

Lutherans, Germans: Hermannsburgers

Never forget that you are Lutheran missionaries and have undertaken to teach according to the Lutheran confession and using pure Lutheran sacraments. Also never forget that you are Germans and must cling to German language and tradition as a jewel given you by God. And as Hermannsburg missionaries you may never become lords but must remain servants.

(Theodor Harms, 1857).¹

Natal's large German community this year celebrated its contribution to the development of Natal and South Africa. The fact that the language and culture has survived through so many generations is in itself extraordinary, made more so by the tremendous impact the industrious Germans have had at all levels of society.

Census figures show that the Germans are the largest 'foreign' contingent of Natal's white population, while German is the most popular foreign language offered at Government schools.² Natal boasts a number of prestigious German schools, beautiful churches and a rich cultural tradition. German names are prominent at all levels of government, banking, the building industry and above all, in agriculture and livestock farming. German immigrants and their descendants are also well represented in academic circles, education, medicine, law, industry, trades and the civil service. They form part of South African history from the days of Jan van Riebeeck when a number of Germans arrived at the Cape of Good Hope in the service of the Dutch East India Company. They are particularly prominent in the development of Natal from its days as the Voortrekker Republic of Natalia.

But why did so many Germans settle in a British colony? And how has the German language and tradition survived so many generations in an often hostile environment? The advice of Theodor Harms, given to the second group of Hermannsburg missionaries on 2 November 1857, provides the answer. On this day the Hermannsburg Mission Society (HMS) commissioned 43 people, including missionaries, colonists and their wives, for service in Africa. From the day its first station was established in 1854 the HMS would, like no other society, shape the face of Germanness in Natal.

Mass German emigration

From the mid-eighteenth to the late nineteenth century thousands of Europeans found their way to southern Africa as part of the mass European exodus to America, Africa and Australasia. But the mass influx of Germans was not enough for the language and culture to survive in a foreign land. In fact, the

early immigrants had little reason to maintain contact with their fatherland, where they had borne the brunt of political and religious instability, economic crises and the consequences of the industrial revolution. Within a generation they were absorbed into their new environment. The Cape, for example, saw a mixture of Germans with Dutch settlers, French Huguenots and smaller groups of other nations who settled there.

This assimilation was equally evident in Natal. In 1840 twelve German men settled in Pietermaritzburg, capital of the Voortrekker Republic of Natalia, but all were married to non-Germans and their children did not speak German. If groups of Germans found it difficult to preserve their language, it was even more difficult for individuals.

One of the first known individuals was H.E.C. Behrens, nephew of the Hanseatic consul to the Cape, Maximilian Thalwitzer. He arrived in the Republic of Natalia in 1841, hoping to pursue his agricultural interests. When Britain annexed Natal in 1843 Behrens moved into colonial service as an interpreter. He was soon placed in charge of the finance office, and in 1850 became the secretary of the Natal Fire Assurance and Trust Company. Later he was to become a leading figure in the Natal Bank and the Natal Land and Colonisation Company.³ His farm, *Perseverance*, would later become the headquarters of the HMS.

With the exception of German officials whose primary concern was trade, few emigrants maintained contact with the German states. However, stimulated by an upswing in German classicism and romanticism in the early nineteenth century, and accompanied by the increased nationalism and patriotism of the post-Napoleonic era, a German national identity began emerging. This was entrenched by the liberal revolutions of the 1830s, but its initial effect was limited to those still living in Germany.

Colonialism became a major factor in transferring nationalist sentiments to communities around the world, but Germany's brief colonial experience (1880–1945) was never a major consideration in British-oriented Natal. In fact, Germans encountered considerable opposition and generally remained neutral during the various conflicts between Germany and Britain. Furthermore, the foundations of German communities had already been laid by this time. The question is, how did the German language and culture survive in a foreign, and even hostile, environment?

The rise of mission societies

The answer to this question lies in the rise of mission societies, particularly those conducted by Lutherans. 'The most powerful factor in the cultural life of the Germans in Natal is the Lutheran Church,' W. Bodenstein wrote in 1937. 'It stands in the foreground, determining and shaping the essence of that cultural life, permeating the whole fabric as a religious life energy.'⁴ Various Lutheran mission societies were sent to Natal — the Berlin (BMS) and Norwegian Mission Societies (NMS) in 1847 and 1848 respectively, the Hermannsburgers in 1854, and the Church of Sweden Mission (CSM) in 1876. These societies maintained close contact with their home church, and the ongoing ordination of missionaries ensured a fresh influx of German and Scandinavian blood to Natal.

Ludwig Harms, founder of the HMS, was particularly concerned with the need to tie the mission society to the church, and to establish an 'indigenous church' which would be the counterpart of the home church in doctrine,



Hermannsburg missionaries in Natal (1888)

- Back: Schmidt, Hörmann, Stielau, Drewes, Oltmann, Schiering, Dedekind, Braul, Ahrens, Dir. Harms;
Middle: Stallbohm, Deppe, Rößler, Lilie, Wolff, Schoemann, Johannes, Reibeling, Past, Haccius;
Front: Holst, Bartels, Prigge, Kohrs, Wagner, Engelbrecht, Volker, Kück, Röttcher, Müller.

(Photograph: University of Natal Library, Pietermaritzburg)

liturgy, organisation and church discipline.⁵ Harms's vision included the eventual establishment of an independent, black-controlled Lutheran Church, while the HMS approach to mission also ensured that German communities would be established.

Not all mission societies assisted in the building of German culture. The Roman Catholics, for example, were more concerned with the spread of Catholicism than national culture. Furthermore, the clergy and members of religious orders, being celibate, had no descendants and were unable to pass on their language from parent to child. Consequently, although valuable work was performed on Natal stations such as Mariannahill and Reichenau, this did not lead to the establishment of German communities.

Neither were all Protestant missions able to establish strong German communities. Most of the German Baptists and Reformed Christians in southern Africa were assimilated into the nearest reformed English or Afrikaans communities.⁶ By contrast, the Moravians (Herrnhuter), who were the first German missionaries in southern Africa in 1737, sent their children to school in Germany. Few returned to Africa and thus German culture was not nurtured.

However, where Lutheran missions were established it soon became evident that German communities would arise too. Although the first Lutheran mission society in southern Africa, the Rhenish Mission Society (RMS), did not enter Natal, it showed the way for later societies. The first four RMS missionaries

arrived at the Cape with Dr John Philip of the London Missionary Society in 1829 and attempted to establish communities around stations such as Wupperthal near Clanwilliam. The RMS modelled its work on Genadendal, the station established by the Moravians in 1737, and its close association with various Dutch missions precluded the possibility of a distinctly German community.⁷

Ironically the arrival of German Lutherans, and thus the establishment of the German communities in Natal, was more by accident than design.⁸ The BMS sent its missionaries to the Orange Free State and Kaffraria, while the HMS, with its unique concept of colonial and communal mission derived from the medieval monastic mission to the Saxons, was destined for the Galla people of East Africa. But for the existence of a German community on the Natal coast, the HMS may never have entered Natal.

Natal's first German settlement

Natal's first German community owed its existence to the opposition of the British government to the immigration scheme of a Bavarian Jew, Jonas Bergtheil. He arrived in Natal in 1843 and established the Natal Cotton Company three years later. Bergtheil saw the potential of European settlement along the coast and approached the British colonial office for immigrants.⁹ When first the British and then the Bavarian governments rejected his plans, he turned to the Kingdom of Hanover for support. Thirty-five peasant families (about 188 people) from the Osnabrück-Bremen district accepted his offer and arrived in Natal on 23 March 1848. They were settled near Port Natal and called their new home Neu-Deutschland (New Germany).

Bergtheil's cotton scheme failed after the first two crops were ravaged by bollworm. Furthermore, the ginning machinery he had ordered from England never arrived. The settlers soon abandoned cotton in favour of market gardening, and when their five-year contracts with Bergtheil ended many did not renew them. The fledgling community may well have foundered within a generation since the immigrants did not maintain contact with Germany and had no vision of a distinctly German community.¹⁰ The arrival of a Berlin missionary ensured that the language and religion would continue for the time being.

The BMS, founded in 1824 by Prussian civil servants, professors and others who been inspired by neo-pietistic awakenings in eastern Germany, sent its first five missionaries to Bethany in the OFS in 1833. The station prospered and three more were erected in Kaffraria, but the War of the Axe (1846–47) forced the missionaries to flee to Bethany. Three of these, Döhne, Posselt and Güldenpfennig, responded to a request by Theophilus Shepstone, Natal's Secretary for Native Affairs, to establish a station in the British colony. Shepstone hoped the missionaries' presence would ease tensions between chiefdoms in the Drakensberg region. The establishment of Emmaus near present day Bergville in 1847 thus brought the first German missionaries to Natal.

Pastor Carl Wilhelm Posselt (1815–85) agreed to care for the congregation in New Germany, where he consecrated the first chapel of the BMS in South Africa on 19 November 1848. He conducted mission work among the Zulu farm labourers and in the Valley of a Thousand Hills, and in 1854 established a second station, Christianenburg, for this purpose. He also taught Scripture in the little German school which the settlers had established. In 1852 the

congregation was briefly moved to Emmaus because of famine on the coast and declining numbers of settlers. Bergtheil succeeded in stemming the flow of Germans into the interior, and in 1854 Posselt returned to New Germany where he continued as missionary and pastor until his death in 1885.

Posselt was perhaps the most important pioneer of German communities in Natal. Although the British colony was never to be the BMS's main area of interest, it did establish further stations at Königsberg near Newcastle, Stendal near Weenen, Emangweni near Loskop, Hoffenthal near Bergville and Rosenstein near Oliviershoek.¹¹ The descendants of the BMS include well-known Natal families such as Merensky, Döhne, Prozesky and Guldenpfennig, while further afield descendants of Dönges, Leipoldt, Gerdener, Schwellnus, Schulze, Hoffmann and Heese can trace their roots to the Berliners.

The influence of the Berliners in shaping the character of Natal's German settlement pales in comparison to the Hermannsburgers. But the BMS did nurture German culture at New Germany, which in turn played an important part in bringing the HMS to Natal.

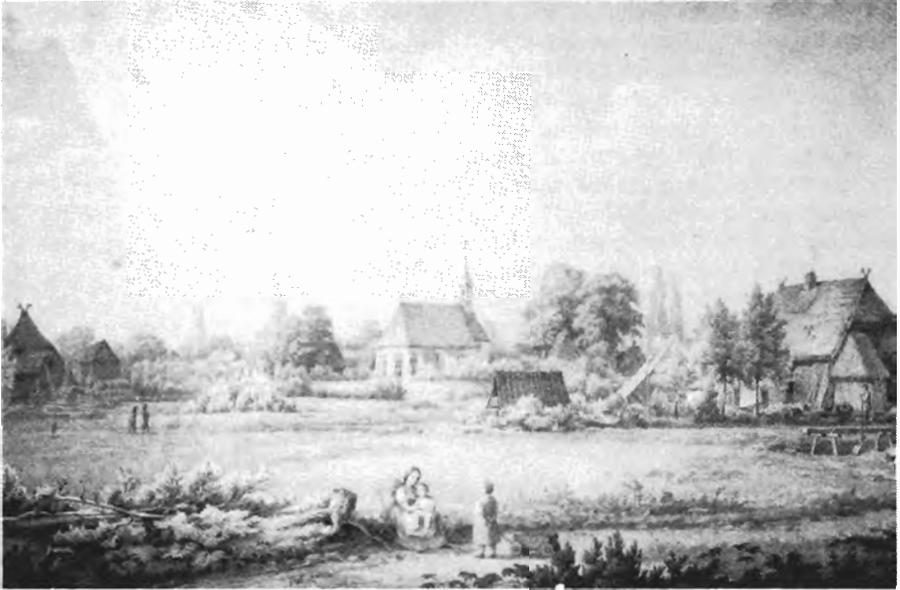
The arrival of the Hermannsburgers

As already noted, the Hermannsburgers were bound for East Africa but their attempts to penetrate the Muslim-dominated coastal belt to the Galla people in the interior failed. The best alternative was the large Zulu population of south-eastern Africa. The missionaries had already met Posselt on the trip to East Africa, and the existence of a German settlement near a large number of heathen made Natal/Zululand a logical area to settle. With the assistance of Posselt the HMS purchased Behrens's 6 000 acre farm, *Perseverance*, and founded what would become the centre of German culture in Natal.

The HMS was widely regarded as a *Bauernmission* (farmers' mission) because of its origins on the Lüneburg Heath and the rural background of its missionaries. Founder Ludwig Harms (1808–65) was an intellectual, a 'classically educated village preacher in Hanover who strangely commingled romanticism, evangelical fervour and chiliastic expectations'.¹² He was a widely read student of theology, with an interest in the early history of his people, the Saxons. Harms was particularly fascinated by the Christianization process used by monks in converting the barbaric Saxons to Christianity. He believed this event to be of utmost importance to the later development of central Europe. The monks established self-sufficient Christian communities which would serve as practical examples of Christian living and thereby attract the heathen. This was the approach Harms selected for the HMS, as he explained in an 1851 article in *Zeitblatt für die Angelegenheiten der lutherischen Kirche*:

The first group of twelve missionaries shall live in one place and settle there. They will meet their own needs as they are to be proficient in agriculture. Here they will attempt to convert the local population and at the same time educate them in cultural affairs, just like the Anglo-Saxon missionaries converted and educated the German ancestors. Once a heathen congregation has been formed, two or three missionaries shall remain there, while the rest move . . . two at the most three miles further and repeat the process.¹³

In 1853 sixteen men were commissioned for service in Africa. Half of the



The original Hermannsburg (1849 view) served as a model for Lutheran mission stations in Natal.

(Postcard: *Missionshandlung, Hermannsburg*)

men on the Society's private ship, the *Kandaze*, were missionaries and the rest skilled tradesmen who were to assist with the establishment of a series of self-sufficient communities. Upon arrival in Natal in 1854 they set themselves the task of creating a new home in Africa. The missionaries participated in the physical labour involved: even as seminarians they were not permitted to shirk the manual labour of erecting buildings to be used by the Society. On the mission field they led by example when it came to hard work.

Perseverance was renamed Neu-Hermannsburg, and the Germans consciously attempted to recreate their homeland in Africa. They used the distinctive architecture found on the Lüneburg Heath. They also imported the idea of planting groves of trees around the buildings. Having been drawn from agricultural and trade backgrounds, they immediately put the land to the plough and built a smithy. As more missionaries, colonists and their families arrived in 1858, 1862, 1866 and 1867 and then at regular intervals, the station rapidly developed into a thriving community which could start sending missionaries and colonists into Zululand.

In 1857 a school for children of the German settlers was established, and it became the leading boarding school in the colony. Famous figures such as Louis Botha (the Boer General and first Prime Minister of the Union of South Africa), Sir Charles Saunders (a famous colonial Administrator who was knighted in 1906), Sir George Leuchars and Sir Frederick Moor (the last Prime Minister of the Colony of Natal) received their early schooling here. Hermannsburg School was also the first to establish a cadet corps in 1871.

Hermannsburg was located in Umvoti County near the Natal/Zululand border. It was to serve as a launching pad into the independent Zulu kingdom, and with the help of Bishop Schreuder of the Norwegian Mission Society, the HMS was able to expand into Zululand. Stations were soon established at

Ehlanzeni, Eneyezane, Etembeni, Emlalazi, Emhlangane, Emvutjini, Emhlangubo, Ekombela, Entombe and Endhlovini. The skills of the colonists were particularly useful in securing the permission of the Zulu king, Mpande, to conduct mission work.

At the express request of President Andries Pretorius of the Zuid-Afrikaanse Republiek, the HMS expanded its work into Bechuanaland and the western Transvaal in 1857. Within years Hermannsburg missionaries were also heading to India, Australia and the United States.

Expanding settlements

Wherever mission stations were erected German communities or congregations sprang up in the vicinity. And while mission stations generally had Zulu names, the corresponding congregation preferred German names, especially names of towns on the Lüneburg Heath — names like Lüneburg, New Hanover, Müden, Uelzen, Kirchdorf, Bergen, Harburg, Koburg and Verden.

The HMS officially separated the role of colonist and missionary in 1869. Increasing numbers made communal living of the type practised in Hermannsburg impractical, particularly after the arrival of wives and children. Furthermore, the incentives of private farming led to the resignation of colonists from the Society. The first 'independent' community was established as early as 1858, when farmers who were reluctant to remain within the confines of the mission-established New Hanover. However, they did not cut their ties with the HMS and asked missionary Schütte to be their pastor. Elsewhere missionaries were frequently requested to fulfil the task of pastor, either in a fulltime capacity or in addition to their mission duties.

Their tendency to marry within their own circles, and their commitment to the Lutheran Church, ensured that their religious and cultural heritage was passed on to their children. Even when land shortages led to migration, as had happened with the Trekboers earlier, an organised church followed them. As soon as the distance to church and school became too great, a minister (often one of the missionaries) was asked to establish a new Lutheran congregation closer at hand. It was normal for the minister or another appointed person to take on the role of educator of the local children too. In this way new German communities such as Augsburg, Bergen, Harburg, Kirchdorf, Lilienthal and Wittenberg were launched.

Anglo-Zulu War

Further expansion was temporarily halted by the Anglo-Zulu War of 1879, which devastated all but one of the mission stations in Zululand (Schreuder's survived). By contrast, the stations in Natal were relatively unscathed, as were Natal's German congregations.

Most of the missionaries in Zululand, regardless of denomination, supported the British invasion, hoping that this would break the Zulus' fierce resistance to Christianity. But they were disappointed in the Ulundi Settlement of September 1879. It broke the kingdom into thirteen fragments and made the return of missionaries very difficult, particularly in southern Zululand where the British appointed John Dunn as one of the chiefs. Dunn was vehemently opposed to missions, and stations were only returned to the missionaries after considerable wrangling. Volker's station, Emlalazi, was not returned to the HMS — Dunn had long coveted it and now claimed it as his personal possession.



The Lutheran Church, Hermannsburg, Natal, built in 1870

(*Photograph: E. Dedekind*)

Division in the church

Most of the German congregations were established as the result of natural expansion, but not all. Congregations such as Wartburg, Neuenkirchen and Braunschweig owe their existence to a split in the Hanoverian *Landeskirche* (State Church). This division originated in Prussia's overthrow of Hanover in 1866. The Hanoverian State Church adopted the civil marriage code of their Prussian counterparts, but a number of Hanoverian congregations rejected it. Theodor Harms (1819–85), the second director of the HMS, and his Hermannsburg congregation joined the Hanoverian *Freikirche* (Free Church). However, in 1890 the Free and State Churches entered an agreement of Union which was accepted by the HMS. Henceforth the HMS would have two directors, one from the Free Church and one from the State Church, and its council would be equally composed. An element within the HMS rejected the union and joined a rival mission society founded in nearby Bleckmar in 1892.

Although the doctrinal difference primarily concerned the State Church in Germany, a number of South African Germans decided to resign from the HMS as a matter of principle. Notable among these was the missionary Heinrich Ch. Prigge, who had been ordained by the HMS in 1857. His station and German congregation at Goede Hoop were placed under the auspices of the Bleckmar Mission Society,¹⁴ of which he became the first superintendent. Two pastors, Stielau in Kirchdorf and Johannes of Bergen, also resigned from the HMS. Along with some of the disgruntled members of the Lüneburg congregation, they established the Free Evangelical Lutheran Synod in South Africa.¹⁵

Towards greater co-operation

The split flowed against the general trend towards unity or at least co-operation within the various Lutheran societies, which had led to a regular gathering of

missionaries. The first meeting of the Free Evangelical Lutheran Church Conference of South Africa was held at the Norwegian station, Umpumulo, in 1889. As the number of mission stations increased and the financial resources of the various societies decreased under pressure of war, greater co-operation became a necessity and in 1910–12 the BMS, CSM and NMS agreed to form the Co-operating Lutheran Mission (CLM) to unite their efforts towards the establishment of an Evangelical Lutheran Zulu Church. After initially supporting the CLM, the HMS decided to withdraw because of the differences existing between Hanoverian and Prussian churches in Germany. The CLM was established on 1 January 1912, and although the HMS was not involved until 1938, it nevertheless encompassed more than 11 000 Christians.¹⁶

An attempt was made in 1924–26 to reconcile the two Lutheran streams and a number of Free Church congregations joined the Hermannsburg Synod. But the division between Free Church and State Church is deep-seated and has not yet been fully overcome, either in South Africa or in Germany.

Anglo-Boer War

With the division caused by the 1892 split still a painful memory, the German community was again divided in 1899 when members of the same family ended up on opposite sides of the Anglo-Boer War of 1899–1902. Generally Natal's Germans tried to remain neutral, but a number volunteered for service with the Umvoti Mounted Rifles. Relatives who had moved across the border to the south-eastern Transvaal were usually drafted into the Boer commandos.

Britain's 'scorched earth' policy led to the internment of all German families in war areas. Natalians who were suspected of aiding the Boers were also interned in about forty concentration camps, including Fort Napier in Pietermaritzburg. Mission stations in war zones were once again destroyed, if not by the British, then by blacks who came across the deserted homes.

The war ended in 1902 and the Germans again started rebuilding their communities and mission stations and reassembling their congregations. No sooner were they rebuilt than another war ravaged them once more. The First World War was perhaps the greatest test for the survival of German communities, particularly in Natal.

Two World Wars

When the Union of South Africa entered the First World War on Britain's side Natal's Germans were seen as the enemy. Increasing anti-German sentiment, especially after the torpedoing of the British passenger liner, *Lusitania*, turned Natalians against their neighbours. All 'Reichsdeutschen' (those not possessing South African citizenship), including pastors and missionaries, were either interned or placed under house arrest. Many missionaries were not permitted to have any contact with blacks, thus effectively denying them their vocation. With all the internments and restrictions the stations were understaffed and no missionaries were permitted to leave Germany for the African mission field. The absence of German pastors also decimated smaller communities such as that of Pietermaritzburg.

Difficulties were experienced not only during the actual war years when contact with Germany was severed, but also in the years after World War I when rampant inflation left the German people impoverished beyond description and unable to support the work in Africa. Only after 1925 could funds that approximated what was required be sent again, but by the early 1930s depression and unemployment again affected the various societies. After 1933

it became virtually impossible to get money out of Germany because of restrictions placed on foreign exchange by Adolf Hitler. When the Second World War broke out in 1939 the societies and congregations were again forced to rely totally on themselves. Once again numerous Germans were interned or even deported, particularly those resident in Natal. After the War the various German churches began withdrawing from direct responsibility for the mission and the German congregations in Africa. Gradually control was handed to local synods and organisations.

Local control of the church

In 1975 control of the Lutheran Mission in South Africa was handed to blacks, when four predominantly black regional churches combined to form the Evangelical Lutheran Council of South Africa (ELCSA). These churches had grown out of the work of the Berlin, Hermannsburg, Norwegian, Swedish and American Lutheran Missions (the ALM had taken over Schreuder's work in 1928). Its present 680 000 members are divided into seven dioceses, which still receive assistance and advice from the Evangelical Lutheran Council (ELC) in Lower Saxony (the successor to the HMS).

Control of the German congregations also passed more firmly into the hands of South African synods. The Evangelical-Lutheran Church in Southern Africa (Cape), established in 1961, was the first with a membership of 5 600. The Natal-Transvaal equivalent, ELKSA-NT, was constituted only in 1981, but encompasses the largest body of Germans in the country, with some 15 000 mainly German members divided into 43 congregations.¹⁷



The modest Lutheran Church at Enyezane,
built in 1961

(Photograph: The author)

The breakaway Lutheran Church Mission (LKM) also handed control of its work to local bodies. An independent Lutheran Church of South Africa (LCSA) was established in 1967, with some 28 000 members in the Eastern and Western Transvaal, Goldfields and Natal. It maintains contact with the Free Evangelical Lutheran Synod in South Africa (FELSISA), which consists of 3 000 members in 14 congregations in Natal and the Transvaal.¹⁸ Although German churches and mission societies no longer have responsibility for, or jurisdiction over, the South African Lutherans, there remains a considerable degree of contact between them, and German missionaries and pastors are still sent to assist the local churches. This interaction ensures the continued preservation of German culture in this country.

Conclusion

German Lutherans have been active in Natal for 145 years, and have left an indelible mark on the map of Natal. Although Germans had settled in Natal earlier, it was the Lutheran mission and church which ensured the survival of their language and culture in a British colony. And of the Lutherans it was the Hermannsburgers who were most instrumental in shaping the character of the German settlements. They were predominantly rural people, and remain so to this day. Their town names have been transferred to the map of Natal.

Part of Louis Harms's vision was that his missionaries would not only spread Lutheran teachings, but also cultivate and maintain the German language, culture and tradition, and the Hermannsbürger work ethic. In this his followers succeeded, and as long as Germans continue nurturing their religious tradition, their culture and language will survive. In this the German qualities and characteristics which have contributed so much to the development of South Africa in general, and Natal in particular, will continue to play a part in future development.

NOTES

1. Paraphrased from T. Harms's speech, as reported in the *Hermannsbürger Missionsblatt* 1857, p.158, and *Missionsblatt Evangelisch-Lutherischer Freikirchen* 1982, p.168.
2. A.O. Hesse, 'Der deutsche Beitrag zum kulturellen leben Südafrikas im zwanzigsten Jahrhundert'. Lecture at the German Day, Kroondal, 1958 (UNISA Hesse Collection of German Africana, No. 1, File 3.12, p.13).
3. W. Schmidt-Pretoria, *Deutsche Wanderungen nach Südafrika im 19. Jahrhundert* (Berlin, Dietrich Reimer, 1955), pp.26–7.
4. Loose translation from W. Bodenstein, *25 Jahre Arbeit der Hermannsbürger deutsch-evangelisch-lutherischen Synode in Süd-Afrika* (Hermannsburg, Missionshandlung, 1937), p.41.
5. J. du Plessis, *A History of Christian missions in South Africa* (Cape Town, Struik, 1965), pp.373–74; G. Haccius, *Hannoversche Missionsgeschichte II* (Hermannsburg, Missionshandlung, 1910), pp. 228–29.
6. W. H. C. Hellberg, 'Die deutschen Siedlungen in Suedafrika seit der Mitte des neunzehnten Jahrhunderts' (photocopy of an M.A. dissertation in the German Dept, University of Natal, Pietermaritzburg, n.d.), p.24.
7. See E. Strassberger, *The Rhenish Mission Society in South Africa 1830–1950* (Cape Town, Struik, 1969).
8. N. A. Etherington, *Preachers peasants and politics in southeast Africa 1835–1880: African Christian communities in Natal, Pondoland and Zululand* (London, Royal Historical Society, 1978), p.33.

9. R. Gordon, 'Die Eerste Immigrante . . . 1848: die Duitse Nedersetters te New Germany' in *Lantern*, Vol. XXIII No.3 (March 1974), p. 19.
10. W. Backeberg, 'Deutsche Siedler in Südafrika' in *Und die Vögel des Himmels wohnen unter seinen Zweigen*, ed. W. Wickert (Hermannsburg, Missionshandlung, 1949), pp.318–19.
11. H. C. Lugg, *Historic Natal and Zululand* (Pietermaritzburg, Shuter & Shooter, 1949), p.67.
12. N. A. Etherington, 'Social theory and the study of Christian missions in Africa: A South African case study', in *Africa* 47 (1), 1977, p.33.
13. Quoted in Haccius, *Hannoversche Missionsgeschichte II*, pp.222–23 and translated by A. M. H. Leuschke, 'The Hermannsburg Mission Society in Natal and Zululand, 1854–1865' (BA Hons thesis, University of Natal, Pietermaritzburg, 1985), p. 18.
14. It is also referred to as the Hanoverian Free Church Mission (HFCM) or Lutheran Church Mission (LCM).
15. A more comprehensive analysis of the split is contained in H-J. Oschadleus, 'Heidenmissionar: The life and times of Heinrich C. Prigge (1831–1920) from his origins on the German heath to the end of his mission to the heathen in Africa' (M.A. thesis, University of Natal, 1992).
16. More detailed information on the CLM is contained in H. Schlyter, *The history of the Co-operating Lutheran Missions in Natal 1912–1951* (Durban, Lutheran Publishing House, 1953).
17. *Ev.-Luth. Missionswerk in Niedersachsen 1991*, p. 129.
18. *Lutherische Kirchenmission 1991*, pp.12–3.

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