

INTRODUCTION

Chapter 1: Aim and Methodology

1.1 Introduction

Arriving as a missionary with my family in the eNkumane area in KwaZulu-Natal, in 1991, was a confusing experience.¹ Despite a long period of preparation, the relocation from The Netherlands to the present KwaZulu-Natal was full of surprises. In certain aspects and by certain people we were warmly welcomed. In other aspects we arrived in a hostile environment, partly because some people did not understand what we were coming for and partly because we arrived in an area immersed in a wave of violence. Only a few days after arriving at the Mission Post, a small son of one of the residing evangelists asked me what we wanted there, stating: “This is our Mission Post.” One day, soon after our arrival, people at the Mission Post dropped their work and stared at pillars of smoke far in the west, stating: “*Bayazishisa izindlu zaseSimozomeni*” (They are burning the houses in eSimozomeni).² Over the following years, violence would spread all over the Richmond District and at times, women, children and old people would flock to the Mission Post for shelter during the night, too afraid to stay at home, stating: “*Impi ifikile*” (It is war). Three years later, South Africa was changed forever after the first general elections in 1994. The period of reconciliation and reconstruction which followed in South African society, was also experienced in its churches. Small notes made during this time and impressions from talks with many people grew into what became a study covering a period of 50 years, during which a foreign mission, the Reformed Mission Enkumane, interacted with people of different backgrounds who for different reasons spent at least a part of their lives in the eNkumane area. While demographically speaking, this area can be called a ‘marginal’ area, for some of the inhabitants their homesteads are nodes in communication webs which stretch as far as the metropolitan areas of Durban and Johannesburg. In this research, I have tried to catch something of the historical roots and the dynamics of this society, the movement of the people, their interaction with the Mission and the role the Mission has played and continues to play, often on the sidelines, in their lives.

¹ Richmond is situated in the Midlands of KwaZulu-Natal. In 1994, at the time of the first general elections in South Africa, the Richmond Municipality measured only 6 square kilometres. In 1996, through the inclusion of the former ‘townships’ eNdeleni, eSimozomeni and kwaMagoda, Richmond became an area of about 450 square kilometres (A. Ragavaloo, 2008, p.7-8). In the year 2000, it was extended to 1050 square kilometres (C. Goodenough, 2004, p.1). Since the restructuring of the municipality in the year 2000, the areas eNkumane, St Bernard Mission, eNhlazuka, Strehla/Amandushill and Durslade form Ward 5 of the Richmond Municipality. Ward 5 is situated in the municipality’s southeastern corner. Ward 1 of the municipality, Richmond Village, is situated about 38 kilometers southwest of Pietermaritzburg and about 100 kilometres west of Durban. About the demographics of the Richmond Municipality by the end of the year 2000, C. Goodenough (2004, p.1-2) states: “The Population is estimated at about 74 000... 90% of the new Richmond area had no basic infrastructure, housing, water, sewerage, roads, electricity, telephones or recreation facilities... nearly 47% is between 0 and 19 years of age... Unemployment is estimated to be about 38% [compared with 23% nationally; F. Smit, 2009]... An estimated 77% of households in Richmond earn less than R 1,500.00 per month.” The size of the eNkumane area is about 25 square kilometres. The number of people living in eNkumane is about 2500, of whom about 5% are members of the Reformed Church Enkumane.

² eSimozomeni, together with eNdeleni and kwaMagoda, is part of Ward 6 situated to the west of the Richmond Municipality.

1.2 Aim of the Research

The Reformed Mission was established in eNkumane either at the end of the year 1959 or at the beginning of 1960, depending on one's interpretation of the term 'established'. During Christmas 1959, a Dutch missionary, Rev. J. Vonkeman held his first church service in eNkumane in a local homestead. By January 1960, he received permission from the South African Government to establish a Mission Post in the area. The historical record of these two events is of differing quality. Whereas the Government permission can be substantiated with a signed and stamped document, only a few elderly people remember the site of the homestead at which the 'first' service took place. The present ruins of the homestead bear no witness to what happened within its walls 50 years ago. The two events also have differing historical significance. The reasons for the owner of the homestead allowing a Dutch missionary to carry out a church service in his house were different to the missionary's reasons for entering the area. Furthermore, the reasons which led the South African Government to give permission for the building of a Mission Post in the area were different to both those of the missionary and the owner of the homestead. In fact, rather than discussing the historical fact of the establishment of the Reformed Mission, it would be more prudent to speak about the context of the establishment, the different histories which coincided at certain points in time. The history of the particular homestead was not the same as the histories of other homesteads in the area. The circumstances of the Dutch missionary were also noteworthy. He was sent by a specific local church in The Netherlands which was established in 1944, only 15 years prior. Additionally, the South African Government was in a momentous period of its history. In 1960, it was busy developing its Apartheid Policy, which would only be abandoned about thirty years later. Hence, the aim of the present research is, firstly, to describe these different histories, especially where they coincide in the eNkumane area during the second half of the 20th century.

Secondly, this research tries to establish the role of the Mission in the eNkumane area. For the Dutch church the area was situated at the end of the Christian world, an area where the biblical message had never been heard before. For the South African Government the area was a border area, the Government Trust Farm Groothoek, situated between a 'native location' and 'white' farms. For part of the local population, the area had been the centre of their lives for approximately 120 years. For others, those who had arrived recently, the area was no more than a temporary refuge in their ongoing migration from generation to generation. The Mission had to find a position in the area between differing interests and expectations and it tried to be part of a community in motion, consisting, at least partly, of people who explained their presence in this area with the fact that they were chased away elsewhere.

In pursuing the above-mentioned goals, this study concurrently seeks to give a contribution to the understanding of missionary work as an ongoing task of the church sent into the world. The importance of this work is not so much sought in structured engagements but rather in the encounters with people on the margin whose lives are characterized by a search for means of survival and healing.

1.3 Leading Questions and Hypotheses

To realize the aims identified above, several questions and hypotheses were formulated as guidelines for this research. I used as a starting point insights about the missionary project formulated in 1971 by J. Lagendijk, Secretary of the Mission Board.³

Firstly, questions may be asked about the people in the eNkumane area: who are they; what brought them to this area; what were their reasons to settle in an inaccessible area such as eNkumane? The following working hypothesis was formulated: During the second half of the 20th century, the inhabitants of the eNkumane area formed a homogeneous, stable, traditional group of people.⁴ In this research it will be argued that, instead, the population of eNkumane consisted of different strata of people with different historical backgrounds drawn between a need for a place to stay and a need for paid work, living on a former commercial farm bought by the Government for resettlement.

Secondly, in a similar way, questions may be asked about the identity of the Reformed Mission, and about the Church which initiated this missionary project. As a second working hypothesis, it was stated: During the second half of the 20th century, the Reformed Mission represented a homogeneous stable traditional Church denomination. In this research it will be argued that, instead, the Reformed Mission is a missionary project of an orthodox foreign local church with a history of church schisms and a great emphasis on the independence of local congregations.

Thirdly, questions may be asked about the affinity of the people in eNkumane with Christianity: did they know about the Bible; did they have any previous experience with a church or a missionary project before the Reformed Mission was established in their area; do they engage with Christians outside the Reformed church? The following working hypothesis was formulated: When the Reformed Mission started to work in the eNkumane area, the inhabitants of the area had no previous experience with the Gospel nor with Christianity.⁵ In this research it

³ In 1971, J. Lagendijk, the Secretary of the Mission Board in Kampen from 1959 until 1979, wrote an overview of the missionary project by the Free Reformed Church in Kampen, called 'Van Zorg en Zegen'.

⁴ J. Langedijk (1971, p.101-102) describes the people in and around eNkumane as scattered peasants in a traditional Zulu area: "Het grootste gedeelte van ons zendingswerk wordt gedaan onder deze 'boerenbevolking' in de oorspronkelijke Zoeloe-gebieden... met een verspreide dunne bevolking." The description of the 'rural' setting suggests at least two more specific qualifications of the population: inferior living conditions and isolation. By 1971, in The Netherlands, small scale farming was disappearing quickly, refer for example G. Mak (1994, p.85): "De Grote Neergang"; and the term 'peasants' was generally used as an indication for inferior living conditions, refer for example, G. Dalton (1972, p.406): "Peasants of all times and places are structured inferiors." Lagendijk made no mention of their relationship to the land, whether, for example, they were relatively dependant tenants ('feudal peasants') or relatively independent landowners ('capitalist peasants'; M. Harris, 1983, p.164-165). The term 'in traditional Zulu areas' might suggest that they were seen by Lagendijk as people who lived in relative isolation over several generations.

⁵ J. Lagendijk (1971, p.50) refers to the people in eNkumane as rough heathen people: "een ruw heidenvolk". He states that the first missionary on behalf of the Free Reformed Church in Kampen, Rev. J. Vonkeman, had to look for people who had not yet been touched by the Gospel: "Ds. Vonkeman... moest gaan zoeken naar een terrein waar uitsluitend heidenen woonden, een zgn. 'maagdelijk gebied'" (idem, p.25). He suggests that Rev. Vonkeman had found such people in eNkumane and that, excluding an 'Ethiopian Sect', they had no knowledge of Christianity nor of the Gospel: "alleen een kleine Ethiopische secte en verder heidendom" (idem, p.39).

will be argued that, instead, the inhabitants of eNkumane have a history of small scale contacts with Christianity which dates back from before the establishment of the Reformed Mission in their area; that they are involved in different European Initiated Churches and African Initiated Churches.

Fourthly, questions may be asked about the goal of the missionary project in eNkumane: what did the Mission want to realize; how did it envisage its position in the community; what type of co-operation with the local population did it strive for; and what did it accomplish? The following working hypothesis was formulated: The Reformed Mission exclusively sought to preach the Gospel without involving itself otherwise with the local community.⁶ In this research it will be argued that, instead, the Reformed Mission was involved in a symbiotic complex relationship with the eNkumane community using isiZulu speaking people from outside the area to assist with the preaching of the Gospel and continuously negotiating the needs and expectations of the community.

Finally, related to the fourth hypothesis, questions may be asked about the significance of the Reformed Mission in eNkumane for the debate about missionary work in general: did the Reformed Mission have unique characteristics; did it contribute to the understanding of what missionary work can entail in the 21st century; did it contribute to the understanding of Christianity or of God's Kingdom? The following working hypothesis was formulated: The Reformed Mission proved that 'mission' is the sole responsibility of a local church council to send an ordained minister to an area where the Word of God is not preached otherwise. It will be argued in this research that this definition of 'mission', induced by the specific situation of the Reformed Churches in the Netherlands during the middle of the 20th century, does not explain the range of activities undertaken by the Reformed Mission in eNkumane and overlooks the importance of reciprocity in missionary work. Moreover, it will be argued that the major achievement of the Reformed Mission was that it managed to be part of the eNkumane community during a period of State induced segregation and discrimination, that it crossed cultural and race barriers by taking part in the history of a disadvantaged community and showed the importance of the margins of God's Kingdom as a central focus of modern missionary work.

1.4 Sources of Information

This study is an example of participatory research in the sense that, since 1991, the researcher has been part of the process under study.⁷ The result is that elements of the collected

⁶ J. Lagendijk (1971, p.4) states that the aim of the Reformed Mission is the proclamation of the Gospel: "Wie zending zegt, zegt (uitsluitend) prediking van het Evangelie." However, already in the course of the 1960s, the formulation of the aim started to change. Referring to the Reformed Mission in the eNkumane area in 1962, J. Lagendijk (idem, p.34) writes about the Gospel of the Kingdom: "Schriftuurlijk gezien meen ik dat zending is: prediking van het Evangelie van het Koninkrijk." Referring to the situation in 1967, he writes about the Gospel of God's love: "Het eigenlijke zendingswerk [is]: de prediking van Gods liefde - in woord en daad" (idem, p.73).

⁷ H.R. Bernard (1994, p.136-137) states about 'Participant Observation Fieldwork': "It involves getting close to people and making them feel comfortable enough with your presence so that you can observe and record information about their lives... Participant observation fieldwork can involve an array of data collection methods. These include observation, natural conversation, various kinds of interviews (structured, semi-structured and unstructured),

information constitute inside information and one cannot eliminate the possibility that some components of the information may reflect subjective interpretations due to the specific position of the researcher. However, an attempt has been made to nullify the weakness of being an involved participant by using this disposition to become an informed interviewer, well-known in the community.⁸ Oral information given by one person was checked against oral information given by others and against information found in public and private archives. An indispensable source of information about the roots of the people living in the eNkumane area are 'The James Stuart Archives' published by C. De B. Webb & J.B. Wright between 1961 and 2001. Secondary literature is used to describe the history of South Africa in general (especially D. Oakes, 1994), of KwaZulu-Natal (especially A. Duminy & B. Guest, 1989) and of Richmond (C. Coulson, 1986, and A. Ragavaloo, 2008). To obtain additional information about the eNkumane area, I visited the following archives: Natal Archives in Pietermaritzburg; Title Deeds Office in Pietermaritzburg; Richmond-and-Byrne Museum in Richmond. Most of the information obtained about the eNkumane area is processed in Part 1 of this research, called 'Groot Hoek / eNkumane: the Area and its History'.

In Part 2 of this Research, called 'Missionary Projects around eNkumane', a comparison is made with neighbouring Mission Stations in order to evaluate the position and the activities of the Reformed Mission in eNkumane. For this part of the research archival material is used from: the Richmond-and-Byrne Museum; the Natal Diocesan Archives in Pietermaritzburg; the Mariannhill Monastery Archives; the Catholic Parish St. Joseph in Richmond. Furthermore, the archivists were asked to comment on previous versions of the text of this research in as far as it was based on material found in their respective archives. The archivists involved reacted positively and their comments and suggestions were used for the final version of the text.

Most information for Part 3 of this research, called 'Reformed Mission Enkumane' is obtained through direct observations, informal talks, unstructured interviews and during different kinds of church meetings over a period of approximately 18 years, between about 1991 and 2009. This information was compared with historical documents available at the Reformed Mission in eNkumane, the Mission Archive in Kampen and with secondary literature offering earlier attempts to categorize the available information about the Reformed Mission: J. Lagendijk (1971); T. Schaafsma (1984); C. Breman (1985).

In Part 4 of this research, called 'Reforming Mission'⁹ an attempt is made to analyze and evaluate the information found in this research, especially concentrating on the motives, the possibilities and the importance of the Reformed Mission Enkumane. For several themes

checklists, questionnaires and unobtrusive methods." The specific position of the researcher in this study is indicated by H.R. Bernard with the term 'Observing Participant' (idem, p.138).

⁸ One of the relevant advantages of participant observation is, according to H.R. Bernard (1994, p.142): "Many research problems simply can not be addressed adequately by anything except participant observation."

⁹ The title 'Reforming Mission' refers to the title of D.J. Bosch's book 'Transforming Mission', which forms the background of the last chapters of this research. Bosch explains the pun in the title as follows: "'Transforming' can be an adjective describing 'mission'. In this case, mission is understood as an enterprise that transforms reality. 'Transforming' can, however, also be a present participle, the activity of transforming, of which 'mission' is the object. Here, mission is not the enterprise that transforms reality, but something that is itself being transformed" (D.J. Bosch, 1991, p.xv).

mentioned in this part of the research, the reader may be referred to secondary literature, as for example L. Bauerochse (1996), K. Bediako (1992), D.J. Bosch (1991), and I. Daneel & others (2005).

1.5 Oral History

In order to describe the area under research and the identity of its people, informally obtained information was checked and extended in ‘unstructured interviews’.¹⁰ The interviewees, people who live in the area, who once lived in the area, or who were in other ways at some time directly involved with the area, participated on an unpaid voluntary basis. Although no specific sample was chosen, most interviewees were 50 years or older. Sometimes, participants referred to others who might contribute. Most of the time, these suggestions proved to be very valuable. The majority of the in total 59 unstructured interviews was held during the years 2002 until 2004. The common aim of the interviews, as discussed with the interviewees, was to conserve their knowledge about the area for future generations.¹¹ The interviews were not recorded on audio-tape, the impression being that most interviewees were not comfortable with the idea that their voices were put on tape.¹² Sometimes, even requests by the interviewer to take photographs were denied, as they were associated by some with police investigations. The interviews were essential for the research and the pen-and-paper notes made during the interviews provided a sufficient basis for an oral history of the community.¹³ To prevent distortion of the oral information, where possible, follow-up interviews were held.

When asked to tell about their history (*umlando*), most of the interviewees referred to a sequence of male ancestors. Often this sequence ended with the first ancestor who had arrived in the area. Sometimes, the interviewees remembered a few stories about this first ancestor (‘stories of origin’). It was found that the first arrivals in the area likely occurred between 1830 and 1840, a date reconstructed by the researcher on the basis of comparisons with written sources. Often the ancestor who was the first one in his family to arrive in the area is remembered as a ‘founding hero’. Sometimes, a few brothers are remembered as having arrived together, their father’s name

¹⁰ H.R. Bernard (1994, p.209) states about ‘unstructured interviews’: “Unstructured interviews are based on a clear plan that you keep constantly in mind but are also characterized by a minimum of control over the informants’ responses.” Many interviews in the present research started with a question about names of ancestors still known to the interviewee: father, grandfather and so forth, for as many generations as possible. Subsequently, starting with the oldest name remembered, questions were asked about the place of burial, about the names of wives and from where they came and about work or, in the case of peasants, about their cattle or produce. The main purpose of all questions was to stimulate the interviewees to talk about their family histories.

¹¹ About oral history, Marlene Winburg (S. Coan, 2003) remarked: “Oral history is about healing before it is about anything else. You need to know where you are coming from before you can know where you are going”. However, in the present research, history (*umlando*) was, especially by youngsters, generally considered as something to do with old people. Only a few youth participated in the research and most of them did not identify themselves with their living area.

¹² During the years 2002 and 2003, a recorder was used to collect choruses sung in the eNkumane area.

¹³ About the importance of oral history, B.M. Robertson (2000, p.3) states: “Indeed, one of the most important uses of oral history is to record the perspectives of disadvantaged people who traditionally have been ignored or misinterpreted in conventional historical records.”

being forgotten, or simply remembered as ‘grandfather’ (*umkhulu*). A significant exception was found amongst the Mkhize, who are still accepted as the traditional leaders in the area. Some members of the Mkhize family are able to recollect stories about events which took place before their family arrived in the area under research. Their original ‘founding hero’ never arrived in the area where his descendants live now.

Fortunately enough, the content of several ‘stories of origin’ collected during the present research, could be matched with two interviews in 1913 with people from the same area, Mbokodo Mkhize and Mandlakazi Sishi.¹⁴ The comparison with the earlier interviews gave insight into the ongoing process of reconstruction of the collective memories of the community about the time of arrival at the uMkhomazi River. One of the main features of this process is the emergence of a ‘founding hero’.¹⁵ This process clearly took place in the Mkhize family. In the 1913 interviews, Mbokodo Mkhize described his family as descendants of Sambela Mkhize, a violent warrior of King Shaka Zulu. After, in 1828, King Dingane had murdered his brother King Shaka, he also eliminated most of King Shaka’s military officers, including Sambela Mkhize. Around 1830, after Sambela was killed, his descendants fled from KwaZulu (north of the uThukela River) and moved in a southwesterly direction followed by the descendants of Sambela’s brother, Zihlandlo Mkhize. A few years after Sambela was killed, one of King Shaka’s most important military officers, Zihlandlo, was also killed by King Dingane. The refugees were joined by Nsele Mkhize, the only surviving brother of Sambela and Zihlandlo. However, during the present research hardly any of the interviewees of the Mkhize families remembered the names of Sambela and Nsele. Without exception, the interviewees claimed that they were descendants of Zihlandlo Mkhize, probably because of his high position in the Shaka Empire. Those few who remembered the name Sambela, had no idea of the relationship between Sambela and Zihlandlo; moreover, Nsele was referred to as a descendant of Zihlandlo.¹⁶ Apparently, in the Mkhize families, the restructuring of the memories about the ‘time of origin’ led to the ideology that all Mkhize descend Zihlandlo, who as mentioned above, was a famous military leader of King Shaka around the time the Mkhize left their area at the uThukela River and moved in a southwesterly direction to the uMkhomazi River.

To illustrate the importance of Zihlandlo Mkhize as a ‘founding hero’ of the Mkhize, reference can be made to a meeting of the Mkhize held during the year 2008 at the traditional

¹⁴ For the 1913 interview with Mbokodo Mkhize see JSA-III, 1982, p.1-22; for the 1913 interview with Mandlakazi Sishi see JSA-II, 1979, p.174-198.

¹⁵ J. Vansina (1985, p.169) states that the presence of ‘founding heroes’ is a main sign of structuring of memories over successive generations. The ‘time of origin’ gets centred around a single historical person of high standing. In the present research, it is found that a ‘founding hero’ may be an ancestor with an exceptionally important position in the community, but it may also be the ancestor who was the first one to build a house in a certain area. Consequently, over several generations, one family may have more than one ‘founding hero’. For example, as described in chapter 4, Zihlandlo Mkhize, who held an exceptional high position in the empire of King Shaka, functions as a ‘founding hero’ of the Mkhize who settled at the uMkomazi River in the area under research, despite the fact that he was not their direct biological ancestor. Yet, Ngangezwe, who was their first *inkosi* to settle at the uMkhomazi, also functions in their stories as a ‘founding hero’.

¹⁶ D. Mkhize (2004*) reported the descent line: Zihlandlo → Kunezi → Zingele → Nsele, whereas the correct descent line according to the present research should be Zihlandlo → Siyingele → Ngunezi, Nsele being Zihlandlo’s brother (compare the family tree Mkhize① in Chapter 4).

homestead of the Mkhize *amakhosi* in eZulwini, in the area under research. One of the topics discussed during this meeting was the question whether Zihlandlo was the son or the father of Gcwabe Mkhize. If Zihlandlo had been the father of Gcwabe, he would automatically be the ancestor of all Mkhize who had settled at the uMkhomazi River about 170 years ago. This would fit his status as 'founding hero'. However, in line with the findings during this research, the meeting decided that Zihlandlo was not the father but the son of Gcwabe. Zihlandlo, although 'a founding hero' for all the Mkhize in the area, was the biological forefather of only some of them.

An interesting aspect of the restructuring of memories over successive generations is what J. Vansina calls the 'floating gap', the lack of memories about the period between the 'time of origin', often the time of arrival in an area, and the recent past.¹⁷ All stories of the far past are remembered as stories about the 'time of origin'. It was found in the present research that the period between the arrivals in the area during the first half of the 19th century and the more recent past was only remembered by a succession of male ancestors who were each recalled by name and by place of burial. No specific stories were remembered about one of these 'in-between' ancestors. For the present research, their burial sites were of special interest. Traditionally, a man is buried in the homestead which he has built. So, a sequence of burial sites in a family is a reliable indication of the migration pattern of the family.

The expression 'floating gap' explains the way memories are restructured over successive generations. Evidently, as history goes on, the content of 'the recent past' changes. Important stories that were 'recent past' for one generation become 'stories of origin' for a subsequent one. Most stories merely evaporate, leaving behind the names of those who form the link between the family's origin and its recent past. This bridging sequence of mere names is what is called the 'floating gap', its beginning sometimes obscured or confused, its end moving on with the successive generations. An illustration of this re-attachment of information to the 'time of origin' was found in the Sishi family. One of the praise names (*isithakazele*) of the Sishi family was found to be: *Beqangalephesheyakwezilwandle* (they-jumped-across-the-oceans). An old member of the family explained that this name refers to a story about his grandfather who had worked in England for several years.¹⁸ A young member of the same family, asked to explain the praise name, supposed that her family originally came from overseas.¹⁹

Memories about the recent past, collected during the present research, cover roughly the whole of the 20th century. Characteristic for memories about the recent past is that they are still related to specific persons and to history markers, historical events which are more or less collectively remembered. In the present research, the following history markers emerged: two locust plagues; the arrival of a local commercial farmer; certain government agricultural advisers; the arrival of the first foreign missionary; the first general democratic elections in South Africa. In the course of the research, these history markers were dated as accurately as possible, and used as

O. J. Vansina, 1985, p.23.

¹⁸ M. Sishi, 2003*.

¹⁹ S. Sishi, 2003*.

a frame for the chronological ordering of individual memories.²⁰

1.6 Processing Information

Written sources were used during the research to substantiate and put into perspective the oral information. The written sources include private and government archives (see Appendix A: 'Written and Oral Sources'). In the notes at the end of each chapter archival information is referred to with the following code sequence:

[archive code]: [date of document, a letter indicating chronological order]#

For example, the indication 'TNA: 1916a#' in an endnote refers to the appendix 'Written and Oral Sources' at the back of this thesis, 'The National Archives - United Kingdom', the first document listed under 1916. Only in the case of a reference to the Title Deeds Office Pietermaritzburg, the relevant archive reference to a specific document is included in the endnote. For example, 'TOP: the grants 7365 and 7366, 1908#' refers to the 'Title deeds Office Pietermaritzburg', the grants 7365 and 7366, both documents issued in 1908.

Generally, the oral accounts and the written documents represent two different historical perspectives and typically refer to the research area with two different names. In the interviews the name 'eNkumane' is used for the area under research. The name 'Groot Hoek' was found in written accounts referring to the same area as a commercial farm. In this research, an overview is made of the sequence of owners of the farm Groot Hoek from when it was granted in 1851. For each owner the reason for the purchase, the way it was used as a private property and what the owner's impact on the local inhabitants was, is queried. The interwoven history of eNkumane and *Groot Hoek* raises the question about the position and impact of the Reformed Mission.

1.7 Writing Names

1.7.1 The Titles Rev., Prof. and St

When the name of a minister is mentioned in this research, the title 'Rev.' is used: e.g. Rev. J. Vonkeman. Anglican ministers are also referred to as Rev., e.g. Rev. H. Callaway, although they are usually introduced in written documents as 'the Reverend' or 'the Revd.' followed by the initials (or first name) and surname. In a similar way, the title Prof. is used for a university professor, e.g. Prof. K. Schilder.

When the abbreviation for Saint, 'St' or 'St.', is used in the name of a church building or mission station, the abbreviation appears without a period in this research, e.g. 'St Andrew's Church' and 'St Bernard Mission'.

²⁰ J. Vansina (1985, p.180) warns against the absolute use of history markers like calamities, stating: "If a calamity is mentioned in an account ... we cannot ask whether an event happened before or after a given calamity ... In the best cases the informant remembers an account that involves a calamity."

1.7.2 Names in isiZulu

Generally in this research, names in isiZulu are spelled in accordance with the proposals made by A. Koopman (2002) and by the IBhodi Lezilimi Eningizimu Ne-Afrika (2008). Names in isiZulu are spelled with prefixes in small letters, the only exception being the spelling of personal names (*igama* and *isibongo*), which are written without the prefixes ‘u-’ (singular) and ‘o-’ (plural), e.g. Bongani and the Mkhize, instead of uBongani and oMkhize.²¹ The maiden name of a married woman is given with the prefix ‘Ma-’ and may be followed by her husband’s surname, e.g. Ntombovu MaNcwane Mkhize. When a group of amalgamated people with different surnames (*izibongo*) is referred to, the prefixes ‘ama-’ and ‘aba-’ are used in small letters, e.g. amaKhuze and abaMbo. In area names, the first consonant after a vowel is written with a capital letter, e.g. eMakhuzeni, eMbo, kwaVishavisha.

For the names of rivers, the prefixes ‘u-’ and ‘i-’ (sometimes part of ‘isi-’) are maintained, e.g. the uNompofane River and the iNgwegwe River. In a similar way, the prefixes ‘u-’ and ‘i-’ are maintained in the spelling of the names of mountains, e.g. the uNomabhunga Mountain and the iNhlazuka Mountain. The corresponding prefixes ‘kwa-’ and ‘e-’ are used for areas surrounding a specific river or mountain, e.g. kwaNompofane, kwaNomabhunga, eNgwegwe and eNhlazuka. Some area names contain a locative suffix in correspondence with the pronunciation, for example, eMntungwaneni, the area around the uMntungwana River, eNdaleneni, the area around the iNdala River, and eMaromeni, the area around a Roman Catholic Mission (*amaRoma*).

However, when geographical names are part of the established name of an organization or a village, the spelling of these geographical names is not adjusted according to the above-mentioned rules. As a result, the following ‘conflicting’ names can be found: iNdala River and eNdaleneni area besides Indaleneni Mission and Indala High School. Similarly, the following ‘conflicting’ names are used: the iNkumane Mountain and the eNkumane area besides the Reformed Mission Enkumane; and the iLovu River besides the Mid-Illovo Village.

Also in quotations, geographical and personal names have not been changed. So the name Umkomaas River (used in a quotation) and the name uMkhomazi River can be found side by side, referring to the same river. In a similar way, names like King Tshaka and Zihlandhlo (used in quotations) can be found besides King Shaka and Zihlandlo.

1.7.3 ENkumane, Groot Hoek and Groothoek

The names eNkumane, Groot Hoek and Groothoek more or less indicate the same area. Since 2000, eNkumane is the name of a Ward of the Richmond Municipality and consists of an area of about 25 square kilometres directly west of the iNkumane Mountain. However, in this research, the name eNkumane is used to also include an area directly east of the iNkumane Mountain (eNgwegwe) and an area directly south of eNkumane on the southern banks of the uMkhomazi River, an additional 25 square kilometres. The reason for this extension is that, over

²¹ A. Koopman (2002) does not explicitly refer to a rule for the use of the personal prefixes ‘u-’ and ‘o-’ in a English context, but usually leaves them out. Inadvertently, he uses ‘uNtombenhle’ besides ‘Gugulethu’ in the same sentence (idem, p.22).

the last 50 years, the people in this wider area of about 50 square kilometres share a common history with the Reformed Mission Enkumane.

In 1851, about 15 square kilometres of the eNkumane area was granted by the Government as the farm Groot Hoek with title deed no.1000 set aside for commercial farming. Groothoek (one word) is the name of a Government Trust Farm, established in 1940, consisting of Groot Hoek (title deed no.1000), Dartnell (no.3689), Mqolombene (no.1054) and Inhlazuka View (no.11068).

1.7.4 Church Denominations, their Councils, Universities and Missions

Although generally, the non-English names of church denominations and local churches have been maintained and are written in *italics*, an exception is made for the spelling of the names of one South African denomination, the *Vrye Gereformeerde Kerke in Suid-Afrika* and two Dutch church denominations, the *Gereformeerde Kerken in Nederland (Vrijgemaakt)* and the *Nederlands Gereformeerde Kerken*. Because these names are mentioned often in this research, they are translated in English. The name 'Free Reformed Churches' is used for the *Vrye Gereformeerde Kerke in Suid-Afrika* and for the *Gereformeerde Kerken in Nederland (Vrijgemaakt)*.²² The name 'Netherlands Reformed Churches' is used for the *Nederlands Gereformeerde Kerken*. It must be noted that, in the Reformed tradition, a local church consisting of a group of believers with its own church council, is seen as a complete representation of the church. Accordingly, the denomination Free Reformed Churches consists of several local churches, including for example the Free Reformed Church in Kampen. In a similar way, the *Gereformeerde Kerke in Suid Afrika* consist of several local churches, including for example the *Gereformeerde Kerk in Pietermaritzburg*.

The Dutch names for Church Councils and Synods have been translated: Church Council (for: *Kerkenraad*), Regional Council (for: *Classis*, and for: *Regionale Vergadering*), Provincial Synod (for: *Provinciale Synode*), and National Synod (for: *Nationale Synode*, and for: *Landelijke*

²² In this research, the name '*Gereformeerde Kerken in Nederland (Vrijgemaakt)*' has been translated with 'Free Reformed Churches' or with 'Free Reformed Churches in the Netherlands'. Yet, it must be stated that these churches themselves translate their name in English with 'Reformed Churches in the Netherlands (Liberated)', e.g. B. Wielenga, 2004. There are two reasons to deviate from this common practice. In the first place the word 'Liberated' has a strong political connotation in South Africa and accordingly, can be confusing. The second reason to use the name Free Reformed Churches in this research, is that the *Vrye Gereformeerde Kerke in Suid-Afrika*, the sister churches of the *Gereformeerde Kerken in Nederland (Vrijgemaakt)*, translate their name in English with 'Free Reformed Churches in South Africa'. For these reasons the translation 'Free Reformed Churches' seems to be appropriate and clear in a South African context.

The only reason why the name Free Reformed Churches might be confusing is the fact that, in Canada and in the United States of America, the name 'Free Reformed Churches' is used for sister churches of the '*Christelijke Gereformeerde Kerken in Nederland*', while the sister churches of the *Gereformeerde Kerken in Nederland (Vrijgemaakt)* in North America are called the 'Reformed Churches in Canada and America'. Because, in this research, the Reformed Churches in Canada and America play no role, this possible confusion is neglected here and the straightforward name 'Free Reformed Churches' is used to indicate the 'church family' formed by the *Gereformeerde Kerken in Nederland (Vrijgemaakt)* and the *Vrye Gereformeerde Kerke in Suid-Afrika*. Where necessary, the additions 'in The Netherlands' or 'in South Africa' are used. When the name Reformed Church is used in singular, usually, the Church name is followed by 'in' and by the name of the place where the specific congregation can be found, for example, the 'Free Reformed Church in Kampen'.

Vergadering). Occasionally, the name Council is used as the equivalent of Synod, e.g. in the combination ‘the Regional, Provincial and National Councils’. Of the Universities initiated by the different Reformed Churches in The Netherlands, the name of the *Vrije Universiteit* in Amsterdam, is used in its common translation Free University, as opposed to the two theological universities in Kampen: the *Theologische Hoogeschool* of the *Gereformeerde Kerken in Nederland* and the *Theologische Hoogeschool* of the Free Reformed Churches.²³

The word ‘congregation’ is used as the indication for especially Protestant local groups of believers, e.g. the Reformed congregation in eNkumane. When used with a capital, Congregation, it indicates a Roman Catholic order of religious persons bound by a common rule or vow, e.g. Congregation of Missionaries of Mariannhill.

The names of the missionary projects described extensively in this research are written as follows: the Indaleni Mission, the Springvale Mission and the St Bernard Mission. Their church denominational classifications are not seen as part of their names. For the mission project which is at the centre of this research the following three names are used: Kampen Mission, Reformed Mission and Reformed Mission Enkumane. The term Kampen Mission refers to that part of the missionary project which is situated in the city of Kampen, in The Netherlands. It includes the initiative, the supervision and the fund raising for the project under the responsibility of the Church Council of the Free Reformed Church in Kampen (since 1979, the Netherlands Reformed Church in Kampen), represented by its local Mission Board in Kampen. The term Reformed Mission stands for the name under which the Kampen Mission was established in the present day Richmond District in KwaZulu-Natal. The term Reformed Mission Enkumane stands for that part of the Reformed Mission which works from the Mission Station in eNkumane.

1.8 Bible Quotations

Generally in this research, Bible quotations are taken from the *Good News Bible - Today's English Version* (Bible Society of South Africa, 1979, in the edition of 1996) and the *IBhayibheli eliNgcwele* (Bible Society of South Africa, 1959, in the edition of 1977). In some cases, reference is made to the *IBaible eliNgcwele* (Bible Society of South Africa, 1893, in the edition of 1974) or a self-made working translation is used.²⁴

²³ As a result of the Dutch tertiary education law of 1987, both theological schools in Kampen received the status of ‘university’ and, accordingly, changed their names into ‘Theologische Universiteit’.

²⁴ The *IBaible eliNgcwele* in its first edition of 1883 was published by the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions. The translation was thoroughly revised for the edition of 1893. Although difficult to read, this translation is still in use in several Zionist Churches and in the Iblandla lamaNazaretha.