant. The growing Christian community of converts at Clarkson was thus differentiated from, and lived separately to, the adjacent "Fingo" communities. Over time this led to a growing distinction between a Moravian mission community known as the Clarksoners and the Tsitsikamma Mfengu communities.

The origins of the dispensation that the Clarkson mission land be held in trust for the "Fingoes"; is of considerable significance for our primary questions regarding contested claims of historical entitlement to the Clarkson land. Unlike some of the other cases we have referred to where missionary settlements occurred on land that had been historically occupied by indigenous peoples, the position of the Mfengu in the Tsitsikamma were different. They were "refugees" from elsewhere who could not lay historical claim to having occupied or used the Tsitsikamma land in pre-colonial times. But if the idea of a "Fingo" land trust was not based on historical entitlements to land derived from pre-colonial times, then what was its origin? In the first instance the Mfengu were rewarded by colonial authorities with land for services rendered in the frontier wars, which in the case of Clarkson was coupled to the establishment of an adjacent mission station. This dual colonial land grant thus effectively gave rise to a double set of power relations on the one hand between converts and missionaries and on the other hand

---

[155] Lease Number 72, dated 15th November 1875, in the Division of Humansdorp.
[156] Translated "Koopgrond" means purchased land.

between the Mfengu and missionaries as local stand-ins for the colonial authorities. This double set of power relations indicates that there were two kinds of communities living alongside each other at Clarkson. On the one hand there was the missionary community with conversion as a requirement for membership and access to land involving a kind of trust with the missionary as a quasi-customary authority. On the other hand there were the Tsitsikamma Mfengu communities where conversion was not a required condition for membership or for access to land. Here the relation of trust formally involved the colonial authorities with missionaries functioning as local-stand-ins. Even if the Mfengu had not been a prior ethnic group, this would open the way to a different kind of community compared to that of the mission settlement, one in which the Moravian ethic would not be central. The dual colonial land grants thus served as the founding fact for these communities.

4.7 Conclusion

In our discussion we have shown that a varied spectrum of rights in land prevailed at the Cape, with the pre-colonial and customary practices of different indigenous peoples affected in varying degrees by the colonisation of land. While indigenous peoples beyond the frontier were still able to sustain their customary land practices the Khoisan peoples were both effectively dispossessed of their traditional lands and proscribed from acquiring landed property within the colonial system of land tenure. The only exception was in relation to access to mission land, though subject to the missionary controls and conditions. In this way a special bond between mission land and the new missionary communities attracting dispossessed Khoisan was established. For our purposes the position of intermediate groups like the Mfengu, and the Tsitsikamma Mfengu in particular, was also of special interest. While rights in land of most indigenous peoples had been eroded through, or was under increasing threat by, colonial expansion and dispossession; intermediate groups drawn from among the Mfengu were granted large portions of land for services rendered in supporting the British colony in its frontier wars against the Xhosa. In the Tsitsikamma groups of Mfengu were settled by colonial officials in 1837 on land at Snyklip, Doriskraal and Wittekleibosch. A Mfengu community was also settled on the Koksbosch land, a portion of which was shortly thereafter re-allocated to the Moravian Mission Society. It was on this same portion of land that the Clarkson mission station was established in 1839, creating intricate historical and political complexities and ambiguity in recognising grounds of entitlement to the Clarkson land.

The ambiguity surrounding rights in the Clarkson land were augmented by two important official colonial documents i.e. the Bell letter of 1838 and the 1841 Deed of Grant – each containing a set of conditions specific to the Koksbosch/Clarkson land. In terms of the 1838 conditions only a portion of the Clarkson land was to be set aside for missionary purposes. The remainder of the land was to continue being used by the group of "Fingoes" who were settled there shortly before the arrival of the Moravians. The duality in the land grant was however not confirmed in the 1841 Clarkson Deed of Grant. In terms of the Clarkson Deed of Grant the entire farm was granted to the Moravian Missionary Society to be held on behalf of and in trust for the "Fingoes". As a result the territorial boundary of the adjacent "Fingo" land shifted from being within Clarkson in relation to the allocated portion for mission purposes, to being outside of Clarkson. The adjacent "Fingo" land now comprised of Snyklip, Doriskraal, and Wittkleibosch. This realignment of what constituted the adjacent Mfengu land in relation to Clarkson added to the ambiguity and historical and political complexities surrounding claims of entitlement made to the Clarkson land.

One of the 1838 qualifications stipulated that the land was to be reserved "principally" for the "Fingoes". At the same time the Moravian missionaries were given the right to admit "other natives of colour" to the Clarkson mission station. This meant that membership to the Clarkson mission station was not limited to the Mfengu from the surrounding Tsitsikamma areas. Nor were the Mfengu excluded from residing under the imposed discipline of the Moravian missionaries. The emerging differentiation between Moravian mission Clarkson community and the Tsitsikamma Mfengu communities from the adjacent Mfengu land was to significantly influence the Moravian missionary discourse and the representations produced therein of both the Tsitsikamma "Fingoes" and the Moravian missionary community in relation to the Clarkson mission station.

Chapter Five

Elements of the Discursive Construction of a Clarksoner Moravian Missionary Identity and its Relation to Land

5.1 Introduction

In chapter two we introduced Thompson's analytical framework allowing an integrated approach while differentiating between distinct levels of socio-historical analysis and a discursive analysis. In chapter four we discussed the different practices of land tenure in the Cape colony, within, and beyond, the Eastern Cape frontier. This discussion of the different colonial practices of land tenure formed part of the socio-historical analysis of the colonial and frontier contexts. While such an analysis in chapter four is of considerable significance to our investigation of the development of the Clarkson Moravian mission and Tsitsikamma Mfengu identities and their relation to land, it by no means constitutes a full analysis. To this end we propose in this chapter to investigate the discursive construction of a Clarksoner Moravian missionary identity differentiated from the Tsitsikamma Mfengu identity within the Moravian missionary discourse.

We will not attempt to provide a complete discursive analysis of the construction of the Moravian missionary and Mfengu identities. Instead some elements of its discursive construction will be focussed upon. There are a number of different reasons for limiting the scope and aims of the analysis in this manner. Firstly, there is the lack of a well-established discourse theory, which can form the basis for a systematic discourse analysis of communal identity in relation to claims on land. At best we have, e.g. in the work of the Comaroffs on the history of missionary activities in South Africa, some suggested elements of an applied discursive analysis. However, their analyses concern the missionary activities of the Wesleyans among the Tswana speaking Barolong boo Rathshidi, and not the Moravian missionaries among the Mfengu in the Eastern Cape, and may thus at best provide an opportunity for some comparative applications. Secondly, there are significant gaps and limitations in the primary

material available for the purpose of an applied discursive analysis of the Clarkson mission and Tsitsikamma Mfengu communities.

The second part of this chapter will take the form of applying selected discursive elements from the Comaroffs' analyses of the Wesleyans among the Tswana speaking Barolong boo Rathshidi in the nineteenth century to our case study of the Clarksoner missionary and Tsitsikamma Mfengu communities. In particular, the discursive elements selected from the work of the Comaroffs for this analysis will involve what they have termed the politics of water, of production and of spatial organisation. The gaps and limitations in the primary material related to this study are to some extent remedied by drawing on the available secondary literature and Moravian historiography. In chapter three we saw that this literature, too, was characterised by the Moravian narrative. Accordingly, we propose to take this material as a starting point for further investigations of the more specific relevance and significance of the Moravian narrative in the construction and appropriation of the Moravian Clarksoner mission communal identity. Taken together these various components might begin to constitute an account of some elements in the discursive construction and appropriation of a Clarksoner Moravian mission identity.

5.2 The Moravian Narrative and the Communal Identity of the Clarksoners / Mfengu

We still need to establish how the imposed Moravian missionary identity was represented in the missionary discourse. In chapter three we discussed how the constructed Moravian missionary identity was linked to the way in which Moravian missionaries represented themselves utilising resources of history drawn from their own experiences and memories of the religious community at Herrnhut from where they came in Germany. This connection to the religious community at Herrnhut was very important in the formation of a Moravian missionary identity, which they imposed on their converts at Genadendal. An important element of the Moravian historical narrative was the metaphor of the seed. In chapter three we investigated the significance of the metaphor of the seed as it appeared in the Moravian narrative. We showed that the seed metaphor was used to produce a thread of continuity between peoples in different places and over different time periods, connecting the Unitas Fratrum in Czechoslovakia and Herrnhut in Germany with the first Moravian mission settlement at Genadendal in the Cape Colony. In the same chapter we have shown how variations of the seed metaphor were utilised in the missionary discourse regarding Genadendal. We showed how the missionary community

at Genadendal was included in the Moravian historical narrative, and presented with a discursive historical past with which they could claim continuity.

In this section we will investigate the meaning of the Moravian historical narrative in the construction of the Clarksoner Moravian missionary identity, and in particular the numerous variations that the metaphor of the seed took in the Moravian missionary discourse regarding Clarkson. We also explore the contribution that the metaphor of the seed and the Moravian ethic made in establishing a relation between the constructed Moravian mission identity and the Clarkson land.

5.2.1 The "Nucleus of Converts", a "Seed" of Continuity

We begin our discursive analysis by investigating the relevance of elements of the Moravian historical narrative in the construction of the Clarksoner Moravian missionary identity. One such element is the journey made by Moravians to establish a new settlement. In the case of Clarkson a "nucleus of converts" travelled with the Moravian missionary, Br. Küster in 1839 to the Tsitsikamma to found the new mission settlement. Br. Küster described his journey to Clarkson in 1839.

> "We left Enon accompanied by 23 persons ... the first wagon ... advanced near the sea. We asked our Hottentots whether the second wagon was following ... Sunday ... two days after our arrival we were visited by many people of our neighbourhood. Eight Fingoes were present at the first kaffer sermon which we delivered here in the afternoon ... Last Sunday ... some families of Boers about twenty eight hottentots and apprentices were present at the Dutch sermon, and about 100 Fingoes in the afternoon who were eager to listen to the word of God. ... We keep meeting everyday in both languages, about sunset for the Fingoes and after supper for the Hottentots".[1]

There were no Mfengu who accompanied the missionaries on their journey to the Tsitsikamma from Enon, only a group of twenty-three people many of whom were Khoisan. At Koksbosch this nucleus of converts constituted the beginnings of a new mission community. Missionaries conducted their Sunday sermons to this group in Dutch, while they preached through translators to the visiting Mfengu in Xhosa. The Dutch sermons at Clarkson also attracted other

[1] Moravian Archive, Letter to Hallbeck, from Küster, Koksbosch, 26 February and 10 March 1839.

Khoisan, some apprentices, freed slaves, and a few colonial farmers from the surrounding area.[2]

The nucleus of converts, who travelled with the Moravian missionary to the Tsitsikamma, paralleled the first family who had travelled with Christian David from Moravia to Herrnhut on the Estate of Count Zinzendorf.[3] This family constituted the nucleus of Brethren from Moravia who carried with them the preserved core and life force of principles, practices, and traditions of the Unitas Fratrum. At the Cape the idea of using a group of converts from an older Moravian mission station to assist in establishing a religious community at a new mission settlement was previously utilised by missionaries in the building of a Moravian mission station at Elim in 1824. Here the appointed missionary together with a group of "Christian Hottentot families from the original station", [from Genadendal] "settled down as a *nucleus* of the new congregation".[4] A similar group was used to establish the Moravian mission station at Shiloh in 1828. In this case some converts from Genadendal were selected to accompany the two appointed missionaries to the Eastern Cape where they were to work among the Thembu at Shiloh. Along the way five families from Enon joined them.[5] At Elim most of the potential Khoisan converts were farm labourers who lived dispersed in small groups on the surrounding farms owned by colonists. The Moravian missionaries called their work among these dispersed farm labourers, "Diaspora work".[6] An important component of this Diaspora approach was its reliance on indigenous helpers to establish and carry forward missionary projects.[7] In the case of Elim, the Moravian missionaries encountered difficulties in developing a mission community, similar to that at Genadendal, based on the Herrnhut model.[8] At Elim they found that most farm labourers were scattered across the surrounding colonial farms, only able to gather together on Sundays for the weekly sermon. It was in order to deal with this difficulty that a group of Khoisan Christian

---

[2] Moravian Archive, Letter to Hallbeck, from Kuster, March 1839.

[3] A description of the narrative is given in section 3.2.2.1 of this dissertation.

[4] Periodical Accounts Relating to the Missions of the Church of the United Brethren Established Among the Heathen, xxxii: 335 (June 1882), p. 239.

[5] S.W. Nielsen, The Twin Blossom of the Pear Tree Bears Fruit, The History of the Moravian Church Eastern Province in South Africa (Port Shepstone, Baruk, 1999), pp. 33-35.

[6] "Diaspora" means to disperse, scatter, or spread news/information in all directions. In the context of the Cape Colony, and at Elim in particular, Diaspora work referred to an approach to mission work among groups of indigenous peoples who were dispersed and scattered over large areas in a specific location of the Colony. This "Diaspora work" was very different from the Moravian Diaspora that differentiated Moravian Societies in civilised Christian Germany, England, Holland, Denmark and Russia from the foreign missions established among the "uncivilised" and "non Christian" "heathen" polities. See also discussion in section 3.2.1.1 on the outward vision of Pietism.

[7] B. Krüger, The Pear Tree Blossoms, the History of the Moravian Church in South Africa 1737-1869 (Genadendal, The Moravian Book Depot, 1966), p. 132.

[8] Krüger, The Pear Tree Blossoms, pp. 153-154.

families from Genadendal accompanied missionaries to Elim, where together they established the mission station. In the Clarkson case the Mfengu were not farm labourers, nor were they alienated by their lack of rights in the land they cultivated. They did however live dispersed on land granted to them by British colonial authorities. Moravian missionaries may well have viewed their project among the scattered Tsitsikamma as Diaspora work, since a nucleus of converts from the Enon mission station accompanied them in establishing the Clarkson mission station.

In a letter written in 1839 soon after arriving at the Koksbosch farm, the missionary Küster writes, "It was indeed encouraging to see on *the Sabbath days how it becomes to be lively* upon the Tsitsikammas great plain".[9] In a report missionaries wrote of how "many ... expressed the desire to be united to the Lord, as branches to the vine".[10] Here the robust stem of the vine "climbed and trailed" and represented the spreading of the Moravian ethic, doctrine and rituals through the mission's Diaspora work in the Tsitsikamma. The vine and vineyard represented the Clarkson Moravian mission station, while the branches attached to the vine represented the Tsitsikamma Mfengu converts. By representing the mission's Diaspora in the Tsitsikamma as "branches to the vine", the narrative of the seed re-emerged in the construction of a Clarkson Moravian missionary identity. The seeds of this ancient church were now sown in Clarkson, and grew amidst much disinterest.[11] By utilising a nucleus of converts to establish a Moravian mission station at Clarkson, missionaries also produced a discursive continuity between far-removed places, connecting Clarkson with Enon, Genadendal, Herrnhut, and Moravia in Czechoslovakia. This constructed continuity between these different places, and its accompanying sense of common origin is deeply embedded within the narrative of the seed. In the writings of both missionaries and residents, the history of the Clarksoners was represented as beginning with the arrival of the missionaries Halter and Küster together with the five families from Enon.[12] In the next sub-section we will show how the Clarkson Moravian missionary community was reified into a distinct discursive object by the application of the narrative of the seed to the nucleus of core families who travelled with the Moravian missionaries to Clarkson. We will also show what relations of power and domination such a process of reification sustained. We ask questions concerning the power relations of the

[9] Moravian Archive, Letter to Halbeck from Kuster, Koksbosch, 5th May 1839.
[10] Periodical Accounts, xxiv: ccliv (March 1862), p. 238.
[11] An analysis of the historical narrative of the seed is presented in section 3.2.2.1 of this dissertation.

missionaries to the members of the mission community. And what were the power relations of the nucleus of core families to the converted Mfengu members of the mission?

5.2.2 Our People, the Clarksoners

With the assistance of the nucleus of converts in founding the small missionary community at Clarkson, the Moravian missionaries embarked on a process of converting the Mfengu of the Tsitsikamma. Their approach was not to set about converting all the Mfengu residing there, but rather to concentrate on selected individuals and families whom they thought could "open their hearts to the influence of the gospel".[13] One such influential person was the Mfengu chief, Mangoba – leader of the Mfengu community alongside whom the Moravian missionaries had settled at Clarkson. The missionary Küster wrote in 1839 that "our young captain Mangoba (Plaatje) has already learnt the letters, and it is a great pleasure to him to assist me in teaching a part of the children".[14] The use of the pronoun, "our", includes chief Mangoba within the Moravian mission community at Clarkson and pre-empts his conversion and later baptism during the early 1840s. Another such influential person was a sangoma from the Tsitsikamma. The Moravian missionary, Nauhaus, wrote in 1841 "if he [the sangoma] does but remain steadfast, and grow in the grace and knowledge of our Lord ... a ringleader of the reign of darkness will be vanquished by the power of the gospel".[15] The first baptism of a Mfengu convert occurred during 1840 and was soon followed by the baptism of twenty-eight more converts. Hamilton described the events of 1840 at Clarkson as "a great awakening".[16] The missionary Nauhaus described the newly baptised converts as "our baptised members who walk worthy of the gospel ... [and] their looks bespeak of love and simplicity ... and their behaviour is devout".[17] The orderliness and good conduct of the converts was characterised by Nauhaus' assertion that the converted Mfengu walked worthy of the gospel and that their behaviour was devout as contrasted with their former "heathen" associates. In the Moravian missionary discourse the people who belonged to Clarkson were referred to as "our people" and were represented as industrious, being either engaged at work on the neighbouring

---

[12] Krüger, The Pear Tree Blossoms, p. 200; W.C. Uithaler, 'Clarkson: Hohnderd en Fyftig Jaar op Pad, 1839-1989', Geleentheidspublikasie no. 47 (Instituut vir Beplanningsnavorsing, Universiteit van Port Elizabeth, Oktober 1994), p. 2.

[13] 'Particulars of Intelligence Respecting the Missions on the United Brethren', no. 43, South African Religious Pamphlets of the South African Bound Pamphlet no. 33, pp. 13-14.

[14] Moravian Archive, Letter to Halbeck, from Küster, Koksbosch, 5th May 1839.

[15] 'Particulars of Intelligence Respecting the Missions on the United Brethren', pp. 13-14.

[16] J.T. Hamilton, A History of the Church Known as the Moravian Church, or the Unitas Fratrum, or the Unity of the Brethren, during the 18th and 19th Centuries (Bethlehem, Times Publishing, 1900), p. 426.

colonial farms, in public work programmes, or in cultivating the mission land.[18] They were unlike the Mfengu who were represented as "heedless" and "attached to heathenish customs".[19] A very clear distinction was thus made in the Moravian missionary discourse between the people who belonged to the Clarkson mission station, and the other "heathen" Mfengu who did not belong to the mission station even though in practice some resided alongside the mission station on a portion of the Clarkson land. In the next sub-section we show that the Mfengu converts who were included as members at the mission station assisted the missionaries in their Diaspora work among the scattered Mfengu. We will also show how some of these Mfengu converts became mission-helpers and were placed by the Mission Society at Snyklip and Doriskraal, two of the adjacent farms that had been granted to the Mfengu by colonial authorities.

5.2.3 Rituals of (Re) naming

Belonging to the Clarkson mission station required converts and members to accept the authority of the Moravian missionaries and follow their doctrine and rituals. One such ritual was that of baptism and its important component of biblical naming. All converts were renamed when baptised and given biblical names. Moravian missionaries kept records dating back to August 1839 of all communicants. Mangoba Plaatje, the Mfengu chief, was among the first entries made in their register of communicants. From these first entries and others that followed, we observe that some candidates had been given two names while others only had one listed name. In the case where a candidate had two names, the first name was Western and Christian, for example Lea Reuter, Sara Goesa, and Alvina Goliath.[20] Most of these names appeared to be female. In the case of candidates with single names, in most instances the entries made were Xhosa names, for example Balambile, Tembuze, and Dutuma.[21] From 1846 onwards the register of communicant names began to change. Not all of the Xhosa names were now singular; a few on the list had been given Western Christian names. The first list of names entered in 1846, for example, contains amongst others the names of Kathrÿn Uzideku, Christian Umtabeka, and Elizabeth Mazisa.[22] The re-naming of converts through the baptism

---

[17] 'Particulars of Intelligence Respecting the Missions on the United Brethren', p. 12.
[18] Periodical Accounts. (March 1875), p. 290; Periodical Accounts. V: 53 (March 1903), p. 225.
[19] Periodical Accounts, xx: ccxviii (March 1853), p. 404; and Periodical Accounts, xxii: ccxxxiv (March 1857), p. 176.
[20] Moravian Archive, Missions Conf. Prodoc. 1839 bur 1846.
[21] Moravian Archive, Missions Conf. Prodoc. 1839 bur 1846.
[22] Moravian Archive, Missions Conf. Prodoc. 1846-1855.

ritual contributed in discursively differentiating members of the Clarkson Moravian mission community from the unbaptised ("heathen") Tsitsikamma Mfengu. Following Elizabeth Elbourne the designation of Christian names was underlined by a range of colonial ambiguities. Furthermore, the process of naming itself symbolised missionaries' perceptions of writing on an African tabula rasa.[23]

Zwelibanzi, the mission-helper who later became the first Mfengu minister of the Moravian Church, was born in 1832 and baptised in 1846. He was named Johannes at his baptism ceremony and thereby set apart from his fellow Mfengu countrymen and women.[24] Zwelibanzi was the first Mfengu to be selected and sent by Moravian missionaries to the Genadendal training school. Missionaries referred to him as "a Fingo belonging to a tribe living in this neighbourhood ... [who] has been labouring in much blessing".[25] Zwelibanzi's inclusion as a "branch of the vine" was perceived by missionaries as an answer to their prayer that "the Lord of the Harvest send forth labourers into His Harvest".[26] The metaphor of "labourers in His harvest" is a variation of the seed metaphor and represented the help and assistance given by the nucleus of converts in spreading the fruit bearing seeds across the Tsitsikamma district. Johannes Zwelibanzi completed his training at the Genadendal School, and thereafter returned to the Tsitsikamma as teacher and mission-helper. He was assigned by the Moravian Mission Society to reside at Snyklip and then later at Wittekleibosch. He worked and taught among the Tsitsikamma peoples.[27]

Louisa Umbaleni was another Mfengu mission-helper. As a communicant sister and "chapel servant" at Clarkson, missionaries described her as being "very useful amongst the fingoes who lived at a distance from the station ... she used to visit her countrymen and women at Snyklip and Wittekleibosch ... [and] rendered valuable assistance to the missionaries".[28] On a visit to Doriskraal and the farm Langebosch, a missionary from Clarkson was accompanied by an Mfengu mission-helper, Jacob Undaba, whom he described in a report as "one of our assistants from Clarkson".[29] At a gathering in Clarkson during 1866 a missionary reported how

---

[23] E. Elbourne, Blood Ground: Colonialism, Missions and the Conquest for Christianity in the Cape Colony and Britain, 1799-1853 (Montreal and Kingston, McGill-Queens University Press, 2002), p. 126.
[24] Schmidt, 'Die Sendingwerk van die Broederkerk in Suid Afrika', no date, p. 105.
[25] Periodical Accounts, xxv: cclxvii (June 1865), p. 397.
[26] Periodical Accounts, xxv: cclxvii (June 1865), p. 398.
[27] Periodical Accounts, xxv: cclxviii (September 1865), p. 462; Periodical Accounts, xxxii: 340 (September 1883), p. 509.
[28] Periodical Accounts, xxxiii: 346 (March 1885), p. 225.
[29] Periodical Accounts, xxiv: cclix (June 1863), p. 553.

"the earnest prayer of our old Fingo helper, Manassch, evidently made a deep impression on his heathen country-men".[30] Moravian missionaries carefully selected Mfengu mission-helpers like Zwelibanzi, Umbaleni, Undaba, and Manassch as "labourers in His harvest". These converts joined the missionary community at Clarkson in faithfully spreading and making known the core Christian principles, rituals and doctrine of the Moravian ethic. The Moravian missionaries applied stringent criteria in their selection of such mission-helpers. A missionary wrote of Nathaniel Kriel, who had been engaged as a "native teacher" in the school at Clarkson, that he "is a remarkably capable teacher, who would make a faithful mission-helper, if he would only allow himself to be brought fully into subjection to the mind of Christ".[31] Not all the Mfengu who converted to Christianity were thus selected as Moravian mission-helpers to be included as "labourers in His harvest". Only those who had fully appropriated the principles, rituals and doctrine of the Moravian ethic and had convincingly demonstrated their faithfulness thereto through their obedience, good conduct and loyalty to the authority of the Moravian missionaries were included.

The baptism ceremony or ritual, in which indigenous peoples were re-named, marked their inclusion within the growing, albeit small, Moravian mission community at Clarkson. The designated Christian name marked the conversion from the old or "heathen" way of doing things, to a new beginning, a new life, new rules and regulations, new traditions and rituals to practise, and a different kind of behaviour. A missionary wrote of the changed behaviour of a sangoma after he had opened "his heart to the influence of the gospel ... [and] attends the church assiduously ... [he] has refused the request of his heathen countrymen to exercise his sorceries".[32] The former sangoma's refusal illustrated the constraints and "procedures of subjugation" imposed through such rituals of re-naming. The re-naming ritual defined the behaviour and conduct as contained in the Moravian ethic, so that the converts were obedient to those in positions of authority, lived in square-shaped houses and wore colonial clothes. Converts showed their compliance when they adopted the Western biblical names given to them by Moravian missionaries.

---

[30] Periodical Accounts, xxvi: cclxxiii (December 1866), p. 112.
[31] Periodical Accounts, xxxii: 340 (September 1883), p. 509.
[32] 'Particulars of Intelligence Respecting the Missions of the United Brethren', p. 12.

5.2.3.1 Appropriation of Names and Metaphors

The ritual of re-naming also represented the converts' "awakening" from "the reign of darkness". Following a discussion with a group of communicants a missionary wrote "we have been glad to see more spiritual life in the fruits of faith".[33] The metaphor of the "fruits of faith", a variation of the metaphor of the seed, represented the awakening of the converted Mfengu, and their connection to the "light that shines" forth from the Clarkson mission station. In this way the Moravian missionary discourse differentiated between those residing at Clarkson who had been baptised, and other Mfengu who lived at Doriskraal, Snyklip and Wittekeibosch. It was this awakening under the shining light of Clarkson that connected converts with a shared experience and a shared beginning, from which their communal identity as Moravians and Clarksoners emerged irrespective of whether they were Mfengu, Khoisan or ex-slaves. This growing membership of the Clarkson mission community was represented as "our people", and "our members". They were included as having a shared Moravian past, while their history before the advent of their conversion remains largely unknown.[34] Through such rituals as the re-naming of converts; a heterogeneous group of indigenous peoples (including ex-slaves) was constructed as a new community of "our people" having no significant history prior the coming of missionaries. The reification of meaning discursively created a sustained sense of belonging to a unified Moravian mission community with a particular set of historical relations to the Clarkson land.

The newly constructed mission community was not automatically sustained. Missionaries perceived their "fruits of faith" as not always being able to stand steadfast on their own amidst the darkness that surrounded them. A missionary recalled an aged Mfengu woman saying "I hear about the great saviour ... but it so happens, that, when I reach home ... darkness comes over me, so I cannot see ... my darkness is great, but I believe that He will deliver me from its power".[35] The same missionary recorded another Mfengu expressing himself as "... I feel that the Word of God ... is able to bring me out of the darkness that holds me fast". [36] In the Moravian missionary discourse the Mfengu were represented as living in a world of darkness from which they could only be delivered by the Word of God and their obedience to the

[33] Periodical Accounts, xxiv: cclv (June 1862), p. 286.
[34] See theoretical discussion on John Thompson in chapter 2 of this dissertation.
[35] Periodical Accounts, xxiv: ccliv (March 1862), p.237.
[36] Periodical Accounts, xxiv: ccliv (March 1862), p. 237.

Moravian ethic as taught, preached, and practised. After returning from the Clarkson mission station two Mfengu converts each described their homes on one of the adjacent Mfengu farms as places of "darkness". The metaphor of darkness was utilised in relation to the light emanating from the Clarkson mission station. In the available primary sources there are at least two instances of how converted Mfengu appropriated the metaphor of darkness versus light and applied it to representations of themselves as Mfengu converts. The light emanating from the mission station is surrounded by the darkness of Doriskraal, Snyklip and Wittekleibosch and all the Mfengu residing there. When returning to this darkness after being immersed within the light of Clarkson, the aged Mfengu convert exclaimed, in the words of the missionary, "she cannot see" since her darkness was great.[37]

The construction of the new missionary community thus proceeded by appropriation of core metaphors from the Moravian narrative. In the Moravian missionary discourse Mfengu converts from the Tsitsikamma were depicted as "fruit bearing seeds", as being "fruits of faith", "modest little strawberries", and "branches to the vine". On another occasion a missionary wrote of a Mfengu convert who exclaimed:

> "I am like a plant that has been bent and is growing crooked, and which must be made straight and upright by the sun and the wind ... I obtain renewed assurance of pardon from our saviour, and that He should raise me up and enable me to walk in his ways more perfectly, overcoming temptations, and abiding faithful unto Him".[38]

The growing crooked plant was a variation of the metaphor of the seed, while the light that emanates from the sun was a variation of the metaphor of darkness versus light. The wind that dispersed the fruit bearing seed depicted the Moravian mission's Diaspora in the Tsitsikamma. The response of this Mfengu convert demonstrated that the constructed Moravian missionary identity had been appropriated in a very significant way. Here the seed, darkness versus light, and the dispersal/Diaspora metaphors of the Moravian missionary discourse have all been appropriated, and applied to the local context. Stuart Hall has argued that constructed identities emerge within specific modalities of power which produce representations of difference as a basis for including some while excluding others from participating and having access to (scarce) resources.[39] In the Moravian missionary discourse parallel and complementary

---

[37] Periodical Accounts xxiv: ccliv (March 1862), p. 237.
[38] Periodical Accounts, xxiv: cclv (June 1862), p. 286.
[39] See our theoretical discussion of Stuart Hall in chapter 2 of this dissertation.

representations are used with the converted sometimes represented as the "bearers of light" and at other times as the "fruits of faith" and "labourers of the harvest". As "bearers of light", the Clarkson Moravian missionary community was placed in relation to the "darkness" that surrounded the unconverted Mfengu, who were spread across the Tsitsikamma outside the discipline and authority of the mission station. The representation of the Mfengu in the Moravian missionary discourse was certainly very different to representations of the Mfengu found in the constructed colonial Fingo discourse of the 1830s. In the colonial discourse the "Fingo" were represented as oppressed human beings to be rescued, included in the Cape Colony and progressively civilised due to their loyalty to the British Crown. Their support of missionaries and the education of their children distinguished the Mfengu from the Xhosa in the colonial discourse.[40] More importantly, the Mfengu were represented as a homogenous group of people who were naturally disposed to Christianity and conversion. The Moravian missionary discourse however represented the Mfengu as naturally disposed to remain in "darkness" resisting missionary efforts of conversion.[41] The Mfengu of Doriskraal, Snyklip and Wittekleibosch who had converted to Christianity most often chose not to move to the Clarkson mission settlement. These were Mfengu who had not only been to school or literacy classes, but also to church and had been baptised. Yet they did not move to Clarkson to become part of the mission station. A missionary exclaimed in 1874 that "...as our aged members have departed, others have been found worthy to fill the gaps thus made, so that our station still continues to shine as a light surrounded by much darkness".[42] In a report of 1874, Hettasch wrote that "the whole neighbourhood is still lost in heathenism, and the prospect for the future is not very bright, but we hope that by and by the light of the Gospel will be diffused through this dark region. ... The Fingoes from Snyklip ... are a stiff-necked people. They are unwilling to break with the missionaries, but equally so to give up their world."[43] The explanation was that the Mfengu from Snyklip, as with the Mfengu from Doriskraal and Wittekleibosch, already had access to land and did not depend on the missionaries for access to land, nor did they have to move to Clarkson for such access. This brings out quite strikingly the role of access to land in the construction of the different communal identities of the Clarksoners and the adjacent Mfengu communities. Even though the Tsitsikamma Mfengu communities received education at the mission schools, selectively attended religious services, with some even being baptised,

---

[40] Crystal Jannecke, 'The Fingo/Mfengu, a Case Study in Land and Identity' (B.Soc.Sci. (Hons.), Department of Political Studies, University of Cape Town, February 1997), p. 55.
[41] Periodical Accounts, xxv: cclxvii (June 1865), p. 397; Periodical Accounts, xxiv: cclii (September 1861), p. 71.
[42] Periodical Accounts, (March 1875), p. 291.
[43] Periodical Accounts (March 1875), p. 291.

there was no need for members to identify with the Clarksoner Moravian missionary community. With rights in land independent of the Moravian missionaries, distinct Tsitsikamma Mfengu communities developed.

5.2.4 The Moravian Ethic and the Constructed Clarksoner Missionary Identity

The few Tsitsikamma Mfengu who chose to join the Clarkson mission station contributed in building and consolidating the small emerging mission community in the Tsitsikamma. On the whole Moravians emphasised establishing mission congregations that consisted of sincere Christians as opposed to large congregations filled with crowds of half-hearted and undisciplined peoples.[44] A Moravian missionary reported on the early years of Clarkson.

> "...These natives who live scattered up and down the [Tsitsikamma] district, conversions can and do take place ... but the growth of the spiritual life, the grounding in the word and doctrine, are greatly favoured by the daily food and attention which alone can be given to those residing at the station".[45]

Moravian missionaries certainly preferred to have their members reside within the boundary of the mission where they could be grounded in the Word and doctrine of the Moravian Ethic. They were very particular about their members' adherence to their imposed set of rules and regulations. In this regard Clarkson was not an exception. The rules and regulations, or doctrine of the Moravian Ethic had a dual purpose. On the one hand it was utilised by missionaries to impose, establish and maintain their understanding of order, discipline, and good conduct on the mission station as remembered from their experiences at Herrnhut. On the other hand it was utilised to mobilise a "reciprocal allegiance" among members as well as between missionaries and members, thereby contributing to the emergence of an appropriated Clarkson Moravian mission identity.[46]

It is from an investigation of the reasons that missionaries gave for excluding members from the mission station that we are able to assess how the various elements of the Moravian ethic were applied at Clarkson. One such exclusion involved two people from the congregation on

---

[44] Periodical Accounts, (March 1875), p. 291.
[45] As quoted in Krüger, The Pear Tree Blossoms, 1966, p. 285.
[46] For theoretical discussion on Michel Foucault's notion of "reciprocal allegiance" see section 2.4 of this dissertation.

account of "gross immorality".[47] When some youth took part in "heathen practices" with the knowledge of their parents, missionaries exclaimed in their report that they wished "to make them feel their guilt", and therefore resolved to close the chapel school immediately and remove the teacher. In response, a deputation implored the missionaries "not to forsake them".[48] The Moravian missionaries were very opposed to drunkenness among members. In 1873 missionaries reported that "... the year opened with a variety of gloomy experiences ... *several cases of exclusion for drunkenness and other sins,* on the part of some, of whom we had entertained good hope that they were humble and consistent Christians".[49] These missionaries were opposed to their members "meeting for indulging in the free drinking of kaffir beer". They announced that "any persons holding such meetings in their own houses or attending them elsewhere shall no longer be regarded as members".[50] On another occasion missionaries at Clarkson noted that "whenever [drunkenness] have taken place, real sorrow and repentance have been manifested by the transgressors".[51] Missionaries responded severely when these transgressions persisted.

> "after being exhorted, and warned, are unwilling to relinquish this evil practice, [then] they are ordered to leave the place, and this position we are firmly resolved to maintain, believing it to be a better thing to have a small congregation of persons really seeking to walk as Christians should, than a numerous one for the most part composed of inebriates".[52]

Moravian missionaries also disrupted the ceremonial slaughter of an ox, and warned those who participated in this customary social practice.[53] On another occasion Moravian missionaries kept a girl at Clarkson after her father had received lobola or bride-wealth for her as the fifth bride of a sangoma or traditional healer. The missionaries explained the colonial laws to their congregation during Sunday morning service - that the sale and purchase of children were prohibited, and that children could not be forced into marriage by their parents. They were also opposed to the practice of circumcision and strenuously employed different methods to suppress it.[54] At Clarkson all these customary practices constituted disobedience. Good

---

[47] Periodical Accounts, xxiv: cclv (June 1862), p. 286.
[48] Periodical Accounts, xxvi: cclxxiii (December 1866), p. 113.
[49] Periodical Accounts, xxviii: 299 (June 1873), p. 478.
[50] Periodical Accounts, xxviii: 299 (June 1873), p. 479.
[51] Periodical Accounts, (March 1875), p. 291.
[52] Periodical Accounts, (March 1875), p. 291.
[53] Krüger, The Pear Tree Blossoms, p. 203.
[54] Periodical Accounts, v: 53 (March 1903), p. 226.

conduct at the mission station in terms of the applied Moravian ethic meant, amongst others, no participation in "heathen" practices, no drunkenness and drinking of "kafir beer", no ceremonial slaughter of oxen, no arranged marriages and practice of bride-wealth, and no practice of circumcision. In Sunday sermons and daily Dutch literacy classes missionaries taught the meaning of good conduct and what obedience thereto required and in so doing advanced the Moravian Ethic. They further exercised their power in relation to "transgressing" members with warnings, threats, punishment, and exclusion from the mission with the order to leave the place.[55] Good conduct in loyally and faithfully adhering to the Moravian Ethic, bound a fairly heterogeneous group of people together, constituted them as "our people", and differentiated them as members of the Clarkson Moravian mission station in relation to the "other" "heathen" practising Tsitsikamma Mfengu.

5.2.5 Membership and Representations of Clarksoner/Mfengu

In the discussion that follows we will show how the ambiguities in rights to the Clarkson land and its shifting territorial boundaries were concealed in the Moravian missionary discourse. From a missionary's account in 1865 we are informed that "the different tribes object to live together, and the Fingoes in our neighbourhood belong to no less than four separate tribes".[56] Each group resided in the Tsitsikamma on adjacent Clarkson land. There was the group of Mfengu who had been settled at Clarkson by colonial authorities prior to the arrival of the Moravians. Then there were the groups of Mfengu residing in Doriskraal, Snyklip and Wittekleibosch to whom land had been granted, which was held in trust by the Civil Commissioner of Uitenhage.[57]

The ambiguity in the rights to land held by both the Moravian missionaries and the group of Mfengu at Clarkson were expressed in the patterns of settlement and spatial organisation. Initially, missionaries laid out a street, which became the territorial boundary and separated those who were members of the mission station, from those Mfengu who lived on the Clarkson land but were not members of the mission station. The territorial boundary gradually shifted as Moravian missionaries steadily increased the extent of their intervention in the social practices

---

[55] Periodical Accounts, xxviii: 299 (June 1873), p. 479.
[56] Periodical Accounts, xxv: cclxviii (September 1865), p. 462.
[57] Snyklip, Uitenhage Freeholds 11: 30 (October 1858); Doriskraal, Uitenhage Freeholds 11: 30 (October 1858); Wittekleibosch, Uitenhage Freeholds 11: 30 (October 1858). The Clarkson land grant is discussed in section 4.6 of this dissertation.

of the group of Mfengu residing on the Clarkson land. The departure in 1841 of the Mfengu chief and many of his followers from Clarkson increased the missionaries' effective hold over the Clarkson land and its residents. The doctrine, discipline and rituals contained in the Moravian Ethic were gradually adopted by the remaining and incoming converts.[58] In 1839, prior to the departure of a fairly large group of Chief Mangoba's followers, only ten (10) candidates were baptised. The number of candidates had increased in February 1840 to sixty-six (66). In December 1840 a further sixty-seven (67) candidates were baptised. Even though a large number of these Mfengu converts left the mission station in 1841; the record book of 1846-1853 shows entries of Mfengu baptisms. A missionary reported in 1860 that "two Fingo families left us ... we regret it, as the number of Fingo inhabitants of the settlement is continually decreasing".[59] It is quite possible that such statements about Mfengu people leaving the Clarkson community did not accurately reflect the actual tendencies of a growing missionary community at Clarkson that was composed of numerous Mfengu converts. Even though many Mfengu chose to move away from the authority exerted by the Moravian missionaries over their lives, there were some who chose to remain at Clarkson as members of the missionary community. In an 1860 report missionaries described how an Mfengu expressed himself as "many of my countrymen have left us and gone away, so that but few of us remain in the settlement".[60] A recurring theme in the Moravian missionary discourse was the choice made by Mfengu inhabitants to leave the mission settlement.

A variation of this theme in the missionary discourse was the number of converts from the Doriskraal, Snyklip and Wittekleibosch who refused to live under the authority of the missionaries at Clarkson.[61] Unlike most other mission stations within the Cape Colony, the Mfengu of the Tsitsikamma held secure rights in land at Doriskraal, Snyklip and Wittekleibosch received from colonial authorities. They therefore were not dependent on the "will" of these missionaries to grant them access to, and use of, mission land for residential and agricultural purposes. In 1865 the missionary Hettasch wrote "many years ago the missionaries at Clarkson attempted to bring the Gospel to these poor people [at Wittekleibosch], but were met with the most determined resistance on their part ... nevertheless visits continued to be paid

[58] The incident of the Mfengu chief and others of his community leaving Clarkson in protest is discussed in section 4.6 of this dissertation.
[59] Periodical Accounts, xxiv: cclii (September 1861), p. 70.
[60] Periodical Accounts, xxiv: cclii (September 1861), pp. 70-71.
[61] Periodical Accounts, xxv: cclxviii (September 1865), p. 462; Periodical Accounts, (March 1875), p. 291.

from time to time".[62] But Moravian missionaries persisted in their attempts to extend their influence to the neighbouring Mfengu communities at Doriskraal, Wittekleibosch and Snyklip with the aim of bringing these settlements under the discipline and control of the mission. Missionaries observed in 1865 that "these natives [at Doriskraal] could be looked after more efficiently, if they could be persuaded to settle in villages; but they love liberty too well to submit to any restrictions".[63] In another missionary report the process of conversion among the Mfengu at Wittekleibosch was described as "progressing in a quiet way ... Our missionary work there may not be like a fine lemon tree, showing abundance of bright fruit, but even if it blossoms and bear fruit like the modest little strawberry in the woods, surely we must rejoice in it".[64] The "bright fruit that blossoms" and "bear fruit", and the "little strawberry" were invocations of the metaphor of the seed used in the Moravian historical narrative. In the Moravian missionary discourse the tree that is chosen to bear fruit at Genadendal is the pear tree. In the missionary discourse regarding the Clarkson mission station the lemon tree and the modest little strawberry are utilised as variations of the seed metaphor. The tree that blossoms and bears fruit was indeed similar to the seed metaphors utilised in the reconstructed narrative of the early Moravian missionaries at Genadendal. The strawberry is a small low growing plant that bears seed-like parts and spreads across the ground as it grows. The spreading nature of the strawberry plant, like the trailing stem of the vine, also reflected the mission's Diaspora work in the Tsitsikamma. Each seed-like plant represented a successful conversion amongst the Mfengu who lived dispersed and spread across the Tsitsikamma district. While some conversions did take place among the Tsitsikamma Mfengu, many resisted, sometimes violently, the efforts made by Moravian missionaries and mission-helpers to impose the rituals and doctrine of the Moravian Ethic on them. For example the crops of the Mfengu mission-helper, Zwelibanzi, was on one occasion maliciously destroyed at Wittekleibosch.[65] Moravian Mfengu members from Snyklip also preferred to remain outside the Clarkson mission and its intruding Moravian Ethic.

The Tsitsikamma Mfengu preferred to live on and cultivate their own land outside the discipline and authority of the Moravian missionaries. For many years Zwelibanzi, the Mfengu mission-helper, had administered the Wittekleibosch community. When he was moved to Snyklip one of the Moravian missionaries from Clarkson administered this community. According to a

[62] Periodical Accounts, xxv: cclxvii (June 1865), p. 397.
[63] Periodical Accounts, xxv: cclxviii (September 1865), p. 462.
[64] Periodical Accounts, xxvi: cclxxvi (September 1867), p. 282.
[65] Periodical Accounts, xxv: cclxvii (June 1865), p. 397.

missionary report in 1897 the appointment of a Moravian missionary as official government representative over the Mfengu at Wittekleibosch was "an indication of undesirable control" to the Mfengu residing there.[66] The Wittekleibosch Mfengu demonstrated their opposition by withdrawing as congregants from Moravian church services held at Wittekleibosch. An independent church was established at Wittekleibosch, called the Ethiopian Church.[67] An alternative school was also started under the leadership of the Ethiopian Church. Moravian missionaries responded by closing down their school and insisted that all children be sent to the Clarkson mission school for tuition.[68] Moravian missionaries perceived Christian converts of Wittekleibosch as well as those from Doriskraal and Snyklip as "not [having gone] beyond the outward adoption of Christianity".[69] Even though Christian, the Tsitsikamma Mfengu from these adjacent areas were represented in the missionary discourse as not belonging to Clarkson and its constituted mission community.

Education itself was conceived as part of a more general missionary process. A missionary from Clarkson wrote of a married Mfengu woman who had "the privilege of residing here [at Clarkson] from her childhood ... as her parents caused her to attend school regularly, she became early impressed by the truth ... subsequently ... she was baptised".[70] It was through access to mission education and the establishment of schools at Clarkson, Doriskraal, Snyklip, and Wittekleibosch that the missionaries engaged the Tsitsikamma Mfengu communities. The first step in extending their missionary project beyond Clarkson was "to build a schoolhouse and look out for a teacher".[71] In most cases the church buildings at Wittekleibosch, Snyklip and Doriskraal were used as classrooms. On the whole missionaries were very pleased with the attendance at the Clarkson School, and reported in 1861 that "the results of the school-examinations were such as to encourage us, and excite thankfulness ... for the blessing which He lays on this portion of our work".[72] On the one hand mission education gave those participating Mfengu and their children knowledge and power. On the other hand education was discursively utilised as a mechanism of constraint that systematically regulated behaviour, conduct, gestures, and beliefs.

---

[66] Periodical Accounts, v: 53 (March 1903), p. 226.
[67] The establishment of the Ethiopian Church at Wittekleibosch towards the end of the 1800s is described in further detail in chapter 6 of this dissertation.
[68] Periodical Accounts, v: 53 (March 1903), p. 226.
[69] Periodical Accounts, v: 53 (March 1903), p. 225.
[70] Periodical Accounts, xxii: cxl (September 1858), p. 496.
[71] Periodical Accounts, xxv: cclxvii (June 1865), p. 398.

At Snyklip, Wittekleibosch and Doriskraal the participation of the Mfengu in church services and missionary programmes were limited, since they avoided sustained engagement with, the imposition of, and adherence to the Moravian ethic. A missionary wrote in 1864 that "these natives [at Doriskraal] could be looked after more efficiently, if they could be persuaded to settle in villages; but they love liberty too well to submit to any restrictions".[73] When the church burnt down at Snyklip during 1874, a missionary wrote that "the majority of them seem disinclined to come to Clarkson, but asked us to assist in erecting another place of worship".[74] In one instance Moravian missionaries disciplined the behaviour of a group of Mfengu school-goers by closing-down the chapel-school and removing the teacher. In response the affected Mfengu of the area sent a deputation over to Clarkson and requested the missionaries not to forsake them.[75] The Mfengu deputation did not request that their children be taught at Clarkson, but rather that missionaries re-open the school in their area. The Tsitsikamma Mfengu communities from the adjacent areas thus distinguished between missionary education and missionary conversion, with an interest in the former while inclined to resist the latter. Conversion to Christianity for the Tsitsikamma Mfengu meant access to education, especially for their children.

Membership to the Moravian mission community at Clarkson was not dependent on obtaining a missionary education, but was rather dependent on missionary conversion and adherence of the Moravian Ethic. This meant that for the converted Clarksoners, greater educational prospects were available, especially for children. Moravian missionaries created opportunities, subject to good conduct and adherence to the Moravian Ethic, for selected candidates to attend the Genadendal training school. Zwelibanzi was the first child selected from Clarkson and the Tsitsikamma to attend the training school. Others followed him like Manasseh Mlandu, later stationed as schoolmaster at Engotini, a mission settlement attached to Shiloh (see map showing the location Shiloh in relation to Clarkson in figure 5 above).[76] The conversion to Christianity, acceptance of the discipline and order of the Moravian Ethic ensured that Clarksoners had access to education, the opportunity of their children being sent to the Genadendal training school, and thereafter integrated as teachers and mission-helpers into mission projects at the Cape.

---

[72] Periodical Accounts, xxiv: cclii (September 1861), p. 71.
[73] Periodical Accounts, xxv: cclviii (September 1865), p. 462.
[74] Periodical Accounts, (March 1875), p. 291.
[75] Periodical Accounts, xxvi: cclxxiii (December 1866), p. 112.
[76] Periodical Accounts, xxiv: cclix (June 1863), p. 554.

In this case study we have been concerned with representations in the Moravian missionary discourse of those people from the surrounding Tsitsikamma, who were baptised, became communicants and joined the Clarkson mission community, thereby committing themselves to its discipline, order and authority. In addition to these Mfengu converts, admission to the mission station had also been granted to some Khoikhoi, and freed slaves who met the mission's criteria. This loose group of individual converts was represented as a homogenous Moravian missionary community, later known as the Clarksoners, within the Moravian missionary discourse. From the outset some Mfengu were converted and became members of the Clarkson mission community and remained that. Some names of Mfengu persons who became converted and who were listed as baptism candidates by the Moravian missionaries include, amongst others, Zinde, Ciswazi, Zwelibanzi, and Balambile in 1839, Uzideku, and Mazisa in 1846, and Wolfkop, Msili, and Mlandu in 1868.[77] From a schedule of names of unmarried males at Clarkson drawn-up by the resident minister in February 1960, the following names appear to be significant to our discussion concerning the Mfengu who had remained at Clarkson. These are Eben Sedegu, Sam Sinde, Jan Skosana, Josef Zwasi, and Hendrik Makomo. The Uzideku family, the Zinde family and the Ciswazi family were among those who had become and remained members of the Clarkson Moravian missionary community. It is at the level of missionary discourse that the differentiation between "coloured" Clarksoner and ethnic Mfengu came to be more sharply defined and pronounced. In a 1903 report a Clarkson missionary described the converted Mfengu as "slavish in character".[78] No distinction was made between the converted and "heathen", both were represented as lying and deceitful people who were slavish in character. In 1903 Moravian missionaries very clearly described the Clarkson congregation as consisting " ... mainly of Dutch-speaking natives, since even the Fingoes who ... had settled there, have for the most part left the place again ... their mode of life – so unlike that of the coloured people – would not permit them to settle down. On the Fingo reserves at Doriskraal and Snyklip they succeeded better". [79] Here the term Dutch speaking "natives" is utilised interchangeably with the term "coloured" people. Both terms are used as distinct from the term Mfengu whom missionaries describe in this 1903 report as "...obstinate [and] clinging to their ancient usage ... [and] though they may come regularly to church ... there is still much

[77] Moravian Archives, Missions Conf. Prodoc. 1839-1846; Missions Conf. Prodoc. 1846-1855; and Missions Conf. Prodoc. 1868-1872.
[78] Periodical Accounts, v: 53 (March 1903), pp. 225-226.
[79] Periodical Accounts, v: 53 (March 1903), pp. 225-226.

heathenish tendency behind it all".[80] By 1903 "our people" at Clarkson, as called by the Moravian missionaries in their missionary discourse, had become the "Dutch-speaking natives" and "coloured people" who were not Mfengu. The Clarkson "coloured" missionary community were discursively differentiated from the Mfengu of Tsitsikamma who were represented in the missionary discourse as obstinately clinging to their "heathenish tendencies", and as having only outwardly adopted Christianity. By the early twentieth century the converted Tsitsikamma Mfengu at Clarkson were so fully incorporated into the Clarkson Moravian mission community that they became "invisible", and part of the constructed "coloured" Moravian missionary community that was differentiated from the ethnic Tsitsikamma Mfengu. The Clarkson "coloured" Moravian missionary identity was constructed in relation to the ethnic Mfengu whose ancient usage, mode of life, and outward adoption of Christianity were represented in the Moravian missionary discourse as all that the Clarkson "coloured" Moravian missionary community were not.

5.3 Elements of Missionary "Conversation"

Our investigation thus far has been concerned with some of the elements utilised in the discursive construction of the Clarkson Moravian mission identity. In this section we consider some relevant aspects of discursive analysis from the comparative work of the Comaroffs' on the Wesleyan mission among the Tswana speaking Barolong boo Rathshidi, during the nineteenth century. In their investigations of missionary activity among the Southern Tswana, the Comaroffs provided a suggestive account of religious conversion as part of the more general civilising mission of the Wesleyans. According to the Comaroffs the Wesleyan missionaries perceived conversion as a process that involved the removal of difference and distinction while aimed at the assimilation of the Southern Tswana into the moral economy of civilised man.[81] The Comaroffs defined "assimilation" as the extension of the European system of distinction onto the indigenous Southern Tswana landscape, drawing them into a common scale of social, spiritual, and material inequality.[82] Conversely the Southern Tswana also recast the missionary in their own language and understanding.[83]

---

[80] Periodical Accounts, v: 53 (March 1903), pp. 225-226.
[81] Jean and John, Comaroff, Of Revelation and Revolution: Christianity, Colonialism and Consciousness in South Africa (2 vols., Chicago, University of Chicago Press, 1991), Vol. 1, p. 244.
[82] Comaroffs, Of Revelation and Revolution, Vol. 1, pp. 244-245.
[83] Comaroffs, Of Revelation and Revolution, Vol. 1, p. 245.

When these missionaries set out to convert the "heathen" they did not limit themselves to conversion at a spiritual level. Rather, on the Comaroffs' analysis, they went about reconstructing the everyday lives of the Southern Tswana. This process of conversion was both overt and covert. Its overt content consisted of substantive messages conveyed through sermons premised on the bible. Its covert component consisted of a struggle waged between the Southern Tswana and missionaries over the terms of their encounter, and the fashioning of the different forms in which this "conversation" took place.[84] It was at this covert level that missionaries sought to completely reform the "heathen" world through colonisation of taken-for-granted everyday signs and practices.[85] This covert conversation, the Comaroffs argued, occurred amongst others, in the domains of the politics of water, and the politics of production.[86] This meant that even if the overt religious content of the missionary message of Christian salvation was rejected, or did not have much direct impact on the religious beliefs of the Southern Tswana; the indirect and pervasive consequences of entering into the "long conversation" with the missionaries were a different matter. This resulted in the missionaries affecting their mode of perception and daily interactions in basic and significant ways even if they did not initially convert large numbers of the people to become members of their congregations. This amounted to nothing less than a discursive reconstruction of their communal identity.

The primary impact made by the Wesleyan missionaries flowed from their engagement with the Tswana in daily, routine domestic activities, persistently demonstrating their "superior" ability to control the environment around them. However, missionary activity was constrained by the resilience of Tswana society in not letting go of their social and spatial forms. This engagement, or "long conversation", between the Southern Tswana and Wesleyan missionaries, engendered a struggle for control over the signs and practices of ritual authority. These signs and practices consisted, amongst others, of elements like dress, spatial organisation, bodily gestures, productive techniques, and language.[87] It is here where our interest in the Comaroffs' study lies, in the discursive ways in which the missionaries managed to impact on local peoples. These are useful tools of analysis to apply in our exploration of the *transplantation, imposition and appropriation* of a Clarkson Moravian mission identity. In the sub-section following we will

---

[84] Comaroffs, Of Revelation and Revolution, Vol. 1, pp. 198-199.
[85] Jean and John L. Comaroff, 'The Colonisation of Consciousness in South Africa', Economy and Society 18: 3 (August 1989), pp. 289-290.
[86] Comaroffs, Of Revelation and Revolution, Vol. 1, pp. 198-199.

briefly summarise the Comaroffs' arguments on such discursive elements as "the politics of water", "the politics of production", and "the politics of spatial organisation"; and explore the relevance of each to our discourse analysis of the constructed and appropriated Moravian mission identity.

5.3.1 The Politics of Spatial Organisation and the Changing Spatial Landscape

In our applied discourse analysis we firstly give an account of Comaroffs treatment of the spatial organisation of the land in relation to the Southern Tswana, the missionaries' relation to the chief's customary authority and the round/square dichotomy. We then consider the spatial organisation of the land in relation to the Moravian mission among the Mfengu. We hereafter go on to analyse the Comaroffs treatment of the production of the land and the control of water in a similar comparative discussion. In the Comaroffs' case study of nineteenth century missionary activity among the Southern Tswana, spatial organisation is highlighted as a key discursive element in their transformation and assimilation into the Western moral economy. In Southern Tswana society the chief held the land on behalf of the people and had the responsibility of allocating portions of land to individuals. In this way the chief significantly conferred Tswana citizenship on each person who received land for residential and cultivation purposes.[88] According to the Comaroffs, the Southern Tswana lived together in large populous towns with the spiritual and social cohesion of the community held strongly together under the authority of the chief.[89] Since the Southern Tswana lived beyond the Northern Cape frontier, missionaries had to obtain permission from the chief to occupy and use the land for missionary purposes. The chief typically exercised his authority by allocating them with residential and arable land that was situated, not within the central town, but rather on the borders of his domain. In obedience to the chief's authority missionaries occupied the land allocated and lived on the periphery of the chief's polity.[90] The use and cultivation of the land by the Wesleyan missionaries also showed some measure of acceptance of the chief's sovereignty.[91] In many cases the Tswana chiefs only permitted missionary activity on their land after having received gifts from the Wesleyan missionaries, in particular guns and ammunition.[92] While these

---

[87] Jean Comaroff, Body of Power Spirit of Resistance: The Culture and History of a South African People (Chicago, University of Chicago Press, 1985), p. 10.
[88] Comaroffs, Of Revelation and Revolution, Vol. 1, pp. 200-201.
[89] Comaroffs, Of Revelation and Revolution, Vol. 1, pp. 204-205.
[90] Comaroffs, Of Revelation and Revolution, Vol. 1, pp. 201-203.
[91] Comaroffs, Of Revelation and Revolution, Vol. 1, p. 202.
[92] Comaroffs, Of Revelation and Revolution, Vol. 1, p. 201.

Wesleyan missionaries in these ways recognised the customary authority of the chief, they also persistently challenged it. According to the Comaroffs, they used every opportunity to move away from the periphery of Southern Tswana society and become more centrally located within the spatial organisation of the town. At Thaba 'Nchu they established their mission station in the centre of the town at the point where the territories of three chiefs met.[93] Their claim of having bought the land on behalf of the Southern Tswana people certainly challenged the Southern Tswana notion that land was held on behalf of the people by the chief. The establishment of a mission settlement among the Southern Tswana was a complex and ambiguous process in which the missionaries at first recognised the authority of the chiefs in order to obtain some land. They thereafter proceeded to utilise the land and alter its spatial organisation in ways that implicitly challenged and impacted on customary authority.

In her study of the Southern Tswana, Jean Comaroff described how the design of the Wesleyan mission station expressed the division between the sacred and the secular, the public and the private. The mission buildings consisted of distinct units for schooling, printing, and agricultural activity, reflecting the differentiated domains of the civilizing project.[94] Each mission building was composed of a square, freestanding, four-sided form into which other box-like shapes were placed with rational efficiency. In contrast, the Southern Tswana domestic architecture consisted of round structures.[95] According to Comaroff, the four-sided figure was the primary shape in the Western spatial-visual construction, and was embodied amongst others in the medieval Church, the page of a book, the market-square, and the enclosed field. Comaroff showed how the Wesleyan missionaries pressured converts to build neat "civilized" houses, which were square-shaped and built on fenced sites. According to Comaroff, these square-shaped buildings were associated with the propertied individual while missionaries regarded the round-shaped Tswana homestead as irrational undifferentiated heaps.[96] More generally, in *Of Revelation and Revolution*, the Comaroffs suggested that these perceived differences between Wesleyan missionaries and the indigenous people described two very distinct social orders, social powers, and spatial embodiments. They argued that it was these differences, which indicated some of the conflict prevailing in the "long conversation" and covert process of conversion of the Southern Tswana. More importantly, argued the Comaroffs, the

---

[93] Comaroffs, Of Revelation and Revolution, Vol. 1, p. 206.
[94] Comaroff, Body of Power Spirit of Resistance, p. 142.
[95] Comaroff, Body of Power Spirit of Resistance, p. 142.
[96] Comaroff, Body of Power Spirit of Resistance, p. 143.

Tswana slowly internalised (and began to take for granted) the distinctions and relations made by the Wesleyan missionaries within this conversation.[97]

In the case of the Moravian missionaries at Clarkson, it was not primarily the chiefs but the colonial authorities at the Cape who granted the land to them to be held in trust for and on behalf of the Mfengu. The crucial difference was that the Clarkson mission station was located well within the Cape Colony. Significantly, the Moravian missionaries requested permission from the group of Mfengu residing at Clarkson to settle among them and to use a portion of the land for missionary purposes. In a sense they did not need to do this since the land was not at the disposal of the Mfengu chiefs who themselves were dependent on land grants from colonial authorities. In this sense then, the mere presence of the Moravian mission on the land could not be taken to imply their acceptance of the chief's sovereignty over the land. However, the interactions between them and the Mfengu at Clarkson were inevitably more ambiguous and contested. The missionaries did not simply rely on the fact that the allocation of land was a matter for the colonial authorities rather than the local chiefs: by asking "permission" they recognised some measure of authority for the latter. Moreover, the colonial land grant for the missionary settlement was not unqualified. The Deed of Grant specified that the land was to be held on behalf of and in trust for the Mfengu. These ambiguous contestations are then played out at the level of practical interaction.[98] In practice the missionary settlement among, and in conjunction with, the Mfengu involved various interventions in their customs and social practices. Many of the members of the Mfengu community, including the local chief, were offended by these missionaries' interventions and decided to leave Clarkson in 1841.[99] The departure of the chief meant that the authority of the Moravian missionaries at Clarkson was now undisputed even though the terms of their formal rights, as stipulated in the Deed of Grant, remained ambiguous. Moravian missionaries exercised their rights in land by demarcating plots for residential and cultivation purposes that formed a neat regular pattern bordering the street leading up to the werf, i.e. the town centre of the mission settlement. The mission residence with its cultivated garden, the watercourse, the watermill, the school and the church, were

[97] Comaroffs, Of Revelation and Revolution, Vol. 1, p. 206.
[98] See discussion on Clarkson land in section 4.6 of this dissertation.
[99] A more detailed discussion of the establishment of the Moravian mission station among the Mfengu of the Tsitsikamma is given in section 4.6 of this dissertation.

central to the development of the mission's town centre.[100] Qualifying converts were required to fence their individual plots of land.[101]

Taking our cue from the Comaroffs' account of the Wesleyan mission among the Southern Tswana comparison with the Moravian mission in the Tsitsikamma reveals significant similarities. The four-sided Western spatial design visually depicted the identity of the Moravian missionaries' residents. They introduced and enforced adherence to Western spatial conceptions among converts at all the Moravian mission stations in the Cape Colony. Notably at Clarkson Moravian missionaries stipulated very clear building specifications in their rules and regulations for the mission station. These building specifications were later incorporated in the Clarkson Constitution as "only permanent houses with at least three rooms may be built. Each room must have at least one window ... every family must have their own separate house".[102] Houses had to be built according to these specifications as stipulated in the Clarkson constitution. Already in 1841 the Moravian missionary, Nauhaus, wrote about the:

> "great ... change [which] has taken place in the appearance of this settlement, that whoever had seen it during the last two years, would hardly know it again ... this change is but a faint representation of the spiritual change which has been affected among the Fingoos, by simply preaching of the word of the cross, and the application of this saving doctrine to their hearts".[103] (Underscoring has been added)

The "great change" was concerned with the growing mission station with its neatly spaced square-shaped, three-roomed houses with windows - legitimating the order and regularity of the organised mission space. Over time these neat shapes, spaces, and demarcated individual places came to be gradually taken-for-granted as common sense assumptions by residents of the mission station. Implicitly members of the Clarkson mission community exercised individual entitlement to their allocated plots of land, their square-shaped houses and individually fenced gardens. They also developed a communal entitlement to the Clarkson mission station as a

---

[100] L. Le Grange, 'Moravian Mission Stations in the Western and Southern Cape Conservation Study', (School of Architecture and Planning, University of Cape Town, March 1991), p. 32.
[101] Krüger, The Pear Tree Blossoms, p. 202.
[102] Moravian Archive, Clarkson Moravian Mission Station Constitution, article 15. Translated from the original text "slegs vaste huise met ten minste 3 vertrekke mag opgerig word. Elke vertrek moet ten minste een venster hê ... elke huisgesin moet sy aparte woning hê".
[103] 'Particulars of Intelligence Respecting the Missions of the United Brethren', p. 12. Nauhaus' use of the notion of representation is significant. Nauhaus evidently regards the "spiritual change ... affected by the Fingos" as the fundamental reality of which changes in the appearance of the settlement is "only a faint representation". The

missionary community, exemplified in the spatial organisation of the settlement. This naturalisation of meaning legitimated the Moravian mission community's rights in the Clarkson land, but it also legitimated the rights in land held by the Moravian missionaries and the authority they exercised over access to, and the use of the mission land. It was through the allocation of individual plots of land that members of the mission settlement became propertied individuals within the Cape colonial society. By demarcating the land into separate, individual residential and agricultural plots, the Moravian missionary discourse contributed both towards producing notions of private property and establishing and sustaining relations of colonial domination. In these respects the Moravian and Wesleyan missionary discourses are similar.

But not all the houses at Clarkson were square-shaped and built according to the Moravian missionary specifications. Irrigated garden plots with evenly spaced square-shaped houses appeared on one side of the street and contrasted with the round-shaped houses belonging to the Mfengu who resided alongside and outside the jurisdiction of the mission, on the opposite side of the street.[104] In a report written in 1863 a missionary described one of the Mfengu houses as having "... neither windows nor chimneys, the only opening being the entrance, which is so low that you must enter creeping."[105] Evidently these Mfengu persisted with their customary practices despite the insistence of the Moravian missionaries at Clarkson that all houses built under their jurisdiction should be permanent structures with at least three rooms and each room having at least one window. To encourage compliance with their building regulations, the Moravian missionaries offered a housing subsidy to converts seeking membership at the Clarkson mission station.[106] The emerging-square shaped three-roomed houses, with windows, were markedly different to the round windowless dwellings of the Mfengu that stood scattered across the land from the other side of the street onwards. In their study of the Southern Tswana the Comaroffs suggested that such emerging differences in the shape of dwellings, was an "expression of two very distinct social orders and spatial organisation".[107] They further suggest that such differences indicated that the "landscape itself began to give expression to a dawning confrontation between two cultures – each becoming more visible ... as they struggled for dominance".[108] Similarly the street at Clarkson, with its

---

Comaroffs and I are actually concerned with the opposite - that is changes in the spatial organisation of the land that were fundamental in bringing about the eventual conversion of the Tswana and Mfengu.

[104] Schmidt, 'Die Sendingwerk van die Broederkerk in Suid Afrika', no date, p. 58.

[105] Periodical Accounts, xxiv: cclix (June 1863), p. 553.

[106] Krüger, The Pear Tree Blossoms, p. 204-205.

[107] Comaroffs, Of Revelation and Revolution, Vol. 1, p. 206.

[108] Comaroffs, Of Revelation and Revolution, Vol. 1, p. 206.

contrasting round and square-shaped houses, indicated such a cultural confrontation. The dispersed pattern of the houses of the residing Mfengu differed significantly to the organised, controlled, and ordered space characterising the newly established domain of the Moravian missionary settlement.[109] By 1883 a visitor to the Clarkson mission station recalled:

> "The settlement makes a pleasing impression upon the visitor with its neat little church, its schoolhouse, and its mission houses shaded by trees. The inhabitants are in fairly comfortably circumstances, as is seen at once by the appearance on their carefully cultivated gardens and plots of land, and the interior of some of their houses".[110]

In the Southern Tswana case study of the Comaroffs, as in the Moravian missionaries utilised their Western conceptions of spatiality to change the landscape at Clarkson and discursively produce representations of difference between the orderly converts residing on the one side, against the disorderly Mfengu residing on the other side of the mission street. If these representations of difference between Clarksoner converts and the Mfengu represented a neat dichotomy, actual practices were more ambiguous. On at least one occasion a Moravian missionary observed that about twelve miles away from Clarkson "the circular habitations of these people [the "Fingo"] are placed in two rows forming a street".[111] These Mfengu dwellings were not dispersed or spread out across the land, but were rather neatly arranged in two rows. Forming a street it reflected the indirect impact of both missionary and colonial spatial organisation. The ordered arrangement of the houses in the "Mfengu street" could be taken as a mixed mode with the round shapes of the "circular habitations" indicating the persistence of indigenous practices. This mixed mode of spatial organisation in the Tsitsikamma indicates a difference with the Comaroffs' analysis, and serves to qualify the notion of a landscape beginning to give expression to a "dawning confrontation" as was the case with the Southern Tswana.[112]

If at one level we can trace the direct and indirect missionary impact *on* the indigenous peoples through the actual spatial organisation of the missionary settlements, then at another level we can follow the representations *of* indigenous peoples like the Mfengu *in* the Moravian missionary discourse. At this level, too, there is a contrast of (Western/civilised) square shapes and order against (indigenous/uncivilised) round shapes and disorder. However, this should

---

[109] Krüger, The Pear Tree Blossoms, p. 204-205.
[110] Periodical Accounts, xxxii: 340 (September 1883), p. 509.
[111] Periodical Accounts, xxiv: cclii (September 1861), pp. 70-71.

not necessarily be taken as a true reflection of the social reality and historical interaction. Thus the square/round dichotomy (differentiating Clarksoners and Mfengu as discursive objects) may have persisted at the level of the missionary discourse even after this contrast had in social reality been (partially) transformed by the impact of the missionary project itself. To the extent that this happened, the persistence of this dichotomy *in* the missionary discourse itself served to conceal the presence of these converted Mfengu who had been incorporated into the community and structure of the Clarkson mission settlement. In this respect it is possible to argue that these representations in the Moravian missionary discourse functioned as a strategy of dissimulation masking (possible) factors of similarity between the Mfengu and the Clarksoner. A missionary recalled in 1861 how a "Fingo" expressed that "many of my countrymen have left us and gone away, so that but few of us still remain in the settlement. But I think we can live here in peace".[113] This reflected that some "Fingos" had been taken up as part of the Clarksoner community. But by the beginning of the 1900s Moravian missionaries asserted that "the Fingoes ... have for the most part left the place ... their mode of life – so unlike the coloured people – would not permit them to settle down".[114] On the one hand, the Tsitsikamma Mfengu were assumed as being able to live in peace at Clarkson, while on the other hand they were represented as having a mode of life that did not permit them to settle down. Such inconsistencies and contradictions prevalent in the spatial representations of difference of Clarksoner/Mfengu concealed the effective inclusion of some Mfengu into the missionary community at Clarkson. The function of such strategies of dissimulation in the Moravian missionary discourse was to conceal the diversity of the Clarkson missionary community and their social, political, and historical links with the Mfengu of the Tsitsikamma; in particular their links with those Mfengu who had initially resided alongside the mission settlement on the Koksbosch farm, that later became known as the Clarkson land.

5.3.2 The Politics of Production and the Cultivation of the Land

The most visible changes to the spatial landscape were the square-shaped buildings and enclosed gardens that both the Wesleyan and Moravian missionaries introduced at their respective mission stations. Such re-organisation of space was linked to, and reinforced by, the emerging new modes of agricultural production. In their study of the Southern Tswana, the

---

[112] Comaroffs, Of Revelation and Revolution, vol. 1, p. 206.
[113] Periodical Accounts, xxiv: cclii (September 1861), p. 71.
[114] Periodical Accounts, v: 53 (March 1903), p. 225.

Comaroffs describe the Wesleyan missionary's belief in the direct relation between the civilisation of the Tswana peoples and their participation in agricultural production.[115] These Wesleyan missionaries believed that by engaging (potential) converts in new forms of agricultural production the Tswana would become peaceful, law-abiding and governable persons.[116] These agricultural activities typically took place within the confined spaces of enclosed gardens. The garden thus represented the civilising mission of the Wesleyan missionaries, and depicted the industriousness of their civilising colonial world in contrast to the "idleness" of the Tswana.[117]

The Wesleyan missionaries introduced agricultural production among the Tswana by demonstrating the use of the plough, the operation of simple irrigation devices, and the cultivation of high-yielding crops. Together these contributed towards the transformation of the Tswana's subsistence mode of production and brought this into closer association with the colonial political economy.[118] The introduction of the plough had far-reaching consequences. By utilising the plough the Wesleyan missionaries introduced a more effective exploitation of the land, albeit short-term. Altogether, the use of the plough,[119] the operation of irrigation systems and the planting of a higher quality seed ensured that the Tswana land could yield a greater surplus. By utilising the plough the Tswana were also forced to use their cattle in the cultivation of the land. This resulted in the intersection of agriculture and pastoralism. It also brought about consequential changes in gender relations. Pre-colonial Tswana women held prominent positions in subsistence agriculture but were prohibited from managing cattle. Women cultivated the land using the hoe. Since use of the plough required the use of cattle in cultivating the land, Tswana women came to be excluded from agricultural production. As reliance on the plough in agricultural production steadily increased, Tswana women lost the control and power they had exercised over their crop production.[120] Men now dominated a domain of production previously managed and controlled by women.[121] The Comaroffs conclude that in their long conversation with the Tswana, the Wesleyan missionary values of disciplined labour, forceful domination of nature, private property, the importance of individual

---

[115] Comaroffs, 'The Colonisation of Consciousness in South Africa', pp. 277-278.
[116] Comaroffs, 'The Colonisation of Consciousness in South Africa', p. 278.
[117] Comaroffs, 'The Colonisation of Consciousness in South Africa', pp. 273-278.
[118] Comaroff, Body of Power Spirit of Resistance, p. 145.
[119] Useful for our discussion is Leon de Kock's description of the historical dynamic that "Old" Soga found himself in, being gradually forced to accept Western cultural codes like the use of the plough, the irrigation of his lands, and the marketing of his crops. See Civilising Barbarians: Missionary narrative and African Textual Response in 19th Century South Africa (Johannesburg, Witwatersrand University Press, 2001), pp. 58-59.
[120] Comaroffs, 'The Colonisation of Consciousness in South Africa', p. 280.

human effort, and the accumulation of a surplus within the confined spaces of fenced gardens, gradually replaced the pre-colonial/traditional social order.[122]

To what extent can the Comaroffs discursive analysis of the politics of production be applied to our examination of the construction of a Moravian missionary identity in the Tsitsikamma? What was the significance of new modes of land cultivation and agricultural production on the conversion process embarked on by Moravian missionaries at Clarkson? To begin with, it can be noted that agricultural production at the Clarkson Moravian mission station also took place within the confined spaces of the neatly fenced gardens. Each cultivated garden effectively displayed the converts' adherence to, and practice of, missionary teachings of the dignity of labour. The belief in the dignity of labour through the cultivation of the land was an important element of the Moravian ethic and a central theme in the Moravian missionary project and served to meet colonial labour demands. In a report written in 1858 a Moravian missionary wrote that "during this month many of our people were absent, being engaged at work with the neighbouring farmers. We were, however, glad to see that they nearly all returned at the beginning of the Passion-week".[123] Colonists certainly favoured the employment of hardworking, docile, and faithful mission labourers who were familiar with the work of agricultural production. In a memorandum submitted to the Governor in 1864, the colonial Commissioner, Charles Brownlee, proposed that the "moral and material advancement of a barbarous people can be promoted ... [by] encouraging them to improve the ground they occupy ... [through] fostering in them habits of industry ... cutting watercourses ... [and] ground when exhausted ... would be manured ... instead of depending on the uncertain rains".[124] Brownlee's proposals were very similar to the Moravian missionary teachings of dignified and disciplined labour practised by cultivating the land. In addition to members of the mission station being employed on colonial farms a considerable number of converts from Clarkson were also employed by colonial authorities to take part in the repair of roads.[125] A Moravian missionary reported in 1875 that "some of the people have been employed by the boers; others have obtained work on the new road that was being constructed".[126] These accounts showed that converts' adherence to the Moravian Ethic in time extended from cultivating their individual garden plots at the mission station to cultivating the land of a neighbouring colonial farmer as

---

[121] Comaroff, Body of Power Spirit of Resistance, p. 146.
[122] Comaroffs, 'The Colonisation of Consciousness in South Africa', p. 278.
[123] Periodical Accounts, xxii: cxl (September 1858), p. 496.
[124] Cape Archive, CA 49 -'65, Brownlee, Memorandum, 1864.
[125] Periodical Accounts, xxiv: cclii (September 1861), p. 71.

labourers, and to constructing/repairing roads as labourers in the colony's public-works programme. In these ways they were being incorporated into the larger colonial political economy. Colin Bundy, in *The Rise and Fall of the South African Peasantry*, has described the emergence of an indigenous peasantry in response to the political and economic pressures arising from their forceful integration into the Cape colonial economy. He shows how the Mfengu, Thembu, Gcaleka, Ngqikas and others could adjust as peasants by adopting the plough and other implements, as well as new methods of cultivation to increase their agricultural productivity. These groups of emerging peasants produced a surplus and sold their produce on an expanding colonial market.[127] This emerging peasantry, many of whom were connected to mission settlements, came from such places as Peddie, Fort Beaufort, Tyhume, Fingoland, Clarkebury and Herschel.[128]

The Mfengu from the Tsitsikamma were not included in Bundy's study of an emerging peasantry in South Africa and their trajectory appears to have been rather different. In the case of the inhabitants of the Clarkson Moravian mission station, agricultural production did not appear to have been sufficient for producing a surplus. The entry of many Clarksoners, especially men, into the colonial labour market as farm labourers or workers in the Cape colony's road works programmes resulted in lengthy periods of absence from the mission station. This affected their availability and must have impacted on their ability to subsist, as well as produce a surplus, from the land. In the absence of men at the mission station, women emerged as successful subsistence farmers and garden cultivators who managed the combined labour of the household children. By 1903 a Moravian missionary from Clarkson reported that "garden ground for the people is limited and the land is not valuable. Drought and locusts have caused much devastation ... The main employment for the men is road-making".[129] The proletarianisation of the Clarkson mission community was largely complete by 1910 with the Clarksoners having become fairly dependent on the labour market of the Union. In the Moravian missionary discourse the Clarksoners had been constructed as disciplined labourers thereby contributing to sustained relations of colonial domination at the Cape.

---

[126] Periodical Accounts, (March 1875), p. 290.

[127] J. Lewis, 'The Rise and Fall of the South African Peasantry: A Critique', (Unpublished paper, Centre for African Studies, University of Cape Town, 1983), pp. 1-22; R. Bouch, 'The Mfengu Revisited: The 19th Century Experience of one Mfengu Community through the Eyes of Historians and Contemporaries' (London, Societies of Southern Africa in the Nineteenth and Twentieth Century, Institute of Commonwealth Studies, 1992), Vol. 17, pp. 81-87; R.A. Moyer, 'A History of the Mfengu of the Eastern Cape: 1815-1865' (Ph.D. thesis, School of Oriental and African Studies, London University, 1976), p. 415; C. Bundy, The Rise and Fall of the South African Peasantry (London, Heinemann, 1979).

[128] Bundy, The Rise and Fall of the South African Peasantry, pp. 44-151.

The Moravian missionary project required converts to daily demonstrate their industriousness as disciplined and dignified labourers by cultivating the neatly fenced garden plots. Disciplined and dignified labour at Clarkson meant following a process for successful land cultivation as defined by the Moravian missionaries. A particularly important aspect of Moravian land use was the fertilisation of the soil with manure. The Moravian missionaries also found the soil to be of a rather poor quality; hence their insistence that the ground be fertilised first before seeds were sown. On one level the fertilisation of the soil with manure is a non-discursive material practice. The fertilisation of the soil with manure followed by the sowing of fruit beating seeds, are causal linkages in the process of cultivating the land. But Moravian missionaries did not only introduce the use of manure instrumentally to increase the productivity of their seed crops. They also linked the fertilisation of the soil with elements of the historical Moravian seed narrative. The missionary discourse depicted the missionary approach adopted in the Tsitsikamma as steadily preparing the soil used for cultivation by first fertilising it so that the "fruit bearing seeds"[130] could grow into "branches of the vine".[131] The Mfengu converts were represented in the missionary discourse as "fruit bearing seeds" and "branches of the vine". Such representations are variations of the metaphor of the seed in the Moravian historical narrative. In utilising these motifs of the seed metaphor, missionaries discursively incorporated the Clarkson mission station into the Moravian historical narrative and connected the mission station to the Genadendal missionary community, the Herrnhuters and the early Unitas Fratrum. In the Moravian missionary discourse the process of land cultivation that required users of the land to first fertilise the soil with manure differentiated the Clarkson missionary community from the Tsitsikamma Mfengu. In the Moravian missionary discourse the Clarksoners were depicted on the one hand as people who fertilised and prepared the soil, with the Mfengu on the other hand depicted as people who never took the trouble to manure the land.

The approach adopted by Moravian missionaries to engage the Mfengu by the example of steadily cultivating the land was incorporated in their daily routine at the mission station. This was not always successful. They demonstrated to (potential) Mfengu converts that the fertilisation of the soil with manure made the land more productive and manageable. But many

---

[129] Periodical Accounts, v: 53 (March 1903), p. 225.
[130] Periodical Accounts, xxiv: cclv (June 1862), p. 286 and Periodical Accounts, xxxii: 340 (September 1883), p. 509.
[131] Periodical Accounts, xxiv: ccliv (March 1862), p. 238; Periodical Accounts, xxviii: 299 (June 1873), p. 478; and Periodical Accounts, xxxii: 331 (June 1881), p. 40.

Mfengu did not follow their examples of land control and management. Missionaries regularly complained about the reluctance of the Mfengu to fertilise the soil with manure. They asserted that the unwillingness of the Mfengu to use manure aggravated the poor quality of the soil.[132] But the Mfengu believed that the use of animal manure polluted the soil and therefore refused to fertilise it in this way. At first Moravian missionaries engaged the Mfengu chief residing on the Koksbosch farm, Captain Manqoba, and obtained his approval for the soil to be fertilised by members of his community.[133] However, soon hereafter in 1841 Captain Mangoba left Clarkson. Two decades later, in the 1865 report on Clarkson, a missionary wrote "... the natives ... find the ground good for growing buck-wheat, but after a few years it is completely exhausted, because the Fingoes never take the trouble to manure it. Thus the country becomes barren, and the water supply diminishes".[134] The report indicated that the Tsitsikamma Mfengu persisted in their refusal to fertilise the soil with manure. These experiences and contrasts became part of the discursive construction of missionary identity and was discursively constructed in relation to the Mfengu through opposing representations of their practices of land use. Land used by the "Fingo" was most frequently represented as being exhausted, barren and having a limited water supply. However, there was one instance where a Moravian missionary gave an account of his visit to Wittekleibosch in 1865 and wrote "some Brethren rode over to Wittekleibosch to make arrangements for regular preaching to the Fingoos who reside in that district ... [on] land granted to them by government. The Brethren were surprised to find large tracts of cultivated land, with good crops of wheat and maize".[135] In this untypical account, the large tracts of land used and cultivated by the Mfengu at Wittekleibosch with its good crops of wheat and maize were a surprise to the missionary who expected to see an infertile and fruitless land. In general Moravian missionaries described the Mfengu as refusing to fertilise the soil before cultivation. Representations of the Clarksoners' use of land in the missionary discourse also concerned the fertilisation of the soil in the process of land cultivation. In 1867 the Moravian missionary, Weiz, described his participation in land cultivation at Clarkson in a report and wrote that "we have done all we could to encourage our people to take to cultivating ground more steadily than hitherto ... we missionaries take part in all kinds of secular labour ... to show our people the connection between prayer and working".[136] This shows the discursive connection between the Moravian conversion process

[132] Moyer, 'A History of the Mfengu of the Eastern Cape', pp. 366-367.
[133] Krüger, The Pear Tree Blossoms, pp. 202-203.
[134] Periodical Accounts, xxv: cclxviii (September 1865), p. 462.
[135] Periodical Accounts, xxv: cclxviii (September 1865), p. 463.
[136] Periodical Accounts, xxvi: cclxxvi (September 1867), p. 283.

and work in cultivating the land. The encouragement given to steady land use and cultivation formed part of an overall process of conversion aimed at transforming the mode of subsistence of the indigenous peoples. Again in 1875 missionaries wrote that:

> "We have done all we could to encourage our people [the Clarksoners] to take to cultivating the ground... the soil is not very fruitful ... the land so recently brought under cultivation ... supplied us with all the grain we required, whereas the old fields were overrun with worms and beetles so no crops could be obtained, which would repay the trouble of reaping".[137] (Underscored has been added)

Evidently the discursive contrasts misrepresented actual commonalities in productive practices and experience. On the one hand the land used and cultivated by the Mfengu was consistently described as old fields that were worm and beetle invested and in need of a proper system of crop rotation. While on the other hand the Clarksoners' land use was described as also being not very fruitful though with the teachings and encouragement of the missionaries successful cultivation should be feasible. However, in 1875 the missionary, Hettasch, reported that "want still rests with a heavy hand over our congregation. The little that the gardens produced having long since been consumed ... we had a similar season of trial ... eight years ago".[138] In 1881 a missionary reported further that "the produce of the fields [at Clarkson] has proved below the average in consequence of the extremes of heat and moisture, which have marked the season".[139] Once again, the Clarkson crops were not very successful. These accounts reveal that the missionary community was not able to subsist on the produce cultivated in their individual garden plots. In fact the later reports show that the Clarksoners had become an impoverished community. These later accounts contradict the sustained representations of Clarksoners as successful land cultivators. Such inconsistencies, albeit limited, reveal the function of strategies of dissimulation in the Moravian missionary discourse. These served to conceal the instances of wellbeing and successful land use by the Mfengu on the one hand, and instances of impoverishment and unsuccessful land use by the Clarksoners on the other hand.

More generally these tensions and contradictions in the practices and discourse of land cultivation bear on underlying questions of the legitimacy and entitlement to land held in the

---

[137] Periodical Accounts, (March 1875), p. 290
[138] Periodical Accounts, (March 1875), p. 290.
[139] Periodical Accounts, xxxii: 331 (June 1881), p. 40.

Tsitsikamma by missionaries, Clarksoners and the Mfengu. The Moravian discourse and claims of successful land cultivation by the missionary community relates to the traditional Western notion of the pioneer's right to land by working the land productively. The representation of the Clarksoners as successful users of the mission land as contrasted with the unproductive practices of the Mfengu discursively connected their constructed communal missionary identity with, and legitimated their rights in, the Clarkson mission land. Moravian missionaries depicted the Mfengu as having no regard for the land they used and who was as result unsuccessful cultivators thereof. By representing the Mfengu as unproductive and fruitless land users in the Moravian missionary discourse, missionaries asserted the legitimacy of their own claim of entitlement to, and rights in the Clarkson land.

5.3.3 The Politics of Water

Access to, the control of, and the management of, water were important ingredients in the cultivation of the land. In considering the Comaroffs' discursive analysis of the politics of water in relation to the Tswana we will also address the function of the discursive use of the politics of water in the conversion process. Jean Comaroff described how the Wesleyan missionaries set about demonstrating that, unlike the Tswana, their access to water was not dependent on rainfall.[140] The Wesleyan missionaries dug wells into the ground and used the water for domestic and agricultural purposes. The reliance on rainfall was a constant factor of uncertainly and a significant constraint for the Tswana.[141] The Tswana had special rainmaking rites to ensure a regular rainfall. The rainmaking rituals were an important aspect of the productive cycle of Tswana public life, and were a meaningful part of the chief's exercise of power within his polity.[142] The Tswana believed that regular annual rainfall represented the strength given to the land and the people by the chief or a rainmaker of his choice.[143] However, the Tswana also believed that the rainmaker could only use his/her power if the community was in a state of moral balance. They believed that human conflict polluted the cosmic order and created the heat, which dried up the rain.[144]

---

[140] Comaroff, Body of Power Spirit of Resistance, p. 139.
[141] Comaroffs, 'The Colonisation of Consciousness in South Africa', p. 273.
[142] Comaroffs, Of Revelation and Revolution, Vol. 1, p. 207.
[143] Comaroffs, 'The Colonisation of Consciousness in South Africa', pp. 272-273.
[144] Comaroffs, 'The Colonisation of Consciousness in South Africa', pp. 274-175.

These rainmaking beliefs and rituals of the Tswana were challenged when the Wesleyan missionaries dug their boreholes and used the water to irrigate their gardens. [145] The Comaroffs argued that when the Wesleyan missionaries dug their boreholes to irrigate their gardens they showed that water could be retrieved from the ground at will as opposed to relying on the annual rainfall for their supply of water. Moreover, these missionaries persistently engaged the Tswana on their beliefs in rainmaking, asserting that it was the Christian God and not the chief or rainmaker who had the ultimate control over the source of water. The Comaroffs described the determination of the Wesleyan missionaries to eradicate the Tswana rainmaking rites and thereby weaken the spiritual base and legitimacy of the Tswana chief and his rainmaker.[146] In the "long conversation" between Missionary and chief, Wesleyan missionaries insisted that water belonged in the domain of technical management and not in the domain of ritual. But, argued the Comaroffs, there was a contradiction in the evangelical message. On the one hand the Wesleyan missionaries claimed that the production of water depended on technical innovation, while on the other hand they asserted that the Christian God provided a superior supply of water in effect making themselves rainmakers of a competing order.[147]

The Comaroffs argued that the conversation over who controls the source of water had a significant impact on the Wesleyan missionaries themselves. In their study they described how the Wesleyan missionaries extended their liturgical calendar to include special rainmaking services into the regular cycle of their church activities.[148] Conversely, by entering into this "conversation" over the source and control of water, the Southern Tswana became implicated in modes of rational debate and empirical reasoning making them systematically internalise the very terms they challenged.[149] In this account of the Comaroffs' treatment of the politics of water, we may distinguish its significance in the different contexts and/or at different levels. First there was the level of technical control over natural resources. Here missionaries demonstrated their control over water by digging wells for irrigation purposes. Second there was the level of ritual/symbolic power. Here missionaries presented themselves as superior rainmakers in competition with the chief and his rainmaker. Third there was the level of knowledge and understanding. Here missionaries somewhat contradictorily asserted that

---

[145] Comaroffs, Of Revelation and Revolution, Vol. 1, p. 209.
[146] Comaroffs, 'The Colonisation of Consciousness in South Africa', p. 274.
[147] Comaroffs, 'The Colonisation of Consciousness in South Africa', p. 274. See also Comaroffs, Of Revelation and Revolution, Vol. 1, pp. 208-209.
[148] Comaroffs, Of Revelation and Revolution, Vol. 1, pp. 212-213.
[149] Comaroffs, Of Revelation and Revolution, Vol. 1, p. 213.

natural causes/the Christian/the Christian God provided a better explanation of the ultimate source of water. Fourth there was the level of the "long conversation" between the missionary project and indigenous cultures, which underlay the more overt exchanges and challenges to particular beliefs. The critical moment of the colonisation process, according to the Comaroffs, was when all these different levels converged and came together.[150] The politics of water control was one of the important elements utilised by missionaries in the covert process of conversion, which over time became taken-for-granted in the everyday routine activities of the Southern Tswana people.

When applying the Comaroffs' discursive analysis of the politics of water in our investigations of the construction of a Moravian missionary identity at Clarkson, we likewise explore the significance of the control and management of water in relation to both the process of identity formation in the missionary settlement and in relation to its role in the process of conversion of the Mfengu. Following their settlement on the Koksbosch farm in the Tsitsikamma, Moravian missionaries sought to ensure that they had a regular supply of water for their layed-out garden plots. They dug water trenches, and meticulously lead the water from the mountain slopes to their gardens. Like the Wesleyan missionaries among the Tswana, the Moravian missionaries in the case of Clarkson demonstrated to the Mfengu that -- unlike them -- they were not solely reliant on a regular annual rainfall for their supply of water. In 1844 Moravian missionaries at Clarkson constructed a water mill and later built a wagon-path across the mountain range in order to make the water mill more accessible to colonial farmers from the surrounding areas of the Tsitsikamma. In so doing they demonstrated to the Mfengu that access to, and the use of, water could be managed and controlled.

We have not explored the beliefs and rituals of the Mfengu in celebrating the source of water. However, from the limited primary material available we may note a report written by a Moravian missionary regarding a sangoma who had "opened his heart to the influence of the gospel ... formerly ... [she had] considered missionaries as enemies ... almost as ravenous beasts".[151] From the primary material available there is no indication that the sangoma was a rainmaker. Her former enmity to the missionaries also does not appear to have anything to do with their demonstrated control over water.

---

[150] Comaroffs, 'The Colonisation of Consciousness in South Africa', p. 277.
[151] 'Particulars of Intelligence Respecting the Missions of the United Brethren', pp. 13-14.

Ironically, Clarkson did experience severe water shortages. In 1903 a missionary reported that "drought ... have caused much devastation during the past decade".[152] Given their experiences of water shortages Moravian missionaries made a very clear distinction between water used for domestic and drinking purposes and the water used for agricultural purposes at Clarkson. According to the Clarkson Constitution "the two furrows next to Church Street and Bazia Street is drinking water furrows and may not be dirtied ... the furrows may not be used as drinking water for cattle ... also the water furrows must be kept clean ... for furrows to the gardens and agricultural land application must be made".[153] The water trenches or furrows running down the street in front of each house were for domestic use only and were not to be used by the cattle, sheep or goats owned by residents at Clarkson. Water officials were appointed within the Clarkson mission community to oversee the adherence of residents to the water regulations.[154] In terms of the Clarkson Constitution a distinction was made in the usage of, and participation in the daily management of water required by all members of the mission station. As water was managed and regulated it became an important element of the Moravian Ethic as applied at the Clarkson Moravian mission station.

The selected discursive elements from the Comaroffs study of missionary activities among the Tswana were found to be very useful when applied in our investigations of the constructed Clarksoner Moravian missionary identity. By utilising these discursive elements we were able to reveal some of the inconsistencies prevalent within the Moravian missionary discourse that masked a mixed mode of spatiality among a group of Mfengu, and which concealed instances of impoverished/successful land use among the Clarksoners and Mfengu respectively. In addition, the application of the Comaroffs' elements of discursive analysis displayed more clearly how the missionary discourse reflected and added to the ambiguity surrounding the extent of rights in land held by the Moravian missionaries, the Clarkson missionary community, and the Mfengu.

---

[152] Periodical Accounts, v: 53 (March 1903), p. 225.
[153] Moravian Archive, Clarkson Moravian Mission Station Constitution, article 23 has been translated from "die twee slote wat langs Grootstraat en Baziastraat loop is drinkwaterslote en mag nie vuil gemaak word nie ... die slote mag nie as drinkwater vir vee gebruik word nie ... Ook die waterslote moet skoon wees ... vir slote na kampe moet applikasie ... gemaak word".
[154] Moravian Archive, Clarkson Moravian Mission Station Constitution, article 23.

5.4 Conclusion

In this chapter we have been concerned with how the Clarkson Moravian mission identity was constructed in the Moravian missionary discourse and connected to land. By applying the Comaroffs' elements of discursive analysis of the politics of spatiality, production and water we were able to give some account of the elements that went into the construction of this communal identity. In our application of these discursive elements, we unveiled some of the inconsistencies and contradictions prevalent in the dissimulated meanings of transformed spatiality and land cultivation utilised in producing the constructed Clarksoner Moravian missionary identity in relation to the Tsitsikamma Mfengu. Even more important in this applied discursive analysis was the way in which the meanings given to the successful transformation of the "native" spatial landscape and the flourishing cultivated land were a reflection of the ambiguous rights in Clarkson land held by Moravian missionaries. By connecting meanings mobilised in the construction of the Clarksoner Moravian mission identity to the issue of land use in the missionary discourse, the rights in land of the Clarkson mission community emerged as an important factor in their communal identity.

In establishing who constituted the Clarkson missionary community we showed that it consisted of two groups of indigenous peoples. First there was the "nucleus" of Khoisan converts who accompanied the missionaries in establishing the Clarkson mission station in accordance with the Moravian narrative of the seed. Added to this group were some Khoisan and ex-slaves from the Tsitsikamma who joined the missionary community. The second group consisted of some Mfengu alongside whom the Moravian missionaries had settled at Clarkson, who joined the mission station and became members of the mission community. As Clarkson members they chose to accept and adhere to, and advance the imposed rituals and doctrine of the Moravian Ethic. But their inclusion as members of the mission community was concealed in the Moravian missionary discourse. Through this dissimulation of meaning the Clarkson Moravian missionary community was constructed and differentiated from the Tsitsikamma Mfengu. With the Mfengu constructed as the idle and indifferent other who did not belong to the mission station, the Clarksoners were represented as a devout, orderly and industrious people who belonged to the mission station. Hidden in the dissimulation of meaning was the membership of some, albeit a few, Mfengu at the Clarkson mission station. This Moravian missionary community at Clarkson cannot therefore be said to only have Khoisan and ex-slave origins, but also had Mfengu

origins. Yet these origins were rendered invisible by the increasing ethnicisation of the Mfengu in the Moravian missionary discourse.

In our discursive analysis of the constructed Clarksoner Moravian missionary identity, continuity was produced in the missionary discourse between Clarkson and the commencement/renewal of the Moravian mission at the Cape in Genadendal by utilising elements of the Moravian narrative as a historical resource. The metaphor of the seed, an important element of the Moravian narrative, appears in various forms in the missionary discourse regarding Clarkson. These include the "fruits of faith", the "fruit bearing seed", the "fruit that blossoms and bears fruit", the "Lords vineyard", "branches to the vine", the "bright red strawberry", and "labourers in His harvest". These variations of the seed metaphor legitimated the historical connection produced in the missionary discourse between Clarkson, the older Moravian mission station at the Cape, and the very old history of the Moravians that dates back to the Unitas Fratrum in Czechoslovakia of the 1400s. The history of the Moravians as presented by the missionaries through the narrative of the seed gave the disparate group of Khoisan, ex-slaves, and "native Fingo" peoples at the Clarkson mission station a common history and a sense of common origin upon which their communal Moravian missionary identity was constructed and appropriated. The Moravian historical narrative included the Clarkson missionary community continuing with the journey made by Moravian missionaries and their group of converts from Enon. A silence prevailed over the prior history of the nucleus of converts, ex-slaves, Khoisan and the "native Fingo". The meaning mobilised in the missionary discourse was reified with the Clarkson Moravian missionary community represented as having no history before the arrival of the missionaries in 1839. At the same time a shared common origin was invoked in the Moravian missionary discourse that constructed and constituted a discursive community from among the disparate groups of peoples at the Clarkson mission station. Their differences were translated into similarities through the Moravian narrative of the seed, with the Clarksoners represented as a homogenous group of people having a common Moravian history and a communal Moravian mission identity.

Chapter Six

Resistance, Rebellion and Collaboration, 1846-1900: A Social Historical Context for the Appropriated Clarksoner and Tsitsikamma Mfengu Communal Identities

6.1 Introduction

Chapter six continues the contextual socio-historical analysis begun in chapter four. We further pursue the themes of land and labour and their connection to constructed Moravian missionary and Mfengu communal identities in the broader context of colonial domination. In this chapter we will focus more specifically on the impact of different patterns of indigenous resistance to colonial domination on the shaping of communal identities in relation to land, in particular the Tsitsikamma Mfengu and Clarkson mission communities during the 1840s through to 1900.

The 1850s brought different patterns of frontier conflict to the Eastern Cape in which some "colonial" groupings such as those on the Kat River Settlement also "rebelled" against colonial domination while others like the Mfengu served as allies to the colonial forces in the ongoing frontier wars. Xhosa resistance to the perceived threat of conquest and colonisation of their lands climaxed with the tragic cattle killing movement of 1856. The resulting devastation brought about significant polarization between the Xhosa peoples, on the one hand, and the various indigenous communities allied to the Colony, on the other hand, including the Mfengu peoples and those connected to mission stations. Differential colonial incorporation of a range of indigenous peoples also polarised these communities from each other; while some had access to education and land, e.g. at mission settlements, others did not; a few communities had possession of large herds of cattle, but most did not; some, like the Mfengu received colonial land grants unlike many others who remained dispossessed; and only these were able to cultivate their land. The ushering in of Representative Government at the Cape Colony in 1853 with its qualified franchise based on income and landed property gave further resonance to the polarisation of peoples on the Eastern Cape frontier. All males who were proclaimed British subjects and citizens of the Cape colony were granted the right to vote subject to their ownership of a stipulated size of land, or the possession of

a fixed annual income. This property qualification politicised the land issue, especially forms of land tenure. Conversely the indigenous peoples' new rights in land and their qualified franchise within the Cape Colony did not prove secure and were systematically circumscribed and reduced through government enacted legislature during the1880s and 1890s. The momentous Glen Grey legislation of 1894, for example, was a direct response to colonists' demands for an expanded pool of cheap indigenous labour for both the new and rapidly growing mining industry and for expanding commercial agriculture. The effects on the Moravian mission communities as well as the Mfengu communities were to bring to the fore opposition to the regulations, policies, and practices adopted by both the colonial government and the Moravian Mission Institution itself.

In this chapter we will first briefly describe the context of continued resistance by many Xhosa peoples to colonial expansion during the Eastern Cape frontier wars of the 1840s and 1850s and their aftermath, including the Kat River uprising and the cattle killing movement of 1856. We will be particularly concerned with the differential impacts on the Moravian mission communities, on the one hand, and the Tsitsikamma Mfengu communities, on the other hand. In the case of the mission communities we will trace the evidence of their growing opposition to British colonial domination as well as to Moravian missionary authority. Conversely, in the case of the Mfengu communities we will explore the implications of their continuing alliance with and loyalty to the Colonial forces. As background to these developments we will first give some attention to the significance of the Kat River Rebellion around 1850. Though the Kat River Settlement was at a significant distance from Clarkson and the Tsitsikamma and there is no evidence of any particularly close connection or interaction between them, its history had considerable relevance for Clarkson. As discussed in Chapter 4 above, the Kat River Settlement represented a major historical and political landmark in that dispossessed former Khoisan peoples could obtain independent rights and landed property within the Colony. Accordingly a brief excursus is required on the fate of the Kat River Settlement and its "rebellion", before we will return more specifically to Clarkson and the Tsitsikamma Mfengu. Likewise, the main events of the Xhosa cattle killing movement in 1856 took place a long way from Clarkson and the Tsitsikamma, yet such was the significance of this social and political disaster and of its aftermath for the Xhosa and other peoples in the region that another excursus taking this in is required. We will be especially concerned with the consequences and implications of the aftermath of the Xhosa cattle killing movement for the construction of the Mfengu identity in the

colonial context. We will hereafter examine how the Cape colonial government legislation limited indigenous peoples' rights in land in relation to the franchise property qualification. We will explore the impact that such constrained rights in land had on the shaping of appropriated communal identities, specifically for the Tsitsikamma Mfengu and the Clarkson Mission communities.

6.2 Rebellion Resistance and Collaboration on the Eastern Cape Frontier

6.2.1 The Kat River Settlement Revisited

Escalating resistance to perceived threats of conquest and colonisation culminated in 1846 with an invasion of the colony by the various groups of Xhosa peoples. Although they initially achieved some success, the invading forces were pushed back by British colonial troops who were accompanied and supported by groups of Mfengu and Khoisan peoples.[1] The outcome was that victorious British and Colonial forces dispossessed the Xhosa of further land. Not only did the Colony once again take possession of the region between the Fish and the Keiskamma Rivers, or the Ceded Territory which had been in dispute ever since 1819, but in addition the extensive region between the Keiskamma and Kei Rivers was also annexated. This area was to be administered as the Crown Colony of British Kaffraria.[2] This meant that all those indigenous peoples residing in this incorporated area now became British colonial subjects.[3] A few "locations", or places where they were granted landed property rights, were established for those Thembu and Mfengu peoples who had been loyal to the British colony during the 1846-47 frontier war.

These developments had significant implications for indigenous communities within the Colony and for the Kat River Settlement in particular. The extensive annexation of land advanced the frontier beyond the Fish River up to the Keiskamma River to the new territory of British Kaffraria, geographically a considerable distance from the Kat River Settlement (see map in figure 6 above showing the location of the Kat River Settlement in the Cape Colony). For almost seventeen years up until 1846 the Kat River community had been on the front line of colonial defence and intervention against the Xhosa peoples. During most of that time it had been well supported by the

---

[1] T.R.H. Davenport, South Africa: A Modern History, 4th edition (London, Macmillan, 1991), p. 120.
[2] L. Switzer, Power and Resistance in an African Society: The Ciskei Xhosa and the Making of South Africa (Madison, University of Wisconsin Press, 1993), p. 63.
[3] Davenport, South Africa, p. 119.

colonial office. After the 1846 Eastern Cape frontier war however, the Kat River Settlement no longer had primary strategic significance in the redefined colonial line of defence. Now no longer a major factor in British colonial military strategy, and having largely become redundant as a military node, officials proceeded to disarm the Settlement in 1848.[4] Important colonial constituencies had never fully accepted the "revolutionary" implications, at least in the colonial context, of former dispossessed Khoisan peoples gaining landed property and rights at the Kat River Settlement. Colonists regarded the Settlement inhabitants as unclaimed surplus people and potential available labour.[5] Many of the neighbouring colonial farmers, as well as settler spokesmen like Godlonton, the influential editor of the *Grahamstown Advertiser*, believed that the Settlement was a site of refuge for indigenous peoples with their "innate love of idleness",[6] enabling them to escape gainful employment in the Cape Colony. In the new context of frontier relations, where the Kat River Settlement had lost its strategic significance to Colonial defence, it was also made much more vulnerable to a range of colonial pressures and interventions including threats to the land rights basic to this community's social and political identity.

Though we cannot explore the particular events leading to the Kat River Rebellion in any detail it is clear that these involved a combination of colonial pressures and overcrowding by other groupings. After the 1846 Eastern Cape frontier war some Xhosa peoples were relocated from the Fish River area, to the Blinkwater location within the Kat River Settlement. Initially, the land in this location had been granted by colonial authorities to Hermanus Matroos and his group of followers. These relocations of Xhosa and Mfengu groups exacerbated the overcrowding problem in the Settlement. Added to this was permitted encroachment by colonists of Settlement land.[7] In the Settlement's location along the Mankanzana River, a portion of commonage land was leased by colonial authorities to a hundred Mfengu. The eviction of many peoples denoted as "squatters" from commonage and crown land in various municipalities also resulted in them seeking out the potential safety of the Kat River Settlement.[8] The children of land grant holders at the Settlement

---

[4] T. Kirk, 'Progress and Decline in the Kat River Settlement, 1829-1854', Journal of African History XIV: 3 (1973), pp. 422-423; Elizabeth Elbourne, Blood Ground: Colonialism Missions, and the Conquest for Christianity in the Cape Colony and Britain, 1799-1853 (Montreal & Kingston, McGill-Queen's University Press), p. 265.

[5] T.J. Stapleton, Maqoma, Xhosa Resistance to Colonial Advance 1798-1873 (Johannesburg, Jonathan Ball, 1994), p. 153.

[6] Kirk, 'Progress and Decline in the Kat River Settlement', p. 420.

[7] Kirk, 'Progress and Decline in the Kat River Settlement', pp. 416-423.

[8] Kirk, 'Progress and Decline in the Kat River Settlement', pp. 416-423.

had limited options for obtaining land. Families would often stay together on one plot of land, with parents and their grown children cultivating the shared plot of land. The colonial government failed to provide additional land or to allocate plots to the growing number of residents. Overcrowding was worsened when the already limited available land was encroached upon and used as a dumping ground for British colonial loyalists.[9]

By 1850 a colonial commission reported that the commonage land of the Kat River Settlement contained large numbers of Xhosa, Thembu, and Gqunukwebe peoples. Labelled "squatters", many of these peoples were evicted from the Settlement by colonial officials.[10] A group from the Blinkwater area was also evicted. Hermanus Matroos and his group of followers were only permitted to remain in the Blinkwater area on condition that they do not partake in any rebellious and insubordinate practices against the colony. They were reminded that their rights in the Blinkwater land were based "entirely on sufferance" and could be removed at any time.[11]

Colonial officials also issued a new set of regulations for residency in the Settlement during 1849. Inhabitants were now compelled to make application for residency, register their household at a fee of one pound, followed one week later with quit rental payment. All allocated plots of land had to be enclosed and suitably fenced. Failure to comply with these regulations resulted in forced evictions from the settlement.[12] The growing problem of land scarcity was gravely aggravated in 1849 when colonial officials began selling off portions of Settlement land to colonists.[13] In response, some inhabitants disputed the boundary of the Kat River Settlement and petitioned the authorities, claiming their rights. The residents of Tidmanton stated that "it was quite time that our lands be rightly defined".[14] Another group of Settlement residents also petitioned the colonial government in 1849 stating that "in the land of our fathers, an area of country larger than England, we have scarcely an inch of land on which to set our feet, the Kat River and the sterile spots at the missionary institutions excepted".[15] From such statements it is evident that some former

---

[9] Elbourne, Blood Ground, p. 306.
[10] Kirk, 'Progress and Decline in the Kat River Settlement', pp. 416-423.
[11] C.C. Crais, The Making of the Colonial Order: White Supremacy and Black Resistance in South Africa, 1770-1865 (Johannesburg, Witwatersrand University Press, 1992), p. 166.
[12] Crais, The Making of the Colonial Order, p. 169.
[13] Crais, The Making of the Colonial Order, p. 168.
[14] Crais, The Making of the Colonial Order, p. 169.
[15] Kirk, 'Progress and Decline in the Kat River Settlement', p. 425.

dispossessed Khoisan peoples were beginning to articulate their basic rights to the land at Kat River and to mobilise on the basis of their rights as a distinct community in rebellion against colonial authorities. Many people residing in the Settlement refused to pay the registration tax and quitrent. Colonial authorities responded by evicting more people from the Blinkwater area during 1850. The inhabitants from Fulller's Hoek were also forced out of their homes, which were then burnt down by colonial officials. Some people residing in the Buxton area were also evicted.[16] Through these developments the community representing the incorporation of the formerly dispossessed Khoisan with recognised rights to land and property, were reluctantly forced into rebellion. By the end of 1850 Xhosa and Khoisan inhabitants of the Kat River Settlement joined forces in their rebellion against colonial domination, significantly changing the patterns of conflict on the Eastern Cape frontier in the context of the new frontier war with the Xhosa that began during December 1850.

6.2.2 The Kat River Rebellion and its Aftermath

When the Ngqika Xhosa successfully attacked three military villages in Victoria East during December 1850, the area appropriated from them in the previous frontier war, they were joined in their fight against the British colony by a collection of indigenous peoples that included inhabitants from the Kat River Settlement. Large groups of Maphasa's Thembu, and Maqomo's Xhosa also joined them.[17] Some mission station residents also came in support and joined the rebels.[18] However, most of the Mfengu, Phato's Gqunukwebe, and the Ndlambe Xhosa remained loyal and gave support to British colonial troops.[19] Significantly, large groups of Khoisan and Xhosa inhabitants from the Kat River settlement refused to support British colonial troops in the war when ordered to do so by the colonial office. Hermanus Matroos and his group of Gqunukwebe followers from Blinkwater led the rebellion from the Kat River Settlement.[20] According to Elbourne the rebellion included a place for many women.[21] There were in addition about fifty troops who had

---

[16] Crais, The Making of the Colonial Order, pp. 169-172.
[17] Switzer, Power and Resistance in an African Society, p. 64.
[18] Elbourne, Blood Ground, p. 349.
[19] Davenport, South Africa, p. 120.
[20] Kirk, 'Progress and Decline in the Kat River Settlement', p. 424.
[21] Elbourne, Blood Ground, p. 349.

deserted the Cape Mounted Rifles division in support of the rebels.[22] Hermanus attacked a military post close to Fort Beaufort on 30 December 1850. On 8 January 1851 he led an unsuccessful raid on the town of Fort Beaufort during which he was shot and killed. Willem Uithaalder, a veteran of the Cape Mounted Rifles, replaced Matroos in leading the Kat River rebels.[23] Uithaalder had already begun mobilising farm workers against the "unrighteous English settlers" when he travelled from farm to farm before the outbreak of the war.[24] He was well known and a popular leader among the rebels.

In the context of the renewed frontier war the alliance of the Ngqika Xhosa with Maqoma, Hermanus, Uithaalder and Maphasa posed a significant threat to the destructive might of British and colonial troops.[25] Significantly, from Kirk's account of the Kat River uprising, the Kat River rebels had obtained reinforcements from the landless Khoisan who resided around the Winterberg farms, the Kunap River, and other places. Not all of these people were connected to the Kat River settlement.[26] Maqoma and his people together with their supporting Khoisan and Thembu fighters controlled the Waterkloof area for an extended period during the war. It was from there that they launched their attack on British colonial troops.[27] A Moravian missionary reported in 1853 that "the Governor made an expedition in person into Waterkloof, to clear it thoroughly; yet the result did not meet his expectations ... the enemy had again become invisible, a few Hottentots were taken prisoners, and hanged as traitors, and a number of huts burnt; among the latter, a smithy for repairing firearms".[28] Together, the Kat River rebels and their allies were able to tie down about 4000 British colonial troops for almost eighteen months in the mountainous areas west of the Kat River.[29]

The war eventually ended in 1853.[30] Maqoma and his people together with their supporting Khoisan and Thembu fighters were forced to retreat and vacate the Waterkloof area after their defence was penetrated by British colonial troops and collaborating Mfengu. They subsequently

---

[22] Kirk , 'Progress and Decline in the Kat River Settlement', pp. 424-425.
[23] Elbourne, Blood Ground, pp. 347-348; Stapleton, Maqoma, p. 155.
[24] Kirk , 'Progress and Decline in the Kat River Settlement', p. 425; Elbourne, Blood Ground, p. 349.
[25] Stapleton, Maqoma, p. 155.
[26] Kirk , 'Progress and Decline in the Kat River Settlement', pp. 424-425.
[27] Switzer, Power and Resistance in an African Society, p. 65.
[28] Periodical Accounts, xx: ccxviii (March 1853), p. 406.
[29] Davenport, South Africa, p. 120; Switzer, Power and Resistance in an African Society, p. 64.
[30] Davenport, South Africa, p. 120.

retreated to the Amatola Mountains, and from there moved on to the Transkei after the area became occupied by British colonial troops. The rebels were harshly dealt with. The Kat River Settlement was invaded by a commando consisting of about 800 colonists. According to Tony Kirk, this military invasion was one of few to have occurred in the colony that was initiated by colonists. Inhabitants of the settlement were indiscriminately attacked and killed, whether they were colonial loyalists or rebels. Some of the settlement's children were taken away by the commando and used as indentured labourers within the colony. Those who had abandoned their homes and land in the Kat River Settlement after the devastating commando invasion were compelled to look on while their properties were sold by colonial officials to mainly colonists.[31] The leaders of the Kat River rebels, including such long-standing "loyalists" as Andries Botha, were prosecuted for treason and executed or banished. In many ways this spelled the end of the brave experiment, which for a time had raised such great expectations, of founding a settled community based on providing former dispossessed Khoisan people with independent rights to land.

At the same time the aftermath of the war and the rebellion saw the introduction of further indigenous communities into the Colony, rewarded with land grants for their loyalty and support to the British and colonial authorities. By the end of the war, British and colonial troops had gathered together about 7,000 Mfengu people and 40,000 cattle and goats.[32] Colonial officials proceeded with the settlement and integration of this large group of peoples within the colony on the recently appropriated land. Key elements thereof included the appointment of a superintendent to oversee, supervise and control the activities of the newly incorporated people. Each household had to pay an annual quitrent. Colonial authorities also appointed headmen at each one of the newly established villages/locations.[33] Governor Grey ensured that stringent conditions applied when land allocations were made. Land was granted in terms of the quitrent tenure system to individual male occupants and was about two acres in size. The land had to be used for gardening purposes only. Any disloyalty to the British colonial government made individual landholders liable to forfeit their rights in the allotted portions of land.[34]

---

[31] Switzer, Power and Resistance in an African Society, p. 65.
[32] R.A. Moyer, 'A History of the Mfengu of the Eastern Cape: 1815-1865' (Ph.D. thesis, School of Oriental and African Studies, London University, 1976), pp. 386-387.
[33] Moyer, 'A History of the Mfengu of the Eastern Cape', pp. 389-391.
[34] Moyer, 'A History of the Mfengu of the Eastern Cape', p. 402.

6.2.3 The Impact on the Moravian Mission Communities

Such rights and obligations in land, was not dissimilar to those attached to land granted for mission purposes in which the obligation to support the colony in times of need was placed on mission station dwellers. Soon after the 1850-3 Eastern Cape frontier war began, colonial officials were sent to various Moravian mission stations in the Western Cape like Elim, Genadendal, and Groenekloof (now called Mamre) where all the male inhabitants were addressed. They were reminded of the benefits they had received from the colonial government and were called upon not to forsake the colony in its hour of need. In response, about eight hundred men from the three mission stations volunteered, at the beginning of the war, for a period of six months. They were sent by ship to the Eastern Cape frontier. These volunteers were despised by those Xhosa and Khoisan peoples who had joined the rebellion, many of whom came from the Shiloh Moravian mission station, and against whom the volunteers now had to fight in defence of the colony.[35]

Colonists from Whittlesea, where a large contingent of British colonial troops were stationed, regarded Shiloh to be a nest of rebels, which had to be destroyed. This Moravian mission station comprised of Thembu peoples, many of whom had already joined chief Mapasa's Thembu forces in the war against the colony. There were also many Khoisan peoples residing at the mission station who supported the rebellion. Then there were the Mfengu peoples, of whom most sided with and joined the colonial forces.[36]

Daniel Jantje, an inhabitant of the Kat River Settlement, had visited Shiloh soon after the war began with the aim of mobilising support for the rebellion there. Jantje described an incident to the Shiloh community that had taken place not far from them. It concerned a group of about thirty Khoisan men who had disarmed themselves and surrendered to colonial troops. He shocked his audience when he reported that the troops had killed all the disarmed men.[37] On 29 January 1851 an additional four men from the Kat River Settlement arrived at Shiloh. Two of them were members

---

[35] B. Krüger, The Pear Tree Blossoms: the History of the Moravian Church in South Africa 1737-1869 (Genadendal, The Moravian Book Depot, 1984), p. 238.
[36] Krüger, The Pear Tree Blossoms, p. 240.
[37] S.W. Nielsen, The Twin Blossom of the Pear Tree Bears Fruit the History of the Moravian Church Eastern Province in South Africa (Port Shepstone, Baruk, 1999), p. 80.

of the Shiloh Moravian mission station. News of the arrival of these visitors at Shiloh was sufficient for Captain Tylden, leader of the British colonial troops stationed at Whittlesea, to threaten an attack on the mission station. Captain Tylden demanded that the leader of the Khoisan, Renatus Paarl, together with the four men from the Kat River Settlement be handed over to him as proof of the loyalty of the Shiloh peoples. In response, the Moravian missionary, Bonatz, accompanied the two Shiloh members who had returned from the Kat River Settlement to Whittlesea. On arrival they were immediately imprisoned, leaving Bonatz to return alone to Shiloh.[38] Having lost the trust of the Shiloh residents, he was hereafter unable to address a congregational meeting at the mission station without being personally attacked.[39]

Captain Tylden demanded that all Khoisan inhabitants at Shiloh go to Whittlesea, disarm themselves, and thereafter be escorted as prisoners of war to Cradock.[40] The Shiloh residents refused to obey the command. During January 1851 the Moravian missionary, Bonatz, evacuated Shiloh since he did not wish to be associated with the members' disregard for authority and their rebellious attitudes against the Cape Colony.[41] Most of the Mfengu people left the mission station with him while some joined colonial troops stationed at Whittlesea. Three Khoisan families also left Shiloh with Bonatz. These were the families of Wilhelmina and Charles Stompje, Emmanuel Pieters, and Gideon James.[42] Soon hereafter the battle at Shiloh began.[43] The remaining Thembu and Khoisan inhabitants were joined at the mission station by some of Mapasa's warriors, from where they jointly launched their attack on Whittlesea and defended the Shiloh land. The battle was at its fiercest around the Church in which women and children had taken refuge. Inhabitants successfully repelled colonial attacks and the battle continued for four weeks between Shiloh and Whittlesea. It was only after British colonial troops brought a canon for use in their attacks on the Shiloh residents that inhabitants fled, and evacuated the mission station.[44] The Moravian missionaries returned to Shiloh two months later with their party of loyal Mfengu and Khoisan members, and found much devastation. Many buildings had been burnt down.[45] The church had

---

[38] Nielsen, The Twin Blossom of the Pear Tree Bears Fruit, p. 81.
[39] Nielsen, The Twin Blossom of the Pear Tree Bears Fruit, p. 82.
[40] Nielsen, The Twin Blossom of the Pear Tree Bears Fruit, p. 83.
[41] Krüger, The Pear Tree Blossoms, pp. 239-240.
[42] Nielsen, The Twin Blossom of the Pear Tree Bears Fruit, p. 83.
[43] Krüger, The Pear Tree Blossoms, pp. 239-240.
[44] Krüger, The Pear Tree Blossoms, p. 240.
[45] Krüger, The Pear Tree Blossoms, p. 241.

remained standing like a fort without a roof.[46] In their absence, a number of colonists had also begun to occupy properties at the mission station. For example Wilhelmina Stompje was not even permitted to enter her own hen-house and she had to buy back much of her furniture from a colonist who had taken ownership of it in her absence from the mission station.[47]

After the war colonial troops left Shiloh, and the Moravian mission retained its rights in land thereto despite numerous attempts by colonists to transform the mission station into a village for settlers. Colonists' occupying houses and land at Shiloh were ordered by the colonial office to leave the mission station. Moravian missionaries could now report that the mission station was "rising again from the ashes, but it is becoming the resort of a larger native population than inhabited it at any previous period. Of the 700 persons under the care of our missionaries, about 500 are Fingoos or Caffres, and 200 Hottentots".[48] According to Krüger, many of the Shiloh insurgents were sentenced to two years of hard labour. Over time many of them returned to Shiloh.[49] However, the returning Khoisan peoples were not freely accepted back into the mission fold. Missionaries "received [them] with a degree of hesitation ... but, independent of the earnest request of the Government, there were weighty considerations which induced our brethren not to close the door against them".[50] A Shiloh missionary reported that "it was found next to impossible to avoid admitting so many Hottentots, though on several accounts, an undesirable measure".[51] Applicants for residency at the Shiloh mission station were now required to sign an agreement, which required implicit submission to all Moravian mission regulations, and obligating them to be faithful subjects of the British Government.[52]

The war also had a significant impact on residents at Moravian mission stations in other parts of the Colony like Genadendal, even though many men had gone to the Eastern Cape to add support to the colonial troops at the start of the war. On their return six months later, rumours of an uprising at the mission stations in the Western Cape spread. From Krüger's account it appears that these were started by "a few drunk men" from the mission stations of Elim and Groenekloof (now called

---

[46] Nielsen, The Twin Blossom of the Pear Tree Bears Fruit, p. 85.
[47] Krüger, The Pear Tree Blossoms, p. 241.
[48] Periodical Accounts, xxi: ccxxi (December 1853), p. 25.
[49] Krüger, The Pear Tree Blossoms, p. 241.
[50] Periodical Accounts, xxi: ccxxi (December 1853), p. 25.
[51] Periodical Accounts, xxi: ccxxi (December 1853), p. 26.
[52] Periodical Accounts, xxi: ccxxi (December 1853), p. 26.

Mamre) who had returned, after six months, from the Eastern Cape frontier war, and subsequently uttered threats against the colony and colonists.[53] Significantly this led to increasing tensions within the Moravian mission communities, with signs of resistance against the missionary authorities. Krüger refers to an extract from a Genadendal missionary's diary written in 1851, which described the year as "the most difficult one for our congregation since its beginning, because the inner corruption showed itself more openly ... a party within our congregation is being induced to open opposition against our regulations and to enmity against their teachers by the incitement of our white enemies".[54] According to Krüger a church council and overseer member at the Elim Moravian mission station also went about "inciting" mission residents during 1851 in a campaign to refuse payment of the imposed road tax.[55] Of the Moravian mission stations in the Eastern Cape only Clarkson was not severely damaged during the frontier war. It was in fact to Clarkson that many women and children from the Enon Moravian mission station fled, since it was regarded as a known place of safety during the war.[56]

The frontier war also had a significant impact on the Tsitsikamma Mfengu peoples. In the wider context of the Eastern Cape and its frontier wars, the Mfengu in most cases supported the colonial military interventions. Throughout the 1850-3 war, the Mfengu peoples within the colony, including those residing at Clarkson and in the surrounding Tsitsikamma district, assisted and fought alongside British colonial troops in defeating the alliance of rebels that fought against colonial domination. Nevertheless, the various Mfengu communities residing there were threatened during the war with possible evictions from the land which they had received from the colonial office. The Civil Commissioner of Uitenhage presented a notification to the Moravian missionary at Clarkson, Br. Küster, in which the sale of certain portions of land previously granted to the Tsitsikamma Mfengu was announced. Threatened by possible land evictions the Tsitsikamma Mfengu peoples drew on the support of the Moravian missionaries. Br. Küster acted as intermediary with the colonial office with the aim of securing the tenure of land for the Tsitsikamma Mfengu communities.[57] He presented a statement to the Civil Commissioner of Uitenhage "shewing that, by such measures, the Fingoos would be expelled from the districts which had been assigned to them

---

[53] Krüger, The Pear Tree Blossoms, p. 247.
[54] Krüger, The Pear Tree Blossoms, p. 246.
[55] Krüger, The Pear Tree Blossoms, p. 247.
[56] Krüger, The Pear Tree Blossoms, p. 238.
[57] Periodical Accounts, xxi: ccxxi (December 1853), pp. 25-26.

(with the exception of those who are living at Clarkson)".[58] In response, the commissioner assured the Moravians that he would do his best to ensure that the land would be reserved for the Mfengu peoples residing in the Tsitsikamma. These appeals, through the Moravian missionary Küster as intermediary, achieved success in October 1858 with the registration of the Snyklip, Wittekleibosch and Doriskraal land.[59]

In other ways, too, the frontier war impacted on the Mfengu. Some of the Mfengu had found employment as beach labourers at the Port Elizabeth harbour soon after being resettled in the Tsitsikamma by colonial officials. In his study of Mfengu beach labourers at Port Elizabeth, E.J. Inggs notes that "many of the Fingoos, who are the men employed in discharging the boats, have left for the frontier ... while those still remaining behind have become exorbitant in their demands for pay; and on Monday last they struck for an increase of wages".[60] Aware of the scarcity of labour in the Cape Colony during frontier wars, these workers successfully went on strike in 1852, protesting against the municipality's regulations requiring them to be clothed when wading in the water. Immediately after the frontier war, strikes occurred again in 1854 and 1856, with the beach workers in each instance successfully demanding an increase in their daily wages.[61] The Tsitsikamma Mfengu, certainly compared to other groups of indigenous peoples, managed to sustain and improve their position within the Colony. Their success in this regard was not unrelated to their collaboration with, and support for, the colonial forces.

6.2.4 The Cattle Killing Movement and its Aftermath for the Mfengu

Two years after the war ended, in late 1855, large numbers of cattle began dying in the Eastern Cape. The cattle of both colonists and indigenous peoples were affected by a lung sickness, also called bovine pleuropneumonia. It damaged the respiratory tract of the animals causing a slow painful death. Large numbers of livestock were lost.[62] At the time Europe was also ravaged by the dreadful disease, which had killed thousands of cattle there. In September 1853 a Dutch ship

---

[58] Periodical Accounts, xxi: ccxxi, (December 1853), p. 25.
[59] K. Pienaar, *Historic Overview and Brief Summary*, no date, pp. 13-16.
[60] E.J. Inggs, 'Mfengu Beach Labour and Port Elizabeth Harbour Development 1835-1870', Contree Journal for South African Urban and Regional History 21 (1987), p. 8.
[61] Inggs, 'Mfengu Beach Labour', pp. 5-12.
[62] Crais, The Making of the Colonial Order, p. 204.

delivered its cargo of Friesland bulls at Mossel Bay, a small port between Port Elizabeth and Cape Town. Some of these bulls were infected with this lung-sickness virus, which spread rapidly throughout the colony.[63] The colonial office issued regulations forcing colonial farmers to kill their lung sick animals. By March 1854 the disease had reached Uitenhage from where, according to Peires, a Mfengu traveller with five cattle carried the disease to Fort Beaufort on the border of Xhosaland, from where it spread further.[64]

In a report written in September 1855 a Moravian missionary described how "the colony is again suffering from distemper among the cattle. Last year a disease of the lungs, which was introduced from the westward, carried off a great number of oxen. This year, thousands of horses have died of a complaint somewhat of the nature of bronchitis, which came from the eastward."[65] Jan Fusi, a Mfengu who worked as an interpreter for the Moravian missionaries and who resided at Clarkson, "was obliged to give up his services as interpreter, to provide better for his family. He purchased some horses and a cart, but lost the horses by the prevailing distemper."[66] The disease had also infected cattle at Enon, a neighbouring Moravian mission station located just below the Sunday's River.

> "The distemper among the cattle had caused the inhabitants the loss of many. [However] only a few belonging to the mission had died ... when remarking the other day to one of our people, how thankful we felt that our oxen had been graciously preserved, he replied, yes and I believe that the Saviour will preserve them yet further, for you may be assured that there has been much prayer in the congregation for the cattle of the teachers, and many have themselves assured me that they would pray, that the cattle of the missionaries might be preserved".[67]

Cattle in the British Kaffraria area also became infected by the disease as were the territories of Chiefs Kama, Phato, Mhala, Maqomo, and Sarhili. The Ngqika Xhosa who occupied land north of King William's Town also had their cattle affected. Chief Anta who lived high on the Windvogelberg escaped the devastation. The Xhosa peoples took all kinds of precautions to ensure that the disease did not infect their cattle. These included, amongst others, driving their cattle to secluded

---

[63] J.B. Peires, The Dead: will Arise Nongqawuse and the Great Xhosa Cattle Killing Movement of 1856-7 (Johannesburg, Ravan Press, 1989), p. 70.
[64] Peires, The Dead will Arise, p. 71.
[65] Periodical Accounts, xxi: ccxxviii (September 1855), p. 411.
[66] Periodical Accounts, xxi: ccxxviii (September 1855), p. 407.
[67] Periodical Accounts, xxi: ccxxix (December 1855), p. 472.

and mountainous areas, quarantining colonial cattle from their territories, fencing of pasturage and the burning of grass. But to no avail.[68]

Added to their problems was the destruction of their maize crops by a species of grub that invaded the roots and destroyed the stalks before the corn could be harvested. Excessive rain in some areas of the Cape also caused many of the surviving maize crops to rot.[69] Yet at the Clarkson mission station and the surrounding Tsitsikamma area, the land was being successfully cultivated. A Moravian missionary could report in 1855 that there were "willing and liberal contributions to the Patriotic Fund, by the Fingoos at Clarkson ... not having money they brought baskets full of corn, which they sold for the purpose ... the Governor expressed ... the satisfaction he had derived from their willingness to contribute."[70] However, by June 1856 the Clarkson mission station and its surrounding areas became affected by the prevailing drought. A Moravian missionary noted that "the drought is certainly almost unexampled, and the heat so great that the fruits of the earth suffer much ... every one longs for rain, but that there is no hope at this season, and we must try to be patient till April."[71] The drought had also, amongst others, affected Maqomo's chiefdom leaving many people on the brink of starvation.[72]

Responding to these natural adversities of floods, drought, and diseased cattle in the aftermath of a brutal and protracted 1850-1853 frontier war, people looked to their spiritual leaders for guidance in making sense of their world. In the aftermath of the frontier wars the political authority within the various Xhosa chiefdoms of the Eastern Cape had weakened considerably. A number of spiritual leaders emerged instructing the Xhosa peoples not to cultivate the land and to sacrifice their cattle.[73] The most famous of these were Nongqawuse and Nonkosi, two adolescent young girls.[74] It was towards the end of 1855 that Nongqawuse announced her prophecy in which she claimed that she had been visited by ten young men who came from a place of refuge and wished everything in

---

[68] Peires, The Dead will Arise, p. 71.
[69] Peires, The Dead will Arise, p. 71.
[70] Periodical Accounts, xxi: ccxxix (December 1855), pp. 469-470.
[71] Periodical Accounts, xxii: ccxxxi (June 1856), p. 16.
[72] Stapleton, Maqomo, p. 180.
[73] A similar outbreak, but less severe occurred in 1807, which directly affected the Ngqika Xhosa. The chief addressed the looming disaster of loss of cattle by moving his kraal away from the infected area. By 1855 the affected Xhosa chiefdoms were constrained by colonial expansion and settlement on land in Eastern Cape, and could not easily relocate their peoples to "safer" land. See Stapleton, Maqomo, p. 179.
[74] Crais, The Making of the Colonial Order, pp. 204-205.

the country to be made new. Through her they ordered the Xhosa peoples to kill their cattle, consume their corn, and not to cultivate the land any further.[75] These visionary instructions became known as the cattle-killing prophecies, and implicitly contained an anti-colonial message through its vision of the symbolic restoration of a new cleansed Xhosa community.[76] As these divine directives and predictions swept through Xhosaland, an overwhelming number of Xhosa men and women responded to the call to cleanse their nation so that their country could be made new.[77] According to Switzer, Thembu followers of chief Maphasa who had lost their land during the 1850-1853 Eastern Cape frontier war also responded to the prophecies.[78]

Still, a substantial measure of discord existed among the Xhosa peoples over the validity of the prophecies. Accounts of division among Xhosa families on their beliefs in the cattle-killing prophecies have been well documented by Peires.[79] According to Switzer, individual households, homesteads, and chiefdoms were split over their belief in, and response to, the prophecies. He asserts that most women were fervent believers as were those peoples who held inferior positions in the chiefdoms. The impoverished commoners were the driving force in the cattle-killing movement. Switzer notes that the men were divided in their belief in the prophecies. The group of "unbelievers" included many prominent councillors, the richer homestead heads, and a few chiefs like the Christian chiefs Kama and Dyani Tshatshu, and the Ngqika chief Anta whose chiefdom was the only one not affected by the lung-sickness epidemic. Among the "unbelievers" were also the outcasts of Xhosa society, and most mission station communities. Many of these householders were already competing in the colonial market economy, had sent some of their children to mission schools, and were adopting elements of British colonial culture. As against this the "believers" of the cattle-killing movement wished to preserve the old ways of life and uphold the traditional values of loyalty and sacrifice for the good of the community as a whole. They condemned the "unbelievers" whom they perceived as acting only in their individual self enrichment interests.[80]

---

[75] Crais, The Making of the Colonial Order, p. 205; Peires, The Dead will Arise, pp. 78-81.
[76] Crais, The Making of the Colonial Order, p. 210.
[77] Crais, The Making of the Colonial Order, pp. 208-209.
[78] Switzer, Power and Resistance in an African Society, p. 70.
[79] Peires, The Dead will Arise, pp. 165-181.
[80] Switzer also notes that the antagonistic "red" and "school" folk cultures, which later became a feature of rural Eastern Cape life essentially stems from this period in Xhosa history. Switzer, Power and Resistance in an African Society, pp. 70-71.

Violence erupted at the beginning of 1857 between groups of "believers" and "unbelievers".[81] A Moravian missionary observed the division within Xhosa society and wrote in 1857 how they "sincerely pity these poor starving people, especially those who have been driven from their homes by their countrymen, because they resisted the general superstition, cultivating their land and declining to slaughter their cattle".[82]

The cattle killing movement aimed at the re-creation of a cleansed Xhosa nation through the cattle-killing culminated in the gathering of a great number of "believers" in the prophecies near the mouth of the Kei River in January 1857. In the Shiloh diary of 1857 missionaries recorded that they gathered there to "await the resurrection of their deceased ancestors, which had been foretold by the prophet".[83] According to Switzer the prophets had assigned different dates for the resurrection of deceased ancestors in December 1856 and again in February, April and June of 1857. But nothing happened. Those who had responded to the cattle-killing call were left destitute, having sacrificed all their cattle and having stopped cultivating their land.[84] The Shiloh diary of 1857 further recorded that "the day appointed for the resurrection ... passed without anything extraordinary, all they can now do is to go in crowds into the colony and seek work".[85] From the Moravian mission settlement at Goshen, a missionary reported that "almost every day numbers, especially women, come to Goshen, to beg or look for work. Several families have asked permission to come and live here, and have been admitted on trial."[86]

The famine following this disastrous outcome of the cattle killing movement devastated Xhosa society. In describing the cattle killing event in 1857 a Moravian missionary wrote about how the Xhosa peoples "with the exception of the Tambookies, and one or two other tribes, have inflicted on themselves a more severe injury than even a war would have caused them ... having slaughtered all their cattle, sparing only horses and dogs".[87] According to Crais and Switzer, the aftermath of the cattle-killing left about 400 000 cattle slaughtered, between 35000 and 50000 Xhosa peoples had died as a result of the cattle-killing and within one year of the event about

---

[81] Switzer, Power and Resistance in an African Society, p. 71.
[82] Periodical Accounts, xxii: cxxxvi (September 1857), p. 278.
[83] Periodical Accounts, xxii cxl (September 1858), p. 497.
[84] Switzer, Power and Resistance in an African Society, p. 70.
[85] Periodical Accounts, xxii: ccxxxvi (September 1857), p. 278.
[86] Periodical Accounts, xxii: ccxxxvi (September 1857), p. 278
[87] Periodical Accounts, xxii: ccxxxvi (September 1857), p. 278.

150000 people were left homeless and wandering about in search of food.[88] Governor George Grey exploited the crisis to solve the Colony's perennial labour needs. Many people were seized by colonial officials, especially women, and placed under confinement. The detained Xhosa peoples were either employed as labourers or sent to the colony's labour camps.[89] On their release they were incorporated as labourers within the colony.[90] The indenture of thousands of starving men, women and children labourers were presented by colonial officials as a humanitarian act in which the Xhosa peoples were saved from their own tragic mistake.[91] Grey also took over much of the land which he allocated to colonial settlers. The number of settlers in British Kaffraria had increased, from 949 in 1856 to 5388 by the end of 1858.[92] Included amongst these settlers was a group of German immigrants (mainly Crimean war veterans and peasants) who were granted land on the East London - Stutterheim axis.[93] Most affected by this loss of land were the Rhaharbe Xhosa peoples. The colonial government justified their land dispossession by reporting that the cattle-killing prophecies were an invention by chiefs to force their starving people into a war with the colony.[94] Many chiefs, councillors and commoners of various Xhosa chiefdoms who allegedly had promoted the cattle-killing were detained and imprisoned on Robben Island.

For our purposes, though, it was the consequences of these tragic events for the "loyal" Mfengu people in the Colony that is especially significant. While many Xhosa lost their land and found themselves as indentured labourers within the Colony in the aftermath of the abortive outcome of the cattle killing movement, the differential position of the Mfengu was publicly recognised in colonial law. In June 1857 two laws' were enacted. Act 23 of 1857 reaffirmed the prohibition of "kafirs" and other "native foreigners" from entering the colony without a pass. It also made provision for a penalty of twelve months hard labour when found without an appropriate pass. This law defined the "kafir" as "any of the people commonly called native foreigner, resident in, or entering this colony from or through British Kaffraria or Kafirland".[95] The Act further defined the "other native foreigner" as any "Basuto, Barolong, Mantatee, or other native, resident in any territory adjacent to

---

[88] Crais, The Making of the Colonial Order, pp. 208-209; Switzer, Power and Resistance in an African Society, p. 70.
[89] Switzer, Power and Resistance in an African Society, pp. 72-73.
[90] Switzer, Power and Resistance in an African Society, p. 70.
[91] Stapleton, Maqomo, p. 186.
[92] Switzer, Power and Resistance in an African Society, p. 72.
[93] Davenport, South Africa a Modern History, p. 122.
[94] Crais, The Making of the Colonial Order, p. 170.
[95] T.J. Stapleton, 'The Expansion of a Pseudo-Ethnicity in the Eastern Cape: Reconsidering the Fingo "Exodus" of 1865', The International Journal of African Historical Studies 29: 2 (1996), p. 241.

Kaffirland, and commonly regarded as spoken of as belonging to the Kafir family".[96] Act 24 of 1857 alternatively recognised that "Colonial Fingoes" could be penalised if found without a pass. Through this Act provision was thus made for the issuing of certificates of citizenship, which officially recognised the status and designation of "Fingo" as permanent residents and subjects of the Queen with the guaranteed right to own land within the Cape Colony. The relatively privileged position of the Mfengu did not go unnoticed. There were reports from colonial officials of "Fingoes" emerging from the Rharhabe chiefdoms who had not been rescued in the 1835 Eastern Cape frontier war. Stapleton has argued that these people were simply destitute and hungry Xhosa people who saw better opportunities for survival among the "Fingoised" groups.[97] In the Fingo Reserves of Oxkraal and Kamastone near Queenstown, a colonial official reported that a large number of strangers had entered the two locations and that the local colonists had complained about there now being more than 7000 "souls" who resided in there without an overseer.[98] Governor Grey incorporated this report in his writing to London wherein he described this large group of people as "Fingo" who were massed together. Grey further made known that similar situations existed in all the other Fingo areas.[99] Stapleton has noted that any Xhosa speaking person could have entered a Fingo location, claimed to be Fingo and obtained a certificate of citizenship from a colonial official.[100] If these are indications that in this context the identity of the "Fingo"/ Mfengu remained an ambiguous and fluid matter they also indicate that taking on this communal identity brought definite rewards and advantages.

6.2.4.1 Developments among the Mfengu in the Tsitsikamma Mfengu

The aftermath of the Cattle Killing, recurrent periods of severe drought and the general economic depression of the 1860s brought hard times to the various communities settled within the Colony. Our concern is especially with the Mfengu peoples settled in the Tsitsikamma adjacent to Clarkson. Significant changes in the population around Clarkson had occurred since 1850 when most people residing at Clarkson were Mfengu. Around 1860 a number Mfengu residents actually moved away from Clarkson, left the Tsitsikamma and resettled at Engotini, the newly established Moravian

[96] Stapleton, 'The Expansion of a Pseudo-Ethnicity', p. 241.
[97] Stapleton, Magomo, p. 186; Stapleton, 'The Expansion of a Pseudo-Ethnicity', pp. 238-240.
[98] Stapleton, 'The Expansion of a Pseudo-Ethnicity', p. 240.
[99] Stapleton, 'The Expansion of a Pseudo-Ethnicity', p. 240.
[100] Stapleton, 'The Expansion of a Pseudo-Ethnicity', p. 241.

settlement close to Shiloh.[101] The Moravian missionary, Br. Bauer, noted that the families which had left Clarkson chose to move out of the Tsitsikamma district completely rather than settle among one of the adjacent communities. According to Bauer, "all the Fingoos there belong to four large families, not according to blood relationship, but as under one and the same captain, (ubukosi), and no Fingo likes to go and live on the ground occupied by another tribe. For the same reason they do not wish to come to Clarkson".[102] A report of the missionary at Engotini, Br. Meyer, confirmed an increase in his membership during 1861. Meyer wrote that "families desirous to settle here rapidly followed each other, for which plots of land had to be measured out; a dam and water-course for the purpose of irrigation were constructed under my directions".[103] He further noted that the settlement was principally occupied by Xhosa peoples, "however, a number of Fingoos have settled here".[104] As a result of this movement out of the mission station in the Tsitsikamma, Clarkson and its environment gradually became occupied by "other people of the colony".[105] In 1864 the resident Moravian missionary at Clarkson reported that "there are very few Fingos living in the settlement at Clarkson, but many dwell at different places in the Zitsikamma district".[106]

If a number of Mfengu moved away from Clarkson and out of the Tsitsikamma altogether, the differences between Clarkson and the Mfengu peoples continuing to live on adjacent land also came to be more marked in various ways during this period. Thus the Moravian missionaries acknowledged that the Snyklip Mfengu community, including those who had become members of the Moravian congregation there, "prefer their original abodes to Clarkson, because the land is more fertile".[107] The Mfengu communities in the surrounding Tsitsikamma district had relatively more success in cultivating their land and had large herds of cattle. On a visit during 1864 to the adjacent Mfengu community at Doriskraal, the missionary found that "some of the Fingoos are in good circumstances, one of them, a fine old man, whom we found working in his fields, has sixty head of cattle".[108] When visiting Wittekleibosch he found large tracts of cultivated land, with good crops of wheat and maize. The missionary observed that "some of these natives are rich,

---

[101] Periodical Accounts, xxiii: ccxlvii (June 1860), p. 370; Periodical Accounts, xxi: cclii (September 1861), p. 70.
[102] Periodical Accounts, xxiv: cclvii (December 1862), p. 417.
[103] Periodical Accounts, xxiv: ccliv (March 1862), p. 232.
[104] Periodical Accounts, xxiv: ccliv (March 1862), p. 233.
[105] Periodical Accounts, xxiv: cclvii (December 1862), p. 417.
[106] Periodical Accounts, xxv: cclxiii (June 1864), p. 153.
[107] Periodical Accounts, xxiii: ccxlvi (March 1860), p. 306.
[108] Periodical Accounts, xxv: cclxviii (September 1865), p. 462.

possessing 40-60 heads of cattle, besides 3-400 sheep and goats. Their hearts seem to find their sole delight in these outward possessions".[109] From such reports we gather that the Mfengu communities at Doriskraal and Wittekleibosch had relatively greater success in cultivating and reaping the benefits from their use of the land despite the persistent low rainfall. Other Mfengu settlements in the region likewise did comparatively well. The Moravian missionary, Küster, observed from his visit in 1858 to a Mfengu settlement about 12 miles away from Clarkson that "the circular habitations of these people are placed in two rows, forming a street. Behind the houses there are beautiful gardens".[110] He further noted that "some people possess a large number of sheep and cattle".[111] Their ability to maintain large herds of cattle and sheep indicate that these Mfengu had been able to replace their sickly stock.

Unlike these adjacent Mfengu communities, the hardship of the Clarkson residents continued during this period. Their cattle and horses had been infected with disease followed by recurrent droughts. By 1860 the congregation of about fifty households in the Tsitsikamma at Clarkson were distressed since their "fields and gardens, which at best are not very productive, had yielded less than usual in the previous year, but little work could be obtained of the farmers, they being prevented from tilling the land by the drought; and the necessaries of life were not only dear, but scarcely to be procured".[112] The poverty at Clarkson had not improved by 1864. The persistent low rainfall that continued through 1865 caused the land, on which they depended for their much needed food supply, to be parched and very difficult to plough.[113] The resident Moravian missionary Br. Bauer wrote that "the congregation is so poor, and our sources of income so limited, that we can do very little without aid. There are only three wagons on our settlement, and of cattle, which in this country constitute the principal possession, not above thirty head".[114]

At the same time the changes in the colonial political economy also affected the Tsitsikamma Mfengu peoples in other ways. Thus the availability of thousands of Xhosa/"Fingo" labourers within the Cape Colony had a serious impact on the Tsitsikamma Mfengu beach workers at the Port

[109] Periodical Accounts, xxv: cclxviii (September 1865), p. 463.
[110] Periodical Accounts, xxii: cxl, (September 1858), p. 496.
[111] Periodical Accounts, xxii: cxl, (September 1858), p. 496.
[112] Periodical Accounts, xxiii: ccxlvi (March 1860), p. 306.
[113] Periodical Accounts, xxvi: cclxxiii (December 1866), p. 116.
[114] Periodical Accounts, xxv: cclxii (March 1864), p. 113.

Elizabeth harbour. Some of this influx of additional labourers began to be employed at the harbour from 1857 onwards. When the Tsitsikamma Mfengu beach workers went on strike again towards the end of 1857, they were unsuccessful in obtaining an increase in their wages. According to Inggs they perceived the introduction of Xhosa labourers at the harbour as an infringement of their rights.[115] This changed labour and employment conditions at the Port Elizabeth harbour hindered the flow of resources to the Tsitsikamma at a time when it was most needed to replace the loss of cattle infected by the lung disease. A Moravian missionary described the great scarcity in the Tsitsikamma due to the drought and exclaimed that "even the Fingoos are suffering from hunger".[116] At Snyklip John Zwelibanzi, the Mfengu teacher described the Mfengu peoples in the Tsitsikamma as being "on the whole ... thrifty, but as they have earned little their thriftiness has not helped them much. I know of two families here at Snyklip, who live entirely on wild plants and roots gathered in the fields".[117] The persisting drought had taken its toll resulting in a serious food shortage, poverty and starvation. By October 1866 the persistent drought in the Tsitsikamma district had begun to take its toll on the previously thriving Mfengu communities. John Zwelibanzi, the Mfengu teacher who was now based at Wittekleibosch, reflected on the distress of this community and explained that "in several instances the natives have been obliged to kill some of their cattle for food, a last resort with the Fingoos".[118]

The poverty at Clarkson was aggravated by another outbreak of the cattle-disease during 1867. A missionary described the plight of a member as "one of our people had a short time ago 40 head of cattle and a herd of horses, and now he has not one, disease has carried off all".[119] The report further described how "hardly a single team of oxen ... could be made up here, and there are only a few cows and sheep, which some Fingo women have managed to keep".[120] By June 1874 the Clarkson missionary, Br. Hettasch, wrote "want still rests with a heavy hand over our congregation ... the distress [is] prevalent throughout our entire neighbourhood".[121] Many of these Clarksoners worked for the surrounding colonial farmers and often took their wages in advance in order to

[115] E.J. Inggs, 'Mfengu Beach Labour', pp. 10-11.
[116] Periodical Accounts, xxiii: ccxlvi (March 1860), p. 304.
[117] Periodical Accounts, xxiii: ccxlvi (March 1860), pp. 304-305.
[118] Periodical Accounts, xxvi: cclxxiv (March 1867), p.179.
[119] Periodical Accounts, xxvi: cclxxvi (September 1867), pp. 282-283.
[120] Periodical Accounts, xxvi: cclxxvi (September 1867), p. 283.
[121] Periodical Accounts (March 1875), pp. 290-291.

purchase food and clothing for themselves and their families.[122] But these colonial farmers were also eventually affected by the drought. Persistent poor harvests resulted in them not having enough money to pay the Clarksoners for work done. Farm labourers received payment in the form of grain, which, given their own hunger, they ate the very same day.[123] Of those who found employment, some were engaged by colonial farmers, while others obtained work on the colonial government's public work's programmes in the construction of new roads.[124] The poverty and heaviness over the Clarkson mission community was juxtaposed against the "thriftiness" and "richness" of the Tsitsikamma Mfengu communities who as a last resort had to slaughter some of their cattle for food.

These relative differences in their social and economic conditions tended to reinforce communal differentiation at this time. The flourishing Mfengu communities adjacent to the impoverished Clarkson affirmed their independence in relation to Clarkson and their reluctance to accept the leadership of Moravian missionaries and order of the Moravian Ethic. Successful cultivation of their land was to be an important condition for the constitution of a Tsitsikamma Fingo ethnic identity.

6.3 From Colonial "Fingos" to "Natives" and/or Mfengu

It was at another level and in the different context of the territorial consolidation of the Cape Colony by the annexation of the Transkei that the appropriation of a Mfengu communal identity occurred. The ninth Eastern Cape frontier war during 1877-1878 resulted in the final defeat of independent Xhosa society, the appropriation of their remaining land, and their forceful incorporation into the Cape colony as potential labourers on the mines, commercial farms, and public works programmes. When the war ended in 1878, large numbers of Xhosa peoples had been incorporated into the Colony. [125] To begin with, the former Xhosaland was administered separately as British Kaffraria but between 1879 and 1885 this was gradually amalgamated with the Cape Colony.[126]

---

[122] Periodical Accounts, xxvi: cclxxii (September 1866), p. 79.
[123] Periodical Accounts, xxvi: cclxxvi (September 1867), pp. 282-283.
[124] Periodical Accounts (March 1875), p. 290.
[125] Switzer, Power and Resistance in an African Society, pp. 97-98.
[126] Davenport, South Africa, p. 99.

What these developments meant was that within a few years the "loyal" Mfengu, who had collaborated with colonial forces since the 1830s, and the newly incorporated Xhosa people found themselves alike subjects of the territorially expanded Cape Colony. This raised the question just what the political and social distinction between the Mfengu and Xhosa peoples should henceforth mean. It was in this context that the generic term "native" was introduced into colonial discourse, signalling that from a colonial perspective the differences between Mfengu and Xhosa mattered less than their shared subject status. The term "native" was introduced by the Peace Preservation Act and included both "Fingo" and Xhosa peoples alike.[127] Significantly many "Fingo" communities objected to the implications of this new official terminology. All "natives", including the Mfengu, were compelled to disarm following the promulgation in 1878 of the Peace Preservation Act, or Disarmament Act. However, in the view of the "loyal" Mfengu this amounted to a violation of the rights, along with land grants, earned by their support of the colonial forces over decades of frontier war with the Xhosa. By thus claiming their rights *as* Mfengu they thus implicitly appropriated the communal identity ascribed to "Fingos" in colonial discourse in the 1830s – at the point when colonial discourse determined to negate the distinctions between Mfengu and Xhosa peoples by subsuming these under the generic terminology of "natives". In these ways the outcome of the Eastern Cape frontier war of 1877-78 thus contributed to the internal and enduring ethnic differentiation between "Fingo" and Xhosa, rearticulated after the war as that between the "school" and "red" Xhosa. Without necessarily utilising the ethnic terminology increasing differentiation was made between those who wore traditional dress, were illiterate, non-Christian, and called "red" Xhosa; and those who dressed like colonists, were Christians, had received mission education, been granted land by colonial officials for services rendered in frontier wars, and called "school" Xhosa.[128] It is ironic then that this very war also marked the beginning of the disappearance of the "Fingo"/Xhosa differentiation from the colonial discourse itself.

6.4 Consolidating and Opposing the Colonial Framework

For the Clarkson and Tsitsikamma Mfengu communities the socio-economic and political contexts of both labour and land began to change in fundamental ways during the closing decades of the

---

[127] Peace Preservation Act of 1878.

[128] P. Mayer, Townsmen or Tribesmen: Conservatism and the Process of Urbanisation in a South African City, 2nd edition (Cape Town, Oxford University Press, 1971), pp. 23-33.

19th century. These local communities were not left unaffected by the onset of the mining revolution on the Highveld from the 1870s. Diamond mining started in Kimberly during the 1860s. Gold began to be mined in the Transvaal Colony, a Boer Republic, though the major discoveries of gold on the Witwatersrand only took place in the 1880s. Within a few years the mining revolution brought about major political as well as socio-economic changes. Griqualand West together with Kimberly and its mining operations was incorporated into the Cape Colony in 1880. The British temporarily annexed the Transvaal in 1877, though the Boers regained their independence in 1881.[129] The new mining industry required a large pool of labourers that was to be cheap, unskilled and, most importantly, docile. The residents of the Moravian mission stations, having appropriated the discipline of the Moravian ethic, may well have acquired attributes that corresponded with the industry's labour requirements.

Many impoverished men from Moravian mission stations, including Clarkson, viewed the demand for labour from the growing mining industry as an opportunity to alleviate their poverty. A Moravian missionary, in 1885, observed the social consequences of the new migrant labour patterns:

> "the condition of our people caused us so much anxiety ... Many can no longer maintain themselves and their families by work procured near the station ... Consequently, many of our men have removed to ... Kimberly diamond fields, and ... girls have also been obliged to seek employment in the capital and other towns ... for the most part ... the men absent, [are] absent from home for months, or even years, lose their affection for those who should be dearest to them ... the condition of the aged and of women with young families is specially pitiable".[130]

Labour was also required for the building of the infrastructure needed to support the growth of this new industry. At the same time colonial farmers were developing their own commercial agricultural interests and they too required a growing supply of labour. The changed economic situation within the colony impacted on colonists' perceptions of indigenous farmers who held rights in land within the colony. Their successful commercial activities threatened the interests of colonists.[131] Colonial

---

[129] Switzer, Power and Resistance in an African Society, p. 96.
[130] Periodical Accounts, xxxiii: 349 (December 1885), pp. 408-409.
[131] Switzer, Power and Resistance in an African Society, pp. 97-98.

officials instituted the payment of hut taxes. The inability of indigenous farmers to pay these taxes resulted in the confiscation of live-stock and seizure of land and other property.[132]

In a further step towards ensuring that these growing labour needs would be satisfied the Prevention of Vagrancy and Squatting Act was promulgated in 1879. This Act defined vagrants as "idle and disorderly persons". According to the Act vagrants were persons who could not give satisfactory accounts of themselves when found "wandering about" with no visible or insufficient lawful means of support. Vagrants were also those persons found on farms or loitering about on land without the owner's permission. The Act further stipulated that squatters trespassing on unused crown land and/or mission land were also vagrants. Any person found wandering in a public place without sufficient clothing to be deemed decent, could be labelled "disorderly" and punished in terms of the law for vagrancy.[133] The Act was aimed at ensuring a docile, and accessible indigenous labour-force. The Vagrancy Act was also set on preventing any newly incorporated "natives" from forming alliances with groups of indigenous peoples within the Cape Colony.

6.4.1 From Missions to "Locations"

While thus combating "vagrancy" and putting more stringent labour controls in place fundamental changes were also made to the basis of indigenous entitlements to land within the colony. Colonial authorities at the Cape put in place legislation that permitted the creation of "native locations". These "locations" were intended as secular alternatives to the mission stations. In terms of the Native Locations, Lands, and Commonage Act 40 of 1879, native locations were to be established under the direct control and authority of colonial officials on unused government land. In effect these became labour camps and places where apprehended vagrants could be located, thence to be employed in the growing agriculture, manufacture and/or mining industries.[134] According to the Native Locations Act of 1879 portions of land were to be divided into lots, with each lot granted to individuals under quitrent tenure. The Act further stipulated that land adjoining, or in the vicinity of the lots, was to be set aside as commonage for the communal pasturage of live-stock. Colonial

---

[132] Switzer, Power and Resistance in an African Society, p. 100.
[133] For the Prevention of Vagrancy and Squatting, Act 23, 1879.
[134] To Provide for the Disposal of Lands Forming Native Locations, Act 40, 1879.

officials determined and fixed the number of lots held by each qualifying individual male.[135] In these secular locations emphasis was thus placed on individual ownership under the jurisdiction of appointed colonial officials. Each established location represented an alternative beacon to the numerous mission establishments in which various permutations of communal land tenure still prevailed under the control and authority of particular mission societies.

From 1879 onwards the Cape colonial government's response to, and support for mission stations changed. Colonial laws were promulgated that systematically limited the basis on which rights in land had been granted to indigenous peoples residing at mission stations and on crown land. Thus colonial authorities made provision for mission societies to transfer land from being held in trust for residing communities to land held in freehold by individual occupants of the mission stations. The London Mission Society responded by applying this provision to mission stations like, Hankey, Pacaltsdorp, and Zuurbrak. In many cases the land held under individual title at these places were later sold to colonial farmers.[136] In 1881 the Cape colonial government revoked all previous acknowledged authority vested in missionaries through the promulgated Village Management Act. All villages and communities not classified as municipalities, such as the mission stations and those communities residing on crown land, were affected by this 1881 Act.[137] Colonial officials set out a course aimed at redefining the role of the missionary at mission stations. In terms of the Village Management Act provision was made for the election, from the resident community, of a Board of Management that comprised of at least three persons.[138] When implemented this new structure would separate the secular administration of the village from the practice of the Christian doctrine and ritual. Calls by mission station residents to limit the authority of the missionaries, and clarify the rights in land at the Moravian grant stations in favour of residents resonated with the government's project of controlling the allocation of land to indigenous peoples. The implementation of this new management structure at mission stations was difficult for the colonial

[135] To Provide for the Disposal of Lands Forming Native Locations, Act 40, 1879.
[136] D. Japhta, V. Japhta, L. le Grange, and F. Todeschini, 'Mission Settlements in South Africa', a Pilot Study for the Department of Environmental Affairs, April 1992, p. 42.
[137] Japhta et al., 'Mission Settlements in South Africa', p. 41; To Provide for the Management of Villages and other Communities not being Municipalities, Act 29, 1881.
[138] To Provide for the Management of Villages and other Communities not being Municipalities, Act 29, 1881.

office to supervise and deal with. As a result it was unsuccessfully applied to the mission stations.[139]

6.4.2 Political Organisation and Protest: The Franchise and Land

The final defeat of the independent Xhosa people in the war of 1877-78 and the annexation of the Transkei brought an end to violent resistance to colonial conquest and to a century and more of frontier wars on the Eastern Cape frontier, but it did not mean the end of resistance and opposition to colonial and white minority domination. On the contrary, from the 1880s this resistance took the new form of political organisation within and on the basis of colonial institutions. Significantly the earliest such political organisations emerged in the Eastern Cape, often with prominent Mfengu involvement. A number of organisations emerged during the 1880s, which mobilised their membership around issues of education, land, forced disarmament, the registration of natives as voters, and tax grievances. During 1882 the Ibuma Yama Nyama[140] was launched in Port Elizabeth, and was primarily a Mfengu organisation.[141] In 1884 the Glen Grey's Thembu Association was launched.[142] During 1885 the Peddie Native Association, which was also called the Fingo Association or Manyano Lwabantsundu, was formed as well as the Native Vigilance Association of King William's Town. In 1887 the Fingoland organisation Manyano nge Mvo Zabantsundu,[143] was established.[144] No similar political organisation was yet formed in the Tsitsikamma though there was some political activity since Clarkson was used as a polling station during the 1884 parliamentary election. A report from the resident missionary at the time noted that "not only our own people, but also most neighbouring farmers recorded their votes here, and everything passed off in the most orderly manner".[145]

The political activities of these organisations were propelled forward by the promulgation of the Voters Registration Act of 1887. This Act significantly limited the franchise of those indigenous

---

[139] Japhta et al., 'Mission Settlements in South Africa', p. 41.
[140] In English this means the South African Aborigines Association.
[141] Switzer, Power and Resistance in an African Society, p. 145.
[142] A. Odendaal, Vukani Bantu: The Beginnings of Black Protest Politics in South Africa to 1912 (Cape Town, David Philip, 1984), p. 10.
[143] In English this means the Union for Native Opinion.
[144] Switzer, Power and Resistance in an African Society, pp. 144-153. A portion of the annexed British Kaffraria, between Fish and Keiskamma Rivers, was named Fingoland.
[145] Periodical Accounts, xxxiii: 346 (March 1885), p. 224.

peoples who had held rights in land, albeit as communal property.[146] In terms of the Voters Registration Act of 1887 all forms of communal land tenure were excluded from the property qualification for the franchise in the Cape colony.[147] In the Glen Grey district, in particular, even though the plots of land within each of the eighteen locations were allocated to individuals, the colonial government still regarded the locations as communal land.[148] Mobilisation against the implementation of this Act did not take place on an ethnic basis but was specifically inclusive of all "natives". Meetings were held, resolutions passed, and submission of petitions made to the Cape and British Parliaments. Political mobilisation culminated in the formation of the first regional indigenous peoples organisation called the Ibumba Eliliso Lomzi Yabantsundu[149], which was led by JohnTengu Jabavu, who was also the editor of the first regular newspaper, Imvo Zabantsundu (which means 'Native Opinion').[150] In 1887 an editorial of Imvo Zabantsundu addressed all indigenous peoples and described the aims and objectives of the 1887 Act as:

> "To keep our countrymen from their rights as liege subjects of the queen ... (with) the provisions of the Bill whereby the aboriginal inhabitants of this portion of her majesty's dominion are to be deprived of the privileges they have enjoyed in common with their fellow-subjects, the colonists since British rule were set up in these parts. This Bill seriously affected the rights of the majority of the inhabitants of this country".[151]

Significantly, political opposition to the Act was thus not based on invoking pre-colonial institutions or values; rather it was explicitly based on the "aboriginal people's" rights and privileges as British subjects. This became the basic assumption of the new form of constitutional political opposition and protest of these political organisations.

Increasingly the franchise became a focus of political contestation. Another amendment aimed at limiting the franchise of eligible indigenous peoples was introduced by the colonial government in

---

[146] S. Trapido, 'African Politics in the Cape, 1884-1910', Journal of African History ix: I (1968), p. 81.
[147] Davenport, South Africa, p. 97.
[148] Switzer, Power and Resistance in an African Society, pp. 102-103.
[149] This means the Union of Native Vigilance associations. Switzer, Power and Resistance in an African Society, pp. 144-153.
[150] Odendaal, Vukani Bantu, p. 12.
[151] Muzzling the Natives', Imvo Zabantsundu, 23 March 1887 in T. Karis and G.M. Carter (eds.), From Protest to Challenge: A Documentary History of African Politics in South Africa, 1882-1864 (3 vols., Stanford, Hoover Institution Press, 1987), Vol. 1, pp. 13-14.

1892. The property qualification was raised from 25 pounds to 50 pounds per annum.[152] In addition a literacy test was introduced which required an application form to be filled in, in both Dutch and English. Colonial officials announced that the franchise was to be limited to "civilised" men only. A civilised man now had to own property worth 75 pounds or more, or earn an annual wage of 50 pounds in order to qualify for the Cape franchise.[153] In response the new political organisations mobilised to protect and retain the franchise, both as a means and a symbol of indigenous political rights in the Colony.

Next to the franchise the main focus of political protest was around the right to land. This came to a head with the promulgation of the 1894 Glen Grey Act. This Act made provision for the disposal of land and the administration of local affairs within the Glen Grey district and other proclaimed areas,[154] including land already granted to mission societies either in freehold or in quitrent, as well as the commonage land attached to mission stations. One main objective of the Glen Grey Act was to reduce the size and extent of land previously allocated to indigenous peoples so as to constrain their long-term competitiveness in the colonial market. Another main objective was to shift the basis of entitlement to land from customary notions of communal land to individual private property. The Glen Grey district was accordingly divided into eighteen locations, each of which was divided into individual plots of 4 morgen in size and extent. In the redistribution of the land, each farmer was allotted only one plot of land, which was to be held under quitrent tenure, together with grazing rights in the commonage situated in the associated location. A compulsory annual quitrent of fifteen shillings replaced the annual hut tax of five shillings.[155] The rights in land held by individuals were subject to their regular and timely payment of quitrent, the cultivation of the land, and their lack of criminal records and participation in rebellions against colonial authorities. In many cases titles to plots of allotted land were confiscated by colonial authorities if the quitrent was not paid after a period of one year, or if persons were convicted of criminal offences. In addition, the property could only be inherited by the eldest son of the household or by another designated male heir, provided he held no other property in the district. Women were not permitted in terms of the Glen Grey Act

---

[152] Trapido, 'African Politics in the Cape Colony', p. 81.
[153] Trapido, 'African Politics in the Cape Colony', p. 81.
[154] The Glen Grey District was adjacent to the Queenstown District. The area had been a source of much conflict between colonial settlers and the residing Thembu peoples. By 1894 the Glen Grey district was populated almost entirely by its Thembu residents. Thus, while this district was not itself a Mfengu region, the legislation had implications for the Mfengu in the colony. See Switzer, Power and Resistance in an African Society, p. 101.
[155] Switzer, Power and Resistance in an African Society, p. 102.

to inherit and have rights in land, even if such title was only to one plot of land.[156] Though these provisions specifically applied to the Glen Grey district, and not to other parts of the Cape Colony such as the Tsitsikamma, it evidently had major implications for the future right to the land by both the Mfengu and mission communities.

The promulgation of the Glen Grey Act contributed to the further politicization of the issue of ownership of land between "natives" and colonists in the colony. The mission educated landowning community of the Glen Grey district opposed the Act after they realized that with the reduction in the size and extent of their land they would no longer meet the franchise property qualification criteria, and therefore would not be eligible to vote.[157] A petition was published in Imvo Zabantsundu:.

> "the loyal subjects of her majesty and the Natives of South Africa ... Humbly sheweth ... that a Bill ... passed by the Cape Parliament to provide for the disposal of lands and for the administration of local affairs within the District of Glen Grey and other proclaimed districts ... (and) ... that in the opinion of your petitioners this measure prejudices the rights and property of your majesty's subjects, and is inconsistent with your majesty's treaty obligations with large numbers of Natives who are now forced to surrender their rights to lands under Her majesty's treaties and Proclamations and pay a labour tax such as is at best a qualified slavery".[158]

This petition voiced the concern of the "loyal subjects of her majesty," at the inconsistency of the British government in breaking treaties and obligations with them, which deprived them of their rights and privileges of land ownership.

The Glen Grey Act and other attempts to limit and change their land rights in the Colony held a special threat to the Mfengu. After decades of collaboration the Mfengu peoples had accumulated a fairly substantial amount of land held under both communal and individual land tenure. Through sustained mobilisation against the systematic dispossession of their land, initially hidden within changes made to the property qualification of the franchise, the articulation of an appropriated

---

[156] Switzer, Power and Resistance in an African Society, pp. 102-103.
[157] Switzer, Power and Resistance in an African Society, p. 102.
[158] 'The Future of the Bill', Imvo Zabantsundu, 15 August 1894, in Karis and Carter (eds.), From Protest to Challenge, Vol. 1, p. 17.

Mfengu ethnic communal identity emerged. The tools of meaning used to mobilise this emerging "Fingo" self conception included, amongst others, that of "loyal subjects of her majesty", "her majesty's treaties and obligations", and "rights in land under her majesty's proclamations". In seeking to differentiate themselves as having entitlement to land within the Cape Colony, the "Fingo" were implicitly and explicitly differentiated as a distinct group, separate from other "natives", with particular interests centred on their colonial land grants.[159]

6.4.3 Growing Political Awareness at Moravian Mission Stations

The extension of the Glen Grey Act to communities at mission stations and on crown land by 1910 had wide-ranging implications and evoked different responses. The prospect of changes to the rights in land held by both the mission society, on the one hand, and by residents on the other hand, resulted in escalating conflict and contestation.[160] Significantly this took the form not only of protest against the Colonial authorities and legislation but also of contestation within the missionary communities and against the mission authorities. Many communities associated with the Moravian Mission Society became more articulate and demonstrative in displaying their opposition to missionary authority over access to and use of mission land.

A relevant background to the growing number of disputes around rights in mission land relate to the way in which the Moravian Mission Society categorized their mission stations as either "own" stations, or "grant" stations. Each mission station, whether grant or own station, had its own set of out-stations. The grant stations were those that comprised of land grants received from colonial authorities for missionary purposes, which was to be held in trust by the superintendent at the time for the peoples residing at the mission station. The "own" stations were those where the Moravian Mission Society had purchased the land under similar conditions as colonial farmers, i.e. subject to the payment of a quarterly rental, i.e. quitrent. The sale of land was approved by colonial officials

---

[159] CA 36-65, Petition to the Governor from Certain Inhabitants of Humansdorp, 3 June 1865; CA 43-71, Petition of Tozane, a Fingo Chief and British Subject, 2 August 1871; CA 32-79, Petition of Petrus Mohango of the Incibini, in the Division of Queen's Town, 1879; "Disarmament", Cape Times, 10 December 1878.
[160] Krüger, The Pear Tree Blossoms, p. 295.

and registered with title deeds that recognized the Mission Institution as owner of the property. Such own-stations included, amongst others, Elim and Wittewater.[161]

The grant stations tended to be those where there was most internal contestation related to land rights. The Genadendal, Mamre and Enon Moravian mission stations were classified as grant stations and were issued similar Deed of Grants. In the case of Genadendal, the land was granted on perpetual quitrent to the Superintendent of the United Brethren or Moravian Missionary Institution "for the use of and in trust for such persons as may from time to time be lawfully resident at the Institution of Genadendal". The Deed of Grant further stipulated that, "the said United Brethren shall [only] remain in the full and uncontrolled possession of the church, schools, workshops, houses, gardens and plantations of trees water-leadings and other property currently occupied by them".[162] This was known as the Glebe land as distinct from the full extent of the mission land grant. In addition the Moravian Mission Institution was granted "the right of grazing...on the common land".[163] The Genadendal Deed of Grant was similar to that of Mamre and Enon, and may be used as a marker that defined the Grant stations. Firstly, the mission land was held in trust by the Moravian Mission Institution on behalf of residents. Secondly, the mission land comprised a variation of rights in land for both mission institution and residents. While the mission institution was granted full control and possession of the glebe land, this did not apply to the remaining land held in trust for and on behalf of the residents of the mission station. Thirdly, missionaries were given use rights, and not ownership, of the commonage land used for grazing livestock. By stipulating that the full size and extent of land was to be held in trust by the Moravian Missionary Institution on behalf of the residing peoples, recognition was made of customary rights in land of mission residents who in many instances had resided on and used the land prior to the arrival of the Moravian Missionaries.

---

[161] B. Krüger and P.W. Schaberg, The Pear Tree Bears Fruit, the History of the Moravian Church in South Africa Western Cape Province 1869-1980 (Genadendal, The Moravian Book Depot, 1984), p. 41.
[162] The Genadendal Deed of Grant in Isaac Balie, Die Geskiedenis van Genadendal, 1738-1988 (Kaapstad, Perskor, 1988), p. 82. See also our discussion of Moravian Mission Deed of Grants in chapter 3 and 4 of this dissertation.
[163] Balie, Die Geskiedenis van Genadendal, p. 82. The establishment of the Genadendal Moravian mission station is discussed in chapter 3 of this dissertation.

The rights in land at these old grant stations were the subject of much contestation within the mission communities which became more pronounced in the politicised context resulting from the extension of the provisions of the Glen Grey Act to mission stations as well. A missionary reported:

> "the more the coloured population has been agitated by the events of the past few years, and drawn into the turmoil that has convulsed the political life of the colony, the more does a spirit of unrest and insubordination manifest itself amongst them ... the men and young people earn a livelihood away from the stations, more particularly in towns. By this means our stations which were formerly shut out from the life of the world around them, have now become identified with them".[164]

On the one hand the residents of these grant stations regarded the land as their property. On the other hand the resident missionaries exerted their authority over the use of and access to the land. Residents at the various grant stations believed that "the missionaries were acting in their own interests and in opposition to the coloured people. There were some who claimed and demanded station land as their own".[165] At the Mamre mission station a group of inhabitants completely disregarded the authority and presence of the resident missionary. This group proceeded to bury the deceased without the permission and assistance of the missionary.[166] An awareness of the skewed power relations between missionaries and residents combined with the aspiration to obtain more secure rights in mission land spurred inhabitants at a number of Moravian mission stations from the 1890s onwards to mobilize against their resident missionary. At the Enon Moravian (grant) mission station in 1894, residents confronted the missionary Hennig, asserting that Enon and its surrounding land had been granted to them by Queen Victoria after having fought in the frontier wars against the Xhosa in support of the Colony. They accused the mission of having given away a portion in the past. In response the missionary declared that while some soldiers had settled at Enon, there were many other indigenous people who had also settled at the mission station. At Genadendal, also a grant-station, a group of inhabitants opposed missionaries, demanding that the land be re-surveyed. Assisted by a lawyer this opposition group presented a petition to the colonial government, requesting an official investigation into land rights at Genadendal.[167]

---

[164] Periodicals Account, v: 59 (September 1904), p. 559.
[165] Periodicals Account, v: 56 (December 1903), p. 383.
[166] Periodicals Account, v: 59 (September 1904), p. 560.
[167] Krüger and Schaberg, The Pear Tree Bears Fruit, p. 56.

For their part, and in response to these challenges, the Moravian missionaries tended to insist on the powers granted to them by the Deeds of Grants to hold the land in trust for resident communities. On the one hand they contended that the colonial government could at any time change the conditions attached to the use of, and access to, the land.[168] On the other hand they insisted that for the time being the effective powers were vested in them: "in accordance with the statutes of these and other stations of this kind the missionary has also the supervision of all secular affairs".[169] In 1903 the Moravian Mission Society contended that "as grant stations, the ground property of which belongs neither to the mission nor to the natives, but, as is well known, has only been given by the government to the superintendents for the time being of the mission, to be managed for the benefit of the coloured people".[170] Typically, in the case of Enon Moravian missionary, Br. Hennig, voiced his apprehension in the mission giving up its trusteeship over Enon as a grant-station.[171]

Mission inhabitants articulated their political aspirations against the control and authority of Moravian missionaries with greater force and coherency during the Anglo-Boer war of 1899-1902. Residents were inspired by British colonists who mobilised support during the war with the slogan that all civilized people as voting citizens should receive equal rights, irrespective of their colour. As a result most Moravian mission station residents supported the British during the war, while a few Moravian missionaries sympathized with the Boers in their resistance against British imperialism.[172] At the mission station Mamre, an organization called the "Coloured Political Association of Mamre" was initiated by residents two years before the national "African People's Organisation" was established. This local association was very active during the war and campaigned against the authority of the Moravian mission through petitions which were submitted to the colonial government.[173] At the Elim mission station a woman named Martha Jantjies announced to the inhabitants there that at the end of the war, the British Queen was going to expel German missionaries from the mission station and revoke the payment of all taxes. She formed a local

---

[168] Krüger and Schaberg, The Pear Tree Bears Fruit, pp. 41-42.
[169] Periodicals Account, v: 56 (December 1903), p. 382.
[170] Periodicals Account, v: 56 (December 1903), pp. 382-383.
[171] Krüger and Schaberg, The Pear Tree Bears Fruit, pp. 53-54.
[172] Krüger and Schaberg, The Pear Tree Bears Fruit, p. 69.
[173] Krüger and Schaberg, The Pear Tree Bears Fruit, p. 71.

association of mainly young women and petitioned the Governor to expel the local missionary.[174] The expectation of residents at the mission stations during the war was that they would be awarded full political rights as supporters of the British Crown as well as rights in mission land. However, after the war ended on 31 May 1902 full political rights were not extended to all indigenous peoples, which included mission station residents. The struggle over ownership and secure land rights at the mission stations continued after the war. At Mamre, the opposition group continued their campaign of "who owns Mamre, the missionaries or the inhabitants". The demand for self-government, albeit within the confines of the mission station, and secure land rights independent of Moravian mission were articulated more compellingly after the war.[175]

Some clarity was given to the holding of rights in land at the grant-stations by the promulgation of the Mission Stations and Communal Reserves Act 29 of 1909. This Act terminated the role of missionaries in the secular administration and management of mission land. The power and authority of missionaries to allocate land was now transferred to the resident magistrate.[176] The Governor was furthermore empowered "to cancel and annul the existing title in respect of the mission station ... [and] to cause the remaining area of the mission station to be demarcated and reserved for the use and occupation of the registered occupiers ... [and] to determine who are the persons entitled ... to be occupiers of the land".[177] The Glebe land, which consisted of the church, school, mill, parsonage, and the store buildings, were to become the freehold property of the Mission Society. The village and commonage land were to be administered by an appointed Village Management Board under the authority of government.[178] Opposition groups at various Moravian grant-stations still objected to the Mission Society holding rights in the Glebe land.[179]

At the own-stations the Moravian Mission Society had in most cases purchased the land under similar conditions imposed by the colonial government on colonial farmers subject to the payment of a quarterly rental, i.e. quitrent. The sale of land was approved by colonial officials and registered

---

[174] Krüger and Schaberg, The Pear Tree Bears Fruit, p. 72.
[175] Krüger and Schaberg, The Pear Tree Bears Fruit, p. 79.
[176] Japhta et al., 'Mission Settlements in South Africa', p. 41; To Provide for the Management of Villages and other Communities not being Municipalities, Act 29, 1881, p. 42.
[177] To Provide for the Better Management and Control of certain Mission Stations and certain Lands Reserved for the Occupation of certain Tribes or Communities, and for the Granting of Titles to the Inhabitants of such Stations and Reserves, Act 29, 1909.
[178] Krüger and Schaberg, The Pear Tree Bears Fruit, p. 68.
[179] Krüger and Schaberg, The Pear Tree Bears Fruit, pp. 81-89.

with Title Deed that recognized the Mission Institution as owner of the property.[180] In general, the land rights at the own-stations had been granted in freehold, not held in trust, and not held on behalf of any group of indigenous peoples. In general there tended to be less contestation about land rights at the own-stations, though some cases were more complicated. For example, the Goedverwacht Moravian mission station has been designated as an own-station. However, the farm had been bequeathed by a colonial farmer to a group of ex-slaves and their descendents whom he had employed on his farm. Moravian missionaries came to hear about this group and eventually settled amongst them and systematically took over the administration and payment of its quarterly rental.[181]

In the case of the out-stations the Moravian Mission Institution acknowledged that they had very little control and authority over the peoples residing there, and more importantly no rights in land. The out-stations did not always consist of settled mission communities. In most cases congregants lived scattered in the surrounding area and would periodically commune together at one place. The out-stations effectively were places at which the Mission Society obtained permission to administer its pastoral care to congregants.

In the case of Clarkson, the Mission Society had been granted land by the colonial authorities for the purpose of establishing a mission station among the Fingoes in the Tsitsikamma.[182] It is worthwhile noting that the Moravian Mission Society still regarded Clarkson as a *grant-station* in 1909.[183] However Clarkson was not listed as a mission reserve with the promulgation of the Mission Stations Act of 1909.[184] The Clarkson land was held both in freehold and in trust by the Moravian Mission Society, and later became categorized as an *own-station.*[185] The neighbouring Doriskraal, Snyklip and Wittekleibosch remained categorized by the Mission Society as separate *out-stations* of Clarkson. Even though the Moravian Society had established schools at each *out-*

---

[180] Krüger and Schaberg, The Pear Tree Bears Fruit, p. 41.
[181] Krüger, The Pear Tree Blossoms, pp. 217-219.
[182] The complications and ambiguities surrounding the Clarkson Deed of Grant are discussed in chapter 3 of this dissertation.
[183] Periodical Account, v: 59 (September 1904), p. 560.
[184] The mission stations Mamre, Enon, Genadendal, Shiloh, Goshen and Engotini were all categorised as mission land to which the Mission Stations and Communal Reserve Act of 1909 was to be applied. Periodical Account, viii: 91 (September 1912), pp. 350-352.
[185] The ambiguities contained in the Clarkson Deed of Grant are discussed in detail in section 4.6.1 of this dissertation.

station, the respective Mfengu communities remained independent of the Moravian missionary authority and with rights in land vesting in each community respectively.

In 1895 conflict erupted between the Moravian mission and residents when the missionary Zimmermann and his family were permanently stationed at Wittekleibosch. During 1896 Zimmermann convened a meeting with all adult males and described the mission's intentions to them. Those who opposed his presence on their land chose not to attend the meeting. Those at the meeting were concerned about the cost implications of becoming members of a mission station. They were also apprehensive about the imposition of mission rules and regulations (the Moravian Ethic) and their adherence thereto. The Wittekleibosch Mfengu community lived scattered across their land. For them, the establishment of a closed mission station involved the difficulty of relocating from where they currently resided to a place of central settlement. Conflict escalated during 1897 after the Humansdorp Magistrate appointed Zimmermann as headman and tax collector of the Wittekleibosch Mfengu community. In general the people of Wittekleibosch were opposed to having a missionary appointed as headman and tax collector. This was a position previously held by their local chief. The inhabitants of Wittekleibosch sent petitions against Zimmermann to the superintendent of the Moravian Mission Society. Their opposition became violent when buildings were vandalized.[186]

In rejection of the Moravian mission's intervention at Wittekleibosch, a number of inhabitants joined the Ethiopian Church during 1897.[187] This church was founded in 1892 under the leadership of Mangena Mokone and James M. Dwane. At the time "Ethiopia" was a symbol of independent Africa and a historic centre of African Christianity with deep biblical roots. The Ethiopian Church provided a significant outlet for African Christians who did not want to be subsumed in the established hierarchies of the various denominational churches but wished to found their "independent" organisation.[188] Membership grew significantly in the 1890s and it was during this period that the church was introduced to residents of Wittekleibosch in the Tsitsikamma. A

---

[186] Krüger and Schaberg, The Pear Tree Bears Fruit, pp. 59-60.
[187] Periodical Accounts, v: 53 (March 1903), p. 226.
[188] Switzer, Power and Resistance in an African Society, pp. 182-183. There was also the Ethiopian victory over the Italians at Adowa, an event which further accented the element of independence contained in the name "Ethiopian", especially within the context of colonialism and its accompanying Western missionary movements. See also Davenport, South Africa, p. 210.

Moravian missionary report stated "The Ethiopian Church ... its influences and its intrigues are ... responsible for open declaration of individuals among the people that they do not want our church and our schools any longer. They wish to live in unrestrained indulgence of their own desires, which they would be at liberty to do were they connected with the Ethiopian Church".[189] An opposition school was opened under the banner of the Ethiopian Church. Not having a building, Wittekleibosch residents devised ways to occupy the Moravian school building, resulting in direct conflict with the Moravian missionary.[190] Br. Zimmerman and his family were eventually forced to leave Wittekleibosch.[191] A Moravian missionary report noted that "the advent of a white missionary as the official representative of government was to them [the Mfengu of Wittekleibosch] an indication of undesirable control ... [they] therefore began to look for some other church".[192] Resistance by the Wittekleibosch Mfengu community to Moravian mission authority and their objection to possible changed rights in land complemented the growing political awareness among congregants at the various Moravian mission settlements within the Cape colony. However their independence, prosperity, and connectedness to their land in relation to the Moravian Clarkson mission station enabled this Wittekleibosch Mfengu community to disconnect itself from the Moravian mission in defence of its rights in land thereby effectively affirming a Wittekleibosch Mfengu communal identity.

6.5 Conclusion

In this chapter we have focussed on different patterns of rebellion, collaboration and opposition to the consolidation of colonial domination in the case of different local communities. By threading through our themes of land and labour we have sketched together a social historical context wherein constructed and appropriated communal identities were formed, in particular the communal identities of the Moravian mission Clarksoners and Tsitsikamma Mfengu.

Resistance, rebellion and collaboration were significant elements of the 1850-3 Eastern Cape frontier war. The important alliances between internal groupings in the Colony with Xhosa forces in

---

[189] Periodical Accounts, v: 56 (December 1903), p. 383.
[190] Periodical Accounts, v: 53 (March 1903), p. 226.
[191] Krüger and Schaberg, The Pear Tree Bears Fruit, pp. 59-60.
[192] Periodical Accounts, v: 53 (March 1903), p. 226.

the context of this frontier war involved very different kinds of struggles. While the Xhosa were resisting conquest and colonisation in an effort to secure the survival of an independent Xhosa society; the Kat River and other rebels were already colonial subjects and claiming their rights as such. We briefly described the battles fought at the Kat River settlement and the Shiloh Moravian mission station as noteworthy rebellions during this frontier war. This impacted on the growing awareness against forms of domination amongst peoples residing at various Moravian Mission stations. This awareness made visible sustained relations of power of Moravian missionaries over residents. At the mission stations of Genadendal and Elim, groups were formed in which the authority and imposed regulations of the missionaries were critically questioned, and campaigned against.

The Mfengu peoples residing within the colony remained loyal in their support of the British Colony. Throughout the 1850-1853 frontier war the Mfengu inhabitants of the Kat River and Shiloh settlements remained steadfast in their assistance given to British colonial troops. In 1850 the inhabitants of the Clarkson Moravian mission station still comprised largely of Mfengu. Unlike some of the other Moravian mission stations, the missionaries at Clarkson were not threatened by the formation of opposition groups that campaigned against missionary and colonial authority. The peoples from the Tsitsikamma district on the whole acted in support of the colony. With no dissension and no eminent battles taking place in the district, Clarkson was noted during the war as being a "place of safety" to which women and children from battle-torn areas elsewhere were sent.

In the aftermath of the 1850-1853 frontier war the victorious colonial government appropriated further land. Resistance to colonial domination amongst many Xhosa and Thembu communities took on a spiritual form, and was articulated as the cattle-killing prophecies. These prophecies were preceded by and coincided with the spread of a deadly cattle disease throughout the Cape colony. Believers of the cattle-killing prophecy were convinced that the killing of their cattle and the non cultivation of their land would result in the symbolic recreation of a cleansed Xhosa nation. When the prophecy was not realised thousands of people were left impoverished and in famine. Xhosa labourers within the colony increased dramatically. Many destitute women and children were rounded up by colonial officials, centrally confined, and indentured as labourers within the

colony. The position of relative privilege held by the Tsitsikamma Mfengu, especially the beach workers at the Port Elizabeth harbour were seriously threatened by the sudden over-supply of labour. The unique position of the Mfengu peoples within the Cape Colony was further threatened after the ninth Eastern Cape frontier war of 1877-8 following incorporation of Xhosa peoples into the colony and their designation with the Mfengu as "natives" of the colony. A Fingo ethnic communal identity began emerging in which the Mfengu referred, to themselves, amongst others, as "loyal subjects of her majesty". The theme of the Mfengu as an independent group with rights in land was carried through among the Tsitsikamma Mfengu communities. The forceful opposition of the Wittekleibosch Mfengu Community in particular, in displaying their rejection of Moravian mission authority and its attempts to establish a mission station on their land with possible changed rights in land brought to the fore a constituted, emerging Wittekleibosch Mfengu communal identity.

Chapter Seven

Interlude: The Shaping of Rights in Land and of Official Identities: 1910-1975

7.1 Introduction

In the previous chapter we saw how the allocation of land grants in the Tsitsikamma, both for missionary purposes and to indigenous groups like the Mfengu, impacted on the way in which communal identities came to be differentiated and represented. We examined the spatial organization of the Clarkson mission and Mfengu land as well as the ambiguities surrounding rights in land at Clarkson. We also saw that even though Moravian missionaries had the right to control access to, and use of, the Clarkson land, their ownership of the land was limited in that they were not permitted, in terms of the Deed of Grant, to sell and alienate the land they held in trust for the Tsitsikamma Mfengu. Similar limitations were attached to the mission land, of among others, Genadendal, Elim, Mamre, Enon, Wittewater and Goedverwacht. We saw that at many of these mission stations the residents or members of the mission communities challenged and confronted the authority and rights in land of the Moravian Mission Society. In these cases the mission communities claimed that they were entitled to the land they occupied and used.

In this chapter we do not give an in-depth socio-historical and discursive analysis. Rather, we describe some of the more significant laws and policies promulgated during the period between 1910 and 1975 that shaped and affected rights in land held by land-owning indigenous communities like the Tsitsikamma Mfengu as well as mission communities like the Clarksoners. We will be specifically interested in these laws and policies in so far as the official determining of rights in land influenced the emerging appropriated communal identities. This chapter serves then as a link between the more in-depth socio-historical and discursive analyses of relevant developments up to the end of the 19th century, and the actual forced removal of the Tsitsikamma Mfengu communities in 1977 that will be discussed in the next chapter.

This does not mean that an in-depth socio-historical and discursive analysis of land and communal identity of the Clarkson and Tsitsikamma Mfengu communities during this period would not be

relevant and, indeed, necessary for our purposes. That would amount to denying the local and discursive impacts of segregation and apartheid on the contemporary formation of these communal identities! On the contrary, the point is that this is such an extensive subject in its own right that it cannot possibly be accommodated within the practical confines of the present study. On the other hand, it would not make sense to proceed directly from our historical account and analysis of 19th century developments to the forced removal of the Tsitsikamma Mfengu in 1977 and their successful campaign for restitution of land in the 1990s. We need to provide at least a minimal survey of the legal and policy frameworks put into place during the 20th century in so far as these have a direct bearing on our case study. This can in no way take the place of a proper in-depth socio-historical and discursive analysis but must serve as a practical compromise given the limitations of this study.

In this chapter we will outline the limiting of rights in land held by indigenous peoples through laws of segregation and apartheid promulgated by the Union and the later Republic of South Africa. We will explain some of the territorial and spatial segregation laws and policies enforced by the State, which contributed to the enforced racial and ethnic differentiation between peoples. We will further describe how this officially imposed racial and ethnic differentiation fuelled contestations between residents and missionaries of the Clarkson mission station, on the one hand, and the neighbouring Mfengu communities, on the other hand regarding their respective claims of entitlement to shared portions of commonage land. We will also briefly describe the establishment of an independent indigenous Moravian Church (Western Cape) as successor to the Moravian Mission Society and the transfer of land previously held by it.

7.2 Land and Labour: Consolidating the Legal Framework

The basic legal framework for the official regulation of indigenous land and labour was put into place soon after Union with the promulgation of the Native Labour Regulation Act of 1911 and the 1913 Natives Land Act. These were basically introduced to cater for the needs of the rapidly growing mining industry as well as the expanding commercial agricultural sector. The labour needs of these different sectors were by no means the same. The developing mining industry, on the one hand, required a system of migrant labour, i.e. of predominantly cheap contractual labourers that

would leave the mines at the end of their period of service. Needed was the employment of single males who remained connected with, and who returned to, their families and communities in the "reserves" after their contract expired.[1] The emergent commercial agriculture, on the other hand, required seasonal labourers that were for the most part resident on the farms. In addition to the demand for cheap labour, many of these expanding commercial farmers called on government to release appropriated reserved (indigenous) land and labour for use by the agricultural sector. Through the Native Labour Regulation Act of 1911 the pass system was (re)fashioned, and tied "native" family labour to "white" owned farms. The Act also addressed the labour needs of the mining industry, allowing the employment of migrant labour from outside the borders of South Africa and prohibiting the permanent settlement of employees on mine property.[2]

The 1913 Natives Land Act set out to systematically crush the prospects for indigenous farmers by limiting their access to land so that they could be drawn more easily into the reserved labour market.[3] It was to be the legal platform from which both the basic land rights of indigenous peoples and South Africa's reserve labour system would be shaped.[4] The Natives Land Act consolidated land appropriated during the 1800s by the colonies of the Cape and Natal, and by the Boer republics of the Transvaal and the Orange Free State. This land law made provision for "the purchase and leasing of land by natives and other persons ... in connection with the ownership and occupation of land by natives and other persons".[5] The Act defined "native", inter alia, as "any person, male or female, who is a member of an aboriginal race or tribe of Africa".[6] "Natives" thus included all indigenous peoples of Africa, and so designated an inclusive racial category that, amongst others, incorporated the Khoisan, Xhosa and Mfengu peoples of the Cape. The land allocated to these various groups termed "native" was referred to as "native reserves" and were defined territorial spaces. These designated areas were differentiated from the land appropriated and claimed by colonists, a group of people then officially referred to as "Europeans". In the

---

[1] M. Mamdani, Citizen and Subject: Contemporary Africa and the Legacy of Late Colonialism (Kampala, Fountain Publishers, 1996), p. 68.
[2] Mamdani, Citizen and Subject, p. 69.
[3] Davenport, South Africa: A Modern History, 4th edition (London, Macmillan, 1991), p. 165.
[4] L. Switzer, Power and Resistance in an African Society: The Ciskei Xhosa and the Making of South Africa (Pietermaritzburg, University of Natal Press, 1993), pp. 194-199.
[5] The Natives Land Act, No. 27 of 1913.
[6] The Natives Land Act, No. 27 of 1913.

Tsitsikamma the designated parcels of land held by Mfengu communities were Doriskraal Fingo Reserve, Snyklip Fingo Reserve, and Wittekleibosch Fingo Reserve.

The 1913 Natives Land Act was a law aimed at limiting further indigenous land acquisition so as to aid the recruitment of labour for the growing mining and commercial agricultural industries.[7] According to the Act, land was set side as scheduled areas, in which "no person other than a native shall purchase, hire or in any other manner whatever acquire land in a scheduled native area or enter into agreement or transaction for the purchase, hire or other acquisition, direct or indirect, of any such land".[8] The law thus restricted acquisition of land so that "natives" could only buy or lease land in the listed scheduled areas.[9] This reserved land set aside for native occupation had been shaped by a long history of colonial frontier wars and the eventual defeat and dispersal of indigenous peoples.[10] A number of the reserves and mission settlements that had been created and supported during the 1800s by the colonial governments were included in the list of scheduled areas. However, there were also large tracts of unsurveyed state land occupied and used by indigenous communities as well as native freehold land that were not included on the list.[11] These isolated fragments of remaining native freehold farms were officially classified as "black spots" in the white areas.[12] The scheduled areas reserved for native occupation in 1913 amounted to about 7% of all land in South Africa.[13] The listed scheduled areas in the Humansdorp District in the Eastern Cape Province included the Reserve at Palmiet, the Fingo Reserve, the Snyklip Fingo Reserve, Doriskraal Fingo Reserve, and the Wittekleibosch Fingo Reserve. In terms of the 1913 Natives Land Act then, these reserves were set aside as scheduled areas for native occupation. The Clarkson Mission land was excluded from the 1913 list of scheduled areas.[14] Its exclusion reinforced the differentiation of the Tsitsikamma Mfengu and Clarksoner communities: henceforth

---

[7] Davenport, South Africa, p. 234; Switzer, Power and Resistance in an African Society, pp. 194-195.
[8] The Natives Land Act, No. 27 of 1913.
[9] Switzer, Power and Resistance in an African Society, pp. 194-199.
[10] Mamdani, Citizen and Subject, pp. 65-66.
[11] L. Platsky and C. Walker, The Surplus People: Forced Removal in South Africa (Johannesburg, Ravan Press, 1985), pp. 84-85.
[12] "Black spots" is an official term used to refer to all native freehold and mission land outside of the designated scheduled and released areas, and which was acquired before the promulgation of the 1913 Native Land Act. It was one of the categories of land threatened with removal since the land was located in classified white areas. I will follow Platsky and Walker and refer to all native freehold land whether within or outside of the scheduled and reserved areas that was threatened by the forced removals. See Platsky and Walker, The Surplus People, pp. 44-66.
[13] Platsky and Walker, The Surplus People, pp. 84-85.
[14] The Schedule of Native Areas in The Natives Land Act, No. 27 of 1913.

the land granted to the Tsitsikamma Mfengu peoples would be designated as part of the "native reserves", and be subject to legislation governing such land, but the Clarkson Mission land would be excluded from this. By implication the Mfengu people would be considered as "natives" but not the residents on the Clarkson Mission land who, as members of the Moravian mission community, were not deemed "natives".

Underlying the 1913 Natives Land Act was the principle of territorial segregation, so familiar in the colony of Natal, which was now extended and applied throughout the Union. In this regard the Act was also reminiscent of the Cape colony's Glen Grey land tenure arrangements, since it reinforced and formalized territorial segregation. It also prohibited "native" labour tenants or crop-sharers from leasing white-owned land. Such labour tenants were now officially labeled squatters in terms of the law, and declared illegal residents.[15] These restrictions were however not applicable in the Cape Province, since it conflicted with the "native" franchise that was still protected under the compromise constitution of Union which retained the qualified franchise provisions of the Cape Colony.[16] Even so, many of the native freehold landowners in the Cape Province lost their land due to increasing debt incurred from the imposed quitrent and hut taxes and were forced to sell their land to white farmers.[17] Unable to maintain regular payment of the quarterly land rental, they either sold their land or had their rights therein withdrawn by the State.[18]

The 1913 Natives Land Act made provision for the establishment of a commission to assess the land used and occupied by natives within the Union of South Africa. The Beaumont Commission was set up. In its report issued during 1916 a description of the various types of land used and occupied by the (inclusive) natives were given, which included the scheduled reserves, mission land and reserves, freehold farms, unsurveyed state-land, and unoccupied white land.[19] Some of the recommendations of the commission were later incorporated by the government as amendments to the Natives Land Act. In terms of this report the parcels of land held by indigenous Tsitsikamma communities can be categorized as scheduled reserves and mission land.

---

[15] Switzer, Power and Resistance in an African Society, pp. 195-205.
[16] Platsky and Walker, The Surplus People, pp. 83-84.
[17] Switzer, Power and Resistance in an African Society, pp. 197-199.
[18] Switzer, Power and Resistance in an African Society, pp. 204-206.
[19] Platsky and Walker, The Surplus People, p. 85.

7.2.1 From "Natives" to Official "Ethnic" Units and Customary Land Rights

From the 1920s on the State began changing its policies of native control, disaggregating the generic "native" into different differentiated ethnic units or "tribes".[20] Each tribe was ethnically defined and had its own customary law, enforced by government appointed leaders. According to Mamdani "the ethnically defined customary law was both deeper and more differentiated than the racially defined native: it grounded racial exclusion in a cultural inclusion".[21] The property rights in land in the scheduled areas held by "natives" now differentiated on an ethic basis, were to be significantly affected by this change. In 1927 the South African government promulgated the Native Administration Act.[22] This Act defined the "native" as "any person who is a member of any aboriginal race or tribe of Africa: Provided that any person residing in an area proclaimed [in the schedule to the Natives Land Act, 1913 or any amendment thereof] under the same conditions as a Native shall be regarded as a Native".[23] Significantly this definition posed a basic connection between land and ethnic membership as officially determined by the state. The Native Administration Act proclaimed that "the Governor-General shall be the supreme chief of all Natives in the Provinces of Natal, Transvaal, and Orange Free State".[24] In addition the Governor-General "may... appoint... an officer to be styled native commissioner".[25] The supreme chief together with his set of appointed native commissioners ruled through customary law.[26] The Act further stipulated that "the Governor-General may recognise or appoint any person as chief or headman in charge of a tribe or of a location... the Governor-General may also dispose of any chief or headman so recognised or appointed".[27] Particularly important was the power and authority given to the Governor-General to "define the boundaries of the area of any tribe or of a location, and from time to time alter the same, and may divide existing tribes into one or more parts or amalgamate tribes

---

[20] Mamdani, Citizen and Subject, p. 112.
[21] Mamdani, Citizen and Subject, p. 112.
[22] The Natives Administration Act No. 38 of 1927, aimed at providing "better control and management of Native Affairs".
[23] The Natives Administration Act No. 38 of 1927, Chapter VIII, S35.
[24] The Natives Administration Act No. 38 of 1927. Chapter I, S1.
[25] The Natives Administration Act No. 38 of 1927, Chapter I, S1 and S2(1).
[26] In the Cape Province however, the Governor-General was designated as the High Commissioner of all the natives residing there and ruled through his set of appointed white commissioners who were subject to administrative control under the Department of Native Affairs. In this regard the Cape was unlike the other provinces of South Africa, where the supreme chief ruled through selected native chiefs supervised under the Department of Justice (Mamdani, Citizen and Subject, pp. 71-72).
[27] The Native Administration Act No. 38 of 1927, Chapter II, S2(7).

or part of tribes into one tribe, or constitute a new tribe, as necessity or the good of government of the Natives may in his opinion require".[28] In terms of the Native Administrative Act then, the Governor-General was given the power and authority to divide, amalgamate, and/or constitute tribes at will. In addition, pass areas could be created and defined; and regulations for the control and prohibition of the movement of natives into, within, and/or from such areas could be prescribed.[29] Most significant was that:

> "Whenever he deemed it expedient in the general public interest, order the removal of any tribe or portion thereof or any Native from place to any other place within the Union upon such conditions as he may determine: Provided that in the case of a tribe objecting to such removal, no such order shall be given unless a resolution approving of the removal has been adopted by both Houses of Parliament".[30]

The exercise of the Governor-General's power to order the removal of communities or parts thereof in the general interest of the white agricultural landowning public and the mining industry was to have a significant impact on the Mfengu peoples who occupied land in the scheduled areas of the Tsitsikamma.

7.2.2 Scrapping the Remaining Historical Land Rights

Until the 1930s the indigenous peoples of the Western and Eastern Cape, including the Clarksoners and Tsitsikamma Mfengu, retained some of their historical rights to the land and were not yet completely bound by the segregationist laws governing the property rights in land of natives within the Union of South Africa. On the one hand the Clarkson Mission land had not been included amongst the scheduled areas of the "native reserves" by the 1913 Land Act. On the other hand the Mfengu still retained their qualified franchise rights in the Cape with the recognition this implied of their property rights and so exempted them from many of the constraining "natives land" regulations. Both these "exceptions" to the general segregation order of the Union were done away with in the 1930s. The Representation of Natives Act of 1936 finally stripped all qualifying "natives" in the Cape of their voting rights, and thereby removed the partial protection they had of their rights

---

[28] The Native Administration Act No. 38 of 1927, Chapter II, S5(1)(a).
[29] Mamdani, Citizen and Subject, pp. 71-72.
[30] The Native Administration Act No. 38 of 1927, Chapter II, S5(1)(b).

in land.[31] The Act provided for the compilation of a special "Cape natives voters' roll". [32] This paved the way for those officially differentiated as "natives" at the Cape to be legally bound by the stipulated "natives land" regulations.

The Representation of Natives Act once more re-defined the "native", and stated that the category meant "any member of any aboriginal race or tribe of Africa, other than a race, tribe or ethnic group in the Union representing the remnants of a race or tribe of South Africa which has ceased to exist as a race or tribe".[33] The intention of this laborious and contorted definition was to exclude the descendants of the former Khoisan peoples from the category of "natives": though "natives" were conceived as members of aboriginal races or tribes of Africa, and though the Khoisan peoples had been aboriginal inhabitants of Africa, their descendants were not officially deemed to be "natives". The implication was that if the customary land rights of "natives" were recognized in terms of the designated "native reserves" this did not apply to "non-natives". The Act defined the "non-native" as a person who was not a native, but who was also not "white".[34] The Representation of Natives Act thus differentiated between members of the officially recognized native "tribes of Africa" on the one hand; and those "tribes" and ethnic groups and/or communities on the other hand not recognized by government, and which were officially regarded as having ceased to exist like the Khoisan. The Tsitsikamma Mfengu communities were now redefined as an exclusive tribe/ethnic group in relation to the Clarkson mission community's designation as "non-native". This differentiation held momentous implications for their respective rights to land in the Tsitsikamma: in the case of the "native" Mfengu peoples their claims to land would henceforth be tied to official policies regarding the "native reserves" while in the case of the "non-native" Clarkson community their claims to land would depend on the official determination of the status of the Clarkson Mission land.

This important amendment by the Representation of Natives Act of the earlier definition of the term "native" as used in the Natives Land Act was further developed in the amended Native Trust Land

---

[31] Platsky and Walker, The Surplus People, p. 89.
[32] The Representation of Natives Act No. 12 of 1936, S7(3)(4).
[33] Significantly the definition of "natives" in the Act also provided for social acceptance as a criterion: the category of "native" also included "any other person, not being a European who is desirous of being regarded as a native ... is by general acceptance and repute a native ... follows ... the habits of a native ... uses one or other native language ... [and who] associates generally with natives under native conditions".[33] However, the category "native" excluded "any person ... who is by general acceptance a non-native, and whose parents are or were by general acceptance and repute non-natives". The Representation of Natives Act No. 12 of 1936, S1.
[34] The Representation of Natives Act No. 12 of 1936, S1.

Act of 1936. This Act likewise defined a "native" as "any member of any aboriginal race or tribe of Africa ..."[35] but it added important provisions as to how "aboriginal races or tribes" were constituted in law. Officially, a "recognized tribe" was one which the "Governor General may from time to time constitute or declare to be such by law".[36] This meant that in the last resort the identity of a "native" ethnic group, such as the Mfengu, was as determined by the State. Any rights to land of such a "native" ethnic group was also fundamentally vested in the State. To this end the Natives Trust Land Act of 1936 amended the 1913 native land regulations so as to provide for the establishment of a South African Native Trust. Henceforth the land rights of the Mfengu would in the last resort be vested in the South African Native Trust

This Act also authorized that a further quota of 6.2 million hectares of land be released over a period of time and added to the demarcated scheduled areas. On the one hand, some land that had been overlooked in 1913 was now incorporated into the reserves. On the other hand, however, a number of native-owned farms as well as state-owned land that were historically occupied and used by natives remained excluded from the demarcated reserves. The Beaumont Commission had recommended that these isolated native areas be "protected in their existing rights so that no expropriation of that area or removal of its occupants is carried out except with the consent of Parliament conveyed by an Act".[37] However, the limited protection of these freehold rights was not included in the 1936 Native Trust Land Act; officially they were deemed to be "black spots". The Governor General was in fact authorized to "expropriate any land outside a scheduled native area or released area of which a native is the registered owner".[38] In the Cape there were about sixty-three farms, which amounted to approximately 53300 ha of land that were now classified as "black spots" in terms of the 1936 Native Trust Land Act. The removal of peoples from these classified "black spots" would become a main objective of the government's later policies of "homeland consolidation" through the elimination of all native areas that fell outside the official demarcated boundaries of the reserves.

---

[35] The Natives Trust Land Act No. 18 of 1936, S49.
[36] The Natives Trust Land Act No. 18 of 1936, S11(3).
[37] The Beaumont Commission, U.G. 19-16, p. 6.
[38] The Natives Trust Land Act No. 18 of 1936, S13(2).

The South African Development Trust was established in terms of the 1936 Trust Land Act with the State President as the sole trustee thereof. The South African Development Trust was accordingly given the power to purchase, expropriate, grant, sell, lease, or otherwise dispose of land to natives within the scheduled and reserved areas.[39] However, not all the land that was to be released was specified in 1936. The Trust was tasked with the acquisition, over a period of time, of the outstanding quota of land. When added to the areas scheduled in 1913, the additional released land increased the total amount of land allocated for native use and occupation to about 13% of the total size and extent of land in the country.[40] According to the list of released areas included in the 1936 Native Trust Land Act, the Humansdorp District comprised those of the mission stations of Charlottenburg, Clarkson, and the piece of crown land known locally as the Gap.[41] This meant that ownership of the Clarkson and Charlottenburg properties automatically ceased to vest in the Moravian Mission Society and was now held by the South African Native Trust. Furthermore, the released areas of Clarkson, Charlottenburg and the Gap were now added to the scheduled areas of Doriskraal, Snyklip, and Wittekleibosch. The land was officially set aside for native use and occupation, while rights thereto were vested in the South African Native Trust.

7.3 Racial Classification, Ethnic Categorization and their Impact on Indigenous Land Rights

The rights in land, especially of people residing on Moravian mission stations, were to be further affected by the promulgation of the Coloured Persons Settlement Act No. 7 of 1946, which "provided for the establishment of coloured persons settlement areas [and] for the allotment to coloured persons land".[42] This Act defined the "coloured" as "any person other than a European, an Asiatic ... or a native as defined by S35 of Native Administrative Act No. 38 of 1927".[43] It further defined a coloured persons' settlement as an area of land proclaimed to be such by the Governor-General.[44] The law further stipulated that "no person other than the State or a coloured person shall ... acquire or hold any right or interest in land situated within a coloured person's

---

[39] R.J.M. Jones, Conveyancing in South Africa, 3rd edition (Cape Town, Juta, 1985), pp. 30-31; Natives Trust Land Act No. 18 of 1936, Chapter one; Platsky and Walker, The Surplus People, p. 89.
[40] Platsky and Walker, The Surplus People, p. 92.
[41] The Natives Trust Land Act No. 18 of 1936, First Schedule of Released Areas.
[42] The Coloured Persons Settlement Act No. 7 of 1946.
[43] The Coloured Persons Settlement Act No. 7 of 1946, S1.
[44] The Coloured Persons Settlement Act No. 7 of 1946, S2(1).

settlement".[45] This Act then reserved rights in land in specified areas for classified coloured persons. This law provided The Moravian Missionary Society with an opportunity to assert its perceptions of rightness regarding its rights in land at the various Moravian mission stations, including Clarkson. Of course Clarkson was a complex case, since its rights in land had become vested in the South African Native Trust following the promulgation of the Natives Trust Land Act.

The Moravian Mission Institution poised itself to contest the State's appropriation of rights to the Clarkson mission land. The Superintendent of the Moravian Mission Society at the time, Rev. P.W. Schaberg referred to the Clarkson residents' in communication with the Minister of Native Affairs, as the "original coloured inhabitants".[46] In a letter dated 25 August 1948 the Moravian missionary, Hettasch, observed that the Mission Stations Act of 1909 had not yet been implemented at Clarkson. As discussed previously, both the Clarkson and the Charlottenburg properties were land grants that the mission institution had received from British colonial authorities.[47] In his letter, Hettasch noted that the government had not yet regulated and determined whether the rights in the Clarkson mission land as a grant-station were to be held by the Moravian Mission Institution or the Clarkson community. He further asserted that "the government will be right and duty bound to appoint the Mission as holding the property rights of Clarkson".[48] In 1949 amendments were made to the Mission Stations and Communal Reserves Act of 1909. Herein the classified coloured person was defined in relation to mission land and communal reserves as a "registered occupier" who was "not a white person, a native, or Turk or a member of a race or tribe whose national or ethical home is Asia, and shall include a member of the race or class commonly called Cape Malays or ... Griquas".[49] The 1949 Act was aimed at improving the control of mission stations and communal reserves for coloured persons, and for granting titles to inhabitants of such mission stations and reserves.[50] This certainly strengthened the Moravian Missionary Society's case for the (re)classification of Clarkson and its associated properties as a coloured mission station for

---

[45] The Coloured Persons Settlement Act No. 7 of 1946, S6.
[46] Moravian Archive, Clarkson Documents, Letter from Rev. P.W. Schaberg to the Minister of Native Affairs, 20 March 1950.
[47] See discussion of Clarkson mission land in section 4.6 of this dissertation.
[48] Moravian Archive, Clarkson Documents, Letter from G. Hettasch, 25 August 1948.
[49] Act 12 of 1949, To Amend the Mission Stations and Communal Reserves Act, 1909, of the Cape of Good Hope, and to Provide for that Act to apply throughout the Union.
[50] Act 12 of 1949. Further amendments were made through the Coloured Mission Stations and Reserves Amendment Act No. 35 of 1955; The Coloured Mission Stations and Reserves Amendment Act No. 31 of 1959; The Rural Coloured Areas Act No. 24 of 1963; andThe Rural Areas Act No. 9 of 1987.

"registered coloured occupiers". In an undated memo, a Moravian missionary asserted that "there are different native reserves adjoining Clarkson i.e. Snyklip, Doriskraal, and Wittekleibosch. We should like to keep Clarkson, Charlottenburg, Palmiet River and the Fingo Reserve as a mission station for coloureds".[51] The Population Registration Act No. 30 of 1950, which classified all peoples in South Africa from birth into four racial groups, set the tone for further State intervention in limiting the rights in land of indigenous peoples.[52] When combined with the Group Areas Act No. 41 of 1950, racial/ethnic differentiation in relation to territorial segregation reinforced the separation of the "coloured" people from the previously inclusive "native" peoples. In the case of the inhabitants of the Clarkson Moravian Mission station, the Clarksoners were racially classified as "coloured" as distinct from the Tsitsikamma Mfengu's ethnic classification.

The official racial/ethnic differentiation of the Tsitsikamma Mfengu peoples in relation to the Clarkson (non-native) community exacerbated conflict when demands for exclusive access to and use of the commonage land was made. The Clarksoner and Tsitsikamma Mfengu communities shared two portions of commonage land known as "the Fingo Reserve" and "the Gap". Both the Clarksoners and the Doriskraal Mfengu communities grazed their livestock and cultivated the larger gardens on the commonage land of the Fingo Reserve. The Clarksoners referred to this land as "oorloopgrond".[53] In an interview with a resident of Clarkson the use of the commonage was described as "all our cattle grazed there ... it was mixed ... I must say they worked well together because here they went to church and here we went to church".[54] Some members of the Doriskraal Mfengu community petitioned the magistrate and challenged the authority of the Moravian Mission when these now claimed exclusive rights to the commonage land of the Fingo Reserve.[55] The Snyklip Mfengu community similarly asserted their rights and made exclusive claims of entitlement to the commonage land of the Gap. In defending the Clarkson mission's exclusive rights to the commonage land, the Superintendent of the Moravian Mission Institution, Bishop Schaberg,

---

[51] Moravian Archive, Clarkson Documents, Memo: Fingo Reserve, undated.
[52] The South African Council of Churches and the South African Bishops' Conference, 'Relocations: The Churches' Report on Forced Removals' (Randburg, The South African Council of Churches and the South African Catholic Bishop's Conference, 1984), pp. 24-25.
[53] Interview with Chrissie Sedeku, Clarkson, 6 May 2003.
[54] Interview with Chrissie Sedeku, Clarkson, 6 May 2003. The interview was conducted in Afrikaans. The original transcription is "alle beeste het daar gewei ... dit was gemeng ... ek moet sê hulle het baie mooi saamgewerk want hulle het hier kerk geloop en ons het hier kerk geloop".
[55] Moravian Archive, Clarkson Documents, Letter from G. Hettasch, 25 August 1948.

corresponded with the Minister of Native Affairs, and asserted that "throughout the last 100 years the Fingo Reserve has been used solely by the inhabitants of the mission station".

Schaberg wrote further that:

> "adjoining the mission station there is another piece of land known as the Gap ... it is crown land and has for many years been used by the inhabitants of Clarkson and by the natives residing in the native reserve of Snyklip and is the subject of dispute between the two groups ... the inhabitants of Clarkson could probably be induced to abandon their claim to the Gap if their rights to the Fingo Reserve were guaranteed ... the Fingo Reserve vests in the South African Native Trust". He requested that "the Fingo Reserve automatically cease to vest in the Trust ... [and] be granted in freehold to the Moravian Mission Society, thus preserving the rights of the Society and in particular of the inhabitants of Clarkson in perpetuity".[56]

He thereafter met with the Secretary of Native Affairs and secured the use of the Fingo Reserve for use by the mission residents.[57] However, rights to this land remained vested in the State.

7.4 The Impact of Apartheid Policy and Legislation

Before this dispute over entitlement to the commonage land was resolved, the government reorganized all the reserves, through its promulgation of the Bantu Authorities Act in 1951. This was followed by the Promotion of the Bantu Self-Government Act in 1959, which provided a framework for the establishment of autonomous ethnic units in the reserves. Eight Bantu Authorities were created during the 1960s, which represented officially designated ethnic groups. The Transkei and Ciskei were incorporated into the Xhosa ethnic unit. The constituted ethnic unit in the Ciskei was proportionally represented by Rharharbe Xhosa, Mfengu, Sotho, and Thembu. The Mfengu had successfully petitioned the government for recognition as a separate ethnic group from the Rharhabe Xhosa and were as a result not officially amalgamated within the official designated Xhosa tribe.[58]

---

[56] Moravian Archive, Letter from Rev. P.W. Schaberg to the Minister of Native Affairs, 20 March 1950.
[57] Moravian Archive, Clarkson Annual Report, B. Krüger, 31 December 1951.
[58] Switzer, Power and Resistance in an African Society pp. 323-330.

The new apartheid framework was introduced concurrently with significant institutional changes within the Moravian Mission Society. It had progressively decreased its activities alongside the increasing activities of an emerging indigenous ("coloured") Moravian Church in the Western Cape. The shifting relations of power between mission and Church culminated in the Clarkson mission becoming fully integrated into an established, independent, and self-supporting Moravian Church in the Western Cape region of the Moravian missionary field in South Africa.[59] All land that had been held by the Moravian Mission Society in its administered Western Cape region was transferred to the established independent indigenous Moravian Church (Western Cape), at the cost of one pound per property transfer. Included among these was the Clarkson mission land, which had been administered by this region since regional (East/West) differentiation was instituted by the General Synod in 1869.[60] It was in the transfer of Clarkson mission land as an own-station to the independent indigenous Moravian church (Western Cape), that changes were made to the initial Deed of Grant. The 1959 Title Deed changed the registration of the Clarkson mission station and consolidated the three parcels of land that made-up the mission station, namely Clarkson, Charlottenburg and the Moravian Mission. The Title Deed stipulated that the land was to be transferred from the Moravian Mission Society to the Superintendent of the Moravian Church in the Western Cape for the time being, and held in trust for the Church.[61] In this Title Deed the clause found in the initial Deed of Grant of 1841, which specified the land be held "on behalf of and in trust for the Fingoes",[62] was omitted. This omission would be of great significance when claims of entitlement to the Clarkson land were made by the Tsitsikamma Mfengu during the 1990s.

Official ethnic/racial differentiation was amended again during the 1960s with the re-classification of the native as Bantu. The National Party government steadily implemented its vision of apartheid and mission of limiting rights in land held by indigenous peoples in South Africa. In 1967 a general circular titled "Settling of Non-Productive Bantu Residents in European Areas, in the Homelands" stated that "The Bantu in the European areas who are normally regarded as non-productive and as such have to be resettled in the homelands, are conveniently classified as ... Bantu squatters from

[59] K.T. August, The Quest for being Public Church: The South African Challenge to the Moravian Church in Context (1737-2004), 1st edition (Cape Town, Moravian Printing Works, 2005), p. 164.
[60] August, The Quest for being Public Church, p. 127.
[61] Clarkson Title Deed T3168/1959.
[62] Uitenhage Freehold, 9: 7 (15 December 1841).

mission stations and black spots which are being cleared up".[63] The ethnic Mfengu of Doriskraal, Snyklip and Wittekleibosch were now designated as Bantu, were seriously affected when their land was classified as "black spots" that the government required to be "cleared up". The Bantu Homelands Citizenship Act of 1970 and the Bantu Homelands Constitution Act of 1971 established mechanisms for the eventual independence of the Bantustans now called Homelands.[64] According to this law every classified "bantu" person was to be a citizen of one of the created Bantustans or homelands.[65] The Act stipulated that all "bantu" persons ceased to be South African citizens, were declared "aliens" in South Africa from the date of their respective homeland independence, and could be deported from South Africa to their respective homelands at any time.[66] Through the combined laws of territorial segregation and racial/ethnic differentiation, margins of difference were reinforced between indigenous peoples, as in the case of the Clarkson and Tsitsikamma Mfengu communities.

These categories of racial/ethnic difference were connected to the removal from, or the remaining on, the land to which those especially forced to leave had longstanding historical associations with. In most cases such racial/ethnic differentiation assumed and implied separateness with no possible trace of any shared history. Yet among the Tsitsikamma peoples intermarriage persisted and family ties were knotted.[67] According to the Clarkson Marriage Register such marriages took place throughout the 1900s until as late as 1975.[68] Yet during interviews conducted, momentary silence and blank stares skipped over questions about family and ancestral connections between the "coloured" Clarkson mission station and Mfengu communities.[69] In some significant way the official South African story of territorial segregation and racial/ethnic differentiation had triumphed, leaving both the Clarkson and Tsitsikamma Mfengu communities with a perception that they could not

---

[63] Platzky and Walker, The Surplus People, p. 28.
[64] The Transkei was the first Homeland to be declared independent in 1976. See Switzer, Power and Resistance in an African Society, pp. 324-325.
[65]The Transkei independence was followed by Bophuthatswana in 1977, Venda in 1979, and the Ciskei in 1981. See Platzky and Walker, The Surplus People, p. 18.
[66] Platzky and Walker, The Surplus People, pp. 18-22.
[67] Moravian Archive, Clarkson Moravian Church Office, The Clarkson Moravian Mission Station Marriage Register, 1869-1975
[68] Moravian Archive, Clarkson Moravian Church Office, The Clarkson Moravian Mission Station Marriage Register, 1910-1975. Like amongst others the marriage between Johannes Maqungo of Snyklip and Louisa Wolfkop of Clarkson on 21 June 1915; the marriage between Jakobus Njela and Elsie Anelize Japhta on 25 May 1974; and the marriage between David Grootboom and Katie Windvogel on 4 October 1975.
[69] Interview with Miriam Gamede, Clarkson, 7 May 2003; Interview with Chrissie Sedeku, Clarkson, 6 May 2003.

possibly tell a story that celebrates their shared history, given their official classified racial/ethnic differences.[70] It was the forced removal of Mfengu communities from the Tsitsikamma that further reinforced such racial/ethnic differences.

7.5 Conclusion

The official differentiation of indigenous peoples as "native" and "non-native", ethnic Mfengu and racialised "coloured" in relation to specified demarcated territorial spaces; tied community identity formations to ethnic/racial classifications in its association with historical rights of entitlement to land. These racial/ethnic labels and naming of peoples carried within it meanings of separateness, difference and exclusion/inclusion of some and not others in relation to access to, use and occupation of land. The laws and policies described were to have traumatic implications for the peoples of the Tsitsikamma including the Clarkson mission communities in terms of their respective appropriated communal identities and their rights in land. While we have merely described some of the more significant laws of 1910 - 1975 that shaped and affected rights in land held by land-owning indigenous communities like the Tsitsikamma Mfengu and Clarkson mission communities, a more in-depth socio-historical and discursive analysis hereof remains relevant and necessary but outside the scope of this study.

[70] The Legal Resource Centre lawyer, Kobus Pienaar, who represented the Tsitsikamma Mfengu communities in their land claims lodged against the South African government and the Moravian Church wrote in 2000, "... at Clarkson there are two groups of inhabitants which do not have a shared history. The difference in history coincides with racial difference". Kobus Pienaar, 'Communal Property Arrangements a Second Bite' in Ben Cousins (ed.), At the Crossroads: Land and Agrarian Reform in South Africa into the 21st Century (Bellville, Programme for Land and Agrarian Studies of the University of the Western Cape and the National Land Committee, 2000), p. 328.

Chapter Eight

The Contemporary Clarkson and Tsitsikamma Mfengu Communities: From Dispossession and Forced Resettlement to the Contested Restitution of Land Rights

8.1 Introduction

The previous chapter served as an interlude in which we highlighted some of the more significant laws that impacted both on the rights in land and the formation of communal identities of the Clarksoner and Tsitsikamma Mfengu communities. Government policies of segregation and apartheid, effected limits on the land rights held by indigenous peoples, including those residing in the Tsitsikamma, and these were further compounded by official ethnic and racial classification of peoples. Thus by 1975 the land rights of Clarkson, as an officially differentiated "coloured" mission community, and the land rights of its Mfengu neighbours, officially designated as "bantu" (ethnic) communities, differed significantly. Formally the land rights, including ownership, of the Clarkson mission station vested in the Superintendent of the Moravian Church (Western Cape), while in the case of the different parcels of Tsitsikamma Mfengu land ownership was vested in the South African Development Trust. This differentiation in their official land rights of the two communities had momentous consequences in the course of the 1970s when the apartheid government sought to implement its homeland consolidation policy in terms of which the Tsitsikamma Mfengu had to be resettled in the Ciskei. The result of this official racial/ethnic differentiation was that the Mfengu communities were forcefully removed from their land in 1977, while the Moravian Church (Western Cape) retained possession of the Clarkson land with use and occupation rights therein allocated to members of the Clarkson Moravian mission community. In the early 1980s the dispossessed Tsitsikamma Mfengu lands were sold to "white" commercial farmers. Little more than a decade later this traumatic process was reversed when, in the context of the political transition to a post-apartheid and democratic South Africa the Tsitsikamma Mfengu were successful in claims for restitution of their land adjacent to Clarkson (though ironically in the event the land itself continued to be leased to "white" commercial farmers).

In this chapter we will describe the forced removal of the Mfengu people from the Tsitsikamma, as well as its impact on inhabitants at Clarkson who retained use and occupation rights of the land. We will thereafter examine the process of communal mobilization of the Tsitsikamma Mfengu in

relation to the claims for restitution of their land near Clarkson. This will include an account of the process of interpellation of the Tsitsikamma Mfengu as subjects as well as of the representation strategies utilised in constructing a contemporary Tsitsikamma Mfengu ethnic community. The use of land as a theme in this symbolic grounding of the Tsitsikamma Mfengu ethnic community will be examined. We will examine the position of the Clarksoner Moravian mission community in the Tsitsikamma Mfengu ethnic discourse and its relation to the discursively constituted contemporary Tsitsikamma Mfengu ethnic community. We will describe and analyse the land settlement agreement which the representatives of the Tsitsikamma Mfengu community entered into with the South African government and the nineteen farmers from whom the land was taken back with special reference to the themes of land and communal identity (membership). Finally, we will examine the most recent developments in the contested claims of entitlement to the Clarkson mission land which culminated in the transformation of the Clarkson mission into a rural town again with special reference to the selected discursive themes of land and communal identity.

8.2 The Tsitsikamma Forced Removals

The general history of forced resettlements in terms of the homeland consolidation has been well documented and described in the literature.[1] Our concern is with one particular case of forced removal, that of the Tsitsikamma Mfengu in 1977. On 27 March 1975 the Select Committee on Bantu Affairs recommended that the House of Assembly approves "the withdrawal of the Bantu tribes, Bantu communities and Bantu persons residing in the areas set out in Schedule B, in terms of the provisions of section 5 of the Bantu Administration Act No. 38 of 1927, as amended by Section 1 of the Bantu Laws Amendment Act No. 7 of 1973".[2] In the attached Schedule B, the list of affected "tribes, communities, and persons" included those residing in the District of Humansdorp in the Cape Province on the "Doriskraal Location, Fingo Location, the Gap, Palmietriver Location, Snyklip Location, Wittekleibosch Location and WitteElsBosch".[3] As we described in the previous chapter the "natives" had by the 1970s been officially differentiated into separate "bantu tribes", including the "Fingo" tribe to which the Tsitsikamma Mfengu belonged, with the Ciskei as their official "homeland". The House of Assembly approved these recommendations on 14 May 1975, after which the various affected Mfengu communities in the Tsitsikamma were

---

[1] L. Platsky and C. Walker, The Surplus People: Forced Removal in South Africa (Johannesburg, Ravan Press, 1981). See also our general discussion on South African claims of entitlement to land in relation to community identity in section 1.6.4 of this dissertation.

[2] Republic of South Africa, 'First Report of the Select Committee on Bantu Affairs', House of Assembly, S.C. 9-75, pp. 2-4.

[3] Republic of South Africa, 'First Report of the Select Committee on Bantu Affairs', House of Assembly, S.C. 9-75, p. 44.

informed of their pending withdrawal and relocation to Elukhanyweni in the Keiskammahoek district of the Ciskei.[4] The Keiskammahoek district is a rather mountainous area, consisting of tree plantations and natural forests with the Keiskamma River running through the centre of the district. Elukhanyweni is located on a hill that marks the point at which the river valley opens up into the Keiskamma basin. The Keiskamma irrigation scheme, around which Ciskei's agriculture was largely organized, is situated in this basin.[5] Soon after the recommendations were approved by the House of Assembly, government officials called a meeting for those people from the various Mfengu communities in the Tsitsikamma who were prepared to move voluntarily. A group of about 50 people who attended this meeting volunteered to move, and were rewarded with plots of agricultural land in Elukhanyweni. They relocated of their own accord from the Tsitsikamma to Elukhanyweni. Those who refused to move called this group of people the "inywaki", which means collaborators. Of this group of relocated volunteers, 14 households were subsequently incorporated into the Ciskeian irrigation scheme at Keiskammahoek.[6]

The majority of people from the different Mfengu communities in the Tsitsikamma resisted the proposed removal. They refused to abandon their historical and communal land and to be relocated to the Ciskei. In response, the State President acted and issued an order for their removal as provided by the "native" Administration Act of 1927.[7] The selected date for the removals was the 15 November 1977. An order was also issued to the South African police authorizing them to arrest and detain any person who refused to "withdraw" from the Tsitsikamma and be moved to Elukhanyweni in the Ciskei.[8] Legal assistance was sought, and on 21 November 1977, when the forced removal was already under way the headman, Steven Sehewula, gave notice of an application on behalf of the community for a legal sanction against the issued order of removal and relocation.[9] The following day an urgent application was brought before the Port Elizabeth Supreme Court requesting that the State President's order be declared null and void.[10] In the application the evictions were opposed on procedural grounds based on the argument that the parliamentary resolution, which had approved the removal, did not comply with all the conditions for authorizing such a removal as set forth in section 5 of the Bantu Administration Act 1927, since it omitted the place from which, as well as the place to which, the Tsitsikamma Mfengu peoples were

---

[4] Platzky and Walker, The Surplus People, pp. 189-190.
[5] Surplus People Project, 'Reports: Forced Removals in South Africa, the Eastern Cape', Vol. 2, January 1983, p. 260.
[6] Platzky and Walker, The Surplus People, p. 190.
[7] See discussion in chapter 7 of this dissertation.
[8] Platzky and Walker, The Surplus People, pp. 189-193.
[9] Platzky and Walker, The Surplus People, pp. 189-196.
[10] Tsitsikamma Exile Association, *Return to our Land*, September 1991.

to be moved. Judgment was eventually made in favour of the State.[11] An appeal against the judgment was lodged by the headman, but was later withdrawn. Other members of the Mfengu communities also attempted to appeal against the judgment, but the court declined permission for this on the grounds that it was only the person in whose name the initial case had been made, who could lodge such an appeal.[12]

The majority of the Mfengu peoples from the Tsitsikamma resisted the forced removal to Keiskammahoek for as long as they could. They were evicted from their land from 21 November 1977 onwards over a period of two months. By the end of January 1978, the Mfengu reserves in the Tsitsikamma had been emptied of its peoples. Altogether about 400 families had been forcefully moved from their land by government officials, in many cases at gun-point, and were resettled at Elukhanyweni in the Keiskammahoek district of the Ciskei.[13] Officially those removed were compensated for their buildings, but not for their dispossessed land. Most people received compensation of between R80.00 and R180.00.[14] Government officials argued that, since the land had initially been held by *ticket of occupation* from the 1850s onwards, and since all rights thereto later vested in the State's "native" Land Trust, the Tsitsikamma Mfengu land dispossession did not require any compensation. In the event the law thus served as a means for depriving them of their land rights: the law disclaimed rather than secured their rights in the land. However, a substantive issue emerging from these particular forced removals was that the Tsitsikamma Mfengu peoples were evicted from land which had been included in the 1913 list of scheduled areas under the Land Act. They were removed from land that had specifically been set aside by government for "native" use and occupation. In this sense some legal grounds for contesting these forced removals remained.

The land set aside for the Tsitsikamma Mfengu at Elukhanyweni was not equivalent to what they had in the Tsitsikamma. In a few cases a household received about 3 ha of arable land and had access to the commonage grazing land, which was about 25 ha. However the majority of relocated people only received house plots. Those who had managed to take their livestock with them lost it in the drought, some were sold, and others were stolen.[15] In all these ways the forced resettlement of the Tsitsikamma Mfengu proved disastrous to the communities. It also seriously impacted on the long-established communal practices and relations of the three Mfengu communities from

---

[11] Platzky and Walker, The Surplus People, p. 195; Surplus People Project, 'Reports', p. 256.
[12] Platsky and Walker, The Surplus People, p. 195; Surplus People Project, 'Reports', p. 256
[13] Platzky and Walker, The Surplus People, pp. 189-196.
[14] Platzky and Walker, The Surplus People, p. 199.
[15] Platzky and Walker, The Surplus People, pp. 196-199.

Doriskraal, Snyklip and Wittekleibosch, that had largely evolved separately under the leadership and authority of their respective headmen -- each having developed its own unique relation to land used, occupied and owned in the Tsitsikamma -- appear to have been merged together on resettlement at Elukhanyweni into one consolidated group. Even apart from this the removal itself and the attempted resistance to this contributed to the breakdown of old, and the forging of new communal associations and identities. The shared experience of the forced removals from the Tsitsikamma was captured in the numerous interviews done by the Surplus People Project. Interviewee after interviewee spoke about the collectivity of the experience and used such descriptive phases as "we tried to resist by attending some meetings about resistance to our removal", "we organized ourselves as a community".[16] Others described how "we were like animals on the GG trucks", "we were brought on overloaded buses with children and men were on the GG trucks with furniture", "we were brought by the trucks and ordered to erect your tent".[17] The forced removals had fractured the separate Tsitsikamma Mfengu communities. While many people remained in Elukhanyweni after the forced relocation, many others moved yet again in search of work to George, Mossel Bay, Knysna, Plettenburg Bay, Humansdorp, Uitenhage, Port Elizabeth, Grahamstown, and East London.[18]

8.2.1 The Clarkson Mission Community Left Behind in Possession of their Land

Unlike their neighbours, the Clarkson "coloured" Moravian mission community were not forcefully removed from their land, even though the Clarkson mission land and its associated land of Charlottenburg had previously been included on the government's list of released areas. With the reclassification of Clarkson as a "coloured" mission station in the 1950s, ownership rights in the land had once again shifted, this time away from the South African Development Land Trust and back to being vested in the independent Moravian Church (Western Cape). This technical provision provided the legal protection which left the Clarksoners in undisturbed occupation of their land while their neighbouring Mfengu communities were forcefully removed to Keiskammahoek.

In 1976 the now independent Moravian Church (Western Cape), also known as the *Evangeliese Broederkerk in die Westelike Provinsie*, leased the Clarkson portion (farm 654) of the mission land, which amounted to 889 ha in size and extent, to the Kareedouw Boerdery (Farming) Company for

---

[16] Platzky and Walker, The Surplus People, p. 193.
[17] Surplus People Project, 'Reports', pp. 257-258.
[18] Tsitsikamma Exile Association, *Return to our Land*, September 1991.

a lease term of twenty years.[19] An annual incremental rent was payable to the Provincial Board of the Moravian Church (Western Cape) and not to the Clarkson mission community. The initial annual rental was R1514, 00 and increased annually to the total annual sum of R9259, 00 in the twentieth lease year. At the mission station the Clarkson residents were restricted to the use of their residential and garden plots. It was the commonage land at the Gap and especially at the Fingo Reserve, which provided space for grazing cattle and other livestock. However, the 1975 order for "the withdrawal of Bantu tribes ... communities ... [and] persons residing in the areas" as set out for the District of Humansdorp,[20] included the commonage land of the Gap and the Fingo Reserve. While the Clarksoners were not forcefully removed from their residential plots and homes, they did lose access to, and use of, the commonage land that they had shared with the neighbouring Mfengu communities. Moreover the construction of the national road, the N2, effectively prevented the Clarksoner mission community from continued use of the commonage land. It became near impossible to drive herds of cattle across the national road safely.[21] The large parcels of agricultural land that were attached to the mission station, remained largely unused by the local Clarksoners, since these portions of land were leased out to "white" farmers by the central administration of the Moravian Church (Western Cape), the Provincial Board. The cultivated garden plots became fodder for the cattle and other livestock. These gardens were just never cultivated in the same way again after the forced removals in 1977. Thus, even if they did not suffer the complete disruption of the forced removals like the Tsitsikamma Mfengu, these did directly and indirectly impact negatively on the Clarksoners.

In an attempt to recapture some of the feelings that people at Clarkson had at the time of these forced removals we interviewed some of the older residents of Clarkson. One person remembered the evictions as "we did not know ... that the thing would unfold in this way ... We felt very sorry for the people. Because the people who lived around Clarkson, they were taken away in such a wild and inhuman manner".[22] Another person remembered, and said "I think if each one of us could grab a family, and said come, we will build you a house here next to mine, then the Clarksoners would have done that. Because they were really saddened by what had happened. But financially

---

[19] The lease agreement was dated 8 November 1985 and backdated for occupation and use of the land to 1 June 1976. The Director of the Kareedouw Boerdery at the time was Gert Josephus van Vollenhoven. See The 'Notarial Contract', K111/85, Protokol No. 466A.

[20] Republic of South Africa, 'First Report of the Select Committee on Bantu Affairs', House of Assembly, S.C. 9- 75, Schedule B, p. 44.

[21] Interview with Chrissie Sedeku, Clarkson, 6 May 2003.

[22] Interview with Wilson Wolfkop, Clarkson, 6 May 2003. The interview was conducted in Afrikaans. The quotation is translated from "maar ons het nie geweet ... die ding sou onvanklik so ontrafel soos hy nou verstaan jy toe't ons maar net toe kry ons eintlik die mense jammer verstaan jy omdat die mense so wild en op so 'n onaardelike manier hier weggevat was destyds rondom Clarkson".

we were not able to say to that group of people: come, we will build a house behind mine. It was a sad story, a story of tears".[23] The Rev. Jantjies, a minister of the Moravian Church (Western Cape) working at the time in Clarkson, recounted that he attempted to mediate with government officials and regularly questioned them on the need for them to proceed with the Tsitsikamma forced removals. He added "now then, a person came to the conclusion that there was nothing that we could do. And then there were the threats that people like us must not get involved in the matter because this was a difficult time, you could be imprisoned for this issue".[24] In response to the Tsitsikamma forced removals the Moravian Church, on behalf of its membership and of the Clarkson community in particular, protested against the forced relocation of the Mfengu to the Ciskei. The Moravian Synod rejected all government policies of forced removal.[25] The scope and extent of the Moravian Church's support of its member communities struggling against the forced removals have not been fully documented. Subsequent support by the Moravian Church included an offer that the displaced Tsitsikamma Mfengu peoples be settled on church land. This offer was however not taken-up due to internal differences among the dislocated Mfengu peoples.[26]

Being a Clarksoner during this time of apartheid upheaval certainly afforded individual protection, security, and perpetuity in their right of access to, and use of, the mission land. No doubt this strengthened the Clarkson community's attachment to the land they occupied. For the Mfengu the trauma of dispossession and forced resettlement elsewhere served to intensify their attachment to "our land" in the Tsitsikamma in both material and symbolic ways. However, in retrospect it has become clear that the Clarksoners' relatively privileged experience under apartheid served in some ways to deligitimise their claim to the mission land, if not in the eyes of the Clarksoners themselves, then certainly in the eyes of others including the Tsitsikamma Mfengu. The fact of the matter is that under apartheid the Clarksoners experienced relative security by not becoming targets of dispossession and forced resettlement, and in that sense they benefited from the resettlement, at least in relation to their neighbouring communities, the Tsitsikamma Mfengu.

---

[23] Interview with William Uithaler, Clarkson, 6 May 2003. The interview was conducted in Afrikaans. The quotation is translated from "Ek dink as ons elke een kon gaan en 'n gesin daar kon gryp en gesê het kom bou vir jou 'n huis hier langs my dan sou die Klerksoners dit gedoen het. Want hulle was rêrig hartseer toe die ding gebeur het. Maar finansieël was ons nie in staat om vir daardie groep mense te sê kom ons sit vir jou 'n huisie hier agter myne op nie. Dit was 'n droewige storie, 'n storie van trane".

[24] Interview with Rev. Jantjies, Clarkson, 6 May 2003. The interview was conducted in Afrikaans. The quotation is translated from "nou ja, dan het 'n mens maar tot die slotsom gekom dat ons maar niks daaraan sal doen nie en dan was daar ook nog die dreigemente gewees dat ander soos ons moet uit hou uit die saak uit ... want dit was mos 'n moeilike tyd, jy kon vir hierdie saak ook opgesluit word".

[25] *Die Huisvriend*, 1991; Interview with Bishop Ulster, Kuilsriver, April 2003.

[26] *Minutes of meeting held Between the Moravian Church and the Tsitsikamma Exile Association*, held on 3 July 1991, p. 6.

8.3 Reconstructing a "Community" for the Dispersed Tsitsikamma Mfengu Peoples in Relation to their Land Claims

8.3.1 A Petition to the Government for the Restoration of Land Rights in the 1980s

During the 1980s the Tsitsikamma Mfengu continued with their efforts to challenge their resettlement in Keiskammahoek. Individuals, such as Isaac Tembani, acted on behalf of the wider (dispersed) Tsitsikamma Mfengu peoples and petitioned the government to review its decision on the Tsitsikamma evictions and land dispossession. This had no effect. During 1982 the South African Government proceeded to sell the Tsitsikamma Mfengu land to "white" farmers. The land was perceived as being potentially the most productive land in the region. Community leaders led by Isaac Tembani sought the support and assistance of the Progressive Federal Party (PFP), which was the official government opposition party at the time. The PFP challenged the sale of the Tsitsikamma Mfengu land in Parliament on procedural grounds, and argued that if the land was sold then Parliament was in breach of the 1913 Land Act since the Tsitsikamma Mfengu reserves had not been removed from the 1913 list of scheduled areas reserved for "native" use and occupation. In terms of the 1913 "native" Land Act such reserved land could not be owned by "white's", and therefore the land could not be sold. Only a resolution of parliament could order the excision of land from the 1913 list of scheduled areas. However, compensatory land had to be provided so that the total quota of land set aside for "native" use and occupation remained unchanged.[27] A select committee was appointed to investigate the excision of the Tsitsikamma Mfengu land from the list of scheduled areas. This committee reported to parliament in June 1982 and recommended the immediate removal of the land from the list of scheduled areas, since the sale thereof could only follow the adoption of such a resolution. The parliamentary resolution was passed on 12 June 1982 and included a portion of land in Queenstown as replacement for the excised Tsitsikamma land. This portion of land was later incorporated into the Transkei.[28] The Ciskei was therefore not compensated as the designated "homeland" which received the evicted Tsitsikamma Mfengu peoples.[29] In this way the dispossession of Tsitsikamma Mfengu land was questioned by the PFP, then the government's official opposition party, and disputed in parliament, but only in terms of procedural fairness based on whether policy guidelines and legal stipulations had been followed. When parliament found that the procedures set out for the relocation and

---

[27] Platzky and Walker, The Surplus People, p. 200.
[28] Platzky and Walker, The Surplus People, pp. 200-201.
[29] The Surplus People Project, 'Report', p. 280.

displacement of Tsitsikamma Mfengu communities had not been adhered to, resolutions were passed that "corrected" the procedural error. This left the substantial validity and fairness of the communities' forced removal and dispersal by the state largely unchallenged. In a further attempt to challenge the evictions and Tsitsikamma land dispossession, community leaders in August 1983 sent a letter of appeal for assistance and intervention to the Director of Human Rights at the United Nations Organisation (UNO), requesting the organization to intercede with and to approach the South African government on their behalf, on human rights and procedural grounds.[30] It is unclear whether such an intervention was made. Further appeals for support and intervention on their behalf were made to the South African Council of Churches, the Black Sash, NG Church, National Party, and even to the Broederbond. These were all unsuccessful. During October 1985 a petition in favour of returning to the Tsitsikamma land, which consisted of 1200 names, was sent to the Minister of Constitutional and Development Affairs, Dr. Viljoen. A response was received on 4 February 1986, which advised petitioners that their request for return of their land could not be acceded to. Soon hereafter a State of Emergency was declared in June 1986, which restricted all further attempts in taking forward the claim for restored rights in the Tsitsikamma land.[31]

The dispossessed land was advertised for sale to "white" farmers in a local newspaper, the Eastern Cape Herald, during February 1982.[32] The Fingo Reserve, Snyklip, the Gap and Doriskraal were grouped together and were formally consolidated in 1985 into farm number 788.This was then subdivided into fourteen portions, of which the twelve portions placed on sale were purchased in 1983. WitteElsBosch and Wittekleibosch were grouped together, consolidated into farm 787 and subdivided into nine portions most of which were purchased during 1985. Two portions of land from both farm 788 (portion one and two) and farm 787 (portions one and two), altogether amounting to about 1946 ha in size and extent, remained vested in the State.[33] Altogether nineteen farmers purchased various portions of land, which they with the assistance of government grants developed into flourishing commercial dairy farming units.[34]

---

[30] Tsitsikamma Exile Association (Fingo), *Letter from T. Makamba as General Secretary to the Rev. M. Wessels as Chairman of the Board of the Moravian Church in Southern Africa*, 29 May 1991, p. 7.

[31] Tsitsikamma Exile Association (Fingo), *Letter from T. Makamba as General Secretary to the Rev. M. Wessels as Chairman of the Board of the Moravian Church in Southern Africa*, 29 May 1991, pp. 6-8; *Minutes of the Meeting Held between the Moravian Church and the Tsitsikamma Exile Association*, held on 3 July 1991, p. 8.

[32] 'Notice of State Land Available in the Republic', Eastern Cape Herald, 12 February 1982.

[33] K. Pienaar, *Historic overview and Brief Introductory Summary*, no date, p. 47.

[34] K.T. August, The Quest for being Public Church: The South African Challenge to the Moravian Church in Context (1737-2004), 1st edition (Cape Town, The Moravian Printing Works, 2005), pp. 251-253.

8.3.2 Calling the Dispersed Tsitsikamma Mfengu Peoples Together to Claim their Land

It was the historical speech of President F.W. de Klerk on 2 February 1990 that created the social and political space for more effective communal mobilization for land restitution. De Klerk's speech announced the repeal of many oppressive apartheid laws. In April 1990 the Legal Resource Centre (LRC), a human rights' NGO, received legal instructions from a group of aged Mfengu (Tsitsikamma) community representatives who were concerned that the "white" farmers who occupied their land could sell the land they bought in 1983. This group of aged community representatives informed the LRC that they wished to regain their ancestral land.[35]

The LRC had been established in the 1970s as a non-profit public interest law centre. Its purpose was and is to provide legal service to the vulnerable, marginalized, poor, and landless people and communities of South Africa who have suffered discrimination including race, gender, or historical circumstances.[36] Consistent with its commitment to oppose all forms of discrimination and to enable the vulnerable and marginalized to assert and develop their rights the LRC took on the Tsitsikamma Mfengu land claim case. It appointed a researcher to investigate the Tsitsikamma area and the Mfengu land claim, and also appointed a professional lawyer, Kobus Pienaar, as legal advisor.[37] In taking up this case the LRC brought with it, an approach of seeking creative and effective solutions drawn from a range of strategies, which included impact litigation, participation in partnerships and development processes, education, and networking within and outside South Africa.[38]

A delegation of community representatives requested advice from the LRC on how to take forward a campaign against the State for the return of the Tsitsikamma Mfengu land.[39] For the LRC the first step in assisting these relocated Tsitsikamma Mfengu communities was to set up a representative structure in view of the difficulty that since the time when the people were forcefully removed they had become scattered over the Southern and Eastern Cape.[40] Under the guidance of the LRC a unitary association of Tsitsikamma exiled Mfengu peoples was formed, with the establishment of local branch structures in areas like Humansdorp, Port Elizabeth, Keiskammahoek, Plettenberg

---

[35] Legal Resource Centre, *Report on the Mfengu Land Case*, 27 July 1991.
[36] Legal Resource Centre, 'Mission Statement', http://www.lrc.org.za/About/, 20 July 2005.
[37] *Minutes of the Meeting held between the Moravian Church and the Tsitsikamma Exile Association*, held on 3 July 1991, p. 8.
[38] Legal Resource Centre, 'Mission Statement', http://www.lrc.org.za/About/, 20 July 2005.
[39] Legal Resource Centre, *Report on the Mfengu Land Case*, 27 July 1991.
[40] Legal Resource Centre, *Report on the Mfengu Land Case*, 27 July 1991.

Bay, and the Tsitsikamma. These branch structures were to meet weekly. A co-ordinator for the established association was appointed who initially worked from the LRC office, tasked with ensuring that regional representatives hold regular feedback meetings. The LRC spent a considerable amount of time in putting in place infrastructural support that would facilitate the receipt and execution of instructions.[41] The new association was called the Tsitsikamma Exile Association (Fingo) or TEA (Fingo). The process was spearheaded by the drafting of a petition for the "return to their land" and the collection of signatories.[42] The petition was circulated among the local branches during November and December 1990. This process was co-ordinated through the LRC office by an appointed TEA (Fingo) coordinator. All established local branches and regional structures participated and about 2200 signatures were collected. The petition contained the following:

> We the Exiled Fingo from the Tsitsikamma, who were forced off our land at gun point in 1977 still claim that Tsitsikamma belongs to us and is our heritage. We have never in any way acknowledged the authority of the government that has caused us to become landless people. We hereby give notice that we are making preparations to return to the land that is rightfully and inalienably ours"

The petition was employed as a mobilizing tool to establish local branch committees in the different areas of the South Western and Eastern Cape, including Elukhanyweni and Keiskammahoek in the Ciskei, East London, Grahamstown, Uitenhage, Port Elizabeth, Humansdorp, Plettenburg Bay, Knysna, George, and Mossel Bay.[43] More importantly, it was utilized to hail people - ("hey, you there!") - into place as social subjects of an ethnic Tsitsikamma "Fingo" discourse.[44] While the petition was being circulated, members from the already established local committees met at a general meeting in Port Elizabeth to launch the TEA (Fingo) and elect its executive committee.[45] These executive members were mostly much younger than the initial group that had approached the LRC, except for Isaac Tembani who had also been part of the initial group of representatives. Those elected were mostly resident in Port Elizabeth. Attendance of this general meeting marked the first response of the scattered Tsitsikamma Mfengu peoples to being interpellated. It is by no means clear that all former members of the Tsitsikamma Mfengu communities responded or, indeed, that only they responded. It can thus not be assumed that there necessarily was a very

---

[41] Legal Resource Centre, *Report on the Mfengu Land Case*, 27 July 1991.
[42] Tsitsikamma Exile Association, *Return to our Land: an update on our struggle*, September 1991.
[43] Tsitsikamma Exile Association, *Return to our Land: an update on our struggle*, September 1991.
[44] Our discussion of the hailing or interpellation of persons as social subjects of a discourse draws on the theoretical works of Althusser and Pêcheux, which we discuss in section 2.6 of this dissertation.
[45] Tsitsikamma Exile Association, *Return to our Land: an update on our struggle*, September 1991.

close linkage between the membership of the Tsitsikamma Mfengu communities who had been forcibly removed in 1977 and the "Mfengu Community" which was mobilized from 1990 to reclaim their land. This is by no means to dispute that there must have been a substantial linkage and overlap between these different incarnations of the (Tsitsikamma) Mfengu communities. But the key point is that those who responded to the call were those who perceived themselves as being addressed as belonging to the Mfengu whose families had been forcefully removed in 1977 from their land in the Tsitsikamma.[46] It was by responding to the interpellation that some people joined the numerous local committees, which led to the establishment of the TEA (Fingo). They were thereby constituted as subjects of an ethnic Tsitsikamma "Fingo" discourse.

Drawing on the network, partnerships, support and infrastructure of the LRC, the TEA (Fingo) began a systematic media campaign aimed at informing potential members of its activities aimed at reclaiming their land in the Tsitsikamma. Activities to which the dispersed Tsitsikamma Mfengu peoples could respond, and participate in, were regularly announced in the local newspapers. During February 1991 the TEA (Fingo) made known that the "banished Fingo tribesmen" were "to visit the graves of their ancestors for the first time since being banished from the area". It was reported that "the sites would be cleared as they had become very overgrown due to 13 years of enforced neglect" and that "the grave cleaning exercise would be conducted in an orderly way, without causing a disturbance in the area".[47] Between fifty and eighty people responded to the call and participated in the grave-cleaning ritual,[48] which connected the contemporary Mfengu communities with the deceased who had lived on and used the land in the past and who had been buried in the "overgrown and neglected" graveyards. The use of the grave-cleaning ritual may be regarded as an invented tradition and a representational strategy utilized in the process of communal identification to produce continuity with a historical past that was legitimately connected to the Tsitsikamma land.

Central to this process of communal mobilization was the development of a "Fingo" ethnic narrative, a story that was told and retold on various occasions, as a representational strategy giving meaning to belonging to this community. The "Fingo" ethnic narrative comprised of a set of selected historical events and shared experiences, which began to be publicly told from February

---

[46] The interpellation of Tsitsikamma Mfengu ensued proceeded through newspaper articles like these 'The Mfengu People Fight to Regain Tribal Land they Lost at Gunpoint', Cape Times, 22 April 1991; 'The Mfengu People have become a cause Celebré in the National Row Over Land Claims', Sunday Times, 28 July 1991.
[47] 'Banished "Fingo" Tribesmen to visit Ancestor's Graves', Evening Post, 18 February 1991.
[48] 'Plight of the Tsitsikamma Fingos', Evening Post, 26 February 1991; 'Fingos Visit Ancestral Graves in Tsitsikamma', Eastern Province Herald, 26 February 1991.

1991 onwards. The following is a composite account of the "Fingo" ethnic narrative drawn from a range of news reports covering their activities during this period:

> "During the raging of the Mfecane in the early 1800s, a number of tribes from southern Natal were driven southwards to settle among the Xhosa. They sided with the British during the border war, forming a buffer against the Xhosa, and in repayment for their loyalty were given land. They were told they were landowners on the same footing as the white man. When the land was registered the title deeds said it was to be held in trust for the Mfengu and their descendents.[49] ... The land was originally given to the Fingo people by Sir George Grey (sic!) in the 1830s.[50] ... The Fingo people of the Eastern Cape, were the first black people to get the vote in South Africa ... they have since lost the vote – and the land at the Tsitsikamma which had been given to them by the British in repayment for their loyalty to the colonial government of the day ... At gun point they were forced off their land[51] ... in 1977 ... and relocated to Ciskei under the governments homeland consolidation policy[52] ... [now] a dispersed community and most have never forgotten their former homes and lifestyles.[53] ... They returned for the first time in 13 years to tend to the graves of their ancestors".[54]

Their historical claims to the land granted and held during British colonialism, the land lost during apartheid, and the land now reclaimed by the constituted contemporary Tsitsikamma Mfengu community connected the daily lives of all the dispersed people who were responding and being hailed as social subjects in the formation of the ethnic Tsitsikamma Mfengu discourse. The shared feelings of sorrow, loss of dignity, and violation experienced during the 1977 forced removals gave further meaning to perceptions of "belonging to" this discursive community. This "Fingo" ethnic narrative did not wholly correspond with the relevant history of the Mfengu and excluded some key events and elements of that history. The retold contemporary "Fingo" ethnic story excluded the complex set of historical events that had led to four distinct groups of Mfengu peoples being settled in the Tsitsikamma from the 1830s at the request of colonial farmers who demanded from the colonial office that they be adequately supplied with "Fingo" labourers.[55] The historical divisions between these different groups of Mfengu who had been settled in the Tsitsikamma with separate colonial land grants were also excluded from the narrative. The story told was rather of a landscape without territorial or communal divisions that is 6000 ha in size and extent, and which belonged to

---

[49] 'Fingo Exiles Pledge to Reclaim Land', Sunday Tribune, 24 February 1991.
[50] 'Fingoes visit Ancestral Graves in Tsitsikamma', Eastern Province Herald, 26 February 1991; 'Fingoes Visit Ancestral Graves in Tsitsikamma', Eastern Province Herald, 24 February 1991;
[51] 'Fingo Exiles Pledge to Reclaim Land', Sunday Tribune, 24 February 1991.
[52] 'Fingoes visit Ancestral Graves in Tsitsikamma', Eastern Province Herald, 26 February 1991; 'Fingoes Visit Ancestral Graves in Tsitsikamma', Eastern Province Herald, 24 February 1991;
[53] 'Mfengu Ex-farmers Hopeful for Lost Land', Evening Post, 16 February 1991.
[54] 'Fingo Exiles Pledge to Reclaim Land', Sunday Tribune, 24 February 1991.
[55] Forced labour and the movement of numerous armed groups of Xhosa peoples through the Cape colony during the Eastern Cape frontier war of 1834-35 is discussed in chapter 4 of this dissertation.

the exiled and dispersed Tsitsikamma Mfengu peoples now constituted as a unified homogenous contemporary ethnic community. The persistent public use of the name "Fingo" to refer to the Tsitsikamma peoples, who had been forcefully removed from their land, certainly connected them as members of the contemporary ethnic community though ironically on the basis of a term that had a long and contested political history going back to the colonial discourse of the 1830s. In this unfolding contemporary "Fingo" ethnic narrative the identification of the subject with the dominating interdiscourse was clearly an imaginary identification. Following Pecheux, when appropriated words and expressions from the inter-discourse have been reordered and rearranged, then a new discursive practice is formulated, causing a rupture with the identification in the interdiscourse. This modality of identification is called dis-identification.[56] In the case of the contemporary Tsitsikamma Mfengu community, terms, classifications and naming, as well as expressions and selective resources of history appropriated from the dominating colonial and apartheid discourses have been reordered and rearranged. From these fissures of identification in the interdiscourse the "Fingo"/Mfengu emerged as subject of the ethnic Tsitsikamma Mfengu discourse. The previous subjectivisation in the colonial and apartheid interdiscourse was not freely nor spontaneously embraced. The identification was therefore not that of the "good subject". Neither was an opposing position adopted in which all meaning imposed through the dominating colonial and apartheid interdiscourse, is negated. Rather, aspects of the colonial "Fingo" narrative, the shared experiences of dispossession under apartheid, racial and ethnic terms, classifications, and meanings appropriated from the interdiscourse took on a new form and order in the modality of dis-identification. The selective appropriation and reorganizing of aspects of meaning present in this modality of dis-identification thus gave rise to a new discursive practice namely the Tsitsikamma Mfengu ethnic discourse.

As a foundational myth the colonial story of "Fingo" origin dating back to the Mfecane, linked the discursive Tsitsikamma Mfengu community to societies of people in Southern Natal that preceded the Mfecane.[57] Such a strategy of representation successfully contributed in presenting the contemporary Tsitsikamma Mfengu ethnic community as primordial and steeped in timeless tradition, even though the histories of the Mfengu peoples within the Cape colony actually dates only from 1835, while the Tsitsikamma Mfengu peoples received their land grants in 1837.[58] Yet through the re-telling of this foundational myth the origin of the contemporary Tsitsikamma Mfengu

---

[56] See our theoretical discussion of Pêcheux's three types of modalities of identification of discursive subjects with the dominating interdiscourse in section 2.6 of this dissertation.

[57] See our theoretical discussion of what representational strategies and discursive mechanisms are deployed to construct our commonsense views of belonging to a community in section 2.5 of this dissertation.

[58] See discussion in section 4.6 of this dissertation.

community was historically located not just beyond the 1977 forced removals but rooted in the distant past prior to the Mfecane of the early 1800s.[59] As a constructed foundational myth, the disarray and turmoil that set in amongst the Tsitsikamma Mfengu peoples following the 1977 forced removals was converted, at least at the level of discourse, to provide the representation of a homogeneous community linked by a historical narrative which predates the ruptures of colonialism. People dispersed across the Eastern Cape began responding to being hailed as social subjects of an ethnic Tsitsikamma Mfengu discourse. Equally significant was the symbolic grounding of the retold story using land as a discursive theme within the ethnic discourse. Land as a discursive theme comprised of resources of history like the land grants received from colonial officials for loyalty to the British colony in frontier wars waged against the Xhosa; becoming landowners within the Cape colony as males and thereby qualifying for the franchise like other male colonists; losing the vote; losing rights in land and finally being forcefully moved off the land previously owned. Symbolic grounding of the constituted ethnic community on assertions of entitlement to land included calls for "return to our land", "my father told us this land is ours", "we bought this land with our life", and "we fought for this land".[60] As a strategy of representation the symbolic grounding of land as a discursive theme certainly added to producing a homogenous, unified discursive community that belonged together despite the actual dispersal of people after the forced removals and past historical differences between the separate communities that resided in the Tsitsikamma prior to being relocated to Elukhayeweni at Keiskammahoek in the Ciskei.

During 1991 a "white" Paper was issued based on the Abolition of Racially Based Land Measures Act, which stated that the return of the actual land to the victims of forced removals was not feasible. In terms of the Abolition of Racially Based Land Measures Act, the State President was empowered to establish and nominate members to an Advisory Commission on Land Allocation to consider cases of land restitution. The scope of this Advisory Commission was limited only to state-owned land, and land that had not yet been developed. The land claim of the Tsitsikamma Mfengu thus fell outside the scope of this Advisory Commission.[61] In response the LRC, together with other non-government organizations like the Surplus People's Project, brought together representatives of various landless communities among whom it worked. Altogether thirteen dispossessed communities, including a Tsitsikamma Mfengu delegation, came together on 23-24 March 1991, to petition government and hold a national picket, which protested against the official policies of land reform and land restoration that excluded land that had been forcefully removed by the state. The

[59] The story of "Fingo" origin and the historical debate surrounding it is described in section 1.6.3 of this dissertation.
[60] Tsitsikamma Exile Association, *Return to our Land*, September 1991.
[61] *Minutes of the Meeting held between the Moravian Church and the Tsitsikamma Exile Association*, held on 3 July 1991, p. 9.

Tsitsikamma Mfengu delegation included people joining the picket line in Keiskammahoek, King Williams Town, Port Elizabeth and Humansdorp.[62] This coordinated national action initiated by the non-government organization sector, gave momentum to the mobilization of peoples affected by the forced removals, like the Tstitsikamma Mfengu. In a picket by a group of women from the Black Sash on the market square in Port Elizabeth, placards were held up proclaiming "return the Fingo land" and "Fingoes" want to go home". These women also distributed pamphlets issued by the TEA (Fingo) to people passing by.[63] The leaflet asserted that the land still belonged to the "Fingos" and had been registered in trust for them. It further asserted that "we refuse to buy back our birthright and ground our ancestors paid for with their blood" and demanded the return of their land.[64] The picket hailed individuals into place as social subjects of the ethnic Tsitsikamma Mfengu discourse within which the discursive contemporary "Fingo" community was constituted.

The campaign for the "return to their land" gained further momentum in 1991 when the TEA was informed that some of the nineteen farmers' permitted by the State to purchase the dispossessed Tsitsikamma land, intended selling their farms.[65] In addition the looming abolition of the Land Act had implications for the TEA(Fingo)'s land claim, causing the rights in land vested in the South African Development Trust (SADT) to shift and become vested in the South African State President with the power to decide how the land was to be disposed of. In an attempt to safeguard the Tsitsikamma Mfengu land rights, the LRC advised the TEA (Fingo) to cause legal action to be taken on their behalf. On 10th and 13th May 1991, the LRC served a combined Supreme Court Summons on the SADT, the Minister of Public Works and Land Affairs, the State President, and the nineteen farmers occupying the dispossessed Tsitsikamma Mfengu land. After extensive consultation fourteen plaintiffs were selected to take forward the court action, all of whom were direct descendants of the originally state appointed Mfengu chiefs in whose names the original farms were registered and held in trust by the Civil Commissioner of Uitenhage.[66] At the time of the issuing of the Combined Summons, seven of the plaintiffs were resident at the Elukhanyeweni location in Keiskammahoek. Three were resident at the Nomzamo location in Humansdorp. Three lived in Port Elizabeth and one resided at the Weston Location in Hankey. This meant that the fourteen selected plaintiffs represented the different Tsitsikamma Mfengu communities fairly well. Three of the plaintiffs were from Snyklip, three came from Doriskraal, another three came from

---

[62] *Minutes of the Meeting held between the Moravian Church and the Tsitsikamma Exile Association*, held on 3 July 1991, p. 9.
[63] 'Black Sash Holds Fingo Land Demo', Eastern Province Herald, 20 March 1991.
[64] 'Sash Holds Poster Demo for Fingos', Evening Post, 21 March 1991.
[65] Tsitsikamma Exile Association, 'Return to our Land: an update on our struggle', September 1991.
[66] Legal Resource Centre, *Report on Mfengu Land Case*, unpublished, 27 July 1991.

Wittekleibosch, and two had originally resided in the Palmiet River area before being forcefully removed there from.[67] The Combined Summons claimed that procedurally the order of removal from the Tsitsikamma had "no force or effect" since it failed to specify the place to which the people were to be moved. It further acknowledged that by 1982 five pieces of land (Snyklip, Doriskraal, Wittekleibosch, the Gap, Fingo Reserve, and Palmiet River) were removed from the Schedule attached to Act 18 of 1936, and that by 1985 the Title Deeds of these five pieces of land had been endorsed and transferred to the State, [68] which retained the first two portions from both farm 787 and 788, (four portions in total), as well as farm 584. The Summons maintained further that the Tsitsikamma Mfengu people were wrongfully and unlawfully evicted from their land and were entitled to the restoration and possession of their land.[69] The Common Summons was later withdrawn following the implementation of a settlement agreement reached after lengthy negotiations with all concerned parties.[70]

In addition to the pending court case, the TEA (Fingo) approached the charismatic Bishop Desmond Tutu to speak on their behalf with representatives of the South African government. Bishop Tutu publicly announced that he, too, was a Mfengu, and that he would be leading the TEA (Fingo) delegation in its first meeting with the State President, F.W. de Klerk.[71] Given the Bishop's charismatic public status and support, his public assertion that "I am also a Mfengu" played a significant part in furthering the public cause of the Tsitsikamma Mfengu. The TEA (Fingo) delegation included a representative from the Moravian Church Provincial Board (Western Cape). The meeting was held at the Union Building on 15 July 1991.[72] When Bishop Tutu addressed the State President, he described what had happened to the Mfengu people and their land as a result of the forced removals. He added that as a Mfengu descendent himself, he was personally involved.[73] In the meeting the general secretary of the TEA, Thobile Makhamba, described the Tsitsikamma Mfengu people as a reasonable, disciplined, and organized community who wanted

---

[67] *Combined Summons in the Supreme Court of South Africa* (South Eastern Cape Local Division), in the matter between S. Mtselu and thirteen other plaintiffs and the South African Development Trust and 22 other Defendants, 7 May 1991, Case No. 1306/9.

[68] We have not included the Mfengu community of the Palmiet River in our social historical account since we have been primarily concerned with the land and ambiguous entitlements to land surrounding Clarkson and its adjacent Mfengu portions of land.

[69] *Combined Summons in the Supreme Court of South Africa,* Case No. 1306/9.

[70] Legal Resource Centre, *Mfengu Case Report Compilation*, 15 January 1994 to March 1994.

[71] 'The Mfengu People have Become a Cause Celebré in the National Row over Land Claims', Sunday Times, 28 July 1991.

[72] Legal Resource Centre, *Draft Notes, on Meeting with the State President F.W. de Klerk*, Union Building, held on 15 July 1991. The Moravian Church was represented by Rev. B.C.P. Lottering. Bishop Tutu was accompanied by his Personal Aid Rev. Mazwi Tisani, his Press Secretary John Allan, and Bishop Bruce Evans of the Port Elizabeth Diocese of the Anglican Church.

[73] Legal Resource Centre, *Draft Notes, on Meeting with the State President F.W. de Klerk*, Union Building, held on 15 July 1991, p. 2.

neither confrontation nor wished to embark on illegal action. He spoke about "our community" at the time of the removal in 1977, which consisted of about 450 family units, as being a tightly woven community that occupied 8000 ha of land. Makhamba explained further that even though the land had been registered in trust for the Mfengu, each family possessed its own plot of land that amounted to about four morgen in size and extent. Some families held larger portions of land. This land was used for crop cultivation and was held separately from the communal grazing land. Makhamba described how if one person was too old to farm, or alternatively managed to find employment outside the Tsitsikamma, then someone else would cultivate the land for the family who owned that particular portion of land. Makhamba explained further that not all of the members of "our community" were farmers who cultivated the land. Some were factory workers, storemen, clerks, policemen, nurses, ministers of religion, teachers, shop-owners, builders, plumbers, carpenters, taxi-owners, agriculturalists, foresters, while many others were farm workers.[74] The internal divisions and territorial boundaries of the distinct Mfengu communities based at Snyklip, Wittekleibosch and Doriskraal were not highlighted in the retold contemporary "Fingo" story. Rather the Tsitsikamma Mfengu people were represented as a homogenous unified community with diverse professions some of which were no longer related to cultivating the land.

8.3.3 A Unified Homogenous Contemporary Tsitsikamma Mfengu Ethnic Community as Basis for the Claims to Land Restitution

In the event, the TEA (Fingo), as representatives of the Tsitsikamma Mfengu community chose the path of a negotiated settlement with the state and the nineteen Tsitsikamma farm owners. It thereby disregarded the option of pursuing the pending court case on the basis of the issued Common Summons.[75] Some progress had been made in negotiations with the state regarding the restoration of rights in land to the Tsitsikamma Mfengu (exile) community. In these negotiations the first land settlement offer made by the state was presented during September 1992. In terms of this initial offer only a portion of Snyklip, the Gap and Wittekleibosch together with the farm "Nuwe Plaas" were to be returned. This offer also included some developmental assistance. When this initial offer was rejected, negotiations continued. A second offer was made by the state on 28 January 1994, which included the return of all land at Snyklip and the Gap that was situated below

---

[74] Legal Resource Centre, *Draft Notes, on Meeting with the State President F.W. de Klerk*, Union Building, held on 15 July 1991, pp. 5-7.

[75] Legal Resource Centre and the Tsitsikamma Development Trust (Mfengu), *Report to Members of the Tsitsikamma Community*, June 1994, p. 2.

the N2 national road, as well as the return of Doriskraal and the Fingo Reserve.[76] This offer only dealt with the return of land and did not include the provision of houses, even though the homes of many had been demolished after the move to the Elukhanyweni location at Keiskammahoek in the Ciskei.[77]

The TEA (Fingo) held a community convention on 12 February 1994 to consider this offer. Representatives at this convention came, amongst others, from Port Elizabeth, Grahamstown, Mosselbay, George, Knysna, Plettenberg Bay, Kleinbos, Oubosrand, Sea Vista, Kareedouw, Humansdorp, Tsitsikamma, and Keiskammahoek.[78] These representatives had to decide on the acceptance or rejection of the offer made by the State. Rejection of the offer would mean either that they would have to pursue possible claims for a monetary settlement, or the option of taking their claim to the Land Claims Court that was to be established after the national democratic elections on 27 April 1994.[79] It was at this convention that a mandate was obtained for a Deed of Settlement to be concluded with the State and the nineteen farmers who at the time owned the land.[80] Settlement was encouraged despite the exclusion of "Nuwe Plaas", the top portions of Snyklip and the Gap, and the omission of a small piece of Wittekleibosch.[81] At this convention the TEA (Fingo) was also instructed to establish a Trust as the legal entity to which ownership of the land would be transferred, and held on behalf of the Tsitsikamma Mfengu community.[82] Representatives at the Convention requested the community leadership and the negotiating committee to explore all possible options for speeding up the process of settlement. Discussions also centered on whether members should be permitted to return to live on the 4 morgen sized plots they occupied and used before their forced removal from the land. The assumption made at this convention was that few people were ready to take up farming immediately. The priority was therefore to establish a central town on non-productive farm land. Such a town was to have an autonomous and democratic local authority, and not be an exclusively Mfengu location, nor be under the control of the Moravian Church.[83]

---

[76] Legal Resource Centre and Tsitsikamma Development Trust (Mfengu), *Report to Members of the Tsitsikamma Community*, June 1994, p. 2.
[77] Legal Resource Centre and Tsitsikamma Development Trust (Mfengu), *Report to Members of the Tsitsikamma Community*, June 1994, p. 3.
[78] Legal Resource Centre and Tsitsikamma Development Trust (Mfengu), *Report to Members of the Tsitsikamma Community*, June 1994, p. 2.
[79] Legal Resource Centre, and Tsitsikamma Development Trust (Mfengu), *Report to Members of the Tsitsikamma Community*, June 1994, p. 3.
[80] Tsitsikamma Development Trust (Mfengu), *Amended Deed of Trust*, Cape Town, 1998, p. 4.
[81] Legal Resource Centre and Tsitsikamma Development Trust (Mfengu), *Report to Members of the Tsitsikamma Community*, June 1994, p. 3.
[82] Tsitsikamma Ddevelopment Trust (Mfengu), *Amended Deed of Trust*, Cape Town, 1998, p. 4.
[83] Legal Resource Centre and Tsitsikamma Development Trust (Mfengu), *Report to Members of the Tsitsikamma Community*, June 1994, p. 3.

In line with these decisions at the convention a Trust was established and registered on 25 March 1994, and named the Tsitsikamma Development Trust (Mfengu), or the TDT (Mfengu).[84] Eight leaders of the TEA (Fingo) were incorporated as appointed trustees of the TDT (Mfengu).[85] An official negotiated land settlement agreement was concluded on 25 March 1994 between the TDT (Mfengu), the State, and the group of nineteen farmers. This settlement agreement was recognized both by the representatives of the Tsitsikamma Mfengu and more widely as a historical achievement. Not only did it mean that the Tsitsikamma Mfengu campaign for restitution of their land from which they had been forcibly removed in 1977 had achieved success, but it was also hailed as the first major case of land restitution in the post-apartheid era of South Africa. Indeed, the Tsitsikamma Mfengu land settlement significantly preceded the historic founding democratic election in South Africa in 1994. Equally important was that the settlement had been reached in the absence of any official land reform/restitution policy and laws to guide the process. Waiting for such land reform guidelines to be adopted by Parliament and then to be put in place, would have delayed the settlement of the land claim.[86]

More specifically the settlement agreement involved the restoration of rights to 5858 ha of land in the Tsitsikamma. Effectively rights in land had been restored and were now held by the TDT (Mfengu) on behalf of the Tsitsikamma Mfengu community. The settlement agreement involved a large payment by the State to the TDT (Mfengu) of a total sum of R37 680 000 from which to purchase the respective Tsitsikamma farms at an amount totaling R35 720 000. The balance amounted to a total sum of R1 960 000 that was to be administered by the TDT.[87] In resolving the Tsitsikamma land claim the State acknowledged that the land settlement was reached under the old apartheid laws, and that the Tsitsikamma Mfengu could make further claims to land in the Tsitsikamma under the new constitution.[88] The settlement agreement included the lease of the nineteen farms back to the nineteen farmers for a period of nine months at a rental payment of R144 208 every two months. The lease of the returned land, rather than the occupation and allocation of portions thereof to qualifying members, was to be an interim arrangement operable

---

[84] Tsitsikamma Exile Association (Fingo) and Tsitsikamma Development Trust (Mfengu), *Agreement of Settlement,* Supreme Court of South Africa, Case no. 1306/91, Cape Town, 1994, p. 6.
[85] Legal Resource Centre, *All Members of the Tsitsikamma Community who were forcibly Moved During 1977,* Report, June 1994, p. 5.
[86] Legal Resource Centre, *All Members of the Tsitsikamma Community who were forcibly Moved During 1977,* Report, June 1994, p. 4.
[87] Tsitsikamma Exile Association (Fingo) and Tsitsikamma Development Trust (Mfengu), *Agreement of Settlement,* Supreme Court of South Africa, Case No. 1306/91.
[88] Legal Resource Centre and Tsitsikamma Devlopment Trust (Mfengu), *Report to Members of the Tsitsikamma Community,* June 1994, p.4.

until a development and land management plan by the TDT (Mfengu) and its members had been completed.[89]

The settlement agreement went far to ensure that the government subsidised commercial dairy farming operations would not be interfered with after the restoration of rights in land. Settlement of the land claim was reached subject to the TDT's (Mfengu) commitment to formulate a plan for the continued productivity and large-scale commercial development of the agricultural land.[90] Not wanting to jeopardise the continued intensive commercial dairy farming programme in any way, and unable to conclude a development and land management plan with its membership, the TDT (Mfengu) entered into long term leases with the very farmers from whom the land had been taken back.[91] The interim lease contracts were renewed and extended. Of the nineteen farms, three were leased out for a period of about ten years, two farms were subject to a two year lease agreement, an additional two farms had been leased out for a period of three years, five of the farms were subject to a five year lease contract, and two farms had been leased for a period of seven years. Only one farm had not been leased out and was available for immediate occupation.[92] During internal discussions held with its members, the TDT (Mfengu) argued that the land could be leased out because there was no immediate need for all the land to be allocated, even if there had been a development and land management plan in place. From an exclusively development and management point of view the TDT (Mfengu) claimed that to control the access, allocate land, and ensure that all the land was worked would be a near impossible task. The TDT (Mfengu) asserted that in terms of the legal negotiated land settlement, it had the power to renew and extend the leasing of the land held on behalf of the Tsitsikamma Mfengu people.[93] The TDT (Mfengu) further argued that, because the planning process would take time, it had to safeguard its assets and make it earn money.[94] Furthermore, it recalled that lengthy discussions had taken place with members of the community in which Trustees showed that the option of returning to their original portions of land was not feasible.[95] The TDT (Mfengu) therefore did not take account of the rights

---

[89] Legal Resource Centre and Tsitsikamma Development Trust (Mfengu), *Report to Members of the Tsitsikamma Community*, June 1994, p. 5.
[90] The National Land Committee, 'Mfengus Return Home After 17-Year Struggle', Land Update (May-June 1994), p. 16.
[91] Tsitsikamma Development Trust (Mfengu), *The Resettlement of the Mfengu Community to the Tsitsikamma Region*, November 1995.
[92] Legal Resource Centre, *Draft Summary of Issues Facing the Tsitsikamma Development Trust (Mfengu)*, 12 May 1995, pp. 9-10.
[93] Legal Resource Centre, *Draft Summary of Issues Facing the Tsitsikamma Development Trust (Mfengu)*, 12 May 1995, pp. 9-10.
[94] Legal Resource Centre, *Draft Summary of Issues Facing the Tsitsikamma Development Trust (Mfengu)*, 12 May 1995, p. 10.
[95] Legal Resource Centre, *Draft Summary of Issues Facing the Tsitsikamma Development Trust (Mfengu)*, 12 May 1995, p. 12.

of the members of the dispossessed Tsitsikamma Mfengu community to exercise their restitution rights. In effect this meant that the issue of restitution had been shifted from individual membership level to that of community level, of which the TDT (Mfengu) could claim to be representatives. In other words, it was their responsibility to safeguard the "community's" interests, even if this meant that individual members of that community could not exercise their rights to land.

When the TDT(Mfengu) leased the land back to the "white" farmers, they effectively handed over the occupation and use of the land as well as the exercise of their land rights as "owners" to these farmers, albeit temporarily. The significant question here is who is the "they"? Is it the TDT(Mfengu) as representatives of the community or is it the actual members of the community? There is thus a double process of "handing over" the effective exercise of the restitution of rights in land: (1) by the TDT(Mfengu) to the nineteen farmers by leasing the land to them, and (2) by the members of the Tsitsikamma Mfengu community to the TDT(Mfengu) to act on their behalf as representatives. What remains important is that the members of the Tsitsikamma Mfengu community have ended up unable to return to the restituted land while the TDT(Mfengu) is in the position to dispose of the income generated by the leases. A critical question that falls outside the scope of this dissertation would be whether the representatives on the TDT(Mfengu) would have wanted to return to the land in their own right. If not, the implication would be that effectively those who did not have a personal interest in returning to the land made decisions obstructing the wishes of those who did want to do so.

According to K. Gray and S.F. Gray, in their article "The Idea of Property", the holding of rights in land reflects a deep sense of belonging and established relations of power. Conversely denial of the effective exercise of such rights could bring about disempowerment and disorientation in the realization that my presence on the land is unacceptable and prohibited.[96] In the case of the Tsitsikamma Mfengu community, leasing out the land to the very farmers from whom the land had been taken back prevented members of the Tsitsikamma Mfengu community from asserting their complete and exclusive physical control over land in which their rights had officially been restored. Effectively they were denied access to reside on, and make use of or develop, the land that had been returned to them.[97] More significantly, the right to restitution of their land and the "reclaiming of our land" had been utilized as a resource of meaning in the "Fingo" ethnic discourse representing a unified homogenous discursive community. In practice this resulted in a basic

[96] K. Gray and S.F. Gray, 'The Idea of Property in Land' in S. Bright and J. Dewar (eds.), Land Law: Themes and Perspectives (Oxford, Oxford University Press, 1998), pp. 19-22.
[97] 'Growing Bitterness Over Land Restitution', Business Day, 13 March 1996.

contradiction in that the land which had been successfully returned was unavailable because it had been leased out. This contradiction destabilized the very basis upon which the contemporary Mfengu community was created. The transaction of leasing-out of the returned land re-established the relations of power of the respective lease-holding farmers who now held exclusive rights of occupation and use thereof, albeit temporarily through the lease agreements entered into with the TDT (Mfengu). The decision to engage in land lease transactions also established the TDT (Mfengu) in a relation of power over the wider Tsitsikamma Mfengu community. As trustees and owners of the returned land, the TDT (Mfengu) were set on exerting and sustaining relations of power since it now legally held the returned 6000 ha of land in trust and on behalf of the Tsitsikamma Mfengu community.

The contradictory outcome of the settlement agreement produced strains and divisions within the Tsitsikamma Mfengu community. A group of concerned community members began opposing the leasing-out of the returned land. Most of these opposition members were people who came from Wittekleibosch, and who now lived in Humansdorp and Port Elizabeth.[98] This group of concerned community members also included some of the more aged (male) community representatives as well as those leaders from the previous TEA (Fingo), like Isaac Tembani, who had not been incorporated as appointed trustees of the TDT (Mfengu). When this Concerned Group, who came largely from the Wittekleibosch area of the Tsitsikamma, challenged the TDT (Mfengu), the constructed unity and homogeneity of the contemporary Mfengu community was disrupted and destabilized. Members of this Concerned Group alleged that the Trustees had acted outside of their powers when concluding long-term land lease agreements with at least eighteen of the farmers from whom the land had been taken back.[99] While most of the TDT (Mfengu) trustees were residents of Port Elizabeth, many people of the Concerned Group had relocated to the Tsitsikamma, to live on pieces of vacant farmland at a place called "Guava Juice". According to an LRC report, this opposition group planned to go from farm to farm slaughtering the animals and forcing the reoccupation of the land with the aim of coercing these farmers to cancel their lease agreements with the TDT.[100] This did not happen. The Concerned Group successfully appealed to the Land Claims Commissioners, Wallace Mgoqi and Peter Mayende as well as the Member of Parliament, Gill Marcus, to intervene in the activities of the TDT during April 1995. The Trust was

---

[98] Legal Resource Centre, *Draft Summary of Issues Facing the Tsitsikamma Development Trust (Mfengu)*, 12 May 1995, p. 12.
[99] Legal Resource Centre, *Draft Summary of Issues Facing the Tsitsikamma Development Trust (Mfengu)*, 12 May 1995, pp. 10-12.
[100] Legal Resource Centre, *Draft Summary of Issues Facing the Tsitsikamma Development Trust (Mfengu)*, 12 May 1995, p. 11.

directed to co-opt two new trustee members from the Concerned Group. In addition, a forum consisting of sixteen community members was established to broaden community participation in the decisions made by the Trust.[101] The Concerned Group persisted in petitioning government officials to intervene. During March 1996 the Minister of Land Affairs announced to the LRC the appointment of Helena Dolny who was to be charged with a brief for conducting interviews with all role players in the Mfengu Tsitsikamma Community so that tension in the land reform project could be discussed in an informed manner. At a TDT (Mfengu) General Meeting that was held on 13 April 1996 in Keiskammahoek a decision was taken that at least two of the land lease agreements should be re-negotiated or cancelled so that settlements for some of the returning Mfengu could be established at Wittekleibosch and Snyklip. This decision was followed up by a meeting between the TDT and three chief spokespersons of the Concerned Group. In this meeting a resolution was made that Helena Dolny should accompany a delegation consisting of two Trustees and two members of the Concerned Group to one of the farmers so as to discuss ("without prejudice" was added by the LRC) the possibility of shortening his land lease agreement.[102]

Issues of land access and land use among the returning Tsitsikamma Mfengu peoples remained largely unresolved. More recently, in 2003, a letter was sent by the Concerned Group, now calling itself Umanyano Lwana Tsitsikamma, to the Minister of Agriculture requesting her intervention in the dispute between the concerned Mfengu community and the TDT (Mfengu).[103] It has persisted in opposing decisions taken by the TDT (Mfengu) regarding the leasing of the restored land back to the previous landholding farmers who had been advantaged by, and gained substantially from, apartheid laws and policies. The grievance of the Concerned Group was that these same farmers continued to benefit from the Mfengu land, while the larger returning Tsitsikamma Mfengu community had to live in abject poverty on very small portions of land allocated to them with no regular access to clean water and basic services. The fairly substantial income from the lease agreements have for the most part gone into covering the administrative and management costs of the TDT (Mfengu). The concerned Group have objected to the TDT (Mfengu) having entered numerous joint venture commercial agricultural agreements with some of the lease-holding "white" farmers from which the local members of the Tsitsikamma Mfengu community did not receive any

---

[101] Legal Resource Centre, *Report Concerning The Mfengu/Tsitsikamma Project*, 3 June 1996, pp. 3-4.

[102] Legal Resource Centre, *Report Concerning The Mfengu/Tsitsikamma Project*, 3 June 1996, p. 7. When I conducted in-depth interviews in the Clarkson and Tsitsikamma area during 2003, one of the group interviews conducted consisted of Mfengu people who were residing on land in Guava Juice, Doriskraal and Snyklip with no basic services, and with limited rights to use the land.

[103] Umanyano Lwama Tsitsikamma, Letter to the Minister of Agriculture, Requesting Your Intervention on the Dispute Between the Community and the Tsitsikamma Development Trust (Mfengu), 10 October 2002.

benefit. Other concerns included allegations of corruption, as well as the misuse and mismanagement of finances.[104]

In the case of the Tsitsikamma Mfengu peoples, the complex historical and political relationships of individuals and groups from Snyklip, Doriskraal and Wittekleibosch within each respective community were largely disregarded.[105] The stress on the homogeneous nature of the contemporary Mfengu community overlooked the possibility that members could in the past have been connected to competing groups within their respective communities. In the case of Doriskraal, Snyklip, and Wittekleibosch dynamic relations of power influenced the way in which each historical community asserted their respective and unique relation to the land they possessed and owned. These complex historical relationships and differences are inconsistent with the contemporary notion of a unified and homogenous Tsitsikamma Mfengu community. This effective "silence" in the strategy of representation may be regarded as an instance of dissimulation which contributed towards establishing and sustaining relations of power of the TDT (Mfengu) over its growing membership despite opposition.

Clarifying who qualified for membership in the unified contemporary Tsitsikamma Mfengu ethnic community remains important, especially after the successful return of land as a scarce resource in present day South Africa. The Amended Deed of Trust, drafted by the LRC, defined the qualifying categories of membership in terms of this notion of a unified contemporary Tsitsikamma Mfengu community. Members were only permitted to endorse decisions taken by the appointed TDT (Mfengu) trustees,[106] regarding the distribution of rights in land that involved access to, use and occupation of the land. Persons who were eligible as members of the Tsitsikamma Mfengu Community and the TDT (Mfengu) were called "specified beneficiaries", which comprised of three distinct categories. First were the "primary beneficiaries", which included the existing members of the TEA (Fingo) who were part of the community that had lost their land. Then there were the "secondary beneficiaries" that comprised of similarly dispossessed persons who could be included as members at the Trustees' discretion. The third category was called "tertiary beneficiaries", which embraced any other disadvantaged persons who could be included as members at the discretion of the Trustees.[107] The Trustees were thus granted a large measure of discretionary power to

---

[104] Umanyano Lwama Tsitsikamma, Letter to Minister Thoko Didiza of the Department of Agriculture Requesting Intervention in Dispute between the Community and the TDT, 10 October 2002.

[105] See discussion in Chapter 6 of this dissertation.

[106] The initial trustees were appointed and thereafter re-elected at each annual general meeting. An appointed trustee holds its position for a period of two years before having the election procedure repeated. See the Tsitsikamma Development Trust (Mfengu), *Amended Deed of Trust*, 29 October 1998, S8.

[107] Tsitsikamma Development Trust (Mfengu), *Amended Deed of Trust*, 29 October 1998, pp. 12-13.

determine the membership in terms of "secondary" and "tertiary beneficiaries" who need not be actual members of the Tsitsikamma Mfengu community. Since 1994, the annual general meetings have been flooded with large crowds of people, unknown to many of the "primary beneficiaries".[108] Many of these people could have qualified as members of the Tsitsikamma Mfengu community at the discretion of Trustees, in terms of the Amended Deed of Trust. The shift in membership of the community indicates that a change has occurred in the nature and meaning of the constructed contemporary Mfengu community. When the contemporary "Fingo" narrative first began to be publicly told, its symbolic grounding was on the Mfengu peoples' return to their ancestral land and the reclaiming of land. After the land had been successfully restored to Tsitsikamma people and held on their behalf by TDT (Mfengu), other categories of people could now become members of the Mfengu community by virtue of having been disadvantaged under the apartheid regime. However they did not necessarily share the history of the Tsitsikamma Mfengu peoples, nor shared the experiences of being forcefully removed there from. After the land settlement incoming members had the expectation of benefiting from the land through the TDT (Mfengu) by sharing in the income accrued from these lease agreements. The shift in the categories of membership that followed the settlement of the claimed Tsitsikamma Mfengu land thus heralded a reconstitution of the contemporary Tsitsikamma Mfengu community.

These developments also had implications for the Clarkson community. In the early 1990s, and parallel to negotiations with the State, the TEA (Fingo) also commenced negotiations with the Moravian Church regarding its claim of entitlement to the Clarkson mission land and the use of Clarkson as the place where most of the returning Mfengu from Keiskammahoek could be settled. However, given the persistent grievances of the Concerned Group and mounting community pressure after the land settlement in 1994, the TDT (Mfengu) embarked on a campaign to assist selected families who wished to settle on portions of the returned agricultural land that had not been leased-out.[109] However, Clarkson remained the most important selected place of settlement for most of the returning Tsitsikamma Mfengu people.

---

[108] Interview with Isaac Tembani, Guava Juice, 9 May 2003. Tembani was a prominent leader of the previous TEA (Fingo).

[109] Legal Resource Centre, *Report on the Mfengu Tsitsikamma Project*, 3 June 1996, p.4.

8.4 The Contested Clarkson Mission Land and the Construction of the Clarksoner Mission Community as the "Constitutive Outside" in the Ethnic Tsitsikamma Mfengu Discourse

The Mfengu campaign for the "return of our land", and more particularly when some of them returned to live in the Tsitsikamma, had implications for the Clarkson Moravian mission station and community. Clarkson was identified by representatives of the returning Mfengu community as a residential site for all those who wished to return to the Tsitsikamma. A second land claim was made by the Mfengu in 1991 for the return of the Clarkson mission land that had historically been held in trust for them by the Moravian Church since 1839.[110] The Mfengu Clarkson land claim was not directed towards the State. The claim of entitlement to the Clarkson mission land was directed against the Moravian Church (Western Cape).[111] It involved a set of negotiations with the Moravian Church separate from those entered into with the South African Government, and did not concern the land from which the Mfengu had been forcefully removed during the 1970s. In addition, the claim of entitlement to the Clarkson land made by the Mfengu pre-dated the 1913 Native's Land Act. It therefore did not involve the specific set of historic dispossessions that were highlighted and addressed in the process of land restitution in post-apartheid South Africa as outlined in the Restitution of Land Rights Act of 1994. Technically the claim of entitlement to the Clarkson land was invalid in terms of the Restitution of Land Rights Act of 1994 since the claim pre-dated the 1913 Land Act, and no record of forced removals existed since the State was not the transgressor. This highlights a major limitation of the South African government's post - 1994 attempts at restitution of dispossessed land in South Africa.

8.4.1 The Moravian Church and the Clarkson Mission Community

The Mfengu claim on the Clarkson mission land was based on the grounds that the Moravian Church had established a mission station at Clarkson in 1839 among forebears of the Mfengu Tsitsikamma people. The TEA (Fingo), supported by the LRC, highlighted that the Clarkson land on which the Church had settled then, had been granted by British colonial authorities and was to be held in trust for the Mfengu people and their descendants. By the 1990s the Clarkson Moravian mission community had appropriated both a racialised "coloured" and Moravian mission identity. The community firmly followed the Moravian Church calendar in which the Unitas Fratrum and

---

[110] Legal Resource Centre, *Report on Visit to Rev. Wessels*, no date.

[111] The Moravian Church Western Cape merged with the Moravian Church Eastern Cape during 2000 and formed the united Moravian Church of Southern Africa.

Herrnhuters with Zinzendorf were commemorated each year. The establishment of the Moravian Mission in South Africa through George Schmidt was also commemorated as well as the establishment of the mission in the Tsitsikamma at Clarkson. The most noteworthy commemorated event of the Church calendar remains the celebration of the "13th August Festival of Brotherly Love", which marks the Herrnhuters acceptance of a village constitution and "Brotherly Union Compact".[112] A week later the children are brought together in the celebration of the "children's festival" of Christian awakening and conversion.[113] Lent and Easter are commemorated each year by following the prescribed Moravian liturgy. On a visit to Clarkson in 1996, I observed the annual Moravian Easter Saturday grave-cleaning ritual of deceased relatives. As with most other Moravian Churches, this ceremony is annually followed with a congregational walk from the Church to the graveyard before sunrise on Easter Sunday morning.[114] However, the ceremony has been appropriated differently at Clarkson. As congregants assembled at the Church, men and women separate around the rectangle perimeter of the grounds next to the Church. The Brass-Band plays a selection of hymns and lead congregants on their walk to the graveyard. These celebrated Moravian events certainly connected the Clarksoners to all other Moravian congregations in South Africa and more particularly to the historical Moravian narrative. As with other Moravian Congregations, the burial ceremonies at Clarkson also followed the prescribed Moravian liturgy. Pre-burial services, popularly called "waak dienste",[115] by congregants, also took place at Clarkson. However at Clarkson, all congregants and family attending the funeral first assemble at the home of the deceased where they hold an initial sermon and prayer. Hereafter the coffin is carried by congregants/family members from the house to the Church. On leaving the house the funeral procession following the coffin includes the Brass Band, then the immediate family, and thereafter by all congregants. At the Church the coffin is carried in through the backdoor, while family and congregants enter the church through the front door. After the burial ceremony, all those who participated in the ritual stand in line to wash their hands. The Clarkson rituals show that elements of the Moravian Ethic have been appropriated and reordered, with elements of remembered practices that fall outside Moravian rituals being included, thus bringing to the fore rituals that are unique to Clarkson. This reordering of appropriated elements of meaning from the Moravian interdiscourse resulted in an emerging Clarkson Moravian mission identity.[116] The identity of this mission community is tied to the place, Clarkson. The community had over time cultivated deep

---

[112] See our discussion of the distinctive features of the Herrnhut Community in chapter 3 of this dissertation.
[113] In South Africa the festivals have become known and celebrated as "die dertiende Augustus Fees" with the children celebrating "kinderfees" and the Christian awakening of Suzanna Kühnel.
[114] This ritual has become known as "die opstandingsdiens".
[115] Translated into English this means protecting and looking over the deceased.
[116] See our theoretical discussion on Pecheux's modalities of identification in chapter 2 of this dissertation.

connections to the land occupied since the 1830s, while its constructed history as a contemporary community goes beyond arrival in the Tsitsikamma, and is linked to Enon, Genadendal, and then to Herrnhut and the Unitas Fratrum.

Any claim of entitlement to land at Clarkson cannot therefore disregard the historical land rights (albeit complex and ambiguous), and the nuanced history of the emerging communal identity of the people residing at Clarkson. This dynamic of a changing, non-static emerging Clarkson communal identity did not feature in the formulated claim of entitlement to land made by the LRC in its creative solutions and strategies offered to the TEA (Fingo). Instead the Clarkson community was presented as a homogeneous '"coloured" 'Moravian mission community with no possible connection to the Tsitsikamma Mfengu. In the formulated claim of entitlement to the Clarkson land, the Moravian Church was held accountable as a signatory to the 1990 Rustenburg Declaration, and specifically to the resolution contained therein on land restitution and the commitment to "examine its land ownership and work for the return of all land expropriated from relocated communities to its original owners".[117] Negotiations with the Moravian Church were throughout underpinned by the Rustenburg Declaration, the repeal of significant repressive apartheid laws, and the growing momentum of consultations by the South African government with the ANC and other anti-apartheid organizations aimed at concluding a negotiated political settlement bringing about a transformed South African State.

An initial meeting was held during January 1991 between the lawyer from the LRC acting on behalf of the TEA, Kobus Pienaar, and the Superintendent of the Moravian Church, Rev. Martin Wessels. Discussed was the extent of support and assistance that the Moravian Church could give to the TEA and its members, the TEA (Fingo)'s commitment to cooperate with the Moravian Church, and the holding of certain portions of land by the Moravian Church that had been granted in trust to the Tsitsikamma Mfengu peoples.[118] Wessels informed the LRC that the Moravian Church had 659 adult members in Keiskammahoek, 465 members in New Brighton, and 33 members in Kareedouw all of whom were Tsitsikamma Mfengu descendants.[119] The Moravian Church was set on giving its assistance and support to its members in whatever activities they intended launching to ensure the return of their land, in particular the activity of grave cleaning.[120] In this meeting the Church was

[117] South African Council of Churches, 'Rustenburg Declaration',1990.
[118] Legal Resource Centre, *Report of Meeting to Rev. Wessels of the Moravian Church*, 16 January 1991.
[119] Legal Resource Centre, *Report of Meeting to Rev. Wessels of the Moravian Church*, 16 January 1991.
[120] Legal Resource Centre, *Report of Meeting to Rev. Wessels of the Moravian Church*, 16 January 1991.

requested to consider releasing some land in Clarkson for the initial return of some families from Keiskammahoek to the Tsitsikamma.[121]

The TEA (Fingo) began a successful national media campaign to strengthen its position in negotiations with the Moravian Church. The media campaign of the TEA (Fingo) began a few months before its initial meeting with the Moravian Church. In its publicity efforts the TEA (Fingo) highlighted selective elements from the Clarkson Deed of Grant and emphasized that the Clarkson land was being held in trust by the Moravian mission for the Mfengu and their descendents.[122] Soon after the Common Summons was served in 1991, the media coverage announced that "as yet the "Fingo" Exile Association has not targeted the Church. Its primary aim is to recover land "Fingoes occupied until the end of 1977. Further media coverage cited the Moravians as running "a mission at Clarkson on 2700 ha ... on behalf of and in trust for the "Fingoes".[123] The report continued by stating that "the dilemma the Church faces is causing concern ... efforts are being made to find the original deed".[124] Soon hereafter a report appeared in a local newspaper stating that "for their part the Mfengu might accept a compromise involving the return of 2700 ha of land, taken over by the Moravian Church in the late 1950s in obscure circumstances".[125] The Church responded by affirming that it had given its "financial and moral" backing to the "Fingo" People in their fight against apartheid's wrongs.[126] By implication no public recognition was given to the resident Clarkson mission community and their historical attachment to the mission land. The public demand made by the TEA (Fingo) and the later TDT (Mfengu) in the 1990s for the "return of our land" largely disregarded the historical political relation that the Moravian missionary community of Clarkson had with the same land. In a later news report titled the "Fingoes Launch land battle" the Clarkson mission land was depicted as "at Clarkson, at the foot of the Kareedouw mountains ... the prospect of hundreds of Moravian "Fingoes arriving to squat ... fills many with dismay".[127] Still the resident Clarkson mission community was not in any way mentioned. The article further noted that the "Fingo" Exile Association had not as yet targeted the Church since its primary focus was to recover the land removed in 1977.[128] The continuing silence regarding the people who actually lived on the contested Clarkson mission land, and had done so since the 1830s remains significant. As a strategy of dissimulation, the silence was effective in excluding the

---

[121] Legal Resource Centre, *Report of Meeting to Rev. Wessels of the Moravian Church*, 16 January 1991.
[122] The ambiguities in the Clarkson Deed of Grant are discussed in section 4.6.1 of this dissertation.
[123] 'Church backs Tribe's Quest to go Back Home', Sunday Times, 31 March 1991.
[124] 'Church backs Tribe's Quest to go Back Home', Sunday Times, 31 March 1991.
[125] 'Mfengu People Fight to Regain Tribal Land They Lost at Gunpoint', Cape Times, 22 April 1991.
[126] 'Church Backs Tribes Quest to go back Home', Sunday Times, 31 March 1991.
[127] 'Fingoes Launch Land Battle', Sunday Times, March 1991.
[128] 'Fingoes Launch Land Battle', Sunday Times, March 1991.

resident Clarkson Moravian mission and created allegiance and solidarity among the social (Tsitsikamma Mfengu) subjects who claimed entitlement to the Clarkson land. According to Hall, the process of identification requires what is left outside, that is its "constitutive outside" to consolidate its process of articulation.[129] Even though the Clarksoners were historically deeply connected to the Tstisikamma Mfengu in having shared ancestors, through marriages, shared surnames, shared histories – this community of people were not incorporated into the contemporary "Fingo" narrative. Yet it is through the omission and silence as a strategy of dissimulation that the Clarkson Moravian mission community became intrinsically connected to the process of contemporary Tsitsikamma Mfengu ethnic identification. As the "constitutive outside" the excluded Clarkson Moravian mission community consolidated the very process of contemporary Tsitsikamma Mfengu ethnic identification.

But how did the Clarksoners respond? The Clarkson Moravian mission community responded to the information it was receiving through the media. Its representatives in the local Church Council and Opsienersraad compiled a memorandum in June 1991, which reflected the views of the mission community. The memorandum stated that Clarkson did not belong to the Mfengu due to the development and change that took place over the centuries. It questioned the validity and origin of the documents referred to by the contemporary Tsitsikamma Mfengu community and insisted that the Moravian Church had ownership.[130] It furthermore asserted that the Mfengu had to prove that they in fact were "Mfengu". It recognised that not all the returning Mfengu people were Moravians, and asserted that only those who were members of the Moravian Church would be granted the right to stay at Clarkson. It noted that in the past the Mfengu in Snyklip, Doriskraal and Wittekleibosch "had refused to live under the authority of the Church".[131] It declared that if there was to be unity then problems of communication and obedience to the rules of the mission station were to be addressed.

---

[129] See theoretical discussion of Stuart Hall in chapter 2 of this dissertation.

[130] Clarkson Moraviese Broederkerk, *Mandaat van Kerkraad en Opsienersraadslede*, 7 June 1991.

[131] The original Afrikaans text is "het geweier om onder the gesag van the Kerk te staan" in Clarkson Moraviese Broederkerk, *Mandaat van Kerkraad en Opsienersraadslede*, 7 June 1991.

The memorandum expressed the concern that:

> "Where do we stand as Clarksoners, after all the attempts made to develop our community? We are aware that Mfengu, especially those under the ANC influence, are not hindered in obtaining their goal. What happens to our houses, built under great difficulty and great expense if they decide to occupy and claim Clarkson with force? The Provincial Board must give guidance. The ANC has strong influence that is why we fear intimidation".[132]

The Clarksoners in many ways acknowledged the relations of power established and sustained by the TEA (Fingo) through their links with the ANC, given its current political influence. The Clarksoner memorandum was shortly followed by a community meeting in June 1991, in which members of the Provincial Board were present. At this meeting, some residents voiced their concern over the media reports, which claimed that "the Church sits with land that belongs to the Mfengu".[133] Others described how "we shed many tears when people went away. We are happy if they come back with the same spirit".[134] There were also persons present at the meeting who indicated that, while they were not opposed to the inclusion of the Mfengu at Clarkson, they were concerned that they had no grazing land for their cattle since all the available mission land had been leased out to "white" farmers by the Provincial Board. Added to this were those who indicated that, while they were not opposed to the inclusion of the Mfengu at Clarkson since the Provincial Board had already given them permission to reside at Clarkson, they were worried about the already limited employment opportunities in the region.[135]

The first formal meeting between the TEA (Fingo) and the Moravian Church occurred on 3 July 1991, long after these partisan perceptions of the local history of entitlement to land at Clarkson had been established through the use of the public media. Representatives at this first meeting included the Moravian Church, the Clarkson mission community, the TEA (Fingo), as well as the Bishop B. Evans of the Anglican Church Diocese of Port Elizabeth and Rev. P. Bowen of the

---

[132] The original Afrikaans text is "waar staan ons as Clarksoners, na al die pogings wat aangewend is om vooruitgang van die gemeenskap te bevorder? Ons is daarvan bewus dat die M'fingoes, veral diegene onder A.N.C. invloed, vir niks stuit nie om hul doel te bereik nie. Wat word van ons huise wat met harde moeite en groot onkoste opgerig is as hulle sou besluit om Clarkson met geweld vir hulself toe te eien? Die bestuur moet in hierdie verband raad gee ... die A.N.C. het sterk invloed daarom is daar 'n vrees vir intimidasie" in Clarkson Moraviese Broederkerk, *Mandaat van Kerkraad en Opsienersraadslede*, 7 June 1991.

[133] The original Afrikaans text is "Kerk sit met grond wat aan Fingoes behoort" in *Minutes of Clarkson Community Meeting* held on 15 June 1991.

[134] The original Afrikaans text is "ons baie trane gestort het toe mense weg is. Ons is bly as hulle terugkom met dieselfde gees" in *Minutes of Clarkson Community Meeting*, held on 15 June 1991.

[135] *Minutes of Clarkson Community Meeting*, held on 15 June 1991.

Anglican Church who had been a minister in the Tstisikamma at the time of the forced removals during 1977. In this meeting the TEA (Fingo) asserted that:

> "one of the main fears we have is that if we do not unite in the divisions that our country is beset with between coloured and African, apartheid practices will be further strengthened. We now have a chance to prove that these divisions could be overcome. We know that Clarkson was in the past declared a coloured group area. As a result we were divided. Sometimes it is in moments of honesty said to us that we are the Bantu ... kaffirs, with whom the so-called "coloured" people want nothing to do. These fears are real ones. ... If these fears continue then apartheid is winning, we have then become successfully divided. ... The Church cannot play the role of spectator and watch the divisions growing amongst the communities instead of becoming one of the key ... players in overcoming the legacy of apartheid that we are saddled with".[136]

While Clarkson is correctly described as having been declared a "coloured" racial area, the people residing there were now represented as having been racially antagonistic to the "Bantu "Fingo" tribe". The constitutive outside now began to be constructed racially as the "coloured" other. Any dissatisfaction from the Clarksoners with decisions taken during the negotiations was now readily construed as Clarksoner "coloured" racism. The TEA (Fingo) continued its presentation by asserting that it was not the intention "to take back what is not ours, we need a place to fight from, a bridgehead, a foothold onto the land. We are looking for shelter and we believe the church will provide. ... But we must clearly state that we are not wanting to take over Clarkson as the feeling might be".[137] In response to those present at the meeting, representatives of the TEA (Fingo) noted that there was a history of "people of colour living together ... There was a history of unity of the people living together and ... it was apartheid that separated families. Hence colour was not seen as an issue. An instance that highlighted the intermix and unity of the people was the way in which people adopted each others surnames and at times changed them from Xhosa to Afrikaans and the other way around e.g. Grootboom to Mtimkulu and Ndluvu to Oliphant".[138] Yet this shared history of people living together was not a significant element in the contemporary "Fingo" narrative. As discussed above, the Clarksoner mission community was effectively excluded from the ethnic "Fingo" narrative, and this absence was extended to omit any reference to a shared past. In this initial meeting between the Moravian Church and the TEA (Fingo), representatives of the

---

[136] Legal Resource Centre, *Minutes of the Meeting held between the Moravian Church and the Tsitsikamma Exile Association*, held on 3 July 1991, p. 2.
[137] Legal Resource Centre, *Minutes of the Meeting held between the Moravian Church and the Tsitsikamma Exile Association*, held on 3 July 1991, p. 3.
[138] Legal Resource Centre, *Minutes of the Meeting held between the Moravian Church and the Tsitsikamma Exile Association*, held on 3 July 1991, p. 5.

Clarkson mission community pledged their support for the resettlement of some of the returning Mfengu people at Clarkson. However the following fears and demands were set forth: "the need to know the timing, place of reoccupation, how and when and what type of infrastructure would be available and how an orderly return would ... take place. ... The Church and the Mfengu would have to abide by the rules and ordinances of the Church ... Fears that the ANC would intimidate the community was discarded".[139]

The main reason given by the TEA (Fingo) for a total of about 50 families wanting to return to the Tsitsikamma was that their presence in the area would demonstrate a symbolic victory over both the "white" farmers and the NP government. Their presence in the Tsitsikamma would establish a strong footing from which the TEA (Fingo) could enter into negotiations with the state. It further declared that a certain degree of confidence would be created among the Mfengu community in being protected and supported by the Church.[140] Negotiations around the Clarkson land culminated in an initial agreement in 1991, which set the stage for the first group of fifty Mfengu families to return to Clarkson.[141] By 1993 a housing development, called Silvertown,[142] had been completed, in terms of the Less Formal Township Act No. 113 of 1991, and about 50 Mfengu families moved into the newly established settlement.[143] The spatial layout of Silvertown was similar to that of the central Clarkson mission village. Each residential site had an attached garden plot used for subsistence cultivation. The silent spaces in the contemporary ethnic Mfengu Tsitsikamma discourse regarding the community on the contested Clarkson land now began to be filled with "returning" Mfengu.

The TDT (Mfengu), as a registered legal entity, took-over from the TEA (Fingo) in March 1994 after concluding a land settlement agreement with the State, and thereafter took over the continuing negotiations with the Moravian Church regarding its claim of entitlement to the Clarkson mission land. In March 1994 Kobus Pienaar described the negotiations with the Moravian Church as being "delicate" having progressed to discussions on the transformation of Clarkson into an autonomous local authority open to all persons, not only Mfengu or Moravian. He noted that as signatory to the Rustenburg Declaration the Moravian Church leadership were determined to support this process

---

[139] Legal Resource Centre, *Minutes of the Meeting held between the Moravian Church and the Tsitsikamma Exile Association*, held on 3 July 1991, p. 5.

[140] Legal Resource Centre, *Minutes of the Meeting held between the Moravian Church and the tsitsikamma Exile Association*, held on 3 July 1991, p. 10.

[141] Tsitsikamma Exile Association, *Return to Our Land*, September 1991, p. 6.

[142] The name Silvertown was given to the settlement by both Clarksoners and incoming Mfengu residents because the corrugated iron used to build the houses shined with silver glitter on most sunny days in Clarkson.

[143] *Motivating Memorandum, Application for the Designation of Land for Less Formal Settlement*, December 1992; Tsitsikamma Exile Association, *Return to Our Land*, September 1991, p. 6.

of transformation.[144] Pienaar further described the Clarksoners as viewing the imminent return of the Mfengu to Clarkson with caution.[145] While the Moravian Church undertook to cooperate fully and facilitate the establishment of an appropriate vehicle to implement the housing development project and establishment of a local authority for the area, it remained concerned about its members at Clarkson. The Moravian Church indicated that it was concerned about the future of its members and was morally obligated to ensure that their position was not detrimentally affected by the proposed development. The Church indicated that it required from the negotiation forum a clear indication that the existing rights of all the established residents at Clarkson would be respected. The Church also pointed out that it had to ensure that redress of the inequities of apartheid did not result in the taking away of rights from members of the Clarkson community, who were also victims of the same repressive system.[146] Negotiations had progressed substantially. Yet the demand amongst the Clarksoners remained that "the character of the mission station be maintained".[147] A growing concern of the Clarksoners became the size of the incoming Tsitsikamma Mfengu community to Clarkson, reflected in "we know that the Mfengu sometimes bring a large group of people together under the title of family. When we define a family, we speak of a father, a mother, and unmarried children under the age of 21 years of age".[148] The outcome of a TDT survey conducted during October 1995 showed that 388 families wished to settle at Clarkson while a total of 458 families wished to settle directly on the Tsitsikamma Mfengu farm lands.[149] Yet Clarkson remained the focal point of negotiations as being largely the (only) place of choice for settlement of the returning Tsitsikamma Mfengu.

The lengthy negotiations with the Moravian Church stalled during 1995, after the Moravian Church refused to enter into a Land Availability Agreement with the TDT (Mfengu). Such an agreement would have ensured that all of the 175 residing families at Clarkson received transferred (full) ownership of all the sites they occupied. Full ownership of land occupied would also have been transferred to the 54 returning Mfengu families who resided at Silvertown in Clarkson.[150] The Church was described as the "obstacle to ending Mfengu exile", "dithering" and "threatening to

---

[144] 'Victory ... but now for the Tensions of Coming Home', Supplement to the Mail and Guardian, 25 March 1994.
[145] 'Victory ... but now for the Tensions of Coming Home', Supplement to the Mail and Guardian, 25 March 1994.
[146] Letter from Syfret Godlonton-Fuller Moore INC. to Roger Matlock, *Development of Clarkson*, 25 May 1994.
[147] The original Afrikaans text is "die karakter van die Sendingstasie moet behoue bly" in Letter from Kerkraad en Opsienersraad to Rev. B.C.P. Lottering, *Ontwikkeling te Clarkson*, 30 December 1995.
[148] The original Afrikaans text is "ons weet dat the M'fengu soms 'n groot groep mense bymekaar kan bring, onder die vaandel van Gesinskap/Familieskap. Wanneer ons egter 'n familie definieër, praat ons van 'n vader, moeder en ongetroude kinders onder die ouderdom van 21 jaar" in, Letter from Kerkraad en Opsienersraad to Rev. B.C.P. Lottering, *Ontwikkeling te Clarkson*, 30 December 1995.
[149] Legal Resource Centre, *Report on the Mfengu Tsitsikamma Project*, 3 June 1996, p.4.
[150] Legal Resource Centre, *Cape Town Report on the Mfengu Tsitsikamma Project*, 3 June 1996, p. 5.

upset the resettlement programme which will end the Mfengu community's years of banishment".[151] The "dithering" of the Church was largely due to concerns that the layout of the proposed housing development was going to significantly reduce the size of the residential area with its attached garden plots of the existing Clarkson mission residents. Some Clarkson residents threatened and chased a land surveyor away after he had entered and measured their houses and plots of land without prior consent during 1995.[152] In response the Moravian Church Provincial Board asserted that the town planning needed to be addressed so that the land usage and existing lifestyle of the Clarkson inhabitants would not be interfered with nor limited.[153] In a memorandum to all mission station dwellers the Moravian Church Provincial Board addressed some of the concerns of the Clarksoners by asserting that the proposed housing development would not interfere with the historical character of the mission station, the development would not take place between the two existing streets of Clarkson and therefore would not reduce the land currently attached to each residential and garden plot. The housing project was rather to be established around the Silvertown housing area in Clarkson. All persons' rights in land at Clarkson were to be strengthened with the possibility of these rights being transformed from communal ownership into individual private ownership of each residential site with its attached garden plot.[154]

At a community meeting held in Clarkson during January 1996, at which some Mfengu representatives were also present, a Clarksoner exclaimed that "God het vir die mense plek gegee".[155] Another resident continued by stating that "presently we speak of Clarkson as a mission station and not as a town. If the development continues then the Clarkson mission station falls away and we then only talk of town planning".[156] A Mfengu representative at the meeting described how thankful she was for the meeting about Clarkson development and "thankful for opportunity of 50 / 50, we want to be together. No apartheid. Sad that division is there. We must become one. I will be glad if development comes right".[157] Another Clarkson resident asserted that "we are not

---

[151] 'Church is Obstacle to Ending Mefengu's Exile', Sunday Times, 19 November 1995.
[152] Interview, Oom Matheus, Clarkson, 1996.
[153] Letter from Van Rooyen to the Moravian Church (Western Cape), *NEWHCO East Cape/Yourselves: Development of 775 Erven at Clarkson in Terms of Joint Venture Agreement*, 8 November 1995.
[154] Letter from the Moravian Church Western Cape Regional Board to the Kerk-en Opsienersraad Clarkson, *Ontwikkeling te Clarkson*, 19 January 1996; Moravian Church Western Cape Regional Board Memorandum, *Aan Alle Inwoners van Clarkson*, 19 January 1996.
[155] Translated into English this means "God gave the people a place". Minutes, 'Clarkson: Resettlement of the Mfengu', Clarkson, 28 January 1996, p. 2.
[156] The original Afrikaans text is "huidelik praat ons van Clarkson as sendingstasie en nie as dorp nie. As ontwikkeling voortgaan dan verval sendingstasie Clarkson en dan praat ons net van dorpsontwikkeling" in Minutes, *Clarkson: Resettlement of the Mfengu*, Clarkson, 28 January 1996, p. 3.
[157] The original Afrikaans text is "dankbaar vir geleentheid en 50/50. ... ons will saam wees. Geen apartheid nie. Ook hartseer dat skeiding daar is. Ons moet een word. Ek sal bly wees as ons met ontwikkeling sal regkom" in Minutes, *Clarkson: Resettlement of the Mfengu*, Clarkson, 28 January 1996, p. 3.

against the return of the Mfengu. The reality is that they were not removed from Clarkson".[158] A Mfengu representative stated that "I want to go and live on the land. I am not against people who want to stay here".[159] Yet another Mfengu representative stated "I speak of the Tsitsikamma people. I support the Church. The Trust must meet the people".[160] In a memorandum addressed to all "inwoners" or residents of Clarkson, the Chairperson of Provincial Board of the Moravian Church, Western Province, Rev. B.C.P. Lottering, attempted to appease some of the concerns of the Clarkson mission community over the possible changes that development may make to the "historical character" of the mission station.[161] The negotiations remained in a delicate balance between the TDT (Mfengu) and the Moravian Church. However, the Mfengu peoples living in the Tsitsikamma and at Clarkson were prepared to "become one" and support the development at Clarkson.

An alternative source of community pressure was exerted on the negotiation process when a mass demonstration/march ("optog") was held in Clarkson on 15 March 1996. A notice of the mass demonstation/march was sent to residents of Clarkson "we herewith wish to inform you of a march that will take place on Saturday 16 March 1996 at eight o'clock from Bazia Street to Church Street. Your support and participation will be highly appreciated. Come and take part as we strive for a better life for all in Clarkson".[162] Clarksoners were invited to participate in a form of community action, which was to be directed against the Moravian Church and its local leaders at Clarkson. The demonstration included the handing over of a memorandum to the local Moravian Church leadership. Demands included therein were, amongst others, that Clarkson be upgraded and that "the Mfengu ... mix with the coloureds",[163] a town be established as soon as possible, the new constitution of South Africa be implemented at Clarkson, and that Clarkson belonged to the new South Africa and must therefore be changed. The memorandum also rejected the rules and regulations of the local Moravian Church leadership, and demanded that the church hand over the land to its owners.[164] Included in the memorandum was a statement that "the garden route zone community says enough is enough, to the Moravian Church leaders who oppressed the people for

---

[158] The original Afrikaans text is "ons is nie teen the terugkeer van die Mfengu nie. Die werklikheid is dat hulle nie van Clarkson verwyder is nie" in Minutes, *Clarkson: Resettlement of the Mfengu*, Clarkson, 28 January 1996, p. 5.

[159] The original Afrikaans text is "ek wil op die land gaan bly. Ek is nie teen mense wat hier wil bly nie" in Minutes, *Clarkson: Resettlement of the Mfengu*, Clarkson, 28 January 1996, p. 6.

[160] The original Afrikaans text is "Ek praat van Tsitsikamma mense. Ek ondersteun kerk ... Trust moet met Mfengu ontmoet" in Minutes, *Clarkson: Resettlement of the Mfengu*, Clarkson, 28 January 1996, p. 4.

[161] Voorsitter van die Streekbestuur, Br. Lottering, *Aan Alle Inwoners*, Streek B, 19 Januarie 1996.

[162] Original Afrikaans text is "hiermee wil ons u in kennis stel van 'n optog wat op Saterdag 16 Maart 1996 om agt uur vanaf Baziastraat tot en met Kerkstraat sal plaasvind. U ondersteuning en teenwoordigheid sal hoog waardeer word. Kom deel in ons strewe na 'n beter lewe vir almal in Clarkson" in Anonymous, *Notice of Mass Demonstration*, 15 March 1996.

[163] Anonymous, *Memorandum of Mass Demonstration*, 16 March 1996.

[164] Anonymous, *Memorandum*, 16 March 1996.

so long ... we the victims of apartheid policies and laws demand property rights here at Clarkson".[165] The memorandum was concluded with the slogan "the people of Clarkson shall govern".[166] The mass demonstration through the two streets of Clarkson certainly added to the fear, anxiety and frustration stemming from the mission community's perceptions of possible loss of land and change of place. At the same time, the show of local support for change at Clarkson strengthened and sustained relations of power of the Mfengu delegation, the TDT (Mfengu), in negotiations with the Moravian Church.

The stalled negotiations recommenced again, and were hereafter chaired by the Deputy Minister of Land Affairs, Mr. Tobie Meyer. Negotiations culminated in the establishment of a Communal Property Association at Clarkson on 16 August 1996, and the conclusion of a 99-year lease agreement with the Moravian Church,[167] which made land available at Clarkson for the accommodation of about 400 returning Mfengu families to the Tsitsikamma.[168] Since the Moravian Church Synod had not authorised the selling/alienation of the mission land, a 99 year lease agreement presented an alternative long term extension of reasonable secured rights in land. The land was to be held for the benefit of the members of the CCPT who qualified for rights of occupation in terms of individual participation agreements entered into with the CCPT.[169] The Communal Property Association Agreement included the allocation of land for residential purposes, the establishment of a communal property trust association, and the building of a housing development scheme at Clarkson.[170]

8.5 The (re)Shaping of Communal Identity at Clarkson as a Rural Town

The Clarkson Communal Property Trust (CCPT) was established in August 1996 and comprised of a 50% representation from the Clarkson Moravian mission community and the Moravian Church on the one hand, and 50% representation from the Tsitsitkamma Mfengu community and the TDT (Mfengu) on the other hand. The LRC was instrumental in drafting the Communal Property Trust Agreement.[171] The 50% / 50% structure was a significant outcome of lengthy land entitlement

---

[165] Anonymous, *Memorandum*, 16 March 1996.
[166] Anonymous, *Memorandum*, 16 March 1996.
[167] Legal Resource Centre, *Cape Town Report on the Mfengu Tsitsikamma Project*, 3 June 1996, p. 5.
[168] the Deputy Minister of Land Affairs, Mr Tobie Meyer, Press Release, *Clarkson Development*, 18 December 1995.
[169] Moravian Church in South Africa, Koukamma Local Municipality and Trustees of the Clarkson Communal Property Trust, *Land Availability Agreement*, Clarkson, 6 April 2002, p. 1.
[170] Legal Resource Centre, *Chronology of Events: Clarkson Development Project*, no date, p. 16; Clarkson Communal Property Association, *Notarial Deed of Trust*, 16 August 1996.
[171] Moravian Church in South Africa, Koukamma Local Municipality and Trustees of the Clarkson Communal Property Trust, *Land Availability Agreement*, Clarkson, 6 April 2002, p. 1.

negotiations and indicated a formal recognition of the two communities, the Clarksoner Moravian Mission and Tsitsikamma Mfengu, as equal partners of the Clarkson land in a shared structure. In terms of the agreement, the members and beneficiaries of the CCPT were defined as persons eighteen years and older who held a certificate of membership issued to them by the CCPT. Qualifying members had to either be residents of the Clarkson mission station, or "specified beneficiaries" in terms of the amended Trust Deed of the TDT (Mfengu). However, any other persons could also be accepted as members at the discretion of the elected CCPT trustees.[172] This is an interesting and significant conception of membership in the context of the transition from colonial and apartheid structures to a democratic dispensation. In our account we have shown that the historical basis of community membership, in the case of the Tsitsikamma Mfengu, has been an ethnic linkage and affiliation in the case; and in the case of the Clarksoner Moravians, a missionary-controlled access to the land. The TDT (Mfengu) definition of the grounds of membership breaks with both of these, but is not (yet) a fully democratic conception of membership. The TDT (Mfengu) membership qualification actually amounts to a notion of membership-by-co-optation. This is a long-established conception of membership in South African history (e.g. it was the basis of membership of the heemraden assisting the landdrost in Dutch colonial times; it was the principle on which the NGK church councils were established as well as the Freemasons and the Broederbond). But it is not a modern democratic conception of membership. One obvious implication concerns the relations of power. With co-optation vested in the hands of the Trustees, they have discretionary power to decide on whom to co-opt as members. In the context of Clarkson the vital question would be how this power of co-optation would be applied in relation to actual or prospective residents of Clarkson. The modern democratic conception of membership would start from the latter, and not the other way round. If the Trustees had discretionary power to refuse prospective residents permission to reside at Clarkson, or even to evict de facto residents, then that would make this a significant matter. But if it did not amount to that then it could be regarded as a mere transitional formality.

The number of Mfengu peoples who returned to the Tsitsikamma, and came to Clarkson after the completion of the housing development scheme, was significantly less than the approximately 575 houses built.[173] On completion the housing scheme was called Smartie Town, because each house was painted a different colour. Funds for the building of houses were obtained solely from the government's housing subsidy and not from the TDT (Mfengu). The completed housing

---

[172] Clarkson Communal Property Association, *Notarial Deed of Trust*, 16 August 1996.
[173] Interview with Florence Mtambo, Tsitsikamma, 9 May 2003. At the time of the interview Florence Mtambo was the chairperson of the CCPT.

development scheme was the climax of all negotiations and contestation over access to, use and management of the mission land between the TDT (Mfengu) and the Moravian Church. It created the necessary space and place for some of the returning Tsitsikamma Mfengu peoples. On arrival in Clarkson, each household was allocated a house in Smartie Town by the CCPT, demonstrating the exercise of its powers of discretionary co-optation. But the number of people who took up accommodation in Clarkson was significantly less than anticipated and planned for. A senior member of the CCPT explained that "they decided to come and settle here and then they left."[174] There are about 300 returning Mfengu households who have settled in Clarkson. Others chose to remain at their places in Keiskammahoek, East London, Karreedouw and elsewhere. A substantial number of the returning Mfengu insisted on being resettled on the land which had been forcefully removed from them, and so moved from Clarkson to small available pieces of vacant land on Snyklip, Doriskraal, Wittekleibosch, and the Fingo Reserve now called Guava Juice. The senior member of the CCPT noted that the appointed housing consultants had initially applied for 575 residential sites to be built at Clarkson. However on completion they had great difficulty in obtaining the necessary numbers of returning Mfengu people to take up accommodation therein. They then went to the surrounding farms "trying to get more people to come and stay in Clarkson".[175] Of the remaining 275 newly built houses in Smartie Town, some were initially occupied, then vacated, while other houses remained vacant from the onset. When people departed from the houses that had been allocated to them, they left Clarkson with no subsequent trace. The necessary procedures for the vacant houses to revert to the administration of the CCPT were not completed, and the houses remained registered on the name of the initial occupiers. Some of those who remained in Smartie Town and who were not satisfied with the location and/or condition of their allocated houses, could now freely choose, from the 275 vacant houses, where they wished to stay. Many households moved around Smartie Town shifting their occupation of houses, without ensuring that the CCPT kept the necessary administrative record of their change of place.[176] The housing development consultants with the approval of the CCPT sent out scouts to the neighbouring farms in the Tsitsikamma area, advertising there that vacant houses were available for occupation at Clarkson. Many families without houses from the Clarkson mission village also settled in Smartie Town. The result was a sizeable residential development comprising for the most part of people who had little or no historic relationship with the previous Clarkson mission community or with the returning Tsitsikamma Mfengu people.[177] There is a silence within the ethnic Tsitsikamma Mfengu discourse regarding the large number of people who were neither

[174] Interview with Florence Mtambo, Tsitsikamma, 9 May 2003.
[175] Interview with Florence Mtambo, Tsitsikamma, 9 May 2003.
[176] Interview with Florence Mtambo, Tsitsikamma, 9 May 2003.
[177] Interview with Rev. Moos, Clarkson, 8 May 2003; Interview with William Uithaler, Clarkson, 6 May 2003.

descendants' of the Clarkson mission residents, nor connected in any way to the returning Tsitsikamma Mfengu people. The qualifying membership granted to the incoming 275 families who obtained houses in Smartie Town indicates the exercise of CCPT's powers of discretionary co-optation.

In April 2002 the Moravian Church entered into a Land Availability Agreement with the Koukamma Local Municipality regarding the statutory position of Clarkson as a rural town. In terms of this Land Availability Agreement the Koukamma Local Municipality was authorized to take all necessary steps that would ensure the transfer of individual residential sites at Clarkson to persons who had entered into participation agreements with the CCPT. The garden plots that adjoined the older mission station residential plots were included in the transfer of residential sites to qualifying persons. This made the plots in the older (mission station) part of Clarkson substantially larger. In most cases these plots were set to be owned by the "coloureds" of Clarkson. The municipality was to own all public open spaces at Clarkson. This agreement, when fully implemented would shift Clarkson from communal property ownership to individual ownership of residential land.[178] The transfer from communal ownership to individual ownership became extremely complicated when applied to Smartie Town, since many of the initial occupiers who remained the official residents of the houses in terms of the CCPT administration system, had long moved out and remained largely untraceable.

By 2003 Clarkson had been established as a rural town and comprised of residential plots at the old mission that included Church Street and Baziaar Street, the first extension at Silvertown, and the more extensive housing development at Smarty Town. The Moravian Church is only one of many other churches that now service congregants of the extended Clarkson. For school goers there are two very small schools. The playground of each school is separated by a shared fence. The older school to which many of the Tsitsikamma Mfengu had gone before being forcefully removed, is now de facto for "coloured" Afrikaans speaking learners, while the recently established second school is de facto for "black" and primarily Mfengu Xhosa speaking learners.[179] Exclusions at each school are based on language educational usage and preference. Even though it is planned to relocate the second school to another place in Clarkson, the glaring problem of racial/ethnic separation remains.

---

[178] Moravian Church in South Africa, Koukamma Local Municipality and Trustees of the Clarkson Communal Property Trust, *Land Availability Agreement*, 6 April 2002, p. 5.

[179] Interview with Florence Mtambo, Tsitsikamma, 9 May 2003; Interview with Rev. Mcubusi, Clarkson, 5 May 2003.

The explanation of a senior member of the CCPT was that:

> "people struggled with their language because ... Afrikaans was the first language ... people said they used to have their own school ... so I think they went to the Department of Education for assistance ... I was expecting that maybe the Department get one teacher a Xhosa teacher ... but they did say they will try to give them their own school ... because we moved more and more families and then we had a bigger number of people now".[180]

The Department's motivation for two separate schools at Clarkson is that this was needed because "the kids started fighting you know, we had lots of problems we had to go and sort out. We haven't solved most of the problems ... They don't understand each other; that is the problem".[181] The racial antagonism amongst learners in the rural town of Clarkson appears to be a relatively new development. This may be contrasted with the celebration of a shared Tsitsikamma history in the ethnic Tsitsikamma Mfengu discourse during the early 1990s in the context of the communal mobilization for restitution of their land. The discursive representation of the Clarkson mission station community as "the constitutive outside" in the process of contemporary Mfengu ethnic identification may have contributed to the construction of the differentiated and racialised "coloureds".

This racial antagonism also emerged in the demand of the non-Clarkson Moravian mission residents "we wanted a community graveyard for people who are not church members, who cannot afford the church".[182] The new community graveyard was to be developed adjacent to the older mission graveyard, and was to be exclusively for people of the "community" exclusive of the Clarkson Moravians which have been effectively differentiated as the racialised "coloured other".

Economic development initiatives started by the local municipality, such as the sewing and bakery projects, have also been hampered by incipient racial antagonism. These development projects were not supported by the local Clarksoners.[183] The co-ordinators of these projects were residents of Clarkson and had been appointed by the local municipality and not the CCPT. The projects were also funded by the local government department of social welfare and not by the CCPT, nor by the Moravian Church or by the TDT (Mfengu). The CCPT did not encourage the locals to participate in the Municipal development projects since these were not initiated by it, and since it had no control

[180] Interview with Florence Mtambo, Tsitsikamma, 9 May 20.
[181] Interview with Florence Mtambo, Tsitsikamma, 9 May 2003.
[182] Interview with Florence Mtambo, Tsitsikamma, 9 May 20.
[183] Interview with T. Lawak, Clarkson, 8 May 2003.

over who were appointed to lead these projects. These latent conflicts between Clarkson mission and Mfengu structures as represented by the CCPT on the one side with the Municipal structures and its representatives on the other side indicates a transition from the historical structures of governance to a new and more regularized dispensation of local government.

8.6 Conclusion

The Tsitsikamma Mfengu communities at Doriskraal, Snyklip, and Wittlekleibosch were forcefully removed from their land in 1977 by government officials even though their land still remained scheduled as reserved land for the designated "bantu Fingo tribe". The communities were resettled at Elukhanyweni in the Keiskammahoek District of the Ciskei. Even though these communities had evolved separately in the Tsitsikamma, they were forcefully thrown together in Keiskammahoek with access to very little land. At the same time the Clarkson Moravian mission station community in the Tsitsikamma, officially designated as "coloured", remained in possession of the land it used and occupied. It was this experience under apartheid that would later serve to deligitimise their claim of entitlement to the Clarkson land as a "coloured" mission community in the eyes of the dislocated Tsitsikamma Mfengu peoples. Attempts to mobilize a coherent communal response to the land dispossession remained unsuccessful during the 1980s. Despite attempts made in petitioning government officials to consider reversing the enacted forced removal of the Tsitsikamma peoples, the land was eventually consolidated into two large farms during the 1980s, portioned and separately sold to nineteen farmers. It was only with the abolishment of racially based laws in 1991 that legal and political space was opened for renewed attempts to mobilize a coherent communal response to reclaim the dispossessed Tsitsikamma Mfengu land.

After thirteen years of relocation the coherency of the former communities before 1977 had been shattered and the dispersed Mfengu peoples from the Tsitsikamma had begun to form new connections. Even so the call for restitution of their historical rights to the land in the Tsitsikamma found strong popular support. With the assistance of the Legal Resource Centre a core group initiated the process of communal mobilization around the call for land restitution, hailing Tsitsikamma Mfengu peoples through a consolidated national and international media campaign. The story told and retold in the Tsitsikamma Mfengu ethnic discourse utilized representational strategies like a selected narrative of the colonial "Fingo" history, the grave-cleaning rituals as an invented tradition, and so constructed a foundational myth that drew on the shared experience and suffering of the forced removals. The set of selected historical events, symbols and rituals used to

represent a shared set of experiences and sorrows grounded and gave meaning to the belonging to (membership of) the contemporary Tsitsikamma Mfengu community. However the rearrangement and reordering of words and expressions led to identification of the subject in a modality of dis-identification and the formation of a new discursive practice namely the Tsitsikamma Mfengu ethnic discourse. In this process of dis-identification the Clarksoner Moravian mission community was excluded and utilized within the ethnic discourse as the "constitutive outside" against which a unified homogenous Tsitsikamma Mfengu community identification was formed. The Clarksoner Moravian mission community as a discursive object of the ethnic discourse was represented as the racial "coloured" other. The TEA (Fingo) and the later TDT (Mfengu) successfully established and sustained relations of power in its claim of entitlement to all land in the Tsitsikamma including the Clarkson mission land. In negotiations with the Moravian Church land was effectively obtained for two housing developments at Clarkson namely Silvertown and Smartie Town. Despite having a shared history, shared associations and family relations, incipient racial and ethnic differences appropriated from the dominant apartheid interdiscourse emerged leading to pronounced racial divisions at the schools, economic development initiatives, and use of burial sites.

The established and sustained relations of power of the TEA (Fingo) and the later TDT (Mfengu) was largely based on the successful interpellation of subjects in the constituted unified homogenous discursive contemporary Tsitsikamma Mfengu ethnic community. Yet this contemporary discursive community was disrupted and destabilized by the very resources of history that was left out of the "Fingo" narrative in the Tsitsikamma Mfengu ethnic discourse. Historical differences between the separate Mfengu communities at Snyklip, Doriskraal, and Wittekleibosch that prevailed before 1977 were overlooked. After the successful land settlement with the South African government, these differences re-emerged as fissures in the constructed discursive unity of the Tsitsikamma Mfengu ethnic community. A group of concerned community members, who came primarily from Wittekleibosch, emerged after the TDT (Mfengu) leased the returned Tsitsikamma Mfengu land to the very same nineteen farmers from whom the land had been taken back.

The discursive use of land as a representation strategy in the symbolic grounding of belonging to community with space, a vision of a past place, and rights of entitlement in land remains significant in the constitution of the contemporary ethnic Tsitsikamma Mfengu community. Equally important is the discursive unraveling of this very symbolic grounding when the returned land and rights thereto

was passed on, albeit temporarily, to the same farmers who had benefited from the forced removal of the various Mfengu communities from the Tsitsikamma. But the voices of the group of concerned members were lost in the re-articulated membership criteria of the constituted contemporary Tsitsikamma Mfengu community under the leadership of the TDT (Mfengu). After a Land settlement agreement was entered into with the South African government and nineteen farmers, the criteria for membership to the contemporary Tsitsikamma Mfengu community was extended to include peoples previously disadvantaged by apartheid laws. Many people were admitted as members of the TDT (Mfengu) who had no prior history of connection to the Tsitsikamma land, and this contributed further to the unraveling of the symbolic grounding upon which the discursive ethnic community had been produced. Redefining who belonged to the discursive community heralded the reconstitution of the contemporary Tsitsikamma Mfengu ethnic community.

Some of these people obtained rights to houses that had been built at Smarty Town in the Clarkson, following lengthy negotiations with the Moravian Church. Smarty Town was specifically established to accommodate the numerous returning Mfengu people to the Tsitsikamma. In practice returning to the Tsitsikamma meant settlement at Smarty Town in Clarkson. Large numbers of Mfengu peoples chose not to settle at Clarkson despite statements made by the TDT (Mfengu). Empty houses were largely filled with farm workers from the surrounding area who had no connection at all to the returning Tsitsikamma Mfengu, nor any relation to the Clarksoner Moravian mission community. The constructed racial ethnic dichotomy between "coloured" Moravian Clarksoner mission community and the now "black" Tsitsikamma Mfengu ethnic community omitted the presence of a large number of people in the rural town of Clarkson who were neither Moravian Clarksoner nor Tsitsikamma Mfengu people. As a strategy of dissimulation, this omission in the reconstituted contemporary Tsitsikamma Mfengu community in the ethnic discourse, served to establish and sustain the relations of power of the TDT (Mfengu) in the Tsitsikamma and at Clarkson in particular. More significant was its influence on the sporadic irruption of racial/ethnic violence between school goers at Clarkson as recently as 2003.

Most significant has been the contemporary transformation of the historic Clarkson mission station and Mfengu locations into regularised municipal and local government structures. In the transitionary phase of institutional development from historical structures to democratic governance; the emerging power struggles have been between the new local government structures, the TDT (Mfengu) and the CCPT. When the mission land was made available by the Moravian Church to the local government to manage and control, the power of discretionary co-

optation exercised by the CCPT became significantly limited. The outcome of this complex three-way conflict suggests that the emerging power at Clarkson and in the Tsitsikamma is that of the local government.

Chapter Nine

Conclusion

9.1 General Arguments and Interpretation of Study

In this dissertation we have been concerned with the notions of communal identity of the Clarkson mission station residents and Tsitsikamma Mfengu and their respective claims of entitlement to land. We have shown some of the ways in which these communal identities were discursively constructed in the Moravian missionary and official government discourses. We investigated some of the elements appropriated from these inter-discourses which were rearranged and utilised in discursive community formations linked to historical claims of land entitlement.

The most recent and concerted claims of entitlement to land in the Tsitsikamma emerged in the aftermath of the forced removal by government officials during 1977 of Mfengu communities residing in the Tsitsikamma. This occurred despite the land still being listed as scheduled land and reserved for the designated "Native Fingo tribe" in terms of the 1913 and 1936 Land Acts. Assisted by the LRC two land claims were lodged in the early 1990s. One of these claims was against the South African State and nineteen white farmers for restitution of the land from which these Mfengu communities were forcefully removed in 1977. The second claim was against the Moravian Church for holding the Clarkson mission land on behalf of, and in trust for, the "Fingos" since the establishment of the Moravian mission station in 1839.

Our interest in this topic was first captivated by this second land claim, which involved the Clarkson Moravian mission community in a dispute with the dispossessed Tsitsikamma Mfengu community regarding the historical legitimacy of their claims of entitlement to the mission land. The Clarksoners' declaration of entitlement to the mission land, based on having occupied and worked the land for many generations, contradicted the Tsitsikamma Mfengu people's testimonies of having "shed blood" for their land. These contested claims of entitlement to the Clarkson mission land in the 1990s gave us an opportunity to enter a discursive hermeneutical circle - a circle of interpretation of a pre-interpreted domain relating to the functions and significance of the contested Clarksoner/Mfengu land claims in their respective socio-historical formations of communal identity.

9.1.1 Community through Racial and Ethnic differentiation

In the Tsitsikamma Mfengu "return our land" campaign during the early 1990s the Clarksoners were represented as a "coloured" community which functioned as the constitutive outside in the discursive process of contemporary Mfengu communal identification. In this process of communal mobilisation the Mfengu themselves were constituted as a contemporary ethnic group represented as having had a longstanding relationship with the Tsitsikamma land. In their popular "return our land" campaign, racial and ethnic differentiations were for the most part presented as fixed categories; in the contemporary retelling of the "Fingo" ethnic narrative the Clarksoner and the Tsitsikamma Mfengu communities had no noteworthy interaction or historical association. But this essentialising and racialising of the "coloured" Clarksoner mission community, as against the ethnic Mfengu community depends on problematic and misleading categorisations which are themselves contested historical constructions. Through a brief social historical analysis we highlighted the fairly recent history, uses and changing definitions of such categories as "coloured" and "native". Each name/label became an important element of the dominating official discourse, with racial/ethnic differentiation in relation to specified parcels of land becoming the basis for the separation of communities, and in some cases, but not in others, of their eventual forceful relocation. Through the contextual grounding of our discourse analysis we showed how such naming/labelling of peoples were appropriated from the dominant interdiscourse and utilised in contemporary processes of community identification. Such categorisations of communities should therefore not be taken at face value, the more so when these are drawn upon in mobilising discursive communities around claims of entitlement to land. Its end result may be the resurgence of incipient ethnic/racial conflict with sporadic outbursts of violence.

Following their land dispossession and relocation to the Keiskammahoek district in the Ciskei the notion of an ethnic Mfengu identity within the broad category of "native" facilitated the merging of the three historically distinct Tsitsikamma Mfengu communities. In general when we choose not to take-for-granted ethnic categories as fixed entities, then the objective of investigation becomes that of critically interpreting the dynamic changing history and politics

surrounding contesting communities' claims of entitlement to land and the discursive symbols' that each may utilise in promoting the legitimacy of their respective historical relations to the land claimed.

9.1.2 Moravian Mission Identity and Land

Throughout the negotiations over claims of entitlement to the Clarkson land during the 1990s, the resident mission community persisted in asserting that they were not opposed to the return of the Tsitsikamma Mfengu but that the character of the Moravian mission station should be maintained. A commitment to preserving the tone and environment of the Moravian mission, remains a unique attribute of most Moravian mission station communities in South Africa, including that of Clarkson. Annual celebrations held by both rural and urban Moravian congregations commemorate, amongst others, Zinzendorf and the establishment of the Herrnhut settlement as well as the formation of the Unitas Fratrum. This shared communal notion of being Moravian is intrinsically connected to the crucial role played by the Moravian historical narrative in linking different groups of people over widely dispersed times and places. As our analysis of the Moravian historical narrative showed, the reconstructed Moravian mission history utilised a variety of metaphors, all variations of the singular metaphoric theme of the "(hidden) seed". This discursively connected the "ancient" Unitas Fratrum of Czechoslavakia during the 1400s and 1620s to the "renewed" Moravian community at Herrnhut established in Germany during the 1720s. By means of the reconstructed historical past a notion of common origin and historical continuity of the independent Moravian Church was produced, which was extended to include the South African Moravian mission communities. In this augmentation of the historical narrative the seed metaphor appeared as "the pear tree" and the "first fruits", with variations thereof appearing as "the pear tree blossoms", "the pear tree bears fruit", and "the twin of the pear tree". In the history of the Clarkson Moravian mission station the seed metaphor appeared most frequently as the "fruit bearing seed", the "fruits of the vine", and "labourers in His harvest". In this case the variations of the "seed" metaphor again produced a historical continuity of the constituted Clarkson mission community with Herrnhut and the Unitas Fratum. In the Moravian missionary discourse the Clarkson Moravian mission community was on the one hand deprived of any local pre-history, and on the other hand discursively accorded a history through the Moravian narrative of the "seed" that was shared with Moravian mission communities far removed in space and time.

Our investigation showed that the imposition of the Moravian ethic on the basis of the missionaries' control of access to mission land was central to the construction of a Moravian mission communal identity in the 18th and 19th centuries. What was the longer term historical legacy of this Moravian ethic by the close of the 20th century? A defining feature of the Clarkson mission community during the 1990s was their insistence that the returning Mfengu obey the rules and regulations that had become so much part of the organization and management of the mission station. Collectively these rules and regulations were directed at ensuring "discipline", "order", "good conduct", and "hard labour"; which we have referred to as the 'Moravian ethic'. In our study we have traced some of its uses and function - initially transplanted by missionaries from their experiences at Herrnhut, then imposed on established mission communities and later appropriated by mission communities themselves like that at Clarkson. Indigenous converts' acceptance thereof and adherence thereto was an integral part of their overall process of conversion to Christianity. Even though the application of the Moravian ethic differed from mission station to mission station, a reciprocal allegiance was mobilised among Moravian members across mission stations and later between rural and urban congregations. This produced a commonality within the emerging Moravian mission identity that permitted the movement of "converts" between mission stations. Such a reciprocal allegiance produced a discursive unity between Moravian mission communities at the Cape and their historical origins in Germany and Czechoslovakia. This discursive unity over place and time has persisted through the progression from Mission Society to independent (indigenous) Moravian Church with congregations in both urban and rural areas of South Africa incorporating elements thereof in appropriated Moravian communal identities.

For our purposes the Clarkson mission community's use of both the Moravian ethic and of their Moravian mission history to legitimate rights of entitlement to the Clarkson land is especially significant. At the same time these very elements were utilised in the ethnic Fingo discourse to construct the Clarksoners as the excluded 'constitutive outside' in relation to which the contemporary ethnic Tsitsikamma Mfengu discursive community was formed. This point is not only of theoretical interest but has important political and policy implications especially when NGOs and government officials are inclined to take contested ethnic / racial categorisations at face value. Our investigation has shown that the crude dichotomy posing a "coloured" Clarksoner mission community against a dispossessed ethnic Tsitsikamma Mfengu community rides roughshod over a much more complex history of shared experiences and individual and communal interaction. Here a suitably designed investigation of community identity and its

historical/political relations to land will be most useful for informed decision making that does not knowingly advantage one marginalised community above another, and thereby exacerbate unresolved conflict.

9.1.3 The Tsitsikamma Mfengu Identity and Land

When the Tsitsikamma Mfengu popularised their campaign during the 1990s for the return of their dispossessed ancestral land, the LRC and TEA (Fingo) presented a historical narrative in which they were described as a "Fingo tribe" with origins in Southern Natal who, after having fled the Mfecane, settled amongst the Xhosa in the Eastern Cape. Furthermore this "tribe" was given land in the Tsitsikamma by British colonial authorities for their loyalty to the Queen during frontier wars. This narrative drew much of its historical elements from what we have termed the received view of the origin of the Mfengu. While noting that the origins of the "Fingo"/Mfengu have become a matter of intense historical controversy, we have not entered that debate in this thesis. We have rather concerned ourselves with the more immediate appearance of the "Fingo"/Mfengu on the colonial scene following the 1835 Eastern Cape frontier war itself, and specifically with the relocation of four groups of Mfengu to the Tsitsikamma in 1837. We have argued that the received version of this history cannot be accepted at face value and highlighted the inconsistencies in the official colonial account of the origins of the "Fingo". We argued that this account amounted to a dissimulation of meaning which concealed the rounding-up of wandering refugees and captured indigenous peoples who were used within the colony as forced labourers, and thereby contributed to sustained relations of colonial domination. Equally important has been the role of the residual intermediaries within the colony that became known as "Fingo"/Mfengu who continued after 1835 to be involved in highly controversial roles on the Eastern Cape frontier, and who received land grants from British colonial authorities for their loyalty and support therein.

Our account focussed on four such groups of Mfengu who were settled in the Tsitsikamma area in 1837, with land granted to each group. More than a century later, in the 1990s, the Tsitsikamma Mfengu "return our land" campaign included the slogan "we bought this land with our life; we fought for this land", alluding to notions of sacrifice and loss of life similar to the traditional idea of right to land achieved in conquest. This notion of rights to land is suggestive of the controversial roles of the "Fingo"/Mfengu on the Eastern Cape frontier. It was however not their colonial collaborative history that was drawn upon to legitimate claims of entitlement to

land in the Tsitsikamma, but rather the forceful dispossession of land that had been bequeathed to them by the British Queen as described in the Deed of Grant in 1841. The reference point in these land claims became the issued colonial Clarkson Deed of Grant, taken to have a significance independently of its controversial political and historical context. We have not been concerned with a determination of the significance of this contested Deed of Grant in law, but with its discursive and political significance.

Equally significant has been the Tsitsikamma Mfengu community's contemporary demand in the 1990s for the return of their ancestral land. The very idea of making claims of entitlement to ancestral land typically signals a historical claim of entitlement to land and brings to the fore a possible history of connectedness to land that precedes colonial intrusion. Rituals like the Tsitsikamma grave-cleaning ceremonies in many ways legitimised this notion of ancestral land and affirmed entitlement thereto. Issuing a rightful claim of entitlement to the Clarkson land was especially necessary when confronted by the Clarkson mission community's assertion of also having historical associations with the disputed land. Our study has shown that the history of the four Mfengu groups in relation to the Tsitsikamma land only commenced in 1837. This notion of ancestral land concealed a rather recent history filled with political controversies and complexities. Thus when considering the contested claims of entitlement to the Clarkson mission land without grounding the deeds registry of land in its political and historical context, then one already marginalised community may unknowingly or knowingly be advantaged at the expense of another.

9.1.4 Land, Communal Identity and Community

In the case of the Tsitsikamma Mfengu restitution of their land, celebrated as a landmark restitution of land case in the new democratic South Africa, the restoration of land by the State actually did not result in access to and use of land by the dispossessed community since most of the returned land was leased back to the "white" farmers. These commercial farmers continued uninterruptedly after 1994 with their programmes of large-scale dairy farming activities. On the basis of the negotiated agreement the TDT (Mfengu) decided not to apportion land to the returning Mfengu but rather to continue with the commercial dairy farming activities. This decision was carried through despite there being serious and sustained objections and demands for access to use the land for small-scale farming by some members of the community who had moved back to the Tsitsikamma. This ironic outcome of the "successful"

land restitution to the dispossessed Tsitsikamma Mfengu must raise serious questions as to who the actual beneficiaries of this restoration are and how democratic the process actually was.

The final Tsitsikamma Mfengu land settlement agreement entered into with the State and the nineteen farmers included a new definition of community membership with significant implications for the composition of the Mfengu community. In effect the Tsitsikamma Mfengu community has been reconstituted and no longer consists primarily of those families who had been affected by the forced removals during the 1970s. In principle membership of this community has been extended to become inclusive of all previously disadvantaged peoples in South Africa. In general such progressions in community formations are part of the familiar taken for granted organic evolution of modernity. However, the abrupt regulated change in community membership from exclusivity to inclusivity subject to the approval of the TDT (Mfengu) concealed relations of power with the Trustees holding veto rights over membership. The exercise of such power is acutely visible at annual general meetings in which ordinary members have to ratify decisions taken and appoint Trustees.

In the case of the second land claim issued by the Tsitsikamma Mfengu against the Moravian Church regarding the Clarkson mission land we have traced the role of the non-governmental organisations such as the LRC and funding institutions. The possibility of availing themselves of financial, administrative and media support greatly enhanced the position of the Mfengu in constructing a legitimate historical claim of entitlement to the Clarkson mission land - even though the claim itself was not valid in terms of the Restitution Act of 1994 since it pre-dated 1913 and despite the fact that the land claim against the Moravian Church did not relate to the forced removal of peoples from the land. Communities like the Tsitsikamma Mfengu who are provided with access to financial and other necessary resources have been able to ensure that their voices are heard and supported when faced with conflicting claims of entitlement to land. But this may have happened at the expense of other marginalised communities like the Clarksoners, which did not have similar support and access. Thus the mobilisation of communal identity within present-day South Africa should not be taken at face value, more so when these are connected to claims of entitlement to scarce resources like land. Certainly those communities who do not have a history of mobilisation on the basis of their identity to defend group interests, as in the case of the Clarkson mission community, may well be disadvantaged. If some voices relevant to the settlement of contesting land claims are not

heard, and therefore not considered, then the outcome of land restoration may well be prejudiced and result in reproducing inter/intra community conflict over the access and use of returned land.

Following the successful conclusion of the land claim negotiations Clarkson has been transformed into a rural town with an added housing development scheme opened to all qualifying members of the established Clarkson Communal Property Trust (CCPT). This settlement agreement stipulated that all previously disadvantaged persons were eligible to reside in the rural town subject to the approval of the CCPT. More recently the Moravian Church entered into a Land Availability Agreement with the local municipality, with all qualifying persons obtaining individual ownership rights to residential sites occupied. Residents of the rural town now include previously disadvantaged South Africans who were not members of either the Clarkson mission or Tsitsikamma Mfengu communities. With this development Clarkson has been positively incorporated into the mainstream of transformation in South Africa. However, social relations in the rural town have been haunted by the constructed racial ethnic dichotomy between the Coloured Moravian Clarksoner mission community and the ethnic Tsitsikamma Mfengu community with sporadic racial/ethnic violence has occurred between school goers in the rural town as recently as 2003.

9.2 General Significance of the Study

We located this study within both a descriptive and a critical approach through our use of applied discourse analysis. Our investigation revealed a dynamic progression in the historical construction and appropriation of communal identities in relation to claims about land entitlement. However, the question may be raised to what extent the case of the Tsitsikamma Mfengu and Clarkson mission communities is an exception to the general pattern in South African restitution.

More generally the significance of our case study lies in our application of John Thompson's analytical framework for the methodology of interpretation and the various complementing aspects of discourse theory. The theoretical basis of this study has evolved into being distinctly eclectic in character, with no attempt made on our part to construct a general theory of communal identities and claims to land. This rather eclectic approach to applied discourse analysis enabled us to bring to the fore significant discursive shifts within the Clarksoner

mission and Tsitsikamma Mfengu communal identity formations in relation to the ambiguities in rights to land. In general then, when grounded in a social historical context of colonial land dispossessions and colonial demands for the use of indigenous labour, communal identity formations can be placed on an interconnected discursive continuum. In this way we can begin to reveal the ways in which processes of contemporary communal identification regularly utilise selected elements like naming/labelling, historical events and shared experiences from the inter-discourse in the constitution of present-day community formations in order to legitimate claims of entitlement to land. The current common usage of "tribal", "traditional" and "ancestral" can be interpreted not as unique primordial phenomena prevailing outside the realm of modernity, but as historical and discursive constructions. As part of the progression of modernity discursive processes of communal identification are linked to claims of entitlement to land and bound up in past and present relations of power and domination. Such an approach to discourse analysis contributes to an enquiry into historical contestation, the reproduction of present day inter/intra community conflict, and questions surrounding the legitimacy of claims of entitlement to land.

The research topic of "communal identity and historical claims to land in South Africa: the cases of the Clarkson Moravian mission and the Tsitsikamma Mfengu" has uniquely positioned us to critically explore the sustained historical linkages between the Moravian Mission Society and the contemporary Moravian Church in South Africa. Our critical discourse analysis and interpretation of the reconstructed narrative of the seed remains significant in revealing the historical depth and connections of the independent indigenous Moravian Church (incorporating its mission stations like that at Clarkson) with the long departed Moravian Mission Society. The history of the Moravian mission in South Africa combined with a contextual analysis of colonial expansion, land dispossessions, forced labour, as well as colonial resistance, rebellion, and collaboration has located this study on a path that makes a meaningful contribution to developing an inclusive and comprehensive narrative of South African Christianity within a general South African history.

The study may also be significant in the more general South African context of investigations into land restitution claims, especially for the numerous remaining unresolved contested rural communal claims of entitlement to land. In many cases communities have drawn on elements of pre-colonial and colonial history to justify and legitimate preferential entitlement to claims lodged. This has made contemporary constituted community identities an integral part of such

land claims. Creative solutions to contested communal claims of entitlement to land aimed at promoting restored dignity and justice are necessary. These should not avoid addressing historical rights to land within a comprehensive context of pre-colonial, colonial and mission history. To this end our study has hopefully made some contribution through its applied discourse analysis. This has involved both a descriptive and critical approach in examining elements of meaning utilised in the historical and discursive construction and appropriation of communal identities in relation to land. Through our critical approach to applied discourse analysis we have endeavoured to reveal the underlying mechanisms that account for relations of power and domination, including those involved in communal identities that may be taken-for-granted. It is when the selective uses of labelling/naming, rituals, selected historical events and shared experiences are made known and placed within its historical and political context; that we begin to provide an interpretation of sustained relations of power and domination.

9.3 Conclusion

The outcome of this study is that by focussing on the historical rights to land of the two communities in our case study, we have been able to enter the complex and controversial colonial and missionary histories involved in these communal claims of entitlement to land. We have not limited ourselves to the 1913 cut-off date as the end of a prescribed historical period within which to review the validity of each contesting claim. When the Mfengu were forcefully removed from the Tsitsikamma in 1977 racial/ethnic categories had long been appropriated and become taken-for-granted descriptions of communities living alongside each other. In fact since 1913 racial/ethnic labelling found in the official discourse had been systematically introduced, produced, and sustained in relation to rights in land used and occupied. Deeds registry enquiry and the use of Deed of Grants as objective independent documents to provide historical evidence needs to be complemented by a historical approach to resolving claims of entitlement to land, especially contesting claims to land. By shifting our focus to an investigation of historical rights in land, we have grounded our study by taking into consideration the relevant political and historical contexts that pre-date 1913. It is the emerging complexities, ambiguities and nuanced histories of mission, land dispossession, forced labour, resistance, rebellion and collaboration that contributes to the resolution of contested land claims; and not the reformulation of a received macro narrative from which elements are appropriated by contemporary communities through which to display legitimacy of entitlements to land. If our purpose is to seek dynamic solutions to contemporary inter and intra-community

conflicts, then it becomes necessary to shift our focus in investigations of communal land entitlement claims to grounding historical rights in land enquiry within relevant political and historical contexts that pre-date 1913.

Bibliography

A. Manuscripts

Cape Archive. CA 1/AY8/24. W.H. Dutton to the Civil Commissioner of Albany. 2 May 1835.

Cape Archive. CA 1/AY8/24. Notice. Headquarters Camp. Dabakazi. 3 May 1835.

Cape Archive. CA 1/AY8/55. Colonial Office. Somerset. 22 July 1835.

Cape Archive. CA 1/AY8/86. Civil Commissioner's Office. Grahamstown. 14 June 1835.

Cape Archive. CA 1/AY8/86. Civil Commissioner's Office. Winterberg. 7 September 1835.

Cape Archive. CA ACC519/2 (No. 18). 18 May 1835.

Cape Archive. CA ACC519/3. Colonial Office. 4 December 1835.

Cape Archive. CA ACC519/3. Skeleton of a Plan for the Arrangement of Facts Calculated to Exhibit the True State of Colonial Affairs to Uninformed Prejudiced Persons in England. William Boyce. 12 October 1835.

Cape Archive. CA ACC519/3. Report of the Commissioner for Locating the Fingo Tribes. 5 October 1835.

Cape Archive. CA ACC519/4. Address given by Smith. Enclosure No. 15. 7 January 1836.

Cape Archive. CA LG 592. Hudson to Civil Commissioner of Uitenhage. Grahamstown. 31 August 1837.

Cape Archive. CA LG 592. Hudson to the Civil Commissioner of Uitenhage. 18 September 1837.

Cape Archive. CA LG 592. Hudson to Civil Commissioner of Uitenhage. 27 September 1837.

Cape Archive. CA LCA 4/9. Proclamation. 5 December 1836.

Cape Archive. CA LCA 4/9. Treaties. 5 December 1836.

Cape Archive. CA 49-65.Brownlee. Memorandum.1864.

Cape Archive. CA 36-65. Petition to the Governor from Certain Inhabitants of Humansdorp. 3 June 1865.

Cape Archive. CA 43-71. Petition of Tozane, a Fingo Chief and British Subject. 2 August 1871.

Cape Archive. CA 32-79. Petition of Petrus Mohango of the Incibini, in the Division of Queen's Town. 1879.

Moravian Archive. Letter to Hallbeck from Küster. Koksbosch. 26 February and 10 March 1839.

Moravian Archive. Letter to Hallbeck from Küster. Koksbosch. 5 May 1839.

Moravian Archive. Missions Conf. Prodoc. 1839-1846.

Moravian Archive. Missions Conf. Prodoc. 1846-1855.

Moravian Archive. Missions Conf. Prodoc. 1868-1872.

Moravian Archive. Schmidt. Extracts of the Diary of Genadendal and Periodical Accounts proving the Loyalty of the Missionaries and its Congregation. Unpublished. No date.

Moravian Archive. Schmidt. Die Sendingwerk van die Broederkerk in Suid Afrika. Unpublished. No date.

Moravian Archive. Memorandum: Fingo Reserve. No date.

Moravian Archive. Clarkson Documents. Letter from G. Hettasch. 25 August 1948.

Moravian Archive. Letter from Rev. P.W. Schaberg to the Minister of Native Affairs. 20 March 1950.

Moravian Archive. Letter from Rev. P.W. Schaberg to the Minister of Native Affairs. 20 March 1950.

Moravian Archive. B. Krüger. Clarkson Annual Report. 31 December 1951.

Clarkson Moravian Church Office. The Clarkson Moravian Mission Station Marriage Register. 1869-1975.

Clarkson Moravian Church Office.The Clarkson Moravian Mission Station Marriage Register. 1910-1975.

Moravian Archive. Clarkson Moravian Mission Station Constitution.

Notarial Contract. K111/85. Protokol No. 466A. 8 November 1985.

Moravian Archive. Die Huisvriend. 1991.

B. Government Publications

Vagrancy and Contracts of Hire. Proclamation No. 14. 1 November 1809. In G.W. Eybers. (Ed.). 1918. Select Constitutional Documents illustrating South African History, 1795-1910. London. Routledge.

Hallbeck. Brief Sketch of the Origin, Progress, and Present State of the Missions of the United Brethren in the Colony of the Cape of Good Hope. Genadendal. 14 November 1823. No. 2. Draft Settlement of the Lands at Missionary Institutions in South Africa. British Parliamentary Papers. Vol. 20.

Sub-Enclosure 15 May 1835, Enclosure No. 8. British Parliamentary Papers. Vol. 21

Copy of a Despatch from Governor Sir B. D'Urban to the Earl of Aberdeen, 19 June 1835. Sub-enclosure No. 3, Enclosure No. 8. British Parliamentary Papers Vol. 20.

Results of a Census of the Colony of the Cape of Good Hope. 1865. G.20-66.

Results of a Census of the Colony of the Cape of Good Hope. 1878. G42-76.

Peace Preservation Act of 1878.

For the Prevention of Vagrancy and Squatting Act 23, 1879.

To Provide for the Disposal of Lands Forming Native Locations Act 40, 1879.

To Provide for the Management of Villages and other Communities not being Municipalities Act 29, 1881.

'Minutes of Evidence. 1883. Cape Native Laws Commission'. The Right to the Land. Ed. T.R.H. Davenport and K.S. Hunt. Claremont: David Philip, 1974.

Results of a Census of the Colony the Cape of Good Hope. 1905. G.19-1905

To Provide for the Better Management and Control of certain Mission Stations and certain Lands Reserved for the Occupation of certain Tribes or Communities, and for the Granting of Titles to the Inhabitants of such Stations and Reserves, Act 29, 1909.

The Natives Land Act No. 27, 1913.

The Beaumont Commission. U.G. 19-16.

The Natives Administration Act No. 38, 1927.

The Representation of Natives Act No. 12, 1936.

The Natives Trust Land Act No. 18, 1936.

The Coloured Persons Settlement Act No. 7, 1946.

The Coloured Mission Stations and Communal Reserves Amendment Act No. 12, 1949

The Coloured Mission Stations and Reserves Amendment Act No. 35, 1955.

The Coloured Mission Stations and Reserves Amendment Act No. 31, 1959.

The Rural Coloured Areas Act No. 24, 1963.

First Report of the Select Committee on Bantu Affairs. House of Assembly. S.C. 9-75.

The Rural Areas Act No. 9, 1987.

Communal Property Associations Bill, 1995.

Restitution of Land Rights Act No. 22, 1994.

Land Tenure Core Group. 'Land Tenure Reform Document'. 13 May 1996.

Commission on the Restitution of Land Rights. 'Land Restitution in South Africa Our Achievements and Challenges'. 26 May 2003.

C. Deeds Registry Documents

Clarkson. Uitenhage Freehold. 9:7 (15 December 1841).
Clarkson. Title Deed. T3168/1959.
DorisKraal. Uitenhage Freehold. 11:1 (30 October 1858).
Elim. Title Deed. T18759/1959.
Fingo Reserve. Uitenhage Freehold. 10:16 (15 November 1851).
Goedverwacht. Title Deed. T26909/1965.
Palmiet River. Uitenhage Freehold. 11:2 (30 October 1858).
Pella. Title Deed. T9989/1936

Snyklip. Uitenhage Freehold. 11:3 (30 October 1858).
Wittekleibosch. Uitenhage Freehold. 11:4 (30 October 1858).
Wittewater. Title Deed. T8760/1959.

Letter from Bell to Reverend D. Hallbeck. Fingo Reserve. Uitenhage Freehold 10:16A (15 November 1851).

Division of Humansdorp. Lease Agreement. No. 72 (15 November 1875).

D. Reports, Minutes and Correspondence

Anonymous. *Notice of Mass Demonstration.* Clarkson. 15 March 1996.

Anonymous. *Memorandum of Mass Demonstration.* Clarkson. 16 March 1996.

Combined Summons in the Supreme Court of South Africa (South Eastern Cape Local Division). S. Mtselu and thirteen other plaintiffs and the South African Development Trust and 22 other defendants. Case No. 1306/9. 7 May 1991.

Cooper, D. *Report on Trip to Tsitsikamma.* October 1991.

Clarkson Kerkraad en Opsienersraad. Letter to Rev. B.C.P. Lottering. *Ontwikkeling te Clarkson.* 30 December 1995.

Clarkson Communal Property Association. *Notarial Deed of Trust.* 16 August 1996.

Legal Resource Centre. *Chronology of Events: Clarkson Development.* No date.

Legal Resource Centre. *Report on Visit to Rev. Wessels.* No date.

Legal Resource Centre. *Report of Meeting with Rev. Wessels of the Moravian Church.* 16 January 1991.

Legal Resource Centre. *Minutes of the Meeting held between the Moravian Church and the Tsitsikamma Exile Association.* 3 July 1991.

Legal Resource Centre. *Draft Notes.* Meeting with State President F.W. de Klerk. Union Building. 15 July 1991.

Legal Resource Centre. *Report on the Mfengu Land Case.* 27 July 1991.

Legal Resource Centre. *Motivating Memorandum. Application for the Designation of Land for Less Formal Settlement* (Chapter 1: Less formal Township Establishment Act, 1991 [Act 113 of 1991]). December 1992.

Legal Resource Centre. *Documents of Algoa Regional Services Council.* 1994.

Legal Resource Centre. *Mfengu Case Report Compilation.* 15 January 1994 - March 1994.

Legal Resource Centre and the Tsitsikamma Development Trust (Mfengu). *Report to Members of the Tsitsikamma Community.* June 1994.

Legal Resource Centre. *Report to All Members of the Tsitsikamma Community who were Forcibly Moved during 1977.* June 1994.

Legal Resource Centre. *Draft Summary: Issues Facing the Tsitsikamma Development Trust (Mfengu).* 12 May 1995.

Legal Resource Centre. 1996. *Chronology of Events: Clarkson Development Project.* January 1996.

Legal Resource Centre. *Report Concerning the Mfengu/Tsitsikamma Project.* 3 June 1996.

Legal Resource Centre. *Mission Statement.* http://www.lrc.org.za/About/. 20 July 2005.

Minutes of Clarkson Community Meeting. 15 June 1991.

Minutes of Meeting between Moravian Church and Tsitsikamma Exile Association (Fingo). 3 July 1991.

Moraviese Broederkerk. *Mandaat van Clarkson Kerkraad en Opsienersraadslede.* 7 June 1991.

Moravian Church Western Cape Regional Board. Letter to the Kerkraad en Opsienersraad Clarkson. *Ontwikkeling te Clarkson.* 19 January 1996.

Moravian Church Western Cape Regional Board. *Memorandum: Aan Alle Inwoners van Clarkson.* 19 January 1996.

Moravian Church. Notice from Rev. Lottering. *Aan Alle Inwoners.* 19 January 1996.

Moravian Church. *Minutes of Clarkson Mission General Meeting on Clarkson Resettlement of the Mfengu.* 28 January 1996.

Moravian Church in South Africa, Koukamma Local Municipality and Trustees of the Clarkson Communal Property Trust. *A Land Availability Agreement.* Clarkson. 6 April 2002.

Pienaar, K. *Historic Overview and Brief Summary.* No date.

South African Council of Churches. *Rustenburg Declaration.* 1990.

Syfret Godlonton-Fuller Moore. Letter to Roger Matlock. *Development of Clarkson.* 25 May 1994.

Tobie Meyer, Deputy Minister of Land Affairs. *Press Release: Clarkson Development.* 18 December 1995.

Tsitsikamma Exile Association (Fingo). *Letter from T. Makamba to the Rev. M. Wessels.* 29 May 1991.

Tsitsikamma Exile Association (Fingo). Poster. *Clarkson Memorial Service: We are Returning to Our Land.* August 1991.

Tsitsikamma Exile Association (Fingo). *Return to our Land.* August 1996.

Tsitsikamma Exile Association (Fingo). Pamphlet. *Return to Our Land.* September 1991.

Tsitsikamma Development Trust (Mfengu). *The Resettlement of the Mfengu Community to the Tsitsikamma Region.* November 1995.

Tsitsikamma Development Trust (Mfengu). *Amended Deed of Trust.* Cape Town. 29 October 1998.

Umanyano Lwama Tsitsikamma. *Letter to the Minister of Agriculture, Thoko Didiza. Requesting Intervention in the Dispute between the Community and the Tsitsikamma Development Trust (Mfengu).* 10 October 2002.

Van Rooyen and Estratiou. Letter to the Moravian Church (Western Cape). *NEWHCO East Cape/Yourselves: Development of 775 Erven at Clarkson in Terms of Joint Venture Agreement.* 8 November 1995.

E. Newspapers and Periodicals

Bernstein, Henry. 'Social Change in the South African Countryside? Land and Production, Poverty and Power.' Journal of Peasant Studies 25: 4 (1998).

Bredekamp, H.C. 'Verhettge Tikkuie, Alias Moeder Lena van Genadendal, 1739-1800.' Quarterly Bulletin of the South African Library 41: 4 (June 1987).

Bredekamp, H.C. 1988. 'George Schmidt se Poging tot Tansformasie van 'n Overbergse Khoikhoi-Gemeenskap, 1737-1743.' Kronos 1988: 14.

'Onmin oor Hervestiging van Fingo's by Clarkson.' Die Burger 18 December 1995.

'Growing Bitterness Over Land Restitution.' Business Day 13 March 1996.

'A Story of Native Wars by an Aged Fingo.' Cape Monthly Magazine January – June 1877: XIV.

'Disarmament.' Cape Times 10 December 1878.

'The Mfengu People Fight to Regain Tribal Land they Lost at Gunpoint.' Cape Times 22 April 1991.

Cobbing, Julian. 'The Mfecane as Alibi: Thoughts on Dithakong and Mbolompo.' Journal of African History 1988: 29.

Coetzee, J.M. 'Idleness in South Africa.' Social Dynamics 8: 1 (1982).

Comaroffs, Jean and John L.. 'The Colonisation of Consciousness in South Africa.' Economy and Society 18: 3 (August 1989).

Ditlhake, Abie. 'Land Reform Programme: A Nemesis of the Rural Poor?' Land Update (March 1998).

Du Toit, André. 'No Chosen People: The Myth of the Calvinist Origins of Afrikaner Nationalism and Racial Ideology.' The American Historical Review 88: 4 (October 1983).

Du Toit, André. 'On Ideology.' South African Journal of Philosophy 13: 3 (1994).

'Notice of State Land Available in the Republic.' Eastern Cape Herald 12 February 1982.

'Fingos Visit Ancestral Graves in Tsitsikamma.' Eastern Province Herald 24 February 1991.

'Black Sash Holds Fingo Land Demo.' Eastern Province Herald 20 March 1991.

'Mfengu Ex-farmers Hopeful for Lost Land.' Evening Post 16 February 1991.

'Banished Fingo Tribesmen to visit Ancestor's Graves.' Evening Post 18 February 1991.

'Plight of the Tsitsikamma Fingos.' Evening Post 26 February 1991.

'Sash Holds Poster Demo for Fingos.' Evening Post 21 March 1991.

Elbourne, Elizabeth. 'Early Khoisan Uses of Mission Christianity.' Kronos 1992: 19.

Eldredge, Elizabeth A. 'Sources of Conflict in Southern Africa, c. 1800-1830: The Mfecane Reconsidered.' Journal of African History 1992: 33.

Etherington, N. 'Recent Trends in the Historiography of Christianity in Southern Africa.' Journal of Southern African Studies 22: 2 (1996).

Everingham, Mark and Crystal Jannecke. 'Land Restitution and Democratic Citizenship in South Africa.' Journal of Southern African Studies 32: 2 (2006) forthcoming.

Grove, Richard. 'Scottish Missionaries, Evangelical Discourse and the Origins of Conservative Thinking in South Africa, 1820-1900.' Journal of Southern African Studies 15: 2 (1989).

Guelke L. and Shell, R. 'Landscape of Conquest: Frontier Water Alienation and Khoikhoi Strategies of Survival, 1652-1780.' Journal of Southern African Studies 18: 4 (December 1992).

Hamilton, Carolyn. 'The Character and Objects of Chaka: A Reconsideration of the Making of Shaka as Mfecane Motor.' Journal of African History 1992: 33.

'Muzzling the Natives.' Imvo Zabantsundu 23 March 1887. From Protest to Challenge: A Documentary History of African Politics in South Africa, 1882-1864 Vol. 1. Eds. T. Karis and G.M. Carter. 3 vols. Stanford: Hoover Institution, 1987.

'The Future of the Bill.' Imvo Zabantsundu 15 August 1894. From Protest to Challenge: A Documentary History of African Politics in South Africa, 1882-1864 Vol. 1. Eds. T. Karis and G.M. Carter. 3 vols. Stanford: Hoover Institution, 1987.

Inggs, E.J. 'Mfengu Beach Labour and Port Elizabeth Harbour Development 1835-1870.' Contree Journal for South African Urban and Regional History 1987: 21.

Jabavu, D. 'The Fingo Slavery Myth.' The South African Outlook (June 1935).

James, Deborah. '"After Years in the Wilderness": The Discourse of Land Claims in the New South Africa.' The Journal of Peasant Studies 27: 3 (2000).

James, Deborah. 'Hills of Thorns: Custom, Knowledge and the Reclaiming of a Lost Land in the New South Africa.' Development and Change 2000: 31.

Kirk, Tony. 'Progress and Decline in the Kat River Settlement, 1829-1854.' Journal of African History XIV: 3 (1973).

Lalu, P. 'The Grammar of Domination and Subjection of Agency: Colonial Texts and Modes of Evidence.' History and Theory 2000: 39.

Lehmann, Hartmut. 'Pietism and Nationalism: The Relationship between Protestant Revivalism and National Renewal in Nineteenth-Century Germany.' Church History 51: 1 (1982 March).

Lester, Alan. 'Settlers, the State and Colonial Power: The Colonisation of Queen Adelaide Province, 1834-1837.' Journal of African History 1998: 39.

'Victory ... but now for the Tensions of Coming Home.' Mail and Guardian 25 March 1994.

'Whose Land Is This.' Mail and Guardian 17 February 1995.

'Queen Reminded of Broken Promise.' Mail and Guardian 24 March 1995.

'District Six: Restitution or Development.' Mail and Guardian 6 September 1996.

'Land Court Faces its First Tough Decision.' Mail and Guardian 8 December 1996.

'Bushman Left to Rot in the Karoo.' Mail and Guardian 14 March 1997.

Marks, Shula. 'Khoisan Resistance to the Dutch in the Seventeenth and Eighteenth Centuries.' Journal of African History xiii: 1 (1972).

National Land Committee. 'Mfengus Return Home After 17-Year Struggle.' Land Update. May-June 1994.

Omer-Cooper, J.D. 'Debate: Has the Mfecane a Future? A Response to the Cobbing Critique.' Journal of Southern African Studies 19: 2 (1993).

Peires, J.B. 'Debate: Paradigm deleted: the Materialist Interpretation of the Mfecane.' Journal of Southern African Studies 19: 2 (1993).

Periodical Accounts Relating to the Missions of the Church of the United Brethren Established Among the Heathen. Xx: ccxviii (March 1853).

Periodical Accounts Relating to the Missions of the Church of the United Brethren Established Among the Heathen. Xxi: ccxxi (December 1853).

Periodical Accounts Relating to the Missions of the Church of the United Brethren Established Among the Heathen. Xxi: ccxxviii (September 1855).

Periodical Accounts Relating to the Missions of the Church of the United Brethren Established Among the Heathen. Xxi: ccxxix (December 1855).

Periodical Accounts Relating to the Missions of the Church of the United Brethren Established Among the Heathen. Xxii: ccxxxi (June 1856).

Periodical Accounts Relating to the Missions of the Church of the United Brethren Established Among the Heathen. Xxii: ccxxxiv (March 1857).

Periodical Accounts Relating to the Missions of the Church of the United Brethren Established Among the Heathen. Xxii: cxxxvi (September 1857).

Periodical Accounts Relating to the Missions of the Church of the United Brethren Established Among the Heathen. Xxii: cxl (September 1858).

Periodical Accounts Relating to the Missions of the Church of the United Brethren Established Among the Heathen. Xxiii: ccxlvi (March 1860).

Periodical Accounts Relating to the Missions of the Church of the United Brethren Established Among the Heathen. Xxiii: ccxlvii (June 1860).

Periodical Accounts Relating to the Missions of the Church of the United Brethren Established Among the Heathen. Xxiv: cclii (September 1861).

Periodical Accounts Relating to the Missions of the Church of the United Brethren Established Among the Heathen. Xxiv: ccliv (March 1862).

Periodical Accounts Relating to the Missions of the Church of the United Brethren Established Among the Heathen. Xxiv: cclv (June 1862).

Periodical Accounts Relating to the Missions of the Church of the United Brethren Established Among the Heathen. Xxiv: cclvii (December 1862)

Periodical Accounts Relating to the Missions of the Church of the United Brethren Established Among the Heathen. Xxiv: cclix (June 1863).

Periodical Accounts Relating to the Missions of the Church of the United Brethren Established Among the Heathen. Xxv: cclxii (March 1864).

Periodical Accounts Relating to the Missions of the Church of the United Brethren Established Among the Heathen. Xxv: cclxiii (June 1864).

Periodical Accounts Relating to the Missions of the Church of the United Brethren Established Among the Heathen. Xxv: cclxvii (June 1865).

Periodical Accounts Relating to the Missions of the Church of the United Brethren Established Among the Heathen. Xxv: cclxviii (September 1865).

Periodical Accounts Relating to the Missions of the Church of the United Brethren Established Among the Heathen. Xxvi: cclxxii (September 1866).

Periodical Accounts Relating to the Missions of the Church of the United Brethren Established Among the Heathen. Xxvi: cclxxiii (December 1866).

Periodical Accounts Relating to the Missions of the Church of the United Brethren Established Among the Heathen. Xxvi: cclxxiv (March 1867).

Periodical Accounts Relating to the Missions of the Church of the United Brethren Established Among the Heathen. Xxvi: cclxxvi (September 1867).

Periodical Accounts Relating to the Missions of the Church of the United Brethren Established Among the Heathen. Xxviii: 299 (June 1873).

Periodical Accounts Relating to the Missions of the Church of the United Brethren Established Among the Heathen. (March 1875).

Periodical Accounts Relating to the Missions of the Church of the United Brethren Established Among the Heathen. Xxxii: 331 (June 1881).

Periodical Accounts Relating to the Missions of the Church of the United Brethren Established Among the Heathen. Xxxii: 335 (June 1882).

Periodical Accounts Relating to the Missions of the Church of the United Brethren Established Among the Heathen. Xxxii: 340 (September 1883).

Periodical Accounts Relating to the Missions of the Church of the United Brethren Established Among the Heathen. Xxxiii: 346 (March 1885).

Periodical Accounts Relating to the Missions of the Church of the United Brethren Established Among the Heathen. Xxxiii: 349 (December 1885).

Periodical Accounts Relating to the Missions of the Church of the United Brethren Established Among the Heathen. V: 53 (March 1903).

Periodicals Account Relating to the Missions of the Church of the United Brethren Established Among the Heathen. V: 56 (December 1903).

Periodicals Account Relating to the Missions of the Church of the United Brethren Established Among the Heathen. V: 59 (September 1904).

Periodical Account Relating to the Missions of the Church of the United Brethren Established Among the Heathen. Viii: 91 (September 1912).

Robins, Steven. 'Land Struggles and the Politics and Ethics of Representing "Bushman" History and Identity.' Kronos 2000: 26.

Robins, Steven. 'NGOs, "Bushmen" and the Double Vision: The ≠ Khomani San Land Claim and the Cultural Politics of Community and Development in the Kalahari.' Journal of Southern African Studies 27: 4 (2001).

Ross, R. 'Oppression, Sexuality and Slavery at the Cape of Good Hope.' Historical Reflections 6: 2 (1979)

Ross, R. 'The Rule of Law at the Cape of Good Hope in the 18th Century.' Journal of Imperial and Commonwealth History ix: 1 (October 1980).

Shell, R.C.H. 'The Changing Functions and Effects of the Domestic Slave Market at the Cape, 1652-1833.' International Journal of African Historical Studies 25: 1 (1992).

Stapleton, T.J. 'Oral Evidence in a Pseudo-ethnicity: the Fingo Debate.' History in Africa 1995: 22.

Stapleton, T.J. 'The Expansion of a Pseudo-Ethnicity in the Eastern Cape: Reconsidering the Fingo "Exodus" of 1865.' The International Journal of African Historical Studies 29:2 (1996).

'Fingoes Launch Land Battle.' Sunday Times March 1991.

'Church backs Tribe's Quest to go Back Home.' Sunday Times 31 March 1991.

'The Mfengu People have become a cause Celebré in the National Row Over Land Claims.' Sunday Times 28 July 1991.

'Fingo Exiles Pledge to Reclaim Land.' Sunday Tribune 24 February 1991.

'Church is Obstacle to Ending Mfengu's Exile.' Sunday Times. 19 November 1995.

Trapido, S. 'African Politics in the Cape, 1884-1910.' Journal of African History Ix:I (1968).

Thorp, Daniel B. 'New Wines in Old Bottles: Cultural Persistence among Non-White Converts to the Moravian Church.' Transactions of the Moravian Historical Society 1998: 30.

Van der Walt, A.J. 'Land Reform in South Africa Since 1990 – An Overview.' South African Public Law, 10: 1&2 (1995).

Woods, Roger. 'Discourse Analysis: the Work of Michel Pêcheux.' Ideology and Consciousness 1977: 2.

Worden, N. 'Violence Crime, and Slavery on Cape farmsteads in the Eighteenth Century.' Kronos 1982: 5.

F. Books, Articles, Theses, and Papers

Alexander, J.E. Narrative of a voyage of Observation among the Colonies of Western Africa in the Flag ShipThalia and of a Campaign in Kaffir-Land on the Staff of the Commander-in-Chief in 1835. Vol. 2. London: Henry Colburn, 1837.

Anderson, Benedict. Imagined Communties: Reflections on the Origin and Spread of Nationalism. London: Verso, 1983.

Apter, David. ed. Ideology and Discontent. New York: The Free Press, 1964.

Althusser, L. 'Ideology and Ideological State Apparatus (Notes Towards and Investigation).' Lenin and Philosophy and Other Essays. Ed. L. Althusser. Trans. B. Brewster. New York: Monthly Review, 1972.

Addison, W.G. The Renewed Church of the United Brethren, 1722-1930. London: Society for the Promoting of Christian Knowledge, 1932.

August. K.T. 'The Quest for being Public Church: A Study of the South African Moravian Church in Historical and Contemporary Perspective.' PhD dissertation. University of Stellenbosch, 2003.

August K.T. The Quest for being Public Church: The South African Challenge to the Moravian Church in Context : 1737-2004. 1st edition. Cape Town: Moravian Printing Works, 2005.

Ayliff, J. and Whitehead, J. History of the Abambo Generally Known as Fingos. Butterworth: Gazette, 1912.

Balie, Isaac. Die Geskiedenis van Genadendal, 1738-1988. Kaapstad: Perskor, 1988.

Bouch, R. 'The Mfengu Revisited: The 19th Century Experience of one Mfengu Community through the Eyes of Historians and Contemporaries.' Societies of Southern Africa in the Nineteenth and Twentieth Century Vol. 17. Institute for Commonwealth Studies. University of London,1992.

Bredekamp, H.C. 'De (con)struction of an Early Collective Khoekhoe Christian Identity in South Africa, 1737-1743.' Unpublished Paper. Conference on Khoisan Identities and Cultural Heritage. University of the Western Cape, 1997.

Bredekamp, H.C. and J.L. Hattingh. eds. Dagboek en Briewe van Georg Schmidt: Eerste Sendeling in Suid-Afrika (1737-1744). Trans. J. du P. Boeke. Bellville: Die Wes-Kaaplandse Instituut vir Historiese Navorsing, 1981.

Bredekamp H.C. and Susan Newton-King. 'The Subjugation of the Khoisan during the 17th and 18th Centuries.' Unpublished paper. Conference on Economic Development and Racial Domination. University of the Western Cape, 1984.

Bredekamp, H.C. and H.E.F. Plüddemann. eds. The Genadendal Diaries: Diaries of the Herrnhut Missionaries H. Marsveld, D. Schwinn and J.C. Kuhnel. Trans. A.B.L. Flegg. Series B4. Vol.1. Bellville: University of the Western Cape Institute for Historical Research, 1992.

Bredekamp, H.C. and R. Ross. eds. Missions and Christianity in South African History. Johannesburg: Witwatersrand University Press, 1992.

Brown, William M.D. The History of the Christian Missions of the Sixteenth, Seventeenth, Eighteenth, and Nineteenth Centuries vol.1, 3rd edition. London: Thomas Baker, 1864.

Brock, Peter. The Political and Social Doctrines of the Unity of the Czech Brethren in the Fifteen and Early Sixteen Centuries. London: Mouton, 1957.

Brown Marj et al., 1998. Land Restitution in South Africa: A Long Way Home. Cape Town: IDASA, 1998.

Bullock, Stallybrass, and Stephen Trombley. eds. The Fontana Dictionary of Modern Thought 2nd edition. London: Fontana, 1988.

Bundy, C. The Rise and Fall of the South African Peasantry. London: Heinemann, 1979.

Cochrane, James. Servants of Power: The Role of the English-speaking Churches in South Africa. Johannesburg: Ravan, 1987.

Comaroff, Jean. Body of Power Spirit of Resistance: The Culture and History of a South African People. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1985.

Comaroff, Jean and John Comaroff. Of Revelation and Revolution: Christianity, Colonialism and Consciousness in South Africa vol. 1. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1991.

Comaroff, Jean and John Comaroff. Of Revelation and Revolution: The Dialiectics of Modernity on a South African Frontier vol. 2. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1997.

Crais, C. The Making of the Colonial Order: White Supremacy and Black Resistance in the Eastern Cape, 1770-1865. Johannesburg: Witwatersrand University Press, 1992.

Crais, C. The Politics of Evil: Magic, State Power, and the Political Imagination in South Africa. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002.

Cousins, Ben. ed. At the Crossroads: Land and Agrarian Reform in South Africa into the 21st Century. Bellville: Programme for Land and Agrarian Studies of the University of the Western Cape and the National Land Committee, 2000.

Davenport, T.R.H. and K.S. Hunt. eds. The Right to the Land. Claremont: David Philip, 1974.

Davenport, T.R.H. South Africa: A Modern History 1st edition. Johannesburg: Macmillan, 1977.

Davenport, T.R.H. South Africa: A Modern History 4th edition. London: Macmillan, 1991.

De Gruchy, John. ed. The London Missionary Society in Southern Africa: Historical Essays in Celebration of the Bicentenary of the LMS in Southern Africa, 1799-1999. Cape Town: David Philip, 1999.

De Kock, L. Civilising Barbarians: Missionary Narrative and African Textual Responses in Ninetenth Century South Africa. Johannesburg: Witwatersrand University Press, 1996.

Delius, Peter. The Land Belongs to Us: The Pedi Polity, the Boers and the British in the Nineteenth Century Transvaal. Transvaal: Ravan, 1983.

Delius, Peter. A Lion Amongst the Cattle: Reconstruction and Resistance in Northern Transvaal. Randburg: Ravan, 1996.

Du Plessis, J. A History of Christian Missions in South Africa. Cape Town: C. Struik, 1965.

Du Toit, André and H. Giliomee. Afrikaner Political Thought: Analysis and Documents, 1780-1850. Vol. 1. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1983.

Du Toit, Andries. 'The End of Restitution.' At the Crossroads: Land and Agrarian Reform in South Africa into the 21st Century. Ed. Ben Cousins. Bellville: Programme for Land and Agrarian Studies of the University of the Western Cape and the National Land Committee, 2000.

Elbourne, Elizabeth. 'To Colonise the Mind: Evangelical Missionaries in Britain and the Eastern Cape, 1790-1837.' PhD thesis. Oxford University, 1992.

Elbourne, Elizabeth. 'A Question of Identity: Evangelical Culture and Khoisan Politics in the Early Nineteenth Century Eastern Cape.' Collected Seminar Papers. The Societies of Southern Africa in the Nineteenth and Twentieth Centuries Vol. 18. Institute for Commonwealth Studies. University of London, 1992.

Elbourne, Elizabeth. Blood Ground: Colonialism, Missions, and the Conquest for Christianity in the Cape Colony and Britain, 1799-1853. Montreal: McGill-Queens University Press, 2002.

Elbourne, E. and R. Ross. 'Combating Spiritual and Social Bondage: Early Missions in the Cape Colony.' Christianity in South Africa: A Political, Social, and Cultural History. Eds. R. Elphick and R. Davenport. Oxford: James Curry, 1997.

Eldredge, E.A. 'Slave Raiding Across the Cape Frontier.' Slavery in South Africa: Captive Labour on the Dutch Frontier. Eds. E.A. Eldredge and F. Morton. Boulder: Westview, 1994.

Elphick, R. and V.C. Malherbe. 'The Khoisan to 1828.' The Shaping of South African Society, 1652-1840. Eds. R. Elphick. and H. Giliomee 2nd edition. Connecticut: Wesleyan University Press, 1979.

Elphick, R. and R. Davenport. eds. Christianity in South Africa: A Political, Social, and Cultural History. Oxford: James Currey, 1997.

Eybers, G.W. ed. Select Constitutional Documents illustrating South African History, 1795-1910. London: Routledge, 1918.

Fairclough, Norman. Language and Power. London: Longman, 1989.

Foucault, Michel. Discipline and Punish: The Birth of the Prison. Trans. Alan Sheridan. New York: Vintage Books, 1979.

Foucault, Michel. 'The Order of Discourse.' Untying the Text: A Post Structuralist Reader. Ed. Robert Young. Boston: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1981.

Gerdener, G.B.A. Recent Developments in the South African Mission Field. London: Marshall Morgan and Scott, 1958.

Giliomee, H. 'The Eastern Frontier, 1770-1812.' The Shaping of South African Society, 1652-1820. Ed. R. Elphick and H. Giliomee 2nd edition. Connecticut: Wesleyan University Press, 1979.

Godlonton, R. A Narrative of the Irruption of the Kaffir Hordes into the Eastern Province of the Cape of Good Hope, 1834-1835. Cape Town: Menrant and Godlonton, 1836.

Goldin, Ian. Making Race: The Politics and Economics of Coloured Identity in South Africa. Cape Town: Maskew Miller Longman, 1987.

Gollin, G.L. Moravians in Two Worlds: A Study of Changing Communities. New York: Columbia University Press, 1967.

Gray, Richard. Black Christians and White Missionaries. New Haven: Yale University Press, 1990.

Gray, K. and Gray, S.F. 'The Idea of Property in Land.' Land Law: Themes and Perspectives. Eds. S. Bright and J. Dewar. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1998.

Hall, R., Peter Jacobs and Edward Lahiff. 'Final Report.' Occasional Paper Series no. 10. Programme for Land and Agrarian Studies. University of the Western Cape, September 2003.

Hall, R. 'Rural Restitution: Evaluating Land and Agrarian Reform in South Africa.' Series no. 2. Programme for Land and Agrarian Studies. University of the Western Cape, September 2003.

Hall, Stuart. 'The Question of Cultural Identity.' Modernity and its Futures. Eds. S. Hall and D. Held. Cambridge: Polity, 1992.

Hall, Stuart. 'Who Needs Identity?' Questions of Cultural Identity. Eds. Stuart Hall and Paul du Gray. London: Sage, 1996.

Hamilton, J.T. A History of the Church Known as the Moravian Church, or the Unitas Fratrum, or the Unity of the Brethren, during the 18th and 19th Centuries. Bethlehem: Times Publishing, 1900.

Hodgson, J. Servants of the Xhosa: A Study of the Origins and Development of the Traditional Concepts of the Supreme Being. Cape Town: Oxford University Press, 1982.

Hodgson, Janet. 'A Battle for Sacred Power: Christian Beginnings among the Xhosa' Christianity in South Africa: A Political, Social, and Cultural History. Eds. R. Elphick and R. Davenport. Oxford: James Currey, 1997.

Holmes, J. Historical Sketches of the Missions of the United Brethren for Propogating the Gospel Among the Heathen, from their Commencement to the Year 1817. London: Nisbet and Simkin and Marshal, 1827.

Hutton, J.E. A History of Moravian Missions. 2nd edition. London: Moravian Publication Office, 1922.

Jacobs, P.P. and H.C. Pauw. "n Gemeenskapstudie van die Mense van Clarkson.' Instituut vir Beplanningsnavorsing. Geleentheids Publikasie No. 52. Universiteit van Port Elizabeth, December 1994.

Japhta, D. Japhta, V. Le Grange, L. and F. Todeschini, F. 'Mission Settlements in South Africa.' A Pilot Study. Department of Environmental Affairs, 1992.

Jannecke, Crystal. 'The Fingo / Mfengu: a Case Study in Land and Identity.' B.Soc.Sci (Hons) thesis. Political Studies Department, University of Cape Town, 1997.

Jones, R.J.M. Conveyancing in South Africa. 3rd edition. Cape Town: Juta, 1985.

Karis, T. and G.M. Carter. eds. From Protest to Challenge: A Documentary History of African Politics in South Africa, 1882-1864. 3 vols. Stanford: Hoover Institution, 1987.

Keegan, Timothy J. Colonial South Africa and the Origins of Racial Order. Cape Town: David Philip, 1999.

Keegan, T. ed. Moravians in the Eastern Cape, 1828-1928: Four Accounts of Moravian Mission Work on the Eastern Cape Frontier. Trans. F.R. Baudert. Cape Town: Van Riebeeck Society, 2004.

Kepe, Thembela. 'The Problem of defining Community: Challenges for the Land Reform Programme in Rural South Africa.' An occasional paper. Series No. 6. Programme for Land and Agrarian Studies. University of the Western Cape, 1998.

Krüger, B. The Pear Tree Blossoms: the History of the Moravian Church in South Africa Western Cape Province 1737-1869. Genadendal: Moravian Book Depot, 1966.

Krüger, B. and P.W. Schaberg. The Pear Tree Bears Fruit: The History of the Moravian Church in South Africa Western Cape Province 1869-1980. Genadendal: Moravian Book Depot, 1984.

Kuper, A. and J. Kuper. eds. The Social Science Encyclopedia 2nd edition. London: Routledge, 1996.

Landau, P.S. The Realm of the Word; Language, Gender, and Christianity in a Southern African Kingdom. Portsmouth: Heinemann, 1995.

Latrobe, C.I. Journal of a Visit to South Africa, with some account of the Missionary Settlements of the United Brethren, near the Cape of Good Hope 2nd edition. London: L.B. Seeley, 1821.

Legassick, M. 'The Griqua, the Sotho-Tswana and the Missionaries, 1780-1840: The Politics of a Frontier Zone.' PhD thesis. University of California, 1969.

Legassick, M. 'The Northern Frontier to c. 1840: The Rise and Decline of the Griqua People.' The Shaping of South African Society, 1652-1829. Eds. Richard Elphick and H. Giliomee. Cape Town: Maskew Miller Longman, 1989.

Le Grange, L. 'Moravian Mission Stations in the Western and Southern Cape Conservation Study.' School of Architecture and Planning. University of Cape Town, 1991.

Lester, Alan. Imperial Networks: Creating Identities in Nineteenth-Century South Africa and Britain. London: Routledge, 2001.

Levin, Richard and D. Weiner. eds. "No More Tear ..." Struggles for land in Mpumalanga, South Africa. Trenton: Africa World, 1997.

Lewis, J. 'The Rise and Fall of the South African Peasantry: A Critique.' Unpublished paper. Centre for African Studies. University of Cape Town, 1983.

Lewis, A.J. Zinzendorf the Ecumenical Pioneer: A Study in the Moravian Contribution to Christian Mission and Unity. Philadelphia: Westminister Press, 1962.

Lund, F. 'Lessons From Riemvasmaak for Land Reform Policies and Programmes in South Africa.' Vol. 2. Programme for Land and Agrarian Studies and Farm Africa, 1998.

Macdonell, Diane. Theories of Discourse: An Introduction. Oxford: B. Blackwell, 1987.

Macmillan, W.M. The Cape Colour Question: A Historical Survey. London: Faber and Gwyer, 1927.

Majeke, N. The Role of Missionaries in Conquest. Cumberwood: APDUSA, 1952.

Mamdani, M. Citizen and Subject: Contemporary Africa and the Legacy of Late Colonialism. Kampala: Fountain, 1996.

Mason, J.C.S. The Moravian Church and the Missionary Awakening in England: 1760-1800. Suffolk: Boydell, 2001.

Mason, J.E. 'Fortunate Slaves and Artful Masters: Labour Relations in the Rural Cape Colony during the Era of Emancipation, ca.' Slavery in South Africa: Captive Labour on the Dutch Frontier. Eds. E.A. Eldredge and F. Morton. Boulder: Westview. 1994.

Mayer, P. Townsmen or Tribesmen: Conservatism and the Process of Urbanisation in a South African City 2nd edition. Cape Town: Oxford University Press, 1971.

Mogope, Kgopotso. 'Community and Diversity.' At the Crossroads: Land and Agrarian Reform in South Africa into the 21st Century. Ed. Ben Cousins. Bellville: Programme for Land and Agrarian Studies of the University of the Western Cape and the National Land Committee, 2000.

Mostert, Noel. Frontiers: The Epic of South Africa;s Creation and the Tragedy of the Xhosa People. London: Jonathan Cape, 1992.

Moyer, R.A. 'A History of the Mfengu of the Eastern Cape: 1815-1865.' PhD thesis. School of Oriental and African Studies. London University, 1976.

Milton, John. The Edges of War: A History of Frontier Wars, 1709-1878. Cape Town: Juta, 1983.

Morton, F. 'Slavery in South Africa.' Slavery in South Africa: Captive Labour on the Dutch Frontier. Eds. E.A. Eldredge and F. Morton. Boulder: Westview, 1994.

Mqhayi. 'Itayala Lama Wele.' R.A. Moyer, 'A History of the Mfengu of the Eastern Cape: 1815-1865.' PhD thesis. School of Oriental and African Studies. London University, 1976.

Murray, Colin. Black Mountain: Land, Class, and Power in the Eastern Orange Free State 1880s-1980s. Johanesburg: Witwatersrand University Press, 1992.

Murray, Colin. 'Land Reform in the Eastern Free State: Policy Dilemmas and Political Conflicts.' The Agrarian Question in South Africa. Ed. Henry Bernstein. London: Frank Cass, 1996.

Newton-King, Susan. 'The Labour Market of the Cape Colony, 1807-28.' Economy and Society in Pre-industrial South Africa. Eds. S. Marks and A. Atmore. London: Longman, 1980.

Newton-King, Susan. 'Primitive Accumulation and the Cape Frontier – A Case of Mistaken Identity.' Unpublished paper. Workshop on Pre-colonial History. University of Cape Town, 1986.

Nielsen, S.W. The Twin Blossom of the Pear Tree Bears Fruit, the History of the Moravian Church Eastern Province in South Africa. Port Shepstone: Baruk, 1999.

Odendaal, A. Vukama Bantu: The Beginnings of Black Protest Politics in South Africa to 1912. Cape Town: David Philip, 1984.

Omer-Cooper, J.D. The Zulu Aftermath: A Nineteenth Century Revolution in Bantu Africa. London: Longmans, 1966.

Parker, Ian. Discourse Dynamics. London: Routledge, 1992.

'Particulars of Intelligence Respecting the Missions on the United Brethren.' No. 43. In South African Religious Pamphlets of the South African Bound Pamphlet. No. 33.

Peires, J. The House of Phalo: A History of the Xhosa People in the Days of their Independence. Johannesburg: Ravan, 1981.

Peires, J.B. The Dead will Arise: Nongqawuse and the Great Xhosa Cattle Killing Movement of 1856-7. Johannesburg: Ravan, 1989.

Penn, N. 'Labour, Land and Livestock in the Western Cape during the Eighteenth Century: The Khoisan and the Colonists.' Class Caste and Colour: A Social and Economic History of the South African Western Cape. Eds. Wilmot G. James and M. Simons. New Brunswick: Transaction, 1992.

Philip, John. Researches in South Africa. 2 vols. London: James Duncan, 1828.

Platsky, Laurine and Cheryl Walker. 1985. The Surplus People: Forced Removal in South Africa. Johannesburg: Ravan, 1985.

Pienaar, K. 'Communal Property Arrangements: A Second Bite.' At the Crossroads: Land and Agrarian Reform in South Africa into the 21st Century. Ed. Ben Cousins. Bellville: Programme for Land and Agrarian Studies of the University of the Western Cape and the National Land Committee, 2000.

Ricoeur, Paul. Time and Narrative. Trans. K. Mclaughlin and D. Pellauer. Vol. 1. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1983.

Rimius, Henry. A Candid Narrative of the Rise and Progress of the Herrnhuters: Commonly Called Moravians or Unitas Fratum, with a Short Account of their Doctrines Drawn from their Own Writings. London: A. Linde, 1753.

Ross, R. Cape of Torments: Slavery and Resistance in South Africa. London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1983.

Sales, Jane. The Planting of the Churches in South Africa. Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1971.

Sales, Jane. Mission Stations and the Coloured Communities of the Eastern Cape: 1800-1852. Cape Town: A.A. Balkema, 1975.

Shell, R.C.H. 'Slavery at the Cape of Good Hope.' 2 vols. PhD dissertation. Yale University, 1986.

Shell, R.C.H. 'The Family and Slavery: The Cape Slave Society, 1680-1838.' The Angry Divide: Social and Economic History of the Western Cape Eds. M. Simons and W.G. James. Cape Town: David Philip, 1989.

Schmidt, Bettina. Creating Order: Culture as Politics in Nineteenth and Twentieth Century South Africa. Nijmegen: Third World Centre. University of Nijmegen, 1996.

Smaby, B.P. The Transformation of Bethlehem. Philadelphia: University of Pensylvania Press, 1988.

Soga, H. The South-Eastern Bantu. Johannesburg: Witwatersrand University Press, 1930.

South African Council of Churches and the South African Bishops' Conference. Relocations: The Churches' Report on Forced Removals. Randburg: The South African Council of Churches and the South African Catholic Bishop's Conference, 1984.

Spanenberg, A.G. The Life of Nicholas Lewis Count Zinzendorf. London: Samuel Hodsworth and Amen-Corner, 1838.

Stapleton, T.J. Magomo, Xhosa Resistance to Colonial Advance 1798-1893. Johannesburg: Jonathan Ball, 1994.

Surplus Peoples Project, 'Report: Forced Removals in South Africa, Eastern Cape.' Vol. 2. Cape Town, 1983.

Switzer, Les. Power and Resistance in an African Society: The Ciskei Xhosa and the Making of South Africa. Pietermaritzburg: University of Natal Press, 1993.

Teachers of the Fulneck Academy, The Moravian Atlas, 1853.

Thompson, Augustus C. Moravian Missions: Twelve Lectures. London: Hodder and Stoughton, 1882.

Thompson, L.M. The Cape Franchise. Johannesburg: South African Institutes of Race Relations, 1949.

Thompson, L. A History of South Africa. Revised edition. New Haven: Yale University Press, 1995.

Thompson, L. 'Co-operation and Conflict: The Zulu Kingdom and Natal.' The Oxford History of South Africa: South Africa to 1870. Eds. M. Wilson and L. Thompson. Cape Town: David Philip, 1982.

Thompson, John B. Studies in the Theory of Ideology. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1984.

Thompson, John B. Ideology and Modern Culture: Critical Social Theory in the Era of Mass Communication. Cambidge: Polity Press, 1990.

Troeltsch, Ernst. The Social Teaching of the Christian Churches. Vol. 2. London: George Allen and Unwin, 1931.

Tyeman, L. The Life and Times of Rev. John Wesley. London: Hodder and Stoughton, 1871.

Uithaler, W.C. 'Clarkson: Honderd en Fyftig Jaar op Pad, 1839-1989.' Geleentheidspublikasie No. 47. Instituut vir Beplanningsnavorsing. Departement Antropologie. Universiteit van Port Elizabeth. Oktober, 1994.

Unterhaler, Elaine. Forced Removal: The Division, Segregation and Control of the People of South Africa. London: International Defence and Aid for Southern Africa, 1987.

Van der Ross R.E. ed. Say It Out Loud: The APO Presidential Addresses and other Major Political Speeches 1906-1940. Bellville: The Western Cape Institute for Historical Research, University of the Western Cape, 1990.

Watson, K. 'The Kafir Police on the Eastern Cape Frontier: 1835-1850.' BA (Hons.) thesis. Department of History. University of Cape Town, 1981.

Weber, Max. The Protestant Ethic and the Spirit of Capitalism. London: Unwin University Books, 1930.

Webster, A. 'Land Expropriation and the Labour Extraction Under Cape Colonial Rule: The War and the Emancipation of the Fingo.' MA thesis. Rhodes University, 1991.

Webster, A. 'Unmasking the Fingo: The War of 1835 Revisited.' The Mfecane Aftermath: Reconstructive debates in Southern African History. Ed. C. Hamilton. Johannesburg: Witwatersrand University Press, 1995.

Weinlick, J.R. Count Zinzendorf. New York: Abingdon, 1956.

Weinlick, J.R. and A.H. Frank. The Moravian Church Through the Ages: The Story of a Worldwide Pre-Reformation Protestant Church. Bethlehem: The Moravian Church in America, 1996.

White, Hayden. The Content of the Form: Narrative Discourse and Historical Representation. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1987.

Wilson, M. 'The Hunters and Herders.' The Oxford History of South Africa. Eds. M. Wilson and L. Thompson. Vol. 1. Oxford: Clarendon, 1969.

G. Interviews

Gamede, Miriam. Interview. Interviewed by Crystal Jannecke. Clarkson, 7 May 2003.

Rev. Jantjies. Interview. Interviewed by Crystal Jannecke. Clarkson, 6 May 2003.

T. Lawak. Interview. Interviewed by Crystal Jannecke. Clarkson, 8 May 2003.

Oom Matheus. Interview. Interviewed by Crystal Jannecke. Clarkson, 1996.

Rev. Mcubusi. Interview. Interviewed by Crystal Jannecke. Clarkson, 5 May 2003.

Rev. Moos. Interview. Interviewed by Crystal Jannecke. Clarkson, 8 May 2003.

Mtambo, Florence. Interview. Interviewed by Crystal Jannecke. Tsitsikamma, 9 May 2003.

Tembani, Isaac. Interview. Interviewed by Crystal Jannecke. Tsitsikamma, 9 May 2003.

Sedeku, Chrissie. Interview. Interviewed by Crystal Jannecke. Clarkson, 6 May 2003.

Uithaler, William. Interview. Interviewed by Crystal Jannecke. Clarkson, 6 May 2003.

Bishop Ulster. Interview. Interviewed by Crystal Jannecke. Kuilsriver, April 2003.

Wolfkop, Wilson. Interview. Interviewed by Crystal Jannecke. Clarkson, 6 May 2003.