RHODES UNIVERSITY
LIBRARY
Cl No. TR 01 - 69
BRN 208629

A Zulu martyr?

What are the factors that led to the sparse and irregular public commemoration of Maqhamusela Khanyile in the Lutheran church to which he belonged?

Margarete Paula Luise Nürnberger

Submitted in partial fulfilment of the academic requirements
for the degree of Master in Spirituality
Rhodes University

March 2000

My thanks

to those in Eshowe and elsewhere
who tried to answer my never-ending questions,

to archivists who ferreted out material,
specially Carol Archibald and Nils Hoeimyr,

to Karl Solberg
for translating the Dano-Norwegian material,
and enjoying it,

to Kevin for enthusiastic supervision,

to Klaus for spin control, and

to God who blessed us with Maqhamusela.

Pietermaritzburg, February 2000

Table of Contents

Chapter 4: Remembering Maqhamusela: the modes

Chapter 5: Remembering Maqhamusela: why people remembered him

Chapter 6 Remembering Maqhamusela: the title

Appendix 1: Sources and other material

Appendix 2: Selected Interviews

Not all the sources that informed this research nor all verbatims of interviews could be reproduced in this research report. Fuller copies of the apendix including the edited version of Fowler's document and other sources, as also more verbatims of the interviews, are available in the following libraries:

Killie Campbell Collection, University of Natal/Durban , 220 Marriott Rd, Durban, 4001,

Library of the University of Natal/Pietermaritzburg, P. Bag X01, Scottsville, 3209 and

Library of the Norwegian Mission Society in Stavanger, Misjonsveien 34, 4024 Stavanger, Norway.

Foreword

About a fortnight after I had submitted the thesis on factors that lead to the sparse and irregular public commemoration of Maqhamusela Khanyile in the Lutheran church to which he belonged when the archivist of the Norwegian Mission Society in Stavanger sent an e-mail that new material had been found. It consisted of a miscellany of various documents connected with the erection of the first cross, dating from 1926-1940, to be found in Misjonskapets archiv SA, boks nr. 2A legg nr. 8. The new material falsified two hypotheses on which the thesis had worked.

The first of these hypotheses states that the initiative for the erection of the first monument to Maqhamusela had come from the Anglican interest in and research on him in 1935. Source 1a in the new material proves that in 1926 there were already appeals for contributions towards such a monument among the Lutheran congregations that grew out of the Norwegian work.

The second hypothesis falsified by the new material had issued from memories of interviewees (e.g. Dean Shobete in interview 33) which stated that a stone with the Zulu inscription had been placed in the saddle of the hill where the execution had taken place before the erection of the first cross. The new material proves that the suggestion for a marble plate dates from 1927 (source 2a) and that the slab was eventually ordered in October 1939. A receipt (document 10) for "making the Maqhamusela monument" is dated 11.5.1940.

Altogether, then, there was earlier commemoration of Maqhamusela in the church of which he was a member than the thesis had found, and the impetus to erect a monument had come from White and some black Norwegian Lutherans themselves.

Chapter 1

The experience, problem formulation and the hypothesis

> (For an African Church History) a continental panorama is necessary. . . And yet, it is from the local perspective of village and town that a continental profile of church history can be shaped. . . . It was often through individual and group initiatives that the Christian faith was irradiated in their own communities.
> (Sundkler 1987: 78)

1. The researcher's experience

The students training for the ministry at the Lutheran Theological Seminary in Natal have for many years been sent by Lutheran and Moravian dioceses in South Africa, Namibia and Zimbabwe, with a sprinkling of candidates from the African Initiated Churches. For almost a decade I taught Christian Education (*Religionspädagogik-Catechetik)* at this institution in the 1970s, in the storm of Black Consciousness, the struggle between Black Theology and African Theology, and the call in the Lutheran World Federation for a moratorium on commissioning missionaries to foreign countries in Africa.

As an assignment task I asked for one teaching-learning outline for a post-confirmation group (from 14 years onwards) in a series called: Our Mothers and Fathers in the Faith. The list of suggested persons drew on the History of Christianity in European Old, Reformation and Modern eras and in Southern Africa, e.g. Polycarp, Monica, Huss, Bonhöffer, Georg Schmidt, Ntsikana, Tiyo Soga. Two Zulu students came to me, their eyes shining: would they be allowed to work on Maqhamusela Khanyile. "Who is that?" came the reply. I had been a Lutheran all my life, come from missionary stock two generations ago, had been in touch with (German) missionaries from my childhood. With my husband I had been in mission work for some years, yet I had never heard of the blood witness to the Christian faith within a congregation of the Lutheran Norwegian Mission Society in 1877.

Besides a brief sketch in du Plessis (1911:382) based on oral information supplied by Norwegian Mission Society missionary Leisegang the students could come up with only one written source, two pages in length, if one includes the picture of the first cross in the count. It was in Zulu in Incwadi yeJubilee, a booklet produced in 1944 for the celebration of the centenary of the work of the Norwegian Mission Society. The students assured me that there were no congregational commemorations of the death. Over against this slender base was the fact that the two students came from congregations where the story was being told.

I had not only discovered an area of ignorance in my academic knowledge of denominational history in S.A.; I became dimly aware of the lack of recognition accorded to the contribution of black Christians in bringing the gospel to the people of South Africa. I also sensed that I was out of touch with a heritage and source of pride in these students and their congregations.

Perhaps I could be receptive to those attitudes in the students because in my own spiritual development stories of my missionary great-grandparents had supplied the "family myths", and because an optional course in the history of Christianity in confirmation lessons had been formative. They had situated my own denomination, so marginal when compared with the dominant ones in South Africa, in a historical context, and had instilled pride in belonging to it. Perhaps that explains why I felt deprived in that this gift of God to us Lutherans and to the People of God in Zululand generally had never been celebrated and publicly acknowledged in the congregations of which I had been a member.

2. Questions raised by the experience

A welter of questions emerged, less systematically ordered than in what follows. The first questions were purely factual and focussed on events leading up to the execution and its immediate aftermath, followed by an investigation on the sources available besides Incwadi yeJubilee. How were those happenings remembered in the congregation, e.g. who erected the cross and when? What was the intention of erecting the cross and was there commemoration at its dedication, or at other times? What factors led to the imbalance between, on the one hand, the obvious pride in Maqhamusela and the traditions around him in a few congregations, and, on the other, the lack of public recognition in the wider Lutheran community?

Clearly theological issues were at stake. What did Lutherans do with the graced men and women whom God had given to them in the past, e.g. what understanding of history informed the naming of 31 October "Reformation Day" rather than "The Feast of Martin Luther" in the Lutheran liturgical calendar? Should fear of theological aberration hinder Lutherans, and all Christians for that matter, in finding theologically acceptable forms of celebrating together in thanksgiving those who had made a significant contribution to the life of the People of God? How did the Moravians, who are Lutheran in theology, understand their annual celebrations at

the Adullam Cave, the place from which a decisive change in the opening to Christianity came about? Did only Anglo-Catholic members of the Church of the Province of South Africa join in the commemoration of Manche Masemola in Glen Cowie in the Northern Province?

The questions spilled over into the field of spirituality. Within a theology of history Christians, and not only academics, need to know their history if they are to understand where they are at present and where they can or may be forced to go in the future. Christians are also called to follow the example of the "cloud of witnesses". But if the witnesses are a cloud, a symbol of the presence of God, intellectual and moralistic responses alone are inadequate; commemoration in thanksgiving is called for. What factors had precluded that from developing in the case of Maqhamusela? How would that have to be structured to become an invitation to participatory, communal engaged experience, to transforming appropriation? What is the relation between ritual celebration and a feeling of belonging, an enhanced awareness of communal identity as Christians?

Finally there were the questions around ethics: What aspects of Maqhamusela's story would speak to our contemporaries so that Maqhamusela could become a role model in our common quest for values and commitment to norms?

3. Hoped-for outcome

I hoped that more detailed knowledge of the events themselves and of whatever public commemoration of Maqhamusela had been practised would help me gain insight into the cluster of factors that led to what appeared to be a lack of public commemoration. I also hoped to gain clarity on the issues in theology and spirituality that have been touched on.

As my research uncovered more and more mosaic pieces in the different areas mentioned above, I began to hope that both my findings and the many loosely structured interviews might prompt the Eshowe congregation and the church authorities to revisit this instance for a theological and liturgical rethink for our time and place. Finding and instituting some structured form of public commemoration of graced men and women with whom God has blessed us, would have to be acceptable within the Lutheran teaching and observances. Under public commemoration I would hope to see included forms of regular ritual, and therefore bodily performative, practice that invite participation and experience at many levels and translate into action

I presumed that in the climate of African Renaissance and the post-modernist opening to holistic forms of worship, the suggestion of revisiting the issue might gain a favourable hearing. As I became aware of my agenda, I came to a decision that the research, without sacrificing criticality, should strive not to apportion blame; rather it should serve as an impulse for reflection whether in changed circumstances new creative approaches to the heritage of the Lutheran Church in Zululand could be found.

4. Structure of this report

Personal motivation and formulation of the research problem supplies the content of chapter 1. Chapter 2 of this report surveys the approaches, methodologies and skills that have been utilized. As this is a study in spirituality the viability of plying it as an academic interdisciplinary discipline had to be affirmed. Methods, approaches and skills appropriate to this particular problem were lengthily enumerated, the most important methodologies being those of historiography (written and oral tradition) and literary sciences. Explanatory notes on the time frame within which research sources were collected, on the cut off date beyond which new material could no longer be incorporated into the research and on the spelling of Maqhamusela's name concluded the chapter.

The preliminaries having been dealt with chapters 3 to 6 could deal with whether Maqhamusela was remembered and on what channels and by which means. Chapter 3 listed and described the first texts on his life and death, and attempts to assess them for reliability and assumptions. Of the 17 early sources, 1-8 and 15-17 stand out as directly relevant to the question of the remembrance and commemoration of Maqhamusela, relative to the particular perspectives of the chapters that follow.

Chapter 4 lists and interprets modes in which Maqhamusela was remembered other than in written texts, an issues that had become prominent in discovering that 60 years after his death Rev Fowler and Rev Rodseth could collect new information on what had transpired. It also became evident that there had been a change in attitude among missionaries of the Norwegian Mission Society to include Zulu converts among the witnesses to Christ. Three later reports underscore the claim of one of those interviewed, "The whole area had him in their mind".

If Maqhamusela was remembered the questions is for what reason. Chapter 5 gleans theoretical insights from Salisbury's studies of early martyrs (1997: 165ff) and work by Mandew (1997:113ff) on the celebrations of the Israelites of the Bullhoek Massacre. The former emphasized that for public commemoration physical remains and a text were important, the latter followed Connerton in stipulating that communal interest fuels communal remembering. When applied to the case of Maqhamusela being remembered the theories highlight aspects that might otherwise have escaped attention, viz. the importance of the inscription on the stone, of Oftebro's initial report, of the disappearance of the corpse, and of Maqhamusela's refusing to wear trousers, though he covered his *beshu* with a shirt.

This chapter discovers that Stavems' inclusion of Maqhamusela and other Zulu Christians (source 13) and particularly the Zulu sketch in Incwadi yeJubilee are falting steps in writing the history of mission work in an African voice and seeing it moulded also by African hands. The chapter ends by asking whether Maqhamusela's story can touch contemporary communal interests.

The issues around Oftebro's first text and the loss of the corpse as impinging on the title accorded to Maqhamusela, and thus on public commemoration, are taken up in Chapter 6. Oftebro's refusal to refer to him as "martyr" emerges as calculated when placed into three contexts. The first is the pietistic eschatalogical spirituality and theology of the Norwegian missionaries; the second is that of the role missionaries when reporting violations of the "Coronation laws" and of Christian executions in feeding Frere's war propaganda and public opinion in England; the third the missionary's hope to be able to return to his mission in Zululand, after fleeing it in the second half of 1878.

In the final chapter the various factors that led to the remembrance and public commemoration of Maqhamusela (sparse but not lacking altogether) is gathered and co-ordinated. Matters that require further investigation are listed in order to offer critique of the findings of this research and to proceed further with historical inquiry into the spirituality of Lutherans in Zululand. Since plying an academic study of spirituality is self-implicating I can gratefully attest to a growth in love and respect for her fellow Christians among the Zulus.

Chapter 2

Approaches, Methodologies and Skills

> Studies in Christian missions should be longitudinal, comparative and interdisciplinary, but formidable obstacles stand in the way of such research (Etherington 1977: 31)

1. To commemorate publicly, to remember, to know about, to forget

The above word field is used to designate various manners and degrees of keeping in mind the past and assigning it value. *The Shorter Oxford Dictionary 1973:375* defines *to commemorate* as:

> "To mention as worthy of remembrance; to celebrate in speech or writing, and to call to remembrance by some solemnity or celebration".

Where commemoration happens publicly the word field has a social dimension. Over against this *to remember* is explained in the same resource (*Shorter Oxford Dictionary* , 1973:1791) as follows:

> "To think of, recall the memory of (a person) with some kind of feeling or intention; to think and reflect upon".

The shift in meaning lies in the celebratory character of commemoration (Roget, 1933:340) and in its ascribing positive value to the object of commemoration, whether the value is personal or public. In both "to commemorate" and "to remember" emotions are involved, which is not necessarily the case in *to know*, which, in comparison, positions the object at more distance and makes the procedure more discursive than reflective. All three have a place in spirituality (both as observance and reflection on observance) and in theology (placing that reflection into the comprehensive interpretation of the faith).

Optimally, the relation between commemorative practice as theology and as spirituality is a bi-polar one; where there is a dominance of theological (ideological) interest indicators will suggest that the practice does not offer a vehicle for changing theological meanings and the breadth of human experience and practice. It may even offer an opportunity for those in power to fuel desired attitudes anew, e.g. the celebration of the battle of Blood River in our country prior to 1994. Where the practice of commemoration itself has taken on primary concern the un-

avoidable selectivity and even foreshortening of the historical process brings estrangement between the forms of commemoration and what allegedly happened in history until the relation between the two is arbitrary, as, for example, in the carnivalistic celebration of Sao Juan in Rio de Janeiro in memory of John the Baptizer.

Where commemoration is correctly held within the tension of spirituality and theology the object of commemoration is so typical of the human condition that it speaks to different situations and people of later times significantly, though differently, as we experienced in the changed view of Columbus when comparing the celebrations of the 400th and 500th anniversaries. Furthermore the celebratory remembrance invites those present to hold in tension the criticality of distanced reflection and the existential openness to changes which the celebration may bring about in perception or conduct.

> We talk of great literature being "timeless", and by this we do not really mean that it stands outside time. Instead, we mean that it can speak to human experience through many times. . . . . We use the memory of her (Perpetua's) actions and her words to enhance the meaning of our own lives. (Salisbury, 1997:179)

2. Spirituality as academic discipline

The composite operational description of spirituality offered in the previous chapter begs the question whether this phenomenon can be approached in the scientific manner fitting academic inquiry. Increasingly the answer given is in the affirmative although its inclusion in university curriculae is slow and uneven, more so geographically than denominationally (Hanson 1985:45; Schneiders 1989:684ff2).

One view of spirituality in academia is that spirituality is necessarily a perspective in all theological disciplines, and that no academic teaching of them is spiritually neutral, even when it fosters attitudes of existential non-commitment and personal distance to the subject matter. In as far as spirituality is integrated with the critical exploration of other theological disciplines this approach is suitably holistic and goes beyond devotional application of study material. However, this approach cannot cover adequately the disciplined reflection on the experiences made in responding to perceived invitations from God. "Spirituality is living the faith, in which thinking about it is one aspect" (Schneiders 1998:5).

As a discreet entity among theological disciplines it does not so much have its own field of study as its own approach, i.e. the investigator's relation to the subject (Hanson 1989:49). According to the objectives which she and others fighting for recognition of spirituality as a discipline, such as Bradley Hanson, Ursula King *et al* set for it, Sandra Schneiders calls it "a self-implicating discipline . . . . that can be dangerous to the researcher" (Schneiders 1998:9). If reflection on the experience is to be investigative and not simply descriptive, critical distancing must hold a balance with existential commitment. Clearly, spirituality could not pretend to be a value-free science as understood in Modernism (Schneiders 1998:10).

Schneiders (1989:692) holds that the methodology of the academic discipline Spirituality is necessarily interdisciplinary and the teaching participatory. The modes of investigation used must be aligned to the descriptive-critical (rather than prescriptive-normative) character of this experience-based discipline. It should be inclusive of spiritualities growing out of different religious matrixes, and (following Schneiders) not limited to the exploration of the explicitly religious, i.e. the so-called "interior life". The study of this discipline calls for participation of the learner as it is personal and not general and seeks the spiritual growth of participants rather than the acquisition of factual knowledge. The procedure Schneiders envisages moves from description to critical analysis to constructive appropriation as "transformational actualization of meaning" (Ricoeur, quoted in Schneiders 1989:695).

On in her 1998 article "The study of Christian spirituality: contours and dynamics of a discipline" (in *Christian Spirituality Bulletin,* 6 (Spring 1998):1,3-12) Schneiders has finetuned the methodology further, arguing argues that in as far as it is Christian, spirituality as an academic discipline has two constitutive disciplines, viz. scripture and the history of Christianity. In as far as the object of study is experience, Schneiders posits that which problematic disciplines are cognate in a specific study will depend on the focus of the research, and could be, for example, sociology, the literary sciences or missiology. In the discipline spirituality both the constitutive and the problematic cognate disciplines are seen from the perspective of theology, so that all the methodologies used in that wide field of sub-disciplines may be implemented.

The present research makes use of the methods of investigation of the following problematic disciplines: history of mission to probe the work of the Norwegian Mission Society; history and sociology to see this as longitudinally and contextually shaped by the social, economic and political forces in the context. The texts will be fine-combed by means of the tools of literary criticism. Ethnographic material will be drawn on to situate aspects of what happened within the customs and world-view of the Zulus of that time; and, finally, use will be made of the skills of interviewing which have been developed in oral history. Due to the strictures imposed by a mini-thesis, comparison with other seminal occurrences and their commemoration (e.g. the celebrations of the Moravians at the Adullam Cave and those of the Church of the Province of South Africa to commemorate the girl martyr Manche Masemola at Glen Cowie/Northern Province), cannot be followed up.

A short overview of the methodologies and skills of history of Christianity (and therefore also history), the literary sciences and the skills of fieldwork and interviewing to access oral tradition follow.

3. Historiographical methodology

The procedure in historical research commences with finding sources of many kinds, and moves through validating and ordering them to interpreting them. The circumstances surrounding each, and the methodologies employed, will be dealt with below, some in more detail than others due to the characteristics of this research problem.

3.1 Accessibility of Sources

In this era of the explosion of information accessibility of some codified sources is made easier by electronic equipment and the systematization of material in archives. However this particular research had to delve into hitherto untapped sources such as private diaries (Oftebro, Rodseth) in a language not understood by the researcher (Danish-Norwegian) and rare Africana (Congreve 1890). Since public commemoration presupposes a community that cherishes and passes on meanings and values by means of celebration (see chapter 6), this research also documented what form remembrance of Maqhamusela took in the Lutheran congregation where the execution took place, which implies sourcing oral tradition in fieldwork.

While the translated missionary correspondence (Hale 1996) was invaluable for permitting a longitudinal view of the research problem, the present research had to gain more information specifically on Maqhamusela. The problem of the material in the Norwegian Mission Society archives in Stavanger were complicated; there are no early copies of the mouth-piece of that Society in SA libraries, making it difficult to give specific references for requests to Stavanger. In the circumstances, chance references to Maqhamusela in other works, e.g. in Jörgensen 1987 and Hernaes and Simensen 1985, could be quoted to the archivist in Stavanger and photocopies were made available.

When Norwegian Mission Society material had been located there was still the language barrier. Help was received from several persons of Norwegian missionary stock. Mr Solberg's interest in history and knowledge of the Danish-Norwegian language, in which the missionaries wrote in the second half of the previous century, made him co-worker in this research through his translations of archival material. These additional sources helped the research to gain a more three-dimensional portrait of Maqhamusela, as also to clarify further the situation in which he found himself at the time. In order to enable the reader who does not have access to these sources or has no command of Dano-Norwegian to make a critical assessment of the findings of this research report a selection of these sources has been added to this report as an appendix.

More difficulties than with the above were experienced in finding source material on the project engaged in by Fr Fowler when in 1935 he requested the help of Rev Rodseth to gather information on the execution. None of the Anglican mens' orders (Society of the Sacred Mission, the Society of St John the Evangelist, the Community of the Resurrection) nor the Church

of the Province of South Africa Archives at the University of the Witwatersrand and Pietermaritzburg Cathedral could offer a lead. Sadly the sermon which Bishop Henry Callaway is said to have preached on All Saints' Day in 1877, in which he reportedly referred to Maqhamusela, has not been found.

3.2 **Validation and Assessment of sources**

The research is in danger of falling prey to what Sheldrake calls "historical fundamentalism in spirituality" (Sheldrake, p. 1991, ix) if the researcher equates the multifaceted historical process with its sediment in chronicles or in primary historical evidence. In deference to the insight that historical knowledge is, in part, subjective, historians must seek to ascertain the reliability of teir sources and the contours of the value-judgments, assumptions and intentions of those who used them, including themselves. The researcher has endeavoured to indicate her own value assumptions and her position within society in the opening chapter.

Validation and assessment of written sources calls for a critical examination of the authenticity and reliability of the source, its origin and purpose, the community that passed it on, and the author's background and purpose. Bias, underlying every source even if only in that it was written within its time and shaped by the feelings and beliefs of the writer, must be recognized and form the critical backdrop to the use of the source in research. Comparison with other sources or background material is helpful in arriving at conclusions about reliability and in precluding simplistic findings.

In oral history the same weeding must take place. In addition, the research must keep in mind that the passage of time between the event and its present re-telling implies a probable change in interest (in the Marxist sense), values and norms of the respondent and the remembering community of which he/she is a part.

> "Social purpose exists behind the original creation and the subsequent preservation. The historian needs to consider how a piece of evidence was put together" (Thompson, 1992:97).

3.3 **Finding hidden assumptions**

In order to become aware of the hidden assumptions in conceptual structures Sheldrake (1991:12ff) suggests examining the following four issues. Firstly naming, which puts the researcher in touch with thought patterns within which the information is interpreted and used. Secondly dating, i.e. locating specific events in a continuum of time and within the context of place, rather than emphasising discontinuities. Thirdly presuming what the reception would and could be, and finally criteria for selection of material/sources. The latter is a function of both the narrator's and the historian's own values and intentions as it assigns significance to aspects of the information available. How each of these items refers to the research problem will be briefly discussed.

3.3.1 Naming

Investigating what form public remembering of Maqhamusela took and the reasons for it led, rather unexpectedly for the researcher, to the centrality of naming: was he remembered simply as a hero, remembered in the traditions of oratory of the Zulus and their veneration of the departed? Or was he remembered as a person "(who had) lost his life for the sake of his faith" (Oftebro 9.4.1877, quoted in Hale 1996:87)? Or was he remembered as a martyr (title of Fowler manuscript, 1935), with all the associations of liturgical commemoration and possibly of the dispensation of special grace? The researcher herself has been at pains to avoid formulations weighed in favour of the "martyr" perspective, e.g. in choosing "execution" rather than "slaying" (Fowler), "to be killed" rather than "to be martyred". However, the choice of the commemoration of Maqhamusela as the field of research indicates the researcher's personal interest in the specific constellation of thought, viz. public, possibly liturgical, commemoration as part of wider questions concerning the relation of the South African churches of the Reformation to the mighty acts of God in their history.

3.3.2 Dating and placing in context

Not all times and places where Maqhamusela was communally remembered or publicly commemorated could be established definitively, some only by approximation, e.g. the erection of the stone. The wider historical context in which these sources stood and the geographical locus will be elaborated as they impinge on the flow of the argument rather than in a separate chapter. Several examples follow. Chapter 6 takes up the reception of missionaries' reports in the build-up of tension between the Zulu Kingdom and colonial Natal including its war propaganda, and suggests the possibility that these reports were formulated to pre-empt certain perceptions among the receivers. A final example: a brief review of the commemoration of martyrs in the early church, among Lutherans and specifically in the Norwegian Lutheran Church provides important background information for the attitude of the missionaries to Maqhamusela's execution.

3.3.3 Presuming what the reception could and would be

It seemed at first that it would not be difficult to implement this tool for ferreting out hidden assumptions both of the writer of the text and the inquirer. The researcher's aim was outlined in the first chapter as gaining information on the events of the execution and on the various forms that public calling to mind of Maqhamusela took, and the reasons for that. The presumed reception of the writers of the two main sources (i.e. Oftebro's report of 9.April 19877 and Fowler's manuscript) will be examined in Chapters 3. At the conclusion of the first draft of the research no documentation was available to the researcher on the expected reception of the stone and the first cross. The article in *Incwadi yeJubilee*, the naming of the Bible School and the minutes of the committee that initiated the erection of the second cross state clearly what outcome was hoped for (chapter 4).

3.3.4 The selection of sources

The criterion for the selection of sources, both oral and written, must, of course, be positively aligned to the problem formulation of this research: whether this particular source on Maqhamusela could have been influential in either promoting or suffocating public commemoration.

To preclude findings from reducing investigation and findings to one cluster of factors or ideological assumptions the researcher should not rely on only one source either in terms of individual authorship or interest group. Besides, ideological critique of historical writing has underlined the need to hear the losers or those generally denied a voice, and to include them among the sources. The wide range of material on the social history of the Zulu kingdom both from the point of view of settlers, missionaries and the Zulus themselves made this requirement manageable. An examples of this is the tension between the works of historians such as Guy (1994) and Laband (1995) who are sympathetic towards Cetshwayo, and Lugg (1949) and a novel on Colenbrander (1961) which take a perspective favourable to Zibhebhu, remembering that the latter not always historically accurate. Other examples of endeavours to escape reductionism and simplistic answers are hearing it out between missiologists such as Etherington and Simensen before coming to her own conclusion, reading the correspondence of Oftebro and Frere on the escalation of hostilities and weighing it against Cetshwayo's version in the editorship of whites (Webb and Wright 1978).

Since one oral source on the events of 9 March 1877 and what happened to the Khanyile family subsequently (Mr Patrick Khanyile) not be contacted by the present writer in spite different avenues being followed (see chapter 3) work on this source could be taken no further. However, on the score of remembering Maqhamusela publicly by setting up memorials of one kind an another and of public commemoration there were several resource persons, black and white. Using the skills (Thompson 1988:196ff) of collecting oral community traditions, as elaborated below, the researcher gained much interesting information in conversations and interviews, partly over the telephone, and partly conducted during 4 days of fieldwork around KwaMondi/Eshowe (see the following section). The interviews, particularly where they were aimed at gaining information on the erection of the two crosses (i.e. from the 1940s onwards) and present attitudes towards remembering Maqhamusela took the form of research of oral (social) tradition.

The skills employed in collecting data from oral tradition concur with those of history generally, e.g. sources must be assessed for authenticity and reliability, biases detected; then data must be ordered systematically and interpreted (using the skills of literary sciences and a chronological/geographical framework) in terms of the research problem. To these are added skills in preparing, conducting and evaluating interviews, possibly of drawing up questionnaires. However, the source being not a book but another person positioned within a community of interest, the fluidity of a human encounter can cause aspects of the interaction to become em-

broiled with the emotive dynamic of the two persons and what they stand for, or are seen to stand for. It is important for the researcher to be aware of and to acknowledge these under-surface currents. The researcher found it helpful to have responses translated as it gave time for close observation of her own non-rational responses and the respondents' tone and body language; it also less educated respondents at ease.

In all interviews, both before and during the fieldwork, the selection of persons interviewed was dictated by who might possibly have information, and was not necessarily confined to those mentioned by her Eshowe or church contacts. Thus Mr Cedric Ndaba had not been mentioned as a possible oral source during the field trip. Subsequently he was found to have been a member of "Neighbours", the committee which set up the second cross. This prompted two telephone interviews with him by the researcher. Often one contact referred the researcher to a second or third one. [Endnote 3]

3.4 Fieldwork

Knowledge of the geographical locale concretized aspects of the events around the execution to the point of locating the site of Maqhamusela's home (Siqwanjana Hill) in the landscape and seeing the path which he took on the evening of 9 March 1877. It runs obliquely up the steep gradient of the Mpondweni Hill, and is still used today. Ruins of the mission houses and church can still be seen, as also the trenches dug around them by the English forces during the siege. The graveyard was touching: the inscription on Oftebro's tomb has the reference Phil 1:21 (For to me, to live us Christ and to die is gain) and is not in Norwegian but in English and Zulu: a missionary even in death. The researcher had been unable to gain information from the church archives of the Evangelical Lutheran Church in South Africa at Umphumulo as the material has not been ordered; however here in Eshowe she found an 1922-1924 register of church dues paid. It was interesting to find entries for Simon Mhlongo and families of three of the five young men who had been on Eshowe mission station on the night of the execution. The register also states that Esrom Mtshali, son of one of the death squad, was baptised by Rev Rodseth on 21.1.1900, thirteen years after the execution (Interview 38).

Fieldwork also provided an opportunity for interviews which were aimed to cover different fields. The first interviews were purely exploratory in nature and therefore thoroughly unstructured groping conversations as the researcher had only two written sources at her disposal (Hale's 1996 Correspondence of Norwegian Missionaries and the text in *Incwadi yeJubilee*. As more information could be gathered contours of the execution and how it has been remembered became visible so that areas of investigation took on profile. For the new interviews that the field trip promised a list of open-ended questions could be prepared. Since the fieldtrip and the interwiews had furnished important information concerning the commemoration of Maqhamu-

sela up to 1944, and in view of the research methodology being interdisciplinary, the researcher has followed the lead of sociological academic reports by adding to this report an appendix with a selection of the verbatims.

It is in the nature of oral history but specially when conducted across cultural lines and over social distance where there may be a desire of interviewees to please the "lady from the university" by saying what they thought she wanted to hear, the responses must be accepted rather critically unless corroborated from other sources. Where the respondents were strangers to the researcher and from a different culture, she was given an opening by people well-known in the area (e.g. Dean and Ms Shobede, Miss Masuku and Dean and Ms Khuzwayo). To minimize inhibition she decided against the use of a tape recorder and kept the note taking for the verbatims short, thus hoping to allay inhibition, suspicion and unwillingness on the part of respondents to commit themselves to a mode over which they surrendered control. Speaking to those whose congregation was touched by the execution five generations ago, and noting the appropriation of the story as "theirs", supplied a demonstration lesson of that

> Awareness that their (i.e. the historians) activity is inevitably pursued within a social context and with political implications, (Thompson 1988: viii).

As stated in the introduction this realization changed the undertaking of this research from an academic one, concerned with an issue which was important to the researcher personally, to one in which a community was vitally interested as the earth in which its identity as People of God was planted. This is surely what Sheldrake meant when he spoke about

> The difference between reading creatively from within the community which is the bearer of the text and reading from outside that community, (Sheldrake 1991:168).

3.5 **Systematizing data**

Ordering the data took many forms, such as comparing Oftebro and Fowler's story of the execution to find which elements were new in Fowler's version (see chapter 3). Much of the systematisation was under categories that are now mirrored in the headings and sub-headings of this thesis; cross-referencing was found to be an important tool for holding together changing perspectives of what is a whole but is investigated under disparate thought constructs and as consecutive positions.

3.6 **Interpretation**

All the data assembled have to be interpreted in their bearing on the research problem. In this process the assumptions of the researchers and their ideological/theological stance will influence perception, making it important that they were stated as openly as possible earlier in the research report.

In dealing with data related to this research problem the methods used most frequently were those of literary criticism and those dealing with "noise" in communications theory. Measures to deal with the latter were indicated in the paragraph focussing on the cross-cultural nature of interviews and in the researcher's work on oral community traditions. A brief sketch of the former follows this section.

4. Literary methodology

Some research on texts was necessarily of a bibliographic nature, enumerating sources and examining them for authorship, date of composition, dependence, envisaged readership and so forth.

However, the research problem is concerned not so much with quantifying where and when memory of Maqhamusela was publicly celebrated, as with the possible reasons for that. To gain insights on this from the literary texts they had to undergo close reading, precise and concise examination of the words by means of the tools of the more traditional Literary Criticism fielded by scholars such as IA Richards and Brooks and Warren, as also those of the New Literary Criticism which grew out of the reception of Marxism in aesthetics. Terry Eagleton is one scholar who champions this method.

In Literary Criticism the words of the text are examined from such perspectives as the kinds of discourse that are being employed, recognizing topoi and their emotive control of what is being communicated, imagery, levels of meaning, tone. True to its Marxist matrix, the New Criticism departs from the presupposition that literary texts have the function to protect the interests of the writer, whether this function and these interests are acknowledged or not. The close reading to which a text is subjected will therefore go beyond the text to investigate the process of production within the writer's context and interests. This methodology will include alertness to what has not been said, and what interest motivated the omission.

The texts that will be examined most carefully by these methodologies will be Oftebro's first report on Maqhamusela to the mouthpiece of his Mission (Source 1), the inscription on the stone, Fowler's manuscript (Source 11), and the biographical sketch on Maqhamusela in *Incwadi ye Jubilee* (Source 12).

The circumstance that many of the early sources stem from missionaries working in the Norwegian Mission Society is useful for gaining some contours for the factors that led to the initial lack of regular public remembrance. The reason for this is that the congregations that grew out of the work of both the Norwegian Mission Society and the Norwegian Church (Schreuder) Mission had their governance, including forms of public worship, laid down by the missionaries (Bishop SP Zulu in Interview 26:3, Mr Nils Otte in Interview 5:3, so that the introduction of public commemoration depended on them. Therefore a detailed examination and literary inter-

pretation of the Norwegian sources gave indications where to search for factors that lead to whatever remembrance of Maqhamusela there was. Any findings that emerged had to be corroborated, critiqued and/or discarded by historical research, possibly in a different chapter.

5. Time frame for collecting and researching material

There is early evidence that the death of Maqhamusela occurred on 9 March 1877 (sources 5 and 6, inscription on the stone). A search through early volumes of the *Norsk Missions-Tidende* have produced 4 pre-1877 missionary entries dealing with Maqhamusela. If what was remembered and commemorated was to be not just the courageous death of a person, but the life and afflictions that lead up to it, then these sources were deemed to be significant. Theologically this three-dimensional portrayal of Maqhamusela was also found to be important in any commemoration that would remain true to Lutheran perspectives. Such a portrait would emphasize that it was the grace of God working in this man for which Christians are called to give thanks, and not the feats of some person who is too large to be true to our experience of ourselves and others.

Apart from occasional allusions to the beginnings of the Norwegian Mission Society, detailed research will therefore begin with an entry from 1769, eight years before the execution.

A point in time had to be found beyond which at the time of writing no startlingly new developments in the public commemoration of Maqhamusela or even in his being called to mind can be charted. What follows is a brief overview of signs that Maqhamusela was remembered; they will be more thoroughly dealt with in Chapter 4. From the early dissemination of narratives of what happened, the reception it received in different quarters and the setting up of the stone with its Zulu inscription (an event which the researcher has been unable to date), there was a levelling off of mention and indications of remembrance until the publication of Stavem's history of the Mission (1918) in the English language. From 1928 there were Youth Camps for Norwegians teeners in Eshowe. Some of the devotions were held at the stone. Then followed the research initiated by Fr Fowler in 1935, published in English, and the erection of the first cross (by March 1937), incorporating the stone. In 1944 Stavem's recognition of the Zulu contribution to the mission endeavour and the supplementary information gleaned by Fr Fowler and Rev Rodseth found fruition in the biographical sketches of several Zulu Christians in the centenary publication in Zulu *Incwadi yeJubilee* in 1944. The renaming of the Bible School with Maqhamusela's name (1951) made this remembering into a public memorial.

After this date no new reflection on an adequate response to Maqhamusela's life and death as God's great gift to His People is in evidence in the Lutheran church, the wrangle concerning the second cross (1977-1981) tending rather to discourage public commemoration. For this reason 1951 has been chosen as the cut off date for this research on the public commemoration of Maqhamusela.

6. Cut off date for incorporating new material

Procuring information and source material for this research was time-consuming but very satisfying in that it called for detective-style search and intuitive outreach. The co-operation of private persons and archivists both in the Norwegian Mission Society and in South African libraries can only be highly commended, and in some cases they did first level research and not only looking up and referencing material. Though sometimes she or the researcher stumbled across useful references, the researcher often did not know what to ask for. This curtailed systematic search.

The result was that information either in the form of written material or interviews continued to arrive up until the last months of the year; by this time the relevant chapters had been written and incorporation would have called for not only a change in editing (e.g. the numbering and presentation of the sources) but also for reporting on additional findings.

With the permission of her supervisor the cut-off date for incorporating new material into the findings was stipulated to be the submission of the last chapters in the first draft of the thesis, i.e. December 1999. [Endnote 2]

7. Changes in Zulu orthography.

It will come as no surprise to the reader that the spelling of personal names is in no way uniform. In Source 5 Oftebro spells the King's name *Ukekjwajo* , etc. The spelling of the Maqhamusela's name is variously *Umakamuzela* (Oftebro 1869/1:6, Source 1); Umazamuzela (Samuelson 1877:467); *Maqamusela* (inscription on the stone); *Umagamusela* (du Plessis 1911:382); *Maqamuzela* (Stavem 1918), Maqumusela (Fowler manuscript, 1935, source 11), *Maqhamusela* (*Incwadi yeJubilee,* 1944; Source 12). The last-named accords with the current orthography which has codified aspirated phonemes by means of the "h".

In her own contributions the researcher has throughout adopted the new orthographical version of the name. Where written sources were quoted, the orthography of the writer was retained.

Chapter 3

Remembering Maqhamusela: the first texts

> Ntumeni (Zululand) 6 June 1877
> . . . . Since the beginning of March we were held in uninterruptedly fearful and extremely disturbing suspense by one piece of bad news after anther from the stations in Zululand. . . . . As a result I had a strong and uncomfortable tack . . . . After coming here (from Natal) and meeting matters face to face, I have been freed of that evil.
>
> Bishop Schreuder (Hale 1996:91)

1. We need to know the story of the execution

In order to investigate the commemoration of the death of Maqhamusela Khanyile we need to know the story, or, to put it more academically, the current "text" for possible commemoration must be scrutinized. Consequently what this chapter is set to achieve is an enumeration of the written sources that deal with the execution of Maqhamusela, referencing them, assessing them historiographically and interpreting them in terms of the research problem. A comparison of the material shows that the later sources i.e. those written from 1935 onwards, specially Fowler's manuscript (Source 11) and its edited version, and the biographical sketch *Incwadi yeJubilee* (Source 12) add to Oftebro's first report of 1877 (Source 6) both in providing additional information and in discussing open issues. This raises the question where the additional information originated, why it surfaced and what was made of it in the community.

2. Oral Sources

As "history is not only what is documented" (Sheldrake, 1991:18), oral sources on the person of Maqhamusela Khanyile and the circumstances of his death on March 9, 1877 also need to be considered. Unfortunately verbatims of the stories told by witnesses of the events and by those closely associated with key role players are not available [Endnote 3]. Prof. Anthony Cubbin of Zululand University managed to contact an alleged descendent of Maqhamusela Khanyile, Patrick Khanyile. The present researcher could not make contact with this person, several inquiries to the university concerned remaining unanswered. Moreover, Prof. Cubbin seems not to have found the contact with this possible descendant of Maqhamusela fruitful for the purpose of historical inquiry: he quotes Patrick only once in his 10 page essay, and then as authority for locating Maqhamusela's domicile in the Nkandla (Cubbin, 1998:note 17,7). However this is a geographic impossibility, if all other sources are correct in stating that Maqhamusela came to services regularly, at least on Sundays, e.g. Gundersen Source 4; Oftebro in Source 6, and Fowler 1935:10, Source 11. The information in the last-named, i.e. that the domicile was within half-a-hour of the station, is more realistic.

Oral sources on the commemoration of Maqhamusela, as distinct from his life and death, could be located, though sporadically, and notes on telephone conversations and on interviews during the field trip have been included as Appendix 9. The oral history respondents were persons who had resided in Eshowe prior to 1944 (for this cut-off date see previous chapter), both laity and clergy. Material garnered from them, once critically assessed, supplied much of the concrete basis to the findings of this research.

3. Enumeration of written sources and procedure in dealing with them

The written sources on the person of Maqhamusela Khanyile and on his execution on March 9, 1877 number sixteen. In order to gain an overview all the written sources available to the researcher will be bibliographically referenced, a short review of content and tone allowing conclusions as regards dependence. It will be found that Sources 8-10 are dependent on Source 6, while Source 11 offers new information gathered by research conducted by Fr Fowler and Rev Rodseth in 1935. Source 12 will be found to draw heavily on Source 11. For the story of Maqhamusela's life and death the focus in later chapters will therefore be on Sources 1-6 and 11. After the bibliographic presentation of the sources and their dependence, the chapter will move into assessing the reliability of some of these sources in terms of the historiographic principles and sketching the context in which they were written. The motivation for public commemoration they supplied, or alternatively discouraged, will be hypothesized.

Bibliographic information on Sources 1-4: 2 reports by Oftebro, 1 each by Kylllingstad and Gundersen on the earlier life of Maqhamusela

These are early accounts on Maqhamusela's growth in commitment and his endeavours to procure permission for his baptism from King Cetshwayo. They span the period 1868 to 1874 and were written by workers of the Norwegian Mission Society, Rev O. Oftebro (Sources 1-2), Mr J Kyllingstad (Source 3) and Rev G. Gundersen (Source 4). The two last-named gentlemen seem to have taken over Maqhamusela's case with the Zulu authorities when the missionary in charge, Oftebro, was on furlough in Norway (Danbolt 1948:19). All four were written in Norwegian and in Eshowe and can be found in *Norsk Missions-Tidende:* Oftebro 1 in Jan 1869/1:6; Oftebro 2 in 1873/1:8; Kyllingstad in Nov 12, 1873:455; Gundersen in 1874/11:402. All four texts have been translated by Mr K. Solberg.

Bibliographic information on Source 5: Letter by Oftebro to Robertson

To the best knowledge of the researcher this is the first written report on the execution of Maqhamusela by the resident missionary of Eshowe mission station to which Maqhamusela Khanyile had come for baptismal class. Eight days after the death Oftebro responded in English to an enquiry from Robertson dated 13 March and referred to by Oftebro. Rev R Robertson was serving an Anglican congregation in KwaMagwasa, close to Eshowe, and co-operated with fellow missionaries from the area when it came to rendering medical and pastoral services to Cetshwayo and his court (e.g. Robertson in *The Net* June 1877:95, paragraph not copied in Source 8) and in representation to the colonial authorities (e.g. the memorandum jointly sent to Henry Bulwer, Lieutenant Governor of Natal, on 18 May 1877). This co-operation is echoed in Oftebro addressing the recipient of his letter as, "My dear Mr Robertson". The archivist of the letter transcribed the following: "Note on back of page says: Strictly private RR". The letter is in the Killie Campbell Collection of the Library of the University of Natal, Durban, Colenso Collection 1877/34.

Bibliographic information on Source 6: Oftebro's official report 9.4.1877

This is part of the official report of Rev Ommund Oftebro on the flow of events around the execution of Maqhamusela. It is dated 9 April 1877 (one month after the execution) and the original was written at Eshowe in his copy-book handwriting for official documents - by far more legible than his Gothic script as e.g. in the rough draft of the same report (*Missionsselskapets Arkiv SA,* boks nr. 134, legg nr. 6) It was printed as part of the annual report in *Norsk Missions-Tidende,* 1877:303 and has been translated in Hale,1996: 84f. Most

later sketches on Maqhamusela in Norwegian Mission Society publications depended solely on this report so that it can be considered the master text for the Mission Society. It is in *Norsk Missions-Tidende* 32.1877/8:304

Bibliographic information on Source 7: Oftebro report 4.6.1877

Almost 3 months after the execution Oftebro's official report (Source 6), had not been received. However

> Several daily papers have reported that one of the believers at Rev Oftebro's mission station,Eshowe, has been murdered for being a believer on orders from the Zulu king (Source 7).

The General Secretary of the Mission, Rev Knudsen, collated these and private correspondence into an article for the June edition of the mission journal, with a clear proviso that it was not based on first hand information. When a report of 4.6.1877 arrived first, no doubt due to some manner of speedy expedition other than the normal postal service. Printing of the monthly bulletin was arrested in order to incorporate this later letter in the June edition. Readers are informed of the harassment and life threat to Johannes and his family shortly after the execution of Maqhamusela. Delaying the printing in order to include Oftebro's latest news is indicative of an urgency to keep readers informed, their intercession fresh and to the point. The article is in *Norsk Missions-Tidende* 32.1877/6:203.

Bibliographic information on Source 8: Report by Robertson on Maqhamusela's execution

Oftebro seems to have been on good terms with missionaries of other societies working in the proximity of Eshowe. Rev F. Fröhling reported on the murder of a Christian named Joseph On 4 March 1977 on Inyezane, his Hermannsburg Mission station five days before the execution of Maqhamusela (referred to in Source 6). Similarly he was informed of what had transpired in Eshowe, and an article by Fröhling's narrated the story of both, though not mentioning Maqhamusela by name. Fröhling places the blame for both executions on Cetshwayo but lifts the occurrences out of the welter of fast-moving events leading to the war. He underpins the theological importance of what had happened: the two men are called martyrs and readers are reminded that it has been the experience of the church that the blood of martyrs is the seed of the church. The account was printed in the *Hermannsburger Missionsblatt* Nov. 1877/10:201f, sp. 209.

In similar vein Oftebro had written to Robertson, answering an inquiry by the latter (Source 5), who then wrote an article for a bulletin that became the mouthpiece of only the Anglican diocese of Zululand, *The Net*. The edition of June 1, 1877:95 quoted a letter by Robertson of March 21,1877 (12 days after the execution of Maqhamusela). The letter was printed under the

misleading heading: "Two Christians killed on a charge of witchcraft", an allegation that is not repeated in the article itself. Although not mentioned by name, it is clear from the detail that the second person referred to is Maqhamusela.

Bibliographic information on Source 9: Report by Samuelson on the execution

"*The Mission Field*", a publication of the Church of England's Society for the Propagation of the Gospel, in its issue of Oct 1,1877:467 reprinted an article from the *Natal Colonist* by Siver Samuelson (also spelled Samuelsen, c.f. Register in Hale 1996). He was a Norwegian missionary who had joined Bishop Colenso (Hale 1996:51, footnote 40) and was stationed at St Paul's (Anglican) mission station, not too far from Eshowe. He cites the story of Rev Fröhling's convert, who is not named, and then that of Maqhamusela Khanyile at length, drawing not only on Oftebro but also on other informants. There are snippets on Maqhamusela's earlier life found also in Sources 1-4.

Bibliographic information on Source 10 Stavem OO 1918: The Norwegian Missionary Society, a short review of its work among the Zulu,

The captain of the ship that ferried missionaries and settlers between Norway and South Africa or Madagaskar, Nils Landmark, composed a history of the Norwegian Mission Society. It is a bound typescript written in Norwegian and was translated by Karl Solberg in 1994 under the title "The Norwegian Mission Society (1842-1892)". A copy of the translation is held by the Killie Campbell Collection, University of Natal/Durban. The Norwegian document has a preface dated 1890.

Although so close in time to persecutions and harassment of Christians, this overview of the institution and of its various employees these experiences feature only on one page and as a general happening: the author neither cites names nor tells the stories. Although the translator appended a footnote to page 27, sketching the story of Maqhamusela, the text itself is a source by default in terms of this particular research problem. The briefness with which harassment and persecution of Zulu Christians are included seems to be both a sad reflection of racial bias and a myopic missiological vision. It seems that for the author the well-being and activities of the white missionaries were understood to be the constituents of mission that needed to be remembered, and less the contribution and witness of black fellow-believers and communities, the subordinates.

Missiologists such as Sundkler (1987:73-83), Gray (1980:80), Ikenga-Methuh (1987:19, 25) have pointed out that in the time in which Nils Landmark wrote, European ethnocentricity, a hierarchical understanding of the church, a pietistic mission theology and the almost total

reliance on written sources in historical research produced a lack of recognition of the vital, if different, contribution to evangelisation which black converts made. This blindness was often shared by church historians and even missionaries. However, perceptions changed.

A generation later another historical survey appeared, written in English which signals a desire to reach a wider range of local readers. The writer, Rev OO Stavem, knew his material as he had arrived in Zululand to work on the Norwegian Mission Society station KwaMbonambi in 1869 (Hale 1996, 55). Though on a distant station, the persecutions around Eshowe impacted on his work and life severely and he represented his Mission before Sir Theophilus Shepstone in 1978 to ask this statesman's private advice, whether the missionaries should leave their stations. In his work Stavem re-told Oftebro's version of the Maqhamusela story as well as that of several other Zulu Christians. The research found a copy of this book in the library of the Lutheran Theological Seminary, Mapumulo.

Bibliographic information on Source 11: Four letters and a manuscript on 1935 research

Four letters related to the research which Fr AJ Fowler, Society of the Sacred Mission of Modderpoort, and Rev PA Rodseth of Norwegian Mission Society of Eshowe were conducting in 1935 into the circumstances of Maqhamusela's death. The bibliographic details (in the formulation of the letters themselves) are:

Letter 1:

From AJ Fowler SSM to Fr Victor, St Augustine's Priory, Modderpoort, undated, 2 handwritten pages.

Letter 2:

From AJF to Fr Victor, St Augustine's Priory, Modderpoort, 16 Febr, 1935, handwritten, 1 page

Letter 3:

From AJ Fowler SSM to Father Bull, St Augustine's Priory, Modderpoort, 21 Febr, 1935, and

Letter 4:

From Archdeacon AW Lee, St Augustine's, Zululand, 12 March 1935 to Fr Bull.

Although the postscript of letter 3 refers to the Rev Oftebro's original report (Source 6) as authoritative, letters 1-3 and the manuscript itself (Source 11) claim that both the writer and Rev Rodseth elicited further information from living second-generation role-players. The letters, the manuscript, and also the type-written version of the manuscript (which could not be reproduced owing to the strictures of this research report) are kept in the Archives of the Church of the Province of South Africa, Cullen Library, University of the Witwatersrand.

Handwritten manuscript

The manuscript bears the title: "The Zulu Martyr Maqumusela, March 9th, 1877: Feast of the Forty Martyrs of Sebaste [circa 322 a.d. sic]". No author is mentioned but letters 1 and 2 appear to be in the same handwriting as the manuscript and have been signed; besides, letter 1 is clearly a covering letter for that manuscript. Both circumstances suggest that the author of the manuscript must be Fr. AJ Fowler. The manuscript is undated but the above-mentioned four letters accompanying it posit the date *post quem* as 16 February 1935, and the date *ad quem* as 12 March 1935. There are several items of information on Maqhamusela's life and death which are neither in Oftebro's letter nor report (Sources 6 and 7) nor in the four Norwegian sources on his earlier life (Sources 1-4). The additions as also changes which the editor made to Fowler's manuscript will be discussed below. According to letters 2-4 above the editing of Fowler's manuscript was probably done by Fr. Victor/Father Bull.

Bibliographic information on Source 12: Biographic sketch on Maqhamusela in *Incwadi yeJubilee*

Arrangements for the centenary celebrations of the work of the Norwegian Mission Society in Natal/Zululand (1944) were entrusted to a Jubilee Committee of three Norwegians and 4 Zulus who commissioned a committee comprising one Norwegian and two Zulu pastors to edit a Zulu booklet, *Incwadi yeJubilee* (the Book of Jubilee). It contained a variety of articles, e.g. on the first beginnings, history of the mission work, congregations, names of pastors and statistics (financial contributions). Under the title *Amaqhawe Ebandla* (strong communities) the biographies of 9 Zulu Christians from this mission enterprise are told, among them that of Maqhamusela. The library of the Lutheran Theological Seminary, Mapumulo, holds a copy of this booklet.

4. Assessment and Interpretation of Sources

4.1 Reliability of Sources and the Intention of their Writers

It would serve no purpose to deny that the intention of the edited missionaries' reports in *Norsk Missions-Tidende* and the Anglican equivalents was report-back to those who supported the Mission theologically, financially, administratively and in prayer. Accordingly, reports indicating growth in individuals and congregations were probably welcomed by the editor, and one presumes that to achieve that end he did his cutting and pasting together of items from incoming reports, with the danger of falsification, if unwittingly done. It may serve as a indicator

of the temperature of Norwegian pietism at the time that at one stage some Norwegian Mission Society supporters had voiced suspicion concerning Schreuder's "sufficient experience of sin and salvation" because for 13 years he had been unable to report back even one conversion (Hale 1986, 53 and Simensen 1986: 24f). At the same time the Norwegian Mission Society was viewed with some suspicion among leading non-pietistic state churchmen. To gain and secure further support was obviously an important factor in selecting and editing material for these bulletins.

In an in-depth case study focussed on Bishop Schreuder (Hale 1982: p. 95-144) the church historian Frederick Hale compared the originals of missionary diaries, letters and reports with articles in *Norsk Missions-Tidende* and *Missionsblad*, the latter being the mouthpiece of the Norwegian Church (Schreuder) Mission Society. He claims that articles that appeared in these two publications were less tendentious than items of this genre among other missions (Hale, 1996:95f). The present writer will accept Hale's positive assessment by comparison, which does not, of course, prove the reliability of sources from Norwegian missionaries. However it lends some credence to the reliability of Sources 1-7.

Fortunately the present research does not tap only one written source. Sources 1 to 7 stem from three missionaries, though of the same society, and were written within an eight year period. Source 11 stems from clerics of a different denomination who had access to additional oral submissions. Of the latter the Source 11 Fowler MS stated clearly where it was at variance with the earlier material (specially with Source 6). Again, the fact that all the writers and interviewers for Source 11 were missionaries (though from different denominations and writing at different times) detracts somewhat from their value as possible critique of Sources 1-7. However, it will be argued in this section that in Source 11 the process of finding persons to be interviewed, as also the collecting, assessing and incorporating of oral evidence and disagreements into the final composition are well documented by means of the accompanying letters. This lends credence to the reliability of Source 11.

4.2 Assessment and interpretation of Sources

4.2.1 Assessment and interpretation of Sources 1-2: Maqhamusela's earlier life

These are by Oftebro, the person who was most closely in contact with Maqhamusela in conversation and in teaching. The earliest report (1769) that was available to the researcher is significant in stating that Maqhamusela's motivation was altruistic. He came to the mission station "to speak about God's Word and . . . (his) heart's condition." - While convinced of the truth of the Word, he was not outspoken about wanting baptism, the royal prohibition was too formidable. Besides social sanctions, there was the loss of all protection and privileges linked to being recognized as a subject of the Zulu kingdom. The missionary described Maqhamusela as

"waiting for the Lord to open a way" (also in the following report) which may be a veiled hope that once Cetshwayo was installed as King that prohibition might be lifted. - Oftebro was at pains to correct earlier impressions concerning Maqhamusela's status and wealth: "He is just an *umfokazana*, i.e. a poor man. There being no other sources on these issues, this one will be accepted as reliable for the time being. The same is true for the reliability of the three other sources is this package.

The second Oftebro report (1872) profiles spiritual growth in Maqhamusela; he was now intent on wanting baptism, no matter what the cost. Oftebro notes down an imagined conversation between Maqhamusela and Prince Cetshwayo, typical of a non-literate person, which gives the missionary's report the ring of authenticity. Maqhamusela complained of the equivocal situation into which would-be believers had been placed by the Zulu authorities, and there is a tone of frustration. The missionary's disappointment that there are times when Maqhamusela's resolve to confront Cetshwayo weakens is evident, "I suspect that lately he is not so eager to become a Christian". The missionary notes what appears to him as an ambivalence towards the faith: Maqhamusela is bound by much of the old traditions, e.g. beer drinking, but is not afraid to confess openly that he holds that God's Word is true for himself and for the nation.

4.2.2 Assessment and interpretation of Source 3: Maqhamusela's earlier life

In late 1873 Kyllingstad (an unordained assistant and teacher according to Danbolt 1948:25) reported two official appearances of Maqhamusela before Zulu tribal authorities i.e. the subchief Umnjajani and the chief Uganze (Gawozi Mpungose) to request permission to be baptized. These interrogations were dealt with summarily in Oftebro's later report of the execution in April 1877. This earlier narrative impresses on the reader how circumstantial procedure was, and how important competencies and the following of protocol: Maqhamusela's plan to take a shortcut to the Prince was not acceptable, even if promoted by Bishop Schreuder.

At the time Schreuder was in the process of leaving the Norwegian Mission Society, or had already left it. Nonetheless his help was requested as Cetshwayo was known to respect him. Schreuder clearly wanted to assess the petitioner before he took to the lists for him, and Maqhamusela's testimony before the Bishop and members of his station seemed to have dispelled any doubts. Kyllingstad was also impressed with Maqhamusela's witness to the Christian faith before Uganze. The exchange revealed that Maqhamusela had been trying to dodge doing forced labour for the King, termed *ukukhonza*, by which subjects showed loyalty to the King and were publicly recognized as subjects. Fines were imposed for non-compliance. Kyllingstad noted that Maqhamusela was an older man.

After these fruitless petitions to the Zulu authorities Maqhamusela expressed a desire for teaching when he had finished work on his cattle kraal - which was interpreted to mean that he was still procrastinating. Then his eldest son froze to death while herding goats for the sub-chief. Maqhamusela stayed away from the mission station for a week, and finally came to tell the story and to request the missionary to pray "that God would graciously open heaven for him who had been killed by Satan" (none in the family had been baptized). The conversation ended with the missionary pointing out that prayer for the dead availed nothing as it was unscriptural, and that the father should be more concerned about his own faith than about the death of his son. Maqhamusela resumed attendance in baptismal classes. - It seems that the loss of his son was, at first, an affliction to his faith, and then generated the renewed desire for baptism. The repeated withdrawal from the costly decision of baptism and the sorrow at the loss of his son portray Maqhamusela as very human.

4.2.3 Assessment and interpretation of Source 4: Maqhamusela's earlier life

The Gundersen entry (1874) was written a year later than Source 3 and more than two years before Maqhamusela's death. Since that missionary had worked at Eshowe under Oftebro beforehand and was given charge of the mission station when Oftebro went on furlough (Danbolt 1948:25-26). He must have had first-hand contact with Maqhamusela, then a catechumen.

The content of this source must be summarised as it evidences a critical stance towards Maqhamusela and as it indicates that his understanding of the faith changed in the process of a forced choice. Maqhamusela is reported to be known as "Man of the Church" (Sunday man); he loved preaching, however the missionary expressed unease about the rambling "strange" themes of the sermons. At the end of the report Gundersen even spoke of "bits of truth that he (Maqhamusela) speaks about". He was finding learning for confirmation class difficult (rote recitals of parts of Luther's Small Catechism being the required learning!). In the missionary's words there is an undertone of ethnocentricity.

Once again a missionary voiced doubt concerning Maqhamusela's steadfastness in the Christian faith, given that there were "backslider" associates, and that recently Maqhamusela had not been attending classes and had explained it by referring to compliance with Zulu mourning customs and sickness among his cattle. In fact there had been repeated outbreaks of bovine pleuropneumonia, and one in the 1870s (Simensen 1986: 71). At the end of the report Gundersen prayed for Maqhamusela's faith "to show true seriousness".

These distancing sentiments may have coloured Gundersen's report of Maqhamusela's earlier understanding of the possibility of living out the Christian faith in continuity with his Zulu culture, "to serve the king (as others) with his body, and serve God with his heart, to prove that faith does not consist in clothing, nor does faith rob the king of his subjects". The mention of

clothing refers to missionaries requiring men to wear shirts and trousers, while Maqhamusela had conceded only the shirt, under which he wore his traditional clothing (*beshu*) according to Oftebro (in Hale 1996:87, Source 6) and Fowler (Source 11:14). He had publicly taken a position different from that of the missionaries, and the clothing was indicative of his desire for Christians to live in some continuity with their culture. Not so much the decision on clothing as the vision of being a Zulu Christian he held in common with the Schreuder of the pre-War years (Hernaes and Simensen 1985: 2). Schreuder may have influenced him.

However, Gundersen continued, at the time of writing Maqhamusela's intention to serve the king by following the call to physical labour and attendance at court had not been realised: he had not been called up, as other Christians had been (Etherington 1971, p. 117, 190 and Simensen 1986, 134); in other words he had not been recognised as a warrior loyal to the king. Gundersen detected a change in Maqhamusela's new conviction on the relation between religion and political duty: as a "mission man" Maqhamusela now considered himself exempt from serving his king, and safe from punishment, as he was under the protection of the mission. Gundersen concluded his entry with the hope of a spiritual break-through for Maqhamusela and the words: "Poor man!", sounding a realistic but ominous chord.

Gundersen's attitude towards Maqhamusela root in what may be, or may be partly, ethnocentric theological dogmatism (strange sermon themes), but there is also doubt of Maqhamusela's commitment (backslider influence). There is little sensitivity to the problem which cultural discontinuity posed to the old man as the missionary sketches the process of change that Maqhamusela's spirituality underwent. Both this and the previous source document a critical attitude towards Maqhamusela from the side of the missionaries, an effective counter-influence to a one-dimensional hagiographic portrayal. However Gundersen's portrayal also veers towards dismissing the question of cultural continuity in favour of the dichotomies of the Norwegian missionaries.

4.2.4 Assessment and interpretation of Source 5: Oftebro's letter to Robertson on the execution, 17.3.1877

Oftebro's letter refers to an enquiry from Robertson dated 13.3.1877, four days after Maqhamusela's execution, and stands under the heading "Yes, it is going from bad to worse, and a crisis seems to draw nigh." - Joseph's fate on Fröhling's station is recounted and the accusation that he tried to poison certain persons is discounted. Similarly Maqhamusela is said to have been "taken on the road and killed because he *kolwa* (was a Christian) - for nothing else." (Oftebro's emphasis).

Oftebro relates various unsuccessful endeavours to obtain permission for Maqhamusela's baptism from Gans (Gawozi) and later from the King. Oftebro cites Maqhamusela's words on

hearing the outcome: "I am not afraid of death. If they kill me because I believe *Kute! Kute ukubulawa ngenza jokukulwa* [Researcher's note: Old spelling], (It will be well if I am killed for being a Xn" [Oftebro's translation and abbreviation]. Later he is reported to have said, "If they will kill me because I believe, they may do so; the Lord will receive me; has not Christ died for me? *Po, nyesabelani*?" (Well, why should I fear?). The assurance that God will receive him refers to the fact that he had not yet been baptized yet.

Oftebro reports Maqhamusela's words on being accosted by the executioners, "*Kute, ngi ja xabula ukubangi bulawelwa izwi lenkosi"* (Well, I rejoice to die for the word of the Lord), and that after having prayed he demanded, "Kill me now!" - In the next sentence and paragraph Oftebro portrays the panic that struck the people on the station and the accusation of witchcraft made against them by others. He ends the letter by asking his co-missionary, "And what do you think we missionaries ought to do?" since the English are casting a blind eye on Cetshwayo's breaking of the "Coronation laws": should they flee their stations?

Interesting detail is divulged: Maqhamusela did not live on the station as the other Christians did, "He would be what and where he was", which takes up the theme of cultural continuity broached in the Gundersen report (Source 4). For his inability or failure to work for the King *(khonza)* he had been repeatedly fined ("eaten up"), and at the time had not a single head of cattle. This would rank as poverty in the economic system of the time, and is borne out by his son freezing to death, as reported by Kyllingstad in Source 3. He had been herding the chief's cattle, i.e. he had been hired out so that the parents were not aware of the fact that he had not come home.

Another revealing detail is the phrases in which negotiation for permission to baptize Maqhamusela were carried on. Oftebro seems to be haggling with Cetshwayo: just as the King had "given him" an old man earlier (whom the missionary had then baptized), so he should do with Maqhamusela. Oftebro had accepted the paradigm that Christians no longer "belonged" to the King, they "belonged" to the missionary, a controlling image for how Cetshwayo had seen the relationship between Christians and loyal Zulus, and one against which Schreuder and also Maqhamusela had taken a stand earlier on. As relationships between the two political groups came to a head, individual role players were subjected to a forced choice.

The letter to Robertson is the first report on Maqhamusela's execution which was accessible to the researcher. The tone of the first half of the letter can be characterized as factual. However, when Oftebro reports on the impact of the execution and the problems it poses he becomes more personal, and the reader is aware of controlled agitation and even despondency . "Or shall we sit still, and wait, and wait for better times, as we have done for 20-30 years?" - One reason for Robertson's note that the letter is strictly private is surely that Oftebro had not yet sent an official report to Mission headquarters; but chapter 6 will ask whether there were not other reasons, also.

4.2.5 Assessment and interpretation of Source 6: Oftebro's official report of 9.4.1877

After years of mission endeavour with little visible success in terms of conversions, Rev Oftebro had been able to report 12 baptisms in 1876 and early in 1877 he was teaching a baptismal class of 8. A month after Maqhamusela's violent death the number of catechumens had again dwindled and the congregation dispersed. Oftebro addressed the present interest of both his *Missions-Tidende* readership and himself as missionary in the opening paragraph of his report on events surrounding Maqhamusela's execution. "You, dear brothers, want us, your emissaries, to say . . . . . that we have not lost courage but are continuing to labour in the hope that better times await our mission". This frank declaration of subjective intent, hinting at a clear possibility of despondence on the side of the mission workers, admits the interpretative character of his presentation without necessarily making it unauthentic as history (Sheldrake 1991, p. 22). It also points to the important supportive role which the expectations of the "dear brothers" played, a sociological cliche of deep theological significance for understanding and drawing on the fellowship of believers.

A resume of the happenings as recounted in Source 6 follows below, and it will be found to be an elaboration of Source 5 I(Oftebro's letter to Robertson). The context was that in Cetshwayo's kingdom conversions were illegal, in the case of soldiers they were punishable by death. When Cetshwayo refused to give Oftebro permission to baptise Maqhamusela, the latter persisted in his desire, fully aware of possible consequences. He prodded the missionaries to gain permission for his baptism from the King, thus drawing attention to himself.

In the morning of Friday, 9 March 1877, Maqhamusela attended devotions, at midday he was summoned to go to the sub-chief; on his way home several executioners (no names or numbers stated) met him and announced that they were to kill him for wanting to be baptised. Maqhamusela showed no fear and asked for time to pray, which was granted; when he declared that he was ready, the executioners hesitated, realizing he that was not a criminal. When the first shot misfired, the soldier refused to try again. There was more hesitation until a young boy shot and killed Maqhamusela. Oftebro cites what seems to have been the general summary, whether only on the station or even beyond that is unclear: "He died keeping Sunday, it is said of him; he prayed for all of us and did not show the slightest fear". The next morning the missionary was informed of the execution.

Oftebro expresses relief that no allegations of witchcraft were made against Maqhamusela to justify the killing (as in the case of Joseph at Rev Fröhling's station); this cleared the mission of that accusation, too. Oftebro notes with pride that Maqhamusela "had not abandoned his chief, king, kraal or Zulu costume". What had been a bone of contention between the convert and the missionary was now commended. Clearly, the only reason for putting him to death was his ap-

propriation of the Christian message. Baptism being absolutely necessary for salvation in his theology, Oftebro expressed the confidence that "The Lord has no doubt found a place for him among the saved".

The executioners looked for his son and wife, but they had hidden and fled. Further threatening actions by Zulu warriors induced some Christians to flee, the others to seek shelter in the missionary's house (see Oftebro's letter added to the report by Mission Headquarters, Sources 7). Fortunately no attack took place. What has not been included in Sources 6 or 7 but features in Hale 1996:84f is the information that on hearing subsequently that the king had taken ill again, the medical missionary Dr. Christian Oftebro hurried to the royal kraal. The king welcomed him and called on Eshowe Christians to "perform royal service" thus accepting them as loyal subjects. The opportunity to *khonza* did not materialise, however, as Johannes was sought out to be killed and most of the Christians fled their stations only to become dispersed in Natal.

The report on Maqhamusela's execution is couched in a wide-ranging overview of the strained relationships between the Zulu authorities on the one hand and Christians, Boer military power and English inactivity on the other. All the same its brevity and the mostly factual tone is striking. It is mostly factual as there are phrases where Oftebro reveals his personal involvement, as in the sentence, "We were happy that no other guilt was ascribed to him . . " and even more strongly later, "As far as Umakamuzela is concerned, the Lord has no doubt found a place for him amongst those who are saved, and not allowed the hope which he expressed to me on the day before his death to be unfulfilled."

The brevity of Oftebro's report and its mostly factual tone may have been a defence against giving in to personal emotion and stress. The narrative was penned after a month of further harassment of Eshowe Christians, of physical labour on the station without helpers, a time of much heart-searching discussion among members of the congregation and among missionaries and their families whether they should flee from Zululand. It was also a time for official memoranda and delegations to English authorities. The Eshowe congregation members, intent on fleeing from Cetshwayo's realm, requested the missionary to endeavour to secure land from the Natal government where they could settle together and be exempt from the "immigration requirements". Failure to achieve that resulted in the dispersal of the congregation, and eventually in the missionaries leaving their stations briefly. All of this was the emotional context for that report by Oftebro on the death of Maqhamusela.

Oftebro, although careful not to claim that Maqhamusela's death had been ordered by Cetshwayo, saw the impact of the executions and further harassment of Christians as an escalation of the dynamics of a tense situation that was surging towards armed hostilities. Nor could the momentum be arrested or down-played by Cetshwayo's subsequent affirmation of Eshowe Christians as loyal subjects, in order to pacify English sensitivities. Cetshwayo needed the English to side with him, or at least he had to pin them to neutrality in his conflict with the land-hungry Boers. Aggression from the side of the English seems not to have been considered very probable at the royal kraal at this point in time. The subsequent call-up of Cetshwayo's

regiments and the tightening of military discipline must have destabilized Zulu society, Christian and otherwise, leaving little room for critical reflection on the spiritual implications of Maqhamusela's death.

One of three interpretations of Cetshwayo's welcoming Dr. Oftebro and ordering Eshowe Christians, and later all Christians, to royal service present themselves. Either the king acted the hypocrite, and only wanted the Christians to congregate at Mahlabatini "so that he could slaughter all of them at once", which was the interpretation of the residents of Entumeni (Hale 1996: 92). Alternatively, Maqhamusela's murder could have taken place without the king's knowledge, which is how Cetshwayo presented it to a delegation of Christians from Entumeni (Hale 1996:92) and how Colenso saw the killing of Zulus generally (Colenso to Chesson, 1878:4), so that the King now wanted to emphasize his good faith. A third possibility is that the command, alternatively the permission or the blind eye, to kill Maqhamusela was extracted from the king by chiefs implicitly threatening his authority (as Hamu in inciting the Utuewane regiment to disobey Cetshwayo's order by fighting a junior regiment - Cetshwayo's favourite regiment! - with spears, c.f. Hale, 1996:98). In view of the looming crisis with the Boers a threatened revolt within the delicate balance between the centralised authority and decentralising social system of the Zulu (Simensen, 1986:57, 60) would have spelled disaster, making a tightening of military discipline imperative. In this case the King would have found himself caught between two political necessities, a dangerous position, and possibly this caused a renewed bout of sickness. The Christians could not remain untouched by these centrifugal forces; they remained insecure in the cat and mouse game.

As stated above, Oftebro portrayed Maqhamusela's execution as the prelude to all of this. However, its setting within the wider context of the disruption of missionary work, the very brevity of the account and the selection of information are indicators of what Oftebro considered to be helpful in rebuilding courage in the dispersed congregation, among his anxious fellow-missionaries, his readers and himself: it was the quote "He died keeping Sunday, he prayed for all of us and showed no fear". In the sentence that follows there is a moment of reflection on the significance of Maqhamusela's death: "Umakamuzela is thus the first person in our Zulu mission to have lost his life for the sake of his faith." What strikes the careful reader is the avoidance of the word "martyr", and silence on the hope that this death would become seed for the future church (Tertullian), a sentiment which came readily to Rev Fröhling, as shown above. Later chapters will have to investigate reasons for this.

The researcher has not had access to other contemporary accounts of the happenings on Eshowe station that could test the reliability of the Oftebro's letter to Robertson and his official report above. Oftebro was among the first to be told about the death and clearly took leadership in framing how the story was to be told. As has been pointed out Oftebro was honest about the intention of his report (i.e. to encourage the faithful in Zululand, Natal and Norway). No indictement of reliability can be made on this point. Both his letter to Robertson and his official report are at pains not to support the rumours that Cetshwayo had ordered Maqhamusela's death,

which had been so confidently asserted by Fröhling, by Robertson and Samuelson (Sources 8 and 9) and had been suggested in the headquarters report on the execution (not reproduced here in Source 6). In not peddling an unproven assumption as fact Oftebro shows himself as reliable. The aspect of selectivity in these reports by the Rev Oftebro will become evident when, later in this chapter, his official report is carefully compared with Fowler's manuscript (Source 11), which represents a later collection of what people who were closely associated with these happenings remembered.

A summary will conclude the investigation of Oftebro's report in Source 6. In terms of the reception and remembrance of Maqhamusela's death Oftebro's official report constitutes the written record that is closest in time to the execution with the exception of Oftebro's letter to Robertson (Source 5), which is essentially an abbreviated draft of Oftebro's official report to his mission authorities. In committing the story to writing, Oftebro set parameters for the theological interpretation of the death: it was an example, a source of encouragement, the outcome of the working of the Word among the Zulus, and a prelude to its further efficacy. However he attached little weight on to the death on its own account. All of this gave no prompts to public commemoration.

However, community remembrance remained alive.

4.2.6 Assessment and interpretation of Source 7: Oftebro of 4.6.1877

Content-wise the General Secretary's report gleaned its information from secondary sources and is careful to underline that this information still awaits confirmation, e.g. "the alleged incident". The tentative nature of the report is upheld when the allegation that the execution took place "on orders from the Zulu king" is quoted as newspaper reporting. The text narrates how Maqhamusela's second wife, Umyembezi, managed to hide herself, and that the executioners threw the body into the bushes and reflects on what the execution means for the future of mission work and for Cetshwayo's hold on the power of his office.

The addendum to the article is a letter from Oftebro on executioners coming to Eshowe station for Johnnes 9 days after the death of Maqhamusela. As Johannes had fled, only his cattle and some personal belongings in the homestead were taken. Johannes' wife and children were sheltered in the missionary's home. Knowing that soldiers were hiding "amongst the trees in our garden" to catch any of the children that issued out and the possibility of the soldiers entering the missionary's house must have been most unnerving, but Oftebro writes with Stoic factuality, allowing himself only "the hope" that the last-named would not happed. Many in the congregation decided to risk fleeing to Natal secretly, leaving behind all harvested food and even their cattle. There is no reason to doubt the reliability of this record.

4.2.7 Assessment and interpretation of Source 8: Robertson on the execution

We know that both Fröhling and Robertson (both missionaries of other societies) had received early intelligence of the execution from Oftebro. In a short article published in *The Net* in June 1877 Robertson mentions that an unnamed Christian was put to death for wanting to become a Christian. Although the article bears the heading "Two Christians killed on a charge of witchcraft", the text does not renew that allegation. Robertson's report summarises Oftebro's letter, yet in its brevity it introduces a speculative note. Oftebro's words "As far as Maqhamusela is concerned, the Lord has no doubt found a place for him amongst those who are saved . . ." (Source 6) were formulated as an expression of trust in God's mercy. Over against this Robertson's closing sentence "and his spirit ascended to heaven" has the ring of a statement of fact. It is a topos from the martyriological genre, a small prompt to Maqhamusela's veneration as a martyr.

The whole account seems to serve a dual purpose. Explicit and immediately visible is the re-affirmation of hope in the mission venture in the context of persecution. "This is the beginning of troubles. Why should we fear? God's cause must prevail". On another level there is the reflection that although Zululand had not been annexed by the British, and due to Sir Theophilus Shepstone's policies, recently "things have been quiet". But now a different situation prevailed:

> "The people are restless and disquieted, and full of excitement". This obliquely suggested that now British intervention might be necessary for mission work to continue.

Briefly, then, within the aim of encouraging readers and local Christians not to jettison the missionary task Robertson took Fröhling's appellation "martyr" a step further by the speculative claim that Maqhamusela's spirit had ascended to heaven.

4.2.8 Assessment and interpretation of Source 9: Samuelson on the execution

An article on the persecutions by S. Samuelson appeared in *The Natal Colonist* and was reprinted in *The Mission Field* half a year after the death of Maqhamusela. Again, the violent death of Joseph on Rev Fröhling's station is recounted. On the case of Maqhamusela the writer asserts that "particulars of which (I) derived from eye witnesses we have received from different sources" [sic]. The circumstance that Mr Samuelson had come to Zululand in 1854 as an artisan to support the work of Rev Schreuder but had joined Bishop Colenso (Hale 1996:51, footnote 40, where the spelling is Samuelson) gives credence to his claim that he had consulted eye-witness sources: he knew the missionaries involved as former colleagues, he spoke Norwegian and Zulu, and he was in the same area.

In spite of that claim the article is heavily reliant on Oftebro's letter to Robertson and repeats much of Maqhamusela's direct speech quoted there. However, it differs from Oftebro's narrative in its blatantly anti-Cetshwayo interpretation, and is peppered with generalizations. Thus it alleges that the harassing and killing of Christians was part of a "deliberate course of

conduct directed to destroy Mission-work and drive out Missionaries", that "an unbelievable state of misrule and terrorism" prevails throughout Zululand: "Not a day passes that someone is not killed, and all are living in daily expectation of death. . . . From one end of the country to the other people are constantly being killed for this alleged crime (witchcraft). It is impossible to form a correct estimate of the numbers killed; but not a sun rises or sets without the charge of witchcraft being brought against some victim". It was generalisations such as these from Samuelson, backed up with allegedly unsubstantiated statistics of killings on the side of Robertson, that evoked Bishop Colenso's ire.

4.2.9 Assessment and interpretation of Source 10: Stavem's History of the Norwegian Mission Society

The text, published in 1918, a generation after that by Landmark, is by Rev OO Stavem and in English. Apart from his work on other mission stations this cleric had been a teacher at Eshowe for three years and superintendent of the Norwegian Mission Society, stationed in Durban for fifteen (Danbold 1948:19). His historical survey shows more insight into the complexity of the decisions Cetshwayo had to take (see specially Stavem 1918:27f). It gives more recognition to the role played by Zulus, Christian and otherwise, in supporting the mission venture. For example the author quotes Maria Magdalena's own version of her trials in the first person singular (Stavem 1918: 33ff). He recounts the stories of Maqhamusela's execution and of the kindness of the (non-Christian) chiefs Mnyamana and Somlomo towards the missionaries, and sketches the lives of the first three ordained Zulu pastors with pride.

Stavem's version of the death of Maqhamusela is nothing more than a summary of Oftebro's account, and even more abruptly factual in tone: "Another man fired his gun and Maqhamusela was no more. This occurred the 9th March 1877". However Oftebro, writing in Norwegian, had circumscribed Maqhamusela's title as a person who had "lost his life for the sake of his faith",i.e.a blood witness *[blod-vitne]*. In contrast, Stavem referred to Maqhamusela as *martyr* (Stavem 1918:39). [Endnote 4]

4.2.10 Assessment and interpretation of Sources 11: 4 letters and Fowler's manuscript

The Letters and Fowler's MS

Three of the obviously closely related letters are dated 1935, i.e. almost sixty years after the death of Maqhamusela. The source consists of four letters accompanying a hand-written document with the title: The Zulu Martyr Maqhamusela and comes from an unexpected quarter, the Church of the Province of South Africa. Fr. AJ Fowler Society for the Sacred Mission

(Anglican) reports to Father Victor on co-operation with Rev PA Rodseth of the Eshowe Lutheran Mission on the necessity to interview living witnesses of the events surrounding Maqhamusela's death (letters 1 and 2). Letter 3, dated 21st Febr 1935, is from Fr Fowler to Fr H. Bull Society of Saint John the Baptist, who took over Modderpoort from Fowler's community. It is a covering letter for Fowler's manuscript on the Maqhamusela story. The last letter, dated March 12th, 1935 is a critique of the manuscript by Archdeacon Lee of St Augustine's, Zululand to Fr Bull.

The sources on which the research on Maqhamusela drew are revealed in those four letters, a circumstance that bears examination as indicator of the degree of historiographical critique exercised by Fr. Fowler. In the undated letter from Fr. Fowler to Fr Victor (Source 11, letter 1) the writer stated that in searching for further information on Maqhamusela Rev Rodseth had held conversations with Simon Mhlongo, the step-son of Maqhamusela, and Fowler himself had held conversations with Esrom Mtshali of Potgietersrus, the son of Umbulawa, the overseer sent by the Zulu authorities to monitor the execution (Source 11, MS:8). The researcher could establish that Esrom had been baptised by Rev Rodseth on 21.1.1900 (Kwa Mondi register of church dues for 1922-4:653. Information from these two men was acknowledged in the handwritten report (Source 11, MS:1). Fowler's critical reception of what the informers remembered surfaces several times when he briefly argues an opinion contrary to one of them, e.g. on the presence of wild animals in the area to account for the disappearance of the body.

Fr. Fowler indicates a written source, viz. Congreves in "The Church and the Child Races" which, however, he could not access. He also requests that a person who knows Zulu will endeavour to contact the Christian son of Nymalala Zondo, also one of the executioners, who was working in Durban (Source 11, letter 2) an oral source that seems never to have been tapped (see the repetition of this request in letter 3).

Letter 3 in source 11 seems to have been the covering letter for Fr. Fowler's handwritten manuscript to Fr. Bull. It states what new information had surfaced and again the untapped source of Nyamalala's son is mentioned. Rodseth had read the document out to Maqhamusela's step-son, Simon Mhlongo, who, the letter states, accepted it as correct except for the alleged rewards given to Gawozi (the chief) and Hwayimbane (who fired the fatal shot). Mhlongo is reported also to have added three items not reflected in the hand written document: Maqhamusela adding "I am called" when he said to Simon "I am going"; his name *Umuntu weSonto* (Man of the Church/Prayer), and the name of Maqhamusela's first wife.

In a postscript to this letter Fowler dismisses one version of the account which seems to have made the rounds, otherwise he would not have taken up its refutation. It stated that the soldiers, too frightened to kill Maqhamusela themselves, forced the task on a herdboy, i.e. on someone who was not a member of the task team. Fowler argues, "There is nothing about the herdboy in *any* (author's emphasis) of the Eshowe accounts. . . . (and in what) Oftebro wrote in *Missions-Tidende*". Here Fowler made his only explicit acknowledgement of having based his narrative on Oftebro's report.

The fourth letter of Source 11 is from Archdeacon Lee to Fr. Bull, written from Zululand on March 12, 1935 , i.e. after Fowler had submitted his manuscript to Fr Victor. Lee remembered having supplied details on the martyrdom to someone, possibly to Fr. Fowler. Also, the Archdeacon, who was stationed at Nqutu, brings evidence against Fowler's assertion that Gawozi's family had died out. As a final observation, he suggests that the herdboy tradition (Oftebro's "young man") and the one that names Hwayimbana as the one who triggered the final shot may be compatible: the young man, Hwayimbana, was possibly the customary matbearer to his father or elder brother. The young man-herdboy strand fits a martyriological scheme in serving to highlight the unwillingness of the adult executioners who recognized the victim's innocence.

Assessing the letters historiographically, five processes stand out: The first is that Fowler detailed his sources. Then, through Rev Rodseth he submitted his draft report to critique (admittedly to that of his most important oral informant, Maqhamusela's step-son, which detracts somewhat from the scientific value of the submission). In the third place the letters detail new information and fourthly give notice of contradictory evidence and finally he admits which written material and oral sources have not been utilised. It seems to the present writer that this transparent process substantiates Fowler's claim that his document is "the full dress and final account of the martyr Maqhamusela" in a "narrative . . . .(that) tends to be tedious . . . I wanted to state the facts as fully as I could gather them" (Source 11 letter 3). The critical process to which Fowler subjected his material makes it possible to claim some reliability for the manuscript that grew out of that research: "The Zulu Martyr Maqumusela Khanyile" (Source 14, MS).

Three other factors in assessing the reliability of this manuscript still need to be covered; they concern the status of Fowler's sources. The first point is that in as far as Fowler's handwritten document made generous use of Oftebro's report it shares in whatever reliability that original can claim. Curiously, Fowler does not mention that he also drew on either Oftebro's letter to Robertson (Source 5) or Samuelson's article in "The Mission Field" (Source 9). From one, or both of these, he gained the wording of Maqhamusela's utterances, which Fowler's MS coalesced into one (Source 11:8).

The second factor in according Fowler's MS reliability is that since both Esrom Mtshali and Simon Mhlongo were first generation descendants of key role players, information from them must be accepted as reliable unless it can be shown to be less probable than an alternative versions, or unless later reliable information disqualifies it. The first disqualifyer (i.e. the information of the respondents is less probable than other information) is the case in Fowler's argument that hyenas had been known to scrounge the area so that they probably took away and devoured the corpse. It is a case of later trustworthy information disqualifying the earlier when Fowler's claim that Gawozi's family had died out is countered by Lee's first-hand information. Lee had been working in Zululand for some years and could state the contrary (Source 11, Letter 4). Reliability of the manuscript is also attested to by Mhlongo's hearing and accepting Fowler's manuscript with one restriction, as mentioned earlier.

A third factor in according Fowler's MS reliability leads into the area of the writer's assumptions and intentions, and how this impacted possible commemoration of Maqhamusela. As Rev Rodseth sent his material to Fr. Fowler, the initiative for field work seems to have come not from the Norwegians but the Anglicans (an assumption for which the researcher could not gain verification from material in the Church of the Province of South Africa archives, nor in letters from either the Community of the Resurrection or the Society of John the Evangelist). The title which Fowler gave to his manuscript provides an important insight into Fowler's intention: "The Zulu Martyr, Maqamusela Kanyile". This is a matter which impinges on the usefulness of the document as a historical source and, more importantly on the subsequent remembrance of Maqhamusela, to be dealt with in the following chapters.

From the title as quoted above and the subtitle giving the date of execution and adding "Feast of the Forty Martyrs of Sebaste, circa a.d. [sic!] 320 it transpires that the document that resulted from Fowler's research was compiled for inclusion in an Anglican saints calendar, perhaps a traditional version with African additions. Alternatively Maqhamusela's story may have been researched in order to be included on the altar in memory of African martyrs planned by Fr Bull, according to a letter to him from Cyril, the Bishop of Uganda. Whatever the details of the plan, Fowler stated his intention openly, and in giving the critical reader a key for detecting bias he strengthened confidence in his reliability as an historian as attested to by other circumstances. As Sheldrake states the matter, "Commitments, as opposed to uncritical or unconscious bias, are valid entry points into historical knowledge" (Sheldrake 1991:3).

Fowler's text warrants closer scrutiny. In the first place it was a martyr's legend, the purpose being that it be read out within a liturgical public commemoration of the martyr. However, Fowler did not want to teach about an example to be followed or offer an inspiration to discouraged or lukewarm Christians; neither of these purposes are mentioned in his MS. Instead his concluding sentence shows that he wanted to invite listeners to share in the adoration of God and the glory of Maqhamusela's final vindication: "But the . . . . . martyr Maqhamusela stands with Joseph and Ngema beside the Forty Soldier Martyrs of Sebaste evermore before the throne of the Majesty on High".

It remains to examine what elements Fowler introduced into the narrative that were new to what was known and had been passed on in Sources 1-10. In what follows only those items that serve Maqhamusela's future remembrance will be named. Since Source 6 was the text known in Norwegian-influenced Lutheran circles up to 1935, that source will be compared with Source 11.

4.2.11 Elements in Source 11 (Fowler's MS) that are new to Source 6 (Oftebro's official report)

1. Maqhamusela is referred to as martyr
2. Concerning Maqhamusela's person: he was a polygamist, with a step-son and an own son

by the second wife; names of both wives are given

3. Gawozi denounced Maqhamusela to Cetshwayo who ordered his execution

4. Christians got to know of the ploy, they warned Maqhamusela, but he refused to flee into Natal. The missionary was informed of the danger.

5. The names of the slayers and of the one to oversee the action are given

6. Enumeration of the people whom Maqhamusela mentioned in his final prayer

7. Maqhamusela warned Nyamalala not to kill him in view of their being related

8. Maqhamusela warned the executioners of the impending storm; after his death the storm raged.

9. Umbulawa (the overseer of the execution) sought shelter in the hut of the first wife, his half-sister

10. The corpse was not found after one week of searching, nor traces of its having been dragged away; local Christians believed that God buried Maqhamusela

11. After the war the second wife and the two boys returned and were baptized

12. Gawozi's heir committed suicide, the family is extinct

13. The names of "five Christian lads" on the station who remained unharmed are given.

In Source 11 the factual detail on the person of Maqhamusela and on the details of his execution supply a contextual background to items that highlight Maqhamusela as one endowed with Christ-like grace. It is these items that are Fowler's concern, and some examples follow; their significance within the Zulu is relegated to Chapter 6. When Maqhamusela warned Nyamala against shooting him, his relative, he was not only protecting himself but also exercising concern for the cohesion of the lineage. Another example is the warning to his killers to escape the storm, tokens of forgiveness, echoing Christ and Stephen's deaths. A third example is Maqhamusela's last comprehensive prayer with its personal but also priestly petitions, reminiscent of the Johannine prayers of Jesus (John 17). Finally there is the inconclusive search for the corpse and the interpretation given by local Christians, viz burial by God, like Moses. For this view of what happened the triumphal ending of Fowler's manuscript is fitting: Maqhamusela's second wife and sons were baptised, while Hwayimbane was killed in battle and Gawozi's family died out. Maqhamusela was a martyr, and stands in praise before God with all the saints, vindicated.

There are items which Fowler garnered from either Oftebro's letter to Robertson (Source 5) or from Samuelson's article (Source 9) that would serve to raise devotion in a commemorative service, in particular the reproduction of what Maqhamusela allegedly said concerning his death, either in anticipation or as he faced it.

4.2.12 Summary of findings on Source 11: Letters and MS

The findings of the discussion on Source 11 can be summarised as follows. For the compilation of his handwritten document "The Zulu Martyr Maqumusela", Fowler subjected the available sources to conscientious and critical research; he made honest mention of conflicting or new information and of sources not utilised. This historiographic work on the data was conducted within the openly declared intention to promote the reverencing of Maqhamusela as a martyr. In spite of its late composition and the agenda pursued by the author, Fowler's manuscript can therefore be regarded as a reliable source of what important people on the mission station perceived or remembered to have happened.

4.2.13 Comparison between Fowler's MS (Source 11 MS) and its edited version

A comparison of the type-scripted, edited version with Fr. Fowler's handwritten document shows up that while the former accepts the interpretation of Maqhamusela's execution as martyrdom and also includes new items belonging to that genre, it also expurgates matryriological items found in the manuscript that could not be substantiated, particularly the discussion on what happened to the corpse. An elaboration on these claims follows.

There are four clusters of significant changes. The edited version is more precise on family relationships and human relations generally; secondly, in stream-lining the narrative, the edited version omitted factual details that lend local colour and therefore credence to Fowler's somewhat rambling manuscript. In the third place, the edited version omitted speculation about the source for information on what happened during the murder and the historiographically important acknowledgement of contradictions between the oral respondents and the writer. Finally, the edited version took over the warning about the storm and its raging, but omitted discussion on what could have happened to the corpse. Since knowing the location of the burial site is vital to the commemoration of the deceased in the Zulu culture (Interview 36 with Mr Nils Otte; Binns 1963: 3), interpretations of what happened to Maqhamusela's body is important for the present research, and only this difference between the manuscript and its edited version will be investigated.

Fowler had enlarged on differences of opinion between Simon and himself on the presence of wild animals in the area to account for the disappearance of the corpus; the edited version simply mentions that the body was never found. Both state that local Christians believed that God had buried or taken the body. The manuscript enlarges on the alternative possibility of the body being devoured by hyenas; the edited version simply says that after a weeks' search it had not been found; this is prefaced by an addition earlier in the edited document, "No one dared to go out in that storm", a clear disclaimer of human intervention in the disappearance of the

corpse. Both versions, therefore, leave open the possibility of wild animals devouring the body as also the "fixed conviction (that had). . grown up among the Christians of Eshowe that the Lord had removed/buried the body, even as the body of Moses" (Source 11, MS:13. There may have been theological circumspection in the choice of words: it was the body that was buried/removed, not Maqhamusela. The reason may possibly have been to forestall that Maqhamusela would be venerated in the sense of a Zulu *idlozi* (ancestor), a cluster to be dealt with in Chapter 6. One final thought: the comparison with Moses clearly builds up Maqhamusela's stature and places him firmly in line with a Biblical man of God.
Summarizing the comparison between the handwritten original document and the edited version it can be said that both wished to evoke public liturgical commemoration of Maqhamusela as a martyr of the Christian faith. Both set store on gaining historical veracity, however the edited version deleted some local detail and discordant elements, and, most importantly, cut out discussion on the issue of what could have happened to the body. Both stated the conviction of local Christians that God had removed the body, the edited version offering supporting evidence not contained in the former, i.e. that the storm was so severe that no one dared to go out. - In the research findings of this thesis both the manuscript and its edited version will be considered to be reliable bases for what the community remembered to have happened and for further discussion of the factors that impinged on public commemoration of Maqhamusela.

4.2.14 Assessment and interpretation of Source 12: Bibliographic sketch of Maqhamusela in *Incwadi yeJubilee*.

Among several short biographies on Zulu Christians that of Maqhamusela also features. It is written in Zulu, and relies not only on Oftebro's report but incorporates elements from Fowler which are not found in Oftebro. Examples to substantiate this claim are the loss of the corpse and the warning about the storm. There are also three completely new elements in Source 12, viz. Ntshingwayo as the Zulu name of Maqhamusela's son (probably Simon Mhlongo); information that the induna's brother - one of the executioners - was called Mgcelu, and the fact that Maqhamusela came from non-Christian parents. What is specially significant for the present investigation is that the sketch in *Incwadi yeJubilee* is heroic in tone, as was Fowler's, and that it ends in thanksgiving to God for the martyr and for his witness, the two elements informing Lutheran commemoration (see chapter 6).

5. Summary of findings

The findings of the chapter can be summarized. Scrutiny of the content and reliability of the available sources on Maqhamusela's life and death encouraged the researcher to focus on the differences between sources 6 (Oftebro's official report) and 11 (Fowler's manuscript and its

edited version). All three were found to be reliable sources, in spite of Fowler's acknowledged intention of making the story into a martyr's legend. There are no important contradictions between them, but, given the reliability of Fowler's informants, Oftebro's official report is seen to be selective in omitting to mention items such as the storm and the fact that the body could not be found. The reason for leaving out these two items and a possible link to the question of commemoration will be the focus of a later discussion.

Chapter 4

Remembering Maqhamusela: the modes

> Maqamusela Kanyile wafela ukukolwa ku-Kristu koma lapa 9.3.1877
> (Maqhamusela Khanyile died on this spot for believing in Christ 9.3.1877 - Inscription on the carved stone erected on the place of the execution)

Up to this point the investigation has examined those sources on the life and death of Maqhamusela Khanyile which were written down between 1877 and 1935 and were available to the researcher. They intimate the written reception of that event among Norwegian and Her mannsburg missionaries and in the Church of the Province of South Africa. The discussion must now focus briefly on items or incidents where Maqhamusela was popularly remembered by members of his church and other interested parties and sometimes in modes different from the written document.

1. After sixty years there were still clear memories

The return of Maqhamusela's second wife and children from Natal must have been a strong prod for the community to remember Maqhamusela. We do not know what happened to the blind wife and her daughter, but Umyembezi and her children resettled in or near KwaMondi and were baptised in 1881 (Fowler MS 1935:14, edited version of Fowler, 1935:5; Register of payment of church dues, KwaMondi Parish, 1922-1924: 280). Their persons and their return must have constituted a living memory of Maqhamusela. Of the 5 young men present on the station on the night of the execution at least two became congregational leaders (Interviews 33#1 and 35#6 with Dean Shobede et al). Relations between the missionaries and Nyamalala Zondo (the executioners whom Maqhamusela warned against killing a relative) were warm and Oftebro baptised the son of one of the executioners, Esrom Mtshali on 21.1.1900 (Register of church dues paid 1922-1924, KwaMondi Parish: 653). All these persons were living reminders of Maqhamusela.

The new elements in the story to be found in Fowler's manuscript give further evidence that Maqhamusela's story had been remembered. The fact that people in and around Eshowe, but specially Maqhamusela's step-son, Simon Mhlongo, could supply information to Pastor Rodseth in 1935 means that the story was told and passed on in that community for over sixty years. Information that Fr. Fowler could gather from Esrom Mtshali, son of Umbulawa, the half-brother of the blind "great wife" of Maqhamusela (Fowler MS, Source 11) is even more telling, as he was living in Potgietersrus at that time. It stands out as an indicator of repeated if not formalised remembrance of the Maqhamusela story in Esrom's family of origin, although it no longer lived within the historical community that was the natural agent of tradition.

In his letter (Letter 4 of Source 11) Archdeacon Lee assessed old and new information on Maqhamusela against the criterion of "The account of his martyrdom which I have always heard", thus indicating that it was talked about, certainly among the Zulu Anglicans. Given a non-literate culture and Zulu traditions of reciting the past in praise-songs or stories (Samuelson RC 1929:253; Krige 1936:113 footnote, 272 footnote, Lestrade 193,294), it does not surprise the present writer that Maqhamusela's death seems to have been remembered in that part of Zululand.

2. The first memorial: "The stone"

> "After the murder . . . . . on the spot of the murder Oftebro and the Christians placed a huge stone: that was the first monument to Maqhamusela."

This was the information given by Dean Shobede (Interview 7#1 and 33#4) and corroborated by Mr H. Lee (Interview 39#2). The former said that the stone lay in the saddle just below the top of Mpondweni Hill and was subsequently built into the concrete base of the first and second crosses erected on the top of the hill in 1937 and 1981 respectively. There is disagreement on the question whether from the beginning the stone was dressed into a rectangle and whether from the beginning it was inscribed with the words (in Gothic letters): "Maqamusela Kanyile wafela ukukolwa kuKristu koma lapa 9.3.1877" (translated as "Maqamusela Kanyile died on this spot for believing in Christ 9.3.1977". [Note the old orthography]). From the records to which the present writer has had access at the time of writing the most one can say is the following: presupposing the accuracy of the two interviewees that Oftebro set up that stone, it must have been done between March 1877 and 1893, the date of Rev OC Oftebro's passing away in Eshowe (Danbolt 1948:19).

Whatever the detail, that stone represented a public commemoration of Maqhamusela, since to mark the spot of the execution already constitutes a staking out of holy space, an important element in commemoration, however it is celebrated. As the intention to commemorate had not

been in evidence in Norwegian missionary reports to this point, the placing of the stone constitutes an important development in the devotional reception of the life and death of Maqhamusela.

3. Documented remembering of Maqhamusela before and during the Anglo-Zulu War

3.1 In Mission magazines

In 1880 Oftebro imaged the escalating events as follows: "The storm clouds began to gather in 1876, it began to thunder in 1877, and by the end of 1878 it had begun to pour" (quoted in Hale 1996, 78). In the electric atmosphere of those gathering storm clouds the reports and submissions to mission boards, fellow missionaries or authorities were often less sharply focused on what had happened to individuals, Christian or otherwise, than on the seething unrest in the whole of Zulu society. Paired with that there was the awareness of utter insecurity that had gripped believers and missionaries alike, the uncertainty what to do and, finally, the necessity to flee. That option entailed the dispersal of the Christian communities and jettisoning property and sustenance. Examples of these wide-ranging concerns are the echoed in the reports on Maqhamusela's death by Robertson and Samuelson already discussed, but also Oftebro's initial report of what had transpired on 9 March 1877. The excerpt of the latter reprinted in Source 6 does not do full justice to the document as a whole, which situates those events within the momentum of rapidly escalating political, military and land-related confrontation both in Zululand, in the Boer Republics and in Natal.

The diminishing importance of the individual fate within the wider conflagration is even more starkly demonstrated in Bishop Schreuder's 6 June 1877 report to supporters of his mission (translated in Hale 1996:92). He outlined that there had been four "acts of violence perpetrated against Christians" (including that against Maqhamusela) but did not mention the person's names, identifying each by the mission station and society. The impression is given that these persons' fate were just contributory incidents as things were coming to a head.

3.2 In representations to colonial officials

Besides reports in missionary magazines, audiences with the secular authorities were soon sought and submissions penned by individuals and by groups of missionaries. One example is Schreuder's conversation with the Lieutenant-Governor of Natal, Sir Henry Bulwer held on 28 September 1877, two reports of which penned on 2 November 1877 and 14 May 1878 respectively were printed in *Missionblad* (Hale, 1996:92, 95). The duplication of reports and the emotional tone, considering Schreuder's factual style at other times, stem from what transpired in that conversation and in which context it stood. That context must be outline

Bishop Schreuder had asked for and been granted a personal interview with the Lieutenant Governor, Sir Henry Bulwer 14 May 1878, i.e. 2 months after those killings (Hale 1996:92, 59). The bishop had taken the stance that the permission to do missionary work, granted by both Mpande and Cetshwayo, was nullified by the prohibition for Zulus to be baptized and the recent implementation of sanctions against those who dared to transgress it. If Schreuder's report (Hale, 1996:92, 95) is accurate, Bulwer had requested Schreuder's continued service as informant and as shuttle diplomat between the English and the Zulus. At the same time he had played down the murder of Christians as simply another instance of Zulus being killed within that political system. Bulwer had spoken disparagingly of the achievements of mission endeavour and criticised the other missionaries (German, Anglican and Norwegian Mission Society pastors) for fleeing Zululand with many of the converts, thereby adding to the general war panic: Schreuder had stubbornly remained in Zululand for 4 months longer. While not defending the other missionaries for leaving Zululand, Schreuder had, in that conversation, tried to explain once again the precarious situation of the Christians by enumerating the violence they had suffered. "As the basis for this unrest in both mind and body, we would have to give as a point of departure these facts: 1) the execution of a convert at Inyezane; 2) the execution of a convert at Umlazi who had fallen from the faith; 3) the execution of a baptismal catechumen at Eshowe; and 4) an act of violence against Johannes at Eshowe". Maqhamusela had been included in the list, but not by name: he was a statistic; the purpose of the visit was a different one: "I also pointed out how the government of Natal bore part of the responsibility for the fact that the missionaries' endeavours bore so few and such invisible fruits in the natives' lives generally because the government allowed the natives to continue in their savage life and ways in precisely those matters that hindered the missionaries' most serious endeavours. He admitted that in part . . . (Hale 1996:95)

Four days later, on 18 May 1877 workers of the mission societies active in Natal, i.e. Church of Norway (Schreuder) Mission, Norwegian, Hermannsburg and Swedish Mission Societies and the Anglicans drew up a joint submission to the Lieutentant Governor of Natal, Sir Henry Bulwer. From his reply to the missionaries (Bulwer to Schreuder et al, 24 July 1877) it is clear that they sketched the history of mission societies generally with the Zulu and the Natal authorities, including the recent persecutions and asked for protection of themselves, their converts and their belongings. The memorandum was submitted "to the kind consideration of your Excellency, praying that God may so order it that the powerful Christian Government which your Excellency represents may be inclined to extend to us the help and protection we so much need" (which is based on the Lutheran teaching of the task of the state towards the church). Bulwer's reply gave no assurance of practical protection to either missionaries or to Zulu Christians in Zululand.

Bulwer's verbal responses to Schreuder and his reply to the memorandum caused the missionaries personal dismay but also political incomprehension. The missionaries insisted that in the "coronation negotiations" with Shepstone in 1873 Cetshwayo had agreed to discontinue ar-

bitrary killings (e.g. by "smelling out" without a proper trial). However this was happening repeatedly, so that Cetshwayo was therefore accused of breaking the terms of that treaty (Hale 1996:103, 109 and Simensen,1986: 80). However, the English were unwilling to offer protection to those threatened by that arbitrary harassment. Frustrated by this official the missionaries tendered a submission to the highest English official in South Africa, Sir Bartle Frere, governor of the Cape Colony. They enlarged on the accusation against Cetshwayo as they had done over against Bulwer (Oftebro to Sir Bartle Frere, 10.10.1878) and found a ready listener.

While Bulwer was straining to avert war between Natal and the Zulu Kingdom, Frere's policy was one of blatantly sacrificing peace with Zululand for the sake of confederation with the Boer states, (Hernaes, and Simensen 1985:10; Hale 1996:97). While both Frere and Bulwer drew on the reports of missionaries and men like Fynney and Osborn for their assessment of the situation in Zululand, Frere required incidents of Cetshwayo's "misrule" in breach of the "Coronation Laws" of 1 September 1873 in order to press the Home Office to sanction military intervention and to send reinforcements of troops (Maylam 1986:78). In the meantime he was already deeply embroiled in organising that military intervention. Little served so well to buttress Frere's pretext for war in philanthropic England as reports of harassment and killings from the pen of people, seen to have meant well by the Zulus. Consequently missionary information on such acts of violence were hastily dispatched to London, and, in the wake of Cetshwayo's "non-compliance" with the terms of the Ultimatum, British troops crossed the Tugela at dawn of 11 January 1879. Simensen (1986:162) holds that all missionaries, even Colenso, supported the terms of the Ultimatum and therefore some form of British intervention as seemingly the only way to secure freedom of religion for mission work to continue. However the political aim was envisaged differently. While Frere aimed at the annexation of the Zulu kingdom by military subjugation (Laband and Wright 1980:11), Shepstone aimed at placing the territory then to be under indirect rule as in operation for Natal blacks. In their joint memorandum to Frere the Natal missionaries spoke only of disarming the Zulus in Zululand; however, in realistic terms, that was tantamount to destroying the Zulu kingdom. Over against this Schreuder wanted to see Zululand a protectorate (i.e. the regimental system not necessarily crushed). He supported the Ultimatum to the point of advising Cetshwayo to submit to its demands in order to avoid bloodshed and "to bring about a more humane form of government"; both he and Colenso supported the Ultimatum "to avoid bloodshed" (Hernaes and Simensen 1985:11). However, Colenso went further; in his famous sermon after Isandlwana (1879) was outspoken in his denunciation of the invasion of Zululand, and decried outrages committed by British troops against Zulus (Laband 1995:149).

It is within the above framework that the history of Maqhamusela and others was summarily remembered and used by missionaries to concretize the argument. The German and Norwegian missionaries - to a lesser extent Schreuder (Hale 1996, 109) - and the Anglicans had supplied fuel to the flame of war.

In particular a report by Robertson citing a list of 25 persons "whom he alleged to have been killed within an eight mile radius of KwaMagwasa since the accession of the present king" had been influential (letter from Colenso to Mr Chesson:1). This list was scrutinized by Bishop Colenso, drawing on first-hand information supplied by two trusted Zulu converts from the area. Colenso found that in fact only 10 people had been killed in 5 years "and in each case, of course, there was some crime *alleged* (author's emphasis)". To Robertson's decimated list the bishop added the deaths of 3 Christians, one of whom was lapsed, the third killed by mob violence on the accusation of deliberately poisoning meat that others would consume. On the second the bishop gave no further information except that he "was killed by Gaozi's orderlies" (Colenso to Chesson 1879:2) The reference is probably to Maqhamusela. Again we have summary mention for argumentative purposes.

The Bishop concluded that missionaries' statements were "exaggerated . . . and had greatly helped on the war. . . . . I dare say that the missionary statements have done much to prejudice many good people in England against Cetshwayo" (ibid:4). - In turn, the other missionaries slated the Bishop's submissions and articles as lacking in criticality towards Cetshwayo (Oftebro on 11 June 1979 in Hale 1996, 110). Thus information on the death of these Christians had been used both by the war party and its opponents in Natal and Britain.

3.3 In representation of the Zulu authorities

It was not only the British who were drawing on the missionaries to act as go-between, and, above all, to supply information, but also the Zulus. After Schreuder had finally fled from Zululand in November 1878, he wrote to Cetshwayo, advising the King to accept the terms of the Ultimatum. He also explained the dangerous situation in which the Zulu believers now found themselves, in view of the escalating crisis: they wished to avoid the storm by leaving Zululand but they (and Schreuder) did not wish to bid the king farewell for ever. The missionary asked the king for someone to guard his station "to prevent scoundrels whom you do not send but who independently do misdeeds for which you would be blamed, even though you do not authorise them to damage the missionaries' stations" (Hale, 1996:104). Schreuder quoted from the King's reply of 31 December in which the latter requested Schreuder to prevail on the English to give him "breathing room" with regard to the Ultimatum. The King also stated that it was reasonable that the residents of (E)Ntumeni wanted to leave temporarily and promised to have the station guarded by "reliable men who would be exempted from military service if a war with England began" (Hale 1996:105). In fact, Schreuder's Entumeni was the only station in Natal that was not devastated during the war. Schreuder's hint at the insubordination of some of Cetshwayo's regiments (see also Binns 1963:78, 87, 97) echoes Cetshwayo's response when different missionaries confronted him with the slaying of the three Christians; he avowed that he had not or-

dered them; they were the work of fractious elements in his army (Oftebro 30.6.1877; Samuelson S in The Mission Field, 1877/10:469). That missionary's son, RCA Samuelson held the opinion - shared by Etherington (1978:84f) that

> It is wrong to say that Cetywayo was responsible for all the killing as the result of divination in Zululand - in fact he was responsible for a very limited number of cases, and of these cases were (sic) he was overruled by his advisers, who were strong enough, if he had not given way, to have ended his kingdom (Samuelson RCA 1929:229.)

It would go beyond the confines of this research to list all the incidents of missionaries acting as go-between during and after the War, though they were considerable. What interests here is how far a remembrance of Maqhamusela was kept alive, and for what purposes. During the war Schreuder, now also in exile, was weighed down by deep pessimism concerning the chances of resuming mission work after the war. "The Zulu people and the king are very angry at the missionaries and refuse to believe that they are not the main cause of the current national disaster. . . . . The ameliorating words the Zulus might say of our work are little compared to those dubious impressions that cast aspersions on mission", (Hale, 1996, 108). Far from Maqhamusela's death acting as seed and as witness to Christ in Zululand it had initially become sucked into those pretexts of war that had made the Christian message and life suspect to some Zulus. Nor does this animosity come as a surprise when one remembers that Cetshwayo had objected to the presence of missionaries at his coronation and had to be prevailed on by Sir Theophilus Shepstone not to chase them out of his domain (Simensen 1986: 76).

In short, among whites, written remembrance of Maqhamusela and others who had lost their lives served the purpose of either supporting the war as a means of solving "the Zulu question", or it served the purpose of seeking to minimize the extent of Cetshwayo's breach of the Coronation Agreement and thereby to counter an image of him as a bloodthirsty tyrant. Among the non-Christian Zulus any remembrance of killings (including that of Maqhamusela) was seen as having offered to the English grounds for open hostilities, that had brought destruction on the Zulu nation.

4. Documented remembering of Maqhamusela after the Anglo-Zulu War

Understandably, the prime concerns of missionaries after their congregations, and they themselves, had fled Zululand was temporarily settling their own families and the small bands of Christian refugees - and in all fairness one must note that the Natal government did eventually give material help to refugees from north of the Tugela (Hale 1996;91;The Mission Field 1877/10:470 quotes Rev Robertson to this effect). When the war erupted the fate of whatever Christians were still in Zululand and the safety of their stations became an additional worry, to which was soon added the frustration that hostilities were so long drawn out.

After the Battle of Ulundi and the capture of the King peace was in sight. It had been rumoured that Sir Garnet Wolseley "did not want to have anything to do with missions in his structuring of Zululand" (Oftebro of 16.9.1879, in Hale 1996: 113). As a possible countermove Cato (vice-consul for the Scandinavian kingdoms) and Rev Robertson urged missionaries to re-occupy their stations pro-actively before the proclamation of peace. Incumbents of Norwegian Mission Society stations did so as from 4 September 1979. The rumour of Wolseley's anti-mission stance was confirmed at the *indaba* called by him at oNdini on 1 September 1980. Here he proclaimed the conditions of settlement to the 200 Zulus chieftains who had assembled. (Laband 1995:400-405). The conditions relevant to the present research were that the territory was divided between thirteen kinglets and that granting permission to do missionary work in their area was to be left to the discretion of each of these.

This arrangement triggered the wrangle between Norwegian missionaries and John Dunn for the grants of land given to missionaries under previous Zulu and Natal dispensations, Dunn initially threatening force against Oftebro's re-occupation of Eshowe (Oftebro in Hale 1996:115). It was only when Oftebro had orchestrated a public outcry in the Natal press and in England, and had assembled legal evidence supporting the right of missionaries to re-occupy their stations, that Dunn backed down (Oftebro 28.10.1979 and 8.11.1879 in Hale 1996:126ff). Inevitably, it was the terms of the settlement and this conflict for land that dominated in the missionaries' reports and letters, and not reflection in order to theologize on the past.

The settlements elicited the evaluation from Oftebro that "This result of the war is so surprising that one can hardly believe that it is anything but a [bad] dream" (Oftebro of 16.9.1879, Hale 1996:116). Over against expectations of a political dispensation that gave untrammelled possibilities to proclaim and to convert, there had been a "sorry outcome to the war" (Oftebro of 28.10.1879, Hale 1996: 126). At the same time the missionaries reported repeatedly that when they returned they received a warm welcome from the Zulu population around their stations (Oftebro of 16.9.1979, Steenberg of 30.6.1881 in Hale 1996:114f, 140). Rev Leisegang adding realistically, "But of course they . . . are not so imperceptive that they fail to see the many small benefits they get from us, such as medicines" (Leisegang 10.1.1883, Hale 1996:146). There was harking back to the past in Schreuder's assessment of the people of Entumeni wanting him to live among them constantly "so that the children would be able to go to school without interruption and the adults would be able to attend services without fear" (Schreuder of 24.11.1879, Hale 1996:124).

Prior to the war it had been stated that after the 1877 persecutions fewer attended worship services, that there were defections from the catechumens and new ones could not be registered (Stavem 2.1. 1978, Hale 1996:97). After the war reports were somewhat contradictory. On the one hand Stavem could exclaim in late 1880, particularly with regard to children being allowed to come to evening school: "What a difference between conditions under Cetshwayo and now. . . . That never would have happened while Cetshwayo was in power" (quoted in Hale 1996:134). Oftebro found that "their (i.e. the Zulus') previously often shameless behaviour

towards the white man no longer exists. The white man is now lord; he is addressed politely, flattered, and feared" (quoted in Hale 1996:134). At Mfule attendance had more than doubled (Steenberg 0.6.1881, Hale 1996:139) and on stations of the Norwegian Mission Society more than 400 Zulus were baptised between 1880 and 1887 (Hale 1996:136). However, Pastor Oftebro still found Zulus "stubborn arch-conservatives, who remain indifferent to anything they cannot eat, drink, or roll their bodies into on a chilly night" (Oftebro 31.12. 1880, quoted in Hale 1996:134). Schreuder sensed that the "anti-missionary settlement" (author's emphasis) had changed the mood of welcome both of those outside the congregations and those on the station. As a result "Lethargy, indifference, and worldly thinking have not decreased but increased to a considerable degree" (Schreuder of 24.11.1879, Hale 1996:124). Again, in all these statements reflection on past events minimal and geared to comparison with the present, with no room for commemoration of those Zulus who had witnessed so faithfully.

The Norwegian missionaries saw the restoration of Cetshwayo in 1883 as deflecting any growing Zulu interest in the gospel in the direction of fierce nationalism among the uSuthu (Leisegang 10.1.1883, Hale 1996:146) and fear among those who had humiliated and robbed the uSuthu under the Settlement (Steenberg of 2.7.1883, Hale 2996:147). The people, including the Christians, found themselves in the dilemma of choosing between leaving their residences in order to go to the King and leaving Cetshwayo in the lurch (Oftebro of 3.1.1883, Hale 1996:143). In the new waves of violence and displacement of persons that swept through Zululand Cetshwayo was defeated by Zibhebhu and died suddenly, Dinizulu enlisted Boer help to defeat Zibhebhu in return for large tracts of land and the Zulus living on them had to choose between renewed displacement and wage labour subjection.

Both during the Anglo-Zulu War, under the Settlement, in the Second Civil War and in the cessation of land to the Boers the congregations and missionaries of the Norwegian Mission Society did not remain unscathed, either in person or in property. It is interesting that in the Eshowe region most people had belonged to the Zibhbebhu party (Interview 36#4 with Mr N. Otte).

In all this turmoil there seems to have been no room, and perhaps insufficient distancing of the death of Maqhamusela from the partisanship of the day to be able to work through the significance of his death. "(At that time) Khanyile was just one of the dead" (Interview 5 with Mr N Otte).

A striking example of something approaching an eclipse of the memory of Maqhamusela can be found in a letter from the quieter 1890s. Here Rev Braatvedt lamented the absence of Zulu role models for young Christians, but Maqhamusela did not come to mind as a prime example (Braatvedt of 3.2.1894, Hale,1996:157). The same letter shows how differently colonial rule was seen by Zulu and missionary. In a conversation with "a friendly old Zulu" the missionary compared "then and now", the missionary suggesting that "They were now fortunate because they could go to bed in peace and arise in peace. Previously they lived in constant fear and had to hide wherever they could in order to save their lives". He (i.e. the friendly old Zulu)

RHODES UNIVERSITY LIBRARY

replied: `You are right. The English government does a lot of good for us, but there is one thing with which we are dissatisfied - it forbids smelling out sorcerers . . . . It is they who bring us death and misfortune'" ((Braatvedt of 3.2.1894, Hale 1996:155f). The new judicial and political dispensation had brought the people benefits, but Zulus had been deprived of the traditional processes of finding meaning in their negative experiences, and of curing the breakdown of interpersonal relationships by ritual performance (du Toit 1996:97).

5. Maqhamusela in the memory of the Mission Society: Landmark (1890) and Stavem (1918)

Hale's selection and translation of Norwegian missionary correspondence takes the reader to 1899. If the period immediately following the Anglo-Zulu War brought little remembrance of the awful past, neither did the Nineties. As pointed out in the previous chapter in 1890 the captain of the Norwegian emigrant ship, Landmark, compiled "The Norwegian Mission Society" in which he gave no account of Maqhamusela, or other outstanding Zulus for that matter.

For his History of Christian Missions in South Africa J. du Plessis had interviewed Rev Leisegang for information on the Norwegian Mission Society (c.d. du Plessis 1911:380, note 1). In the four odd pages devoted to that Society the author devoted several sentences to Maqhamusela, basing his account on Oftebro's initial report. He quoting verbatim the dramatic dialogue between Maqhamusela and his executioners and closed with the words "And so (he) entered into his reward", sounding a devotional note..

Rev Stavem who had experienced the persecutions on his own station KwaMbonambi was more elaborate in the telling of the Maqhamusela story, as also that of several other Zulu Christians, in his 1918 history of the Society. Stavem commenced by calling Maqhamusela "The best known martyr", but his summary of Oftebro's initial report also reflected the factual unreflective tone of that source when he concluded his narrative of Maqhamusela as follows:

> "Another man fired his gun, and Maqamuzela (old orthography) was no more. This occurred on the 9th of March 1877".

There seems to have been a determined undercutting of suggesting that his death had religious significance. The comments of a Zulu Lutheran emeritus dean seemed to have felt the repercussions in our day: "No (we have not forgotten Maqhamusela). Only amongst us blacks we hear it like any other story, it is not taken seriously. So there is no commemoration of Maqhamusela as a martyr", (Interview 29#3 with Dean Mthethwa). Perhaps, indeed, he was speaking for the educated secularized elite among Blacks, such as teachers who find Maqhamusela on their Class 4 curriculum.

6. The second memorial: The first cross, January or February 1937

In terms of chronology what happened next was the request from Fr JA Fowler to Rev PA Rodseth to assist in interviewing persons who had witnessed the execution in 1877 or who had been in close contact with such people (see chapter 3). Possibly as a result of this impulse, possibly also because the centenary of the work of the Norwegian Mission in South Africa was to be celebrated in 1944 a concrete cross was erected on Mpondweni Hill by Rev Solberg, who planned a monolithic monument, and Rev Kjelvei, who executed an austerity budget concrete version of it (Interview 43#5 with Mr K. Solberg, son of the former).

To establish an approximate date one must bear in mind that when Rev Kjelvei was appointed superintendent of the Mission Society in 1937 he was stationed in KwaMondi (Danbolt 1948:208). Moreover the cross was in place early in 1937 according to Rodseth's diary entry on 2 March 1937: "Biked with Ingeborg to Mpondweni to take a picture of the martyr site and Simon Mhlongo (Maqhamusela's son) for an English church bulletin". The work must therefore have been done early in 1937 and seems to have been financed by the Mission Society.

True to a missionary dimension for that act of commemoration the first cross, with the stone built into the base, was erected not in the saddle where the execution had taken place, but in a place where the cross was visible from many of the surrounding homesteads "as a witness" (Interview 35#2 with Dean Shobede et al).

While there is general consensus that at this time there were no formal commemorative services for Maqhamusela on specific days/feasts or at the cross, Ms Marit Rodseth (wife of the incumbent of KwaMondi station) organised camps for Norwegian teenagers at that place from 1928 onwards (Igland 1978:116). A daughter of Ms Rodseth, Ms I Gorven, has a photograph (taken probably in 1937) of one of these groups assembled around the first cross; she feels confident that here the story would have been told within a devotional setting. So Maqhamusela was formally, though not regularly, remembered among the whites also.

7. The Mission Society looks back after 100 years, and looks forward (1944)

As part of the centenary festivities of the work of the Norwegian Mission Society in South Africa the church historian OG Myklebust wrote a history of the Norwegian Mission Society in south-east Africa published in 1942 as Vol. lll (in Norwegian) and as a separate book in English in 1948. In the latter Maqhamusela's story is briefly recorded as prelude to the missionaries leaving Zululand and mention is made of the memorial" as a sign of the love and respect accorded to him" (Myklebust 1948:81). The author followed the Oftebro version completely, so that there is no mention of the warning of the storm and then of its bursting on the countryside after the execution, nor of the body not being found. Either the author was not aware of the new

information collected by Rodseth and Fowler, or it was considered to be too risky theologically or unreliable historiographically. Finally the local interpretation of storm as a prophecy fulfilled and the undiscoverable corpse as burial by God smacked too penetratingly of the miraculous martyriological genre. A heafty volume of this kind has as its target group particularly committed supporters of that mission and academia. The the factual, non-devotional was deemed appropriate for the latter readership at the time of writing.

A small booklet of 56 pages and in Zulu that was probably of greater impact on Zulu Lutherans is *Incwadi yeJubilee,* Umsebenzi weVangeli ngeNorwegian Mission Society, Natal nakwaZulu, 1844-1944" (Book of Jubilee, the evangelising work of the Norwegian Mission Society in kwaZulu), edited by one missionary, Rev NM Follesoe and two Zulu pastors, Revs. MJ Mpanza and JP Mtiyane (Source 12). It sketches missionary beginnings and expansion and presents short biographies of Zulu Christians, dates of missionaries and pastors and statistics. Maqhamusela's is one of eight biographies, and to this day it is quoted as the authority on Maqhamusela by Zulu Christians.

On page 34 of this booklet Maqhamusela was introduced as "*uMfeli-Kristu [Martyr] kuleli izwe lakaZulu"*, as the one "who died for Christ [Martyr]) in this same Zulu country. The seed of his blood was not in vain", the article continues and end with the words, "We are grateful for Maqhamusela Khanyile, for his wonderful gift of witnessing to the strength and love of Jesus Christ, our Redeemer." The literary mode of this biography was clearly not simply factual but devotional, persuasive. There were snippets of information new even to the Fowler narrative, such as giving Simon Mhlongo's Zulu name Ntshingwayo, the avowal that Hwayimbane, who fired the fatal shot, was a Swazi and thus no blood relative to Maqhamusela, and that three children (i.e. including the daughter of the principal wife) fled, and later became Christians. On the other hand significant elements from Fowler were included, i.e. the warning to Nyambalala that, as relative, he should not fire the fatal shot, the warning of the storm and its downpour, and the circumstance of not finding the body. The latter was left completely open-ended. "Even today it is not known what happened to the corpse. It just disappeared."

Clearly, the presentation does not only take into account both major sources, i.e. Oftebro and Fowler, but also interprets them within the co-ordinates of what martyrdom and its remembrance could mean within the Lutheran spirituality of Zulus, as is to be elaborated in chapter 6. In that Maqhamusela's is presented as only one of eight biographies in the booklet *Incwadi yeJubilee* he stands among the "cloud of witnesses" (Hebr 12:1), which down-plays his individual importance. What is important is the power of the Word. On the other hand the narrative is not stripped of symbolic and exemplary aspects, i.e. the storm and Maqhamusela's two 2warnings, the disappearance of the body. There is a note of thanksgiving to God for him - all of which is beyond what Oftebro had explicitly tried to evoke in the original report.

The centenary was not only a prompt to look back but also a time for looking forward and facing new challenges, specially the need for local pastoral agents. In 1944 the Bible School at KwaMondi was started with a lady missionary Bertha Gilje as principal and no facilities

(B.Ntanzi in *USAWOTI* No 11 of May 1972:7; Danbolt 1948:195). The agreement in the Co-operating Lutheran Missions (established in 1910) was that other missions could utilize the Bible School for training lay church workers, while for the Norwegians it would prepare evangelists (Interview 3#1 with Rev E. Nsibande). Only one course had been concluded by 1946, when it was closed down, only to re-open in 1951 with adequate hostel and class-room facilities and a new name: Maqhamusela Bible School.

The process of renaming the institution has been reported by Gunvar Froise (Froise G, 1998:84) as follows: "While the Maqhamusela School was being built the people at KwaMondi were asked to put forward a suitable name for the school. Amongst the many suggestions that flowed in, the most popular was that of the first martyr who laid his life down for God when Zulu Chief Mpande (sic), ordered three men to shoot him . . . It was certainly fitting that a Bible School should bear his name". When asked, 48 years later, whether at the time there may have been any objections to that name among missionaries or Zulus, Dean Shobede replied, "(Black) people were so happy about the name: Maqhamusela was a man from among them, they all knew what had happened, (perhaps not the non-Christians). Even among the missionaries there were no objections", (Interview 33#3 with Dean Shobede et al)

The brochure for the Maqhamusela Bible School was printed for canvassing recruits when, in 1951, Miss Gilje and Rev Froise travelled about in congregations to woo candidates (Interview 33#2 with Dean Shobede et al). It has a write up on Maqhamusela and a picture of the concrete cross with the original memorial stone clearly visible. The write-up followed the narrative of "Incwadi yeJubilee", and its devotional interpretation bore fruit in that students of the Bible School and those from the teachers' training college down the road - a Lutheran institution till 1956 - held rallies there (Interviews 26#13 with Bishop Zulu and 28#1 with Rev K. Gensiche). However, according to several persons interviewed, such festivities were never organised by the congregation (e.g. Interviews 1#1 with Dean L Khuzwayo, 12#2 with Dean Mhethwa and 28#1 with Rev K.Gensiche), although congregational members participated in the dedication of the new cross in 1981 (see below).

As a reason for the lack of congregational support for any public commemoration in the congregation Dean Mthembu (Interview 31#4) cited the spread of the charismatic spirituality promoted by Rev Andreas Magubane in the 1940ties in Ngoye, in Empangeni and finally also in the Eshowe parishes. "In later years the Eshowe congregation chose the spiritual path and in that there was no room for remembering any dead person" (Interview 31#4 with Dean Mthembu).

The resistance of this dominant group to any form of commemoration may also have coloured the congregation's response to the 1977 ecumenical initiatives to replace the ruined concrete cross (Minutes of "Neighbours, specially minutes of 19.8.1980ff; Interviews 32 with Mr Bird and 40 with Mr Lee). Still, Eshowe, or KwaMondi as it was then called, was, somehow, Maqhamusela's place.

8. Maqhamusela in the pastoral ministries.

If there was no regular public commemoration of Maqhamusela in the Eshowe/KwaMondi parish (or any other Lutheran congregation except Newcastle after 1974, see below) he might have been brought to mind in preaching, teaching, catechetics or prayer women's meetings. In interviews this question sometimes evoked embarrassment; only one of the ordained respondents stated that he had referred to Maqhamusela often in exercising these ministries (Interviews 26#13 with Bishop Zulu, from the Hermannsburg Mission, principal of Maqhamusela Bible School for several years in the late 1870ties). Other respondents replied that Maqhamusela was hardly mentioned (Interview 29:8 with Dean Mthethwa), or that he was occasionally mentioned but with little positive response from the mainly charismatic congregation (Interview 31#2 with Dean LL Mthembu).

9. "The whole area had him in their minds".

Although the publication in 1944 of *Incwadi yeJubilee* is the cut-off date for this investigation, reflection needs to take into account three other events that underscore that KwaMondi/Eshowe was, somehow, Maqhamusela's place. The anecdotes are reproduced not for their scientific reliability but for showing how even now Maquamusela's story has supplied symbols to Natal Lutherans. The first happened in 1960, the second started in 1974, the last evolved between 1976 and 1981.

The first event that underscored that KwaMondi/Eshowe was Maqhamusela's place is an incident related by Bishop SP Zulu in interview 26#13 as follows:

> SPZ: The whole area had him in their minds.
> MN: How was that possible without public commemoration?
> SPZ: In a Zulu surrounding it would just happen that way". As a particularly spectacular example he cited the 1960 constitutive assembly of the Evangelical Lutheran Church/South-eastern Region out of several "mission churches".
> This synod had been convened in KwaMondi/Eshowe (Scriba, 1997:16) and in the opening worship Dean Msomi, the superintendent of the Norwegian Mission Church at the time, told the story of the first martyr of the Norwegian mission in Zululand. When, in the course of the proceedings, there was haggling over the contentious issue of the episcopacy, a Zulu pastor (possibly Rev MJ Mpanza) said: "Here we are, disagreeing, while Maqhamusela died for his faith" (Interview 26#2 with Bishop SP Zulu; see also Interviews 30 with Rev E. Nsibande, and 31#6 with Dean LL Mthembu).

The last-named respondent also remembered that when the merger documents had just been signed there was lightening and a loud clap of thunder (see also Scriba 1998: p. 16), as after Maqhamusela's death. "We took it as an `Amen' from God: we are doing the right thing" (Interview 31#6 with Dean LL Mthembu). This narrative shows that not only was Maqhamusela in the minds of people, or his faith served as a guide to decision-making. The storm had become , a "mental landmark" for communal memory (c.f. Connerton's theory in the following chapter)

The second incident that substantiates the claim "The whole area had him in their minds" is significant because it is not confined to the Lutheran denomination. - In 1976 an interdenominational group "Neighbours" was constituted in Eshowe town. The aim was "to address social responsibility within the Eshowe area by the combined Christian churches working together" (Minutes of "Neighbours": Introduction). Several concrete projects were taken in hand. Since the Liturgy 1975 of the Church of the Province of South Africa had included Maqhamusela on the liturgical calendar for 9. March (Church of the Province of South Africa 1975 Saints and Seasons; 52), and since 1977 was the centenary of Maqhamusela's death there seems to have been an awareness of his local relevance. The group decided to explore the possibility of arranging a celebration of the death and to investigate whether help was needed in maintaining the memorial. Both initiatives were seen as a symbol of what the group stood for.

The response of the Lutherans was "very withdrawn"; they seemed to be strongly divided among themselves (Interview 32#1-2 with Mr H Bird). They eventually brought the message from the Bishop of the denomination that it was happy to co-operate in having the cross restored, adding that it was "on their land" (emphasis of the secretary, Minutes of "Neighbours", 18.11.1980). The committee called for financial contributions as the Maqhamusela Bible School which was responsible for the memorial was in financial difficulties. Individual Lutherans contributed; however neither the Bible School nor KwaMondi congregation nor the Lutheran churches (Evangelical Lutheran Church of South Africa and United Evangelical Lutheran Church in Southern Africa, its "white" equivalent) are recorded as having done so (Minutes of "Neighbours", 17.2.1981). The dedication service around the cross on 8.3.1981 was well-attended and a photograph exists. Sadly, no further services of this sort followed (Interview 39#1 with Mr H Lee).

It is as well to hear the other side. While Lutherans who can remember what happened agree that the initiative for the restoration of the site came from the Anglicans, not from the Lutherans, there seems to have been some fear, or possibly resentment, at the suggestion that the Anglican or R.C. liturgy could be used at the dedication, the Lutherans not having one for dedicating memorials of their own (Interview 35#7 with Dean L Khuzwayo et al). The comment about the land belonging to the Lutherans seems to have been triggered by someone suggesting that a church (shrine) be built on Mpondweni Hill (Interview 29#3 with Dean Mthethwa).

An analysis of the dynamics of the situation shows that there was ambivalence in the recently constituted black national Lutheran church, or in its local representation, about ecumenical co-operation with well-established, initiative-laden partners. At another level it appears that the Lutherans were theologically unsure of public commemoration, and liturgically unequipped. The latter changed, potentially, when the revised altar book of the new church (Evangelical Lutheran Church in South Africa Order of Services) was published, which included in the liturgical calendar feasts such as All Saints, St Michael, the Annunciation (Interview 29#7 with Dean

Mthethwa). However the celebration of these feasts was, generally, not observed in congregations except those that haled from the high church Swedish tradition. One such exception came to the attention of the researcher.

What follows is the third example to show that Maqhamusela was in everybody's minds. As mentioned above, Rev MJ Mpanza had been one of the editors of *Incwadi yeJubilee* with its short biographies, including that of Maqhamusela. His son, Mr J. Mpanza, true to the Swedish Lutheran tradition in which he had spent some years of his life, gained the co-operation of the parish council and the pastor of Newcastle parish. Cautiously they introduced the annual commemoration of Maqhamusela from 1974 onwards (Interview 41#1 with Mr J Mpanza). As the old hymnbook of the Zulu Regional Church and the national Almanacs had included a few special days such as All Saints, there was no opposition to the commemoration in Newcastle among church authorities. As has been indicated above after the merger of the regional churches into the national church in 1975, the liturgical committee of the new Evangelical Lutheran Church in South Africa retained those feast days in their Altar Book and Almanac, and added some new ones, such as the Day of the Martyrs (Stephen's Day, 26 December). The Newcastle Parish, however, decided not to relegate the commemoration of Maqhamusela to the feast of Stephen but to continue holding it on the day of the death i.e. 9 March.

The above examples highlight the role of the bearers of tradition in initiating and keeping alive commemoration of the great deeds of God in the lives of particular people. Local traditions of spirituality can be nurtured before a whole church has changed its proclaimed position.

10. Summary of different modes in which Maqhamusela was remembered

This chapter has come across different modes of remembering Maqhamusela. After sixty years there were still clear memories of Maqhamusela in KwaMondi/Eshowe which shows oral tradition to have been lively. Memorials in the form of a dressed stone and a concrete cross were erected. The centenary of the work of the Norwegian Mission Society gave the most important impetus to keeping Maqhamusela in mind, *Incwadi yeJubilee*. Here was published the story of the martyr and that of other Zulu Christians in the vernacular and the inexpensive booklet was distributed widely. A few years later the Bible School was given Maqhamusela's name and student rallies were held at the cross. Although little use was made of Maqhamusela as an example or as encouragement in the pastoral ministries in that congregation, "The whole area had him in their minds" (Interview 26#1 with Bishop SP Zulu). This was borne out by three case studies: Maqhamusela became a symbol of taking risks in the faith; his commemoration by Lutherans was hamstrung by a congregational spirituality that was theologically ill equipped for the issue but also adverse to remembering the dead; and in one Lutheran congregation bearers of a spirituality that included commemorations introduced the liturgical remembering of the day of Maqhamusela's death.

11. Summary of the written remembrance of Maqhamusela.

Between Maqhamusela's death and Fowler's 1935 manuscript there was only one mention of him by name in histories of Norwegian Lutherans written by themselves and accessible to the present writer. Understandably, in the turmoil of the years up to the end of the century, reflection on specific persons and incident of the past within official reports was meagre and served either political polemics or superficial comparisons between that past and the time in which the writers lived. Even in the quieter milieu of post-Union days the remembrance of Maqhamusela in literature from Norwegian missionary sources was scant. The above-mentioned written remembrance by Stavem (1918) acknowledged the importance of Zulu converts to the work of that Society by including sketches of their lives. However it did not highlight Maqhamusela's significance significantly enough to initiate commemoration .

Chapter 5

Remembering Maqhamusela: why people remembered him

> We have lost the essential vocabulary of virtue. One aspect of that loss to society is the dearth of visually imaginable models at a time when the use of video media is sweeping text alone to the side (Johnson 1998:15)

> When a warrior *giya's* (to leap about as a warrior brandishing a spear) the spectators shout out his praises, and in a military life like the Zulus, where praises had to be won by brave deeds in battle, these praises led to emulation. They were an encouragement not only to the man who had won them, but to others who had not yet distinguished themselves (Krige 1936:272 footnote).

1. Recapitulating the different modes of calling to mind

The previous chapter elaborated on the different modes in which public remembering of Maqhamusela happened over a span of sixty years. The first modes were the following: the social interaction of people impacted most deeply by the execution, written narratives of the execution in Norwegian and English, references to it in English documents plying a political purpose, and a memorial stone on Mpondweni Hill with a Zulu inscription. Up to the time when Fr Fowler and Rev Rodseth instituted research (1935) that stone was the only public mnemonic crutch to recollection.

The memory had no celebratory locus in the life of the congregation: there was no formal on-going remembering or even commemoration, such as a calendrically observed anniversary with a set ritual celebration in which the text was re-told. Yet people had not forgotten vivid details. More information was remembered among KwaMondi/Eshowe parishioners than the earliest records by Norwegian Mission Society missionaries had chosen to retain: sixty years after the execution Rev Rodseth and Fr Fowler could collect that complementary material which we find in Fowler's manuscript. This research has peeled the new elements down to the following as the most significant: the advice to his relative not to shoot him, the warning and

downpour of the storm, and the disappearance of the body. This chapter will inquire why the memory of Maqhamusela was sustained strong enough for these items to re-surface. That renewed remembering seems to have prompted the erection of a memorial cross. What will sustain a memory of this kind?

2. Physical remains and a text

In her study of the third century martyr Perpetua, Salisbury states:

> The ideal of martyrdom . . . became a central cultural memory. Still, as with any historical event, the way it was remembered was more important than what happened, and to understand the impact of the martyrs, we have to look at the way their memory was preserved. . . . . For the memory of the martyrs . . . . most effectively to benefit the community, two things were needed: some physical remains and a text Salisbury 1997:165).

If what was needed in the early church around the Mediterranean was some physical remains and a text, it seems not to have been so for Maqhamusela in the Zululand of the 1870s. The texts on Maqhamusela have been discussed from several perspectives, and will have to undergo scrutiny once more in chapter 6, but they seem not to have been read out periodically and motivated commemoration. Also, there were no remains. Going on the reliability of the texts based on Fowler's research the whereabouts of the corpse remained unknown, a situation not only adverse to commemoration among the Zulus but one that goes against human sensibilities in all cultures. Over and above that, as will be shown in the following chapter, Zulu religious practice death without funerary rites spells danger for both the bereaved and for the deceased . In spite of that, Maqhamusela was remembered, and with pride.

There was no corpse that could be buried; the fact that Christians marked the place where the death had happened with an inscribed stone was no substitute within the Zulu culture. Moreover, his death was not that of the hoary aged "going back home, even joyfully" (*ukugoduka* Bryant, 1949: 699,708; Berglund, 1976:79). The word choice of the inscription was *ukufa*, implying an unnatural, an untimely death, about which Zulus at that time did not speak openly or often, according to the above authors. However, here was a stone calling him to be remembered, the inscription celebrating his death as highly meaningful within a different set of understandings: he had died "for believing in Christ".

Besides that inscription there was the master text (Oftebro 9.4.1877, Source 6), and later several dependent publications on Maqhamusela or references to him. The publications spread the story beyond the confines of the Norwegian language radius but to a readership limited to mission interest/attack (e.g. Congreve 1890: The Church and the Child Races) or to academia (e.g. du Plessis, 1911, History of Christian Missions in South Africa:382). However for most Zulus the story in this mode remained inaccessible. To state that the memory was kept alive orally seems to beg the question why it was remembered.

One further point needs to be made: it stands out that aspects of Maqhamusela's story that had been re-discovered by Rev Rodseth and Fr Fowler in 1935 have not found their way into "Western" publications (e.g. Myklebust 1948:81; Church of the Province of South Africa: Saints and Seasons" 1975:52; Joergensen 1987:301f; Cubbin 1998). Yet, once retrieved, this complementary information featured in the written texts on Maqhamusela that were produced with the help of Zulus from 1944 onwards. The *Incwadi yeJubilee* biography (Source 12) the Prospectus to the Bible School and the biography of Tante Marit Rodseth, which however mentions only the storm, (Igland 1978:63f) are obvious examples.

The inquiry of this chapter will ask what function these complementary data fulfilled in the retention of the wider story. To gain instruments with which to view the roots and the sap that sustained that complementary memory, the research must turn to theory, and it is to excerpts of the theory of communal remembering, culled mainly from Mandew, Connerton, and Schüssler-Fiorenza, that the discussion must now turn.

3. Theory of communal remembering

A clear summary of Connerton's work on social memory is presented in Mandew (1997: 114). Connerton's basic stance is that memory is a collective phenomenon, constructed, sustained and retained mainly through ritual and performative practices, because of a common interest. By these processes memories are sedimented in the body, and are able to generate knowledge. - This summary needs to be elaborated before it can be applied as theory to the question in hand.

The definition of ritual which underlies the above comes from Lukes (1989:44): "Rule-governed activity of a symbolic character which draws the attention of its participants to objects of thought and feeling which they hold to be of special significance". In the performance of ritual the master text or shared meaning is enacted symbolically, bodily and repeatedly. To be more precise, it is re-enacted on the conviction that "Certain things can be expressed only in ritual" (Connerton 1989:119 quoted in Mandew 1997:118) and that, not only for African spirituality where "Nothing is real which is not ritually experienced by the individual in his or her community (c.f. du Toit 1996:98 and Kudadjie 1996:72).

The practice of ritual is performative in that it creates what it says. For example out of disparate but involved participants a shared ritual constitutes community, if they wish to enter the experience. In the act of celebration "the `we' becomes a pronoun of solidarity around prototypical persons or events" (Mandew 1997:120); alternatively the participants in the ritual can identify with the leading role player so as to want to be like him/her subsequently, an experience in transformation. Continuity is established with the past and the calendrically observed re-enactment creates "holy time" and "holy space" (Mensching 1962:162; Mandew 1997: 122),

making both present in profane time and space. Ritual as performative commemoration grants life and meaning, worth and identity to participants, and in so far as they are engaged, participants will seek to "validate ritual by doing something", (Jennings 1982:115 quoted in Mandew 1997:128).

4. Theory of communal remembering in the case of Maqhamusela

Placed alongside this theory of communal remembering the case of Maqhamusela not having been forgotten up until 1935 surprises one. With one exception (the erection of the stone) there had been no regular communal commemorative ceremonies, no ritually performative or bodily habituating practices centred on the story of Maqhamusela. In 1935 communal memory was tapped by the research of Fr Fowler and Rev Rodseth. The only "practice" of memory was the stone with its brief inscription, written in the old orthography, *Maqamusela Kanyile wafela ukukolwa kuKristu koma lapa 9.3.1877* (translated as "On this spot on 9.3.1877 Maqamusela Khanyile died an early death because of his belief in Christ"). With so much fear, death and destruction being experienced, why should the detailed memory of this particular case not have faded? Several reasons for being remembered can be investigated.

Socially Maqhamusela was unimportant in Zulu society: he did not belong to royalty, head an influential lineage, nor was he rich (Oftebro 1968, Source 1; Jörgensen 1987:301f). For the family and residents of the mission station, of course, the events had been traumatic, and there were family members old enough at the time of the event to remember. Thus Simon Mhlongo was on KwaMondi, aged about 16 years (Fowler 1935:14) when his father was executed; he had been aware of the possibility of this outcome for some time (Fowler 1935: 6, 8;). When the executioners came to KwaMondi, looking for Maqhamusela, Mhlongo had hidden in the house of the missionary for whom he was working (Nilsen according to Oftebro, 9. 4.1877, Source 6; Kyllingstad according to Fowler MS 1935:14, Source 11). Together with his mother and half-brother and, possibly with the sister by the same mother (Maqhamusela's blind wife), he had fled from the station that night (Fowler 1935:14,), a harrowing experience not to be forgotten quickly.

Another one to remember vividly was Esrom Mtshali, though for him the happenings were more remote since it was his father who had been immediately involved in what happened. However, Fowler states that his father, Umbulawa, told him the story (Fowler MS 1935:8, Source 11). One can mention a third person who was involved: Fowler surmised that one of the execution team, Nyamala Zondo, had probably been responsible for those details of the actual martyrdom already found in Oftebro's first report, and for some items that had not been included. This is not improbable as he was "warmly attached to the missionaries", though he died unbaptized (Fowler MS 1935:13, Source 11).

However, all of these must have been witnesses to or heard about scores of other atrocities in the horrific experiences connected with the 1879 War, the 1983 Civil War and the carnage and human displacements that accompanied them into the 1890ies. So, once again, one asks why this story was relatively well remembered, though there were so many distracters and no public celebrations to bring it to mind periodically.

5. Communal interest in Maqhamusela I: he upheld Zulu values

According to Connerton's theory of communal remembering cited above, a strong communal interest must undergird celebratory commemoration, and this is essential for a community to remember.

> The community of interests and thoughts or meanings provides the group with a frame of reference within which to plant memory (Mandew 1997:114). It gives frameworks wherein their memories are localised and this localisation occurs through some form of mental mapping. What we recollect gets situated within the mental spaces that the group has provided (Mandew 1997:116).

The question now to be investigated is what strong communal interests could have been a factor that became operative in Maqhamusela being remembered.

The framework provided by the community of interests in this case must be found within the ever escalating movements and trends within changing Zulu society in the latter part of the nineteenth century, spearheaded by the encounter with whites and their power. These took the form of traders and white hunger for land, which had made possible Mpande's deal with the Natal Boers against Dingane (Cetywayo 1880:18; Maylam 1986:73, Simensen 1986:64f, 80f). There was also the incursion into the Zulu world by the missionary, with a message and life style that had been decried as not fitting the Zulu culture (already Mpande to Schreuder, Simensen 1986:195; Kyllingstad 1873, Source 3; Binns 63:73f; Simensen 1986:105). What made this innovation so threatening (Maylam 1986:77) was not the doctrine but life-style aspired to in the mission stations(Hale 1986:66). It did not conform to the old structures of political and social power and was seen as subverting the absolute claim to loyalty of the King over his subjects. At the same time these whites came with the wonders of Western medical cures and technology. That was a common interest.

Then followed the communal experience of the unbelievable coming true, namely the destruction of the Zulu kingdom, followed by the senselessness of the horrors of war and human displacement, the unleashing of vengeance and counter-vengeance that whipped the Zulu nation in the years under the settlement and the civil war between Zibhebhu's Mandlakazi and the Royalist uSuthu (Guy 1996:85). Hard upon that came the humiliating political subjugation of both factions under British and Boer rule, and the accelerating crumbling of the old socio-economic structure before white acquisition of ancestral land, the advance of a capitalist wage economy, an economic slump, ecological disasters, migrant labour, forced cattle sales to pay

Osborn's 14 shilling hut tax (Maylam 1986: 82; Guy 1994:230f, 240; Laband 1995:352, 379). All these "undermined the productive capacity of the Zulu home-stead" (Maylam 1986:82) and triggered off social upheavals and a gradual erosion of the frameworks of meaning, values and norms, making this a period of "rapid . . . . socio-cultural change" (Ikenga-Metuh 1987:11) in every walk of life.

Within this framework an old Zulu warrior had upheld Zulu values in a remarkable way. In not relocating his home to the mission station and refusing to abandon his chief, kraal or traditional clothing under his shirt (Oftebro to Robertson 17.3.1877, Source 5: Hale 96:87) Maqhamusela had remained - visibly - a part of Zulu society and had upheld social intercourse, attending beer parties and conforming to customs of bereavement in the wider family (Gundersen 1874: Source 4). Maqhamusela had also acted in an exemplary manner over against his lineage in warning his kinsman, Nyambala Zondo, not to shoot. Killing a relative was criminal and would have burdened the killer emotionally, even if done in obedience to the authorities (Samuelson LH: Zululand, its traditions, legends . . :228. Krige (1936: 228, 276) [Endnote 5] emphasises the central importance of respect to one's seniors in the lineage (Hammond-Tooke 1974:360). Maqhamusela had acted like a responsible neighbour in alerting the executioners of the danger of the approaching storm. He had acted like an adult man singled out for his wisdom to serve on the tribal council (Cetywayo 1883:#156ff; Gluckman, 1949:33, 44) when he questioned the logic of allowing Zulus to hear the Word but not to be baptized. Of course his obstinacy in not bowing to consensus, not even to the appeals of his lineage ⸗ was outrageously disrespectful of seniors in terms of Zulu cultural values, as stated above.

Even Maqhamusela's piety, a little strange to the missionaries, was nothing new to his Zulu neighbours. He had frequently been heard praying aloud, even in the bushes along the path and devoted time to prayer every day (Gundersen 1874: Source 4). These are observances which, according to Krige (1936:309), were also praised by the Zulu diviner variously called the *inanga (inyanga), isangoma, isanusi*, i.e. persons possessed by the spirits.

Finally, and most impressively, Maqhamusela had faced death without showing fear: next to implicit obedience courage ranked as the prime values of manhood (Binns 1963: 5f, 176). Several years of threats by the Zulu authorities and pleading by his kin had not made him waver. Courage and perseverance enjoyed top ranking among the values which were upheld in Zulu culture and handed on in its socializing processes (Binns 1963:5, 176; Hammond-Tooke 1974:369; Pato 1996:114). On the other hand prime cultural values included also that of punctual obedience towards the commands of elders: the lineage head, the chief and the King, the ancestors. This cultural value Maqhamusela had not upheld unconditionally, and this circumstance may have resulted later in some ambivalence towards him, specially on the side of the Zulu authorities.

Maqhamusela had lived out some of the values of the Zulu culture consistently; he had the making of a hero, of a person who is admired and venerated for his achievements and noble qualities (Concise Oxford Dictionary 1964:573), albeit a counter-cultural hero in religious and

political terms. It is not only in a pre-literate society that the narrative of a hero is retold for the emulation of the hearers, i.e. in a persuasive mode (Samuelsen RCA 1929:253f; Lestrade 1937:294ff). Here was one locus of community of interest in him. There are likely to be more.

6. Communal interest in Maqhamusela II: he contributed to the history of the Christian faith significantly

6.1 Writing African History of Christianity

While Maqhamusela's stature as a cultural hero could make the remembrance of details not contained in the master text probable, to stop there would be to distort Maqhamusela as a person. His stance sprang out of his ultimate commitment to the Christian God, and this must also be investigated as a factor in the communal retention of those details.

The voices that have deplored the discounting of religious conviction and experience as a powerful motivating force in the writing of history in South Africa have swelled to a choir. To name some examples: the British church historian Richard Elphick focussed an article on "Writing Religion into History: The Case of SA Christianity". He quoted the South African Bishop Ngada of an African Independent Church as follows:

> We would like to write our own history from the point of view of the Holy Spirit. Not historians themselves attributing events to the action of the Holy Spirit . . . but historians giving detailed and sensitive attention to the ways believers in the past experienced the Holy Spirit empowering them and shaping their lives (Elphick 1992:2).

The West African missiologist Lamin Sanneh imaged the matter well:

> Most of the researchers are interested in everything except the Christian religion. It is as if in our concern to describe the sunlight we concentrate on the shadows, using that derivative relationship as the justification for a reductionist approach, (Sanneh, 1983:xi).

A second complaint was articulated. Where religion has been thematized, the focus was usually on the activity of the white missionary in promoting the growth of Christianity. The Swedish missiologist Sundkler contented,

> The two West African scholars (Professors Ajayi and Ayandele . . . . . state) that hitherto church history has been written "as if the Christian Church were in Africa but not of Africa" . . . . forgetting whatever there was of an African initiative, or the African dimension of African church history (Sundkler 1987: 73).

Richard Gray sharpened that point:

> The whole thrust to recent research. . . . has exposed the extent to which the growth, expansion and development of Christianity south of the Sahara has depended on, and been distinctly molded by, African initiatives (Gray 1990:11).

The affirmation of the power of religious conviction as a motivating force in history Elphick has called "history in an African voice" ((Elphick 1992:16). The issue of acknowledging the contribution that black Christians have made to evangelization and church growth the present researcher has named "history moulded also by African hands". Both issues have a bearing on

the question posed in this chapter, namely what communal interests powered the detailed remembering of Maqhamusela's story in his community. The power of religious convictions as factor in forging history will be dealt with first. In order to not succumb to unscientific dogmatism on this point the exploration will be couched within the sociology-of-religion model, where religious change, i.e. conversion, can be analyzed as part of a transaction.

6.2 The model of religious change as transaction

An overview of the Zulu social formation would describe it as holistic (Pato 1996:111, East African Theologians Workshop on Theology quoted in du Toit 1996:90) and spanning what in Western thinking can be mentally negotiated as separate. The social pyramid and the lineage, which included the ancestors, the living dead, as well as the presently still unborn (Nürnberger 1975:173ff; Kudadjie 1996:76), the explicit power relations in the ordering of society, the production of the wherewithal to live and to live well, and questions of meaning and conduct within both society and the environment - all of these cohered in a religiously underpinned worldview and way of life that both conserved tradition and was open to pragmatic changes (Sundkler 1987:78; Laband 1995: 332, 339ff). Due to Zulu military prowess in the past the culture was characterized by "intense national pride and cultural conservatism" (Hernaes and Simensen 1985:13).

Economically there was a "high degree of self-sufficiency . . . . with the homestead as basic unit of production (Etherington 1977:115; Hernaes and Simensen 1985:13f; Simensen 1986:115). Neither trade with commodities such as ivory and cattle, nor the lure of wage employment in transport or on the far-off diamond fields (Guy 1994:3), nor even on the railway being constructed and the collieries opened closer to home had made serious inroads on that economy before the war (Meintjes 1985:9). The structure had functioned adaptively (Simensen 1986:75; Guy 1994:12ff, 185) in the face of a realization of the productive limits of its capacity due to its high dependence on land. The scramble for land both by Boers, Natalians settlers and the increase in Zulu population was probably the main catalyst of change. This made the pre-capitalist Zulu social formation "fragile" (Guy 1994:18).

As outlined in the previous chapter the Zulu political system exemplified a "push-pull" (Simensen) balance between centralized authority in the form of the King (Maylam 1986:7) and his councillors and a decentralized social system based on the lineage (Webb 1978:67f, Laband 1985. Cohesion:1; Simensen 1986:57f; Joergensen 1987:44). This cultural pride and systemic stability continued right until the outbreak of military hostilities, leaving the dimension of ultimate meaning and values only minimally confronted with alternatives offered by the Chris-

tian faith. In fact the mission enterprise was intense but "conspicuous for lack of success" (Guy 1994: 15) in terms of baptisms. What was sought after by the Zulus was the technical and medicinal amenities of the Western heritage.

The model of religious change as transaction will be useful in clarifying that pragmatism within the conserving co-efficient of Zulu culture in as far as it touched mission work. Working within that model, Simensen and Hernaes have made a sociological analysis of the relationship between missionaries and would-be Zulu converts in the second half of the nineteenth century (Hernaes and Simensen, 1985:1-14; Simensen 1987: 86ff). They concede that there were instances where Christianity made its "autonomous spiritual appeal in answering certain religious questions and intellectual needs better than local African religion" (Simensen 1987:86ff). The present writer would add to that motivation the attraction of a community that accorded dignity to those who, under the Zulu system, had been the marginalised (Maylam 1986:86). Beyond that however, according to Hernaes and Simensen, religious change was "part of the totality of transactions between the missionaries and the local population". The missionaries' need to gain religious adherents was set over against the need among Zulus for medical expertise, for the missionaries' political usefulness, skilled craftsmanship, blankets and trinkets, paid work and, above all, for guns. In exchange for these the king gave sites and permission to preach, "but converts automatically lost their land and family rights and their political privileges" (Simensen 1987:90). What made the mission station attractive for would-be converts was security (Etherington 1977:33), the respect shown to women (Simensen 87:92) and the economically useless, paid labour, but above all land (Hutchinson 1959:164).

According to these authors, by 1860 two important commodities on offer by the missionaries, namely diplomatic services and advice on how to deal with whites, were slipping into the hands of John Dunn (Hernaes and Simensen 1985:7; Simensen 1986:139; Simensen 1987: 89). What is more, Dunn was supplying guns and ammunition, which the missionaries had refused to do. Only medical care remained as wares with which missionaries could enter any transaction. Taking initiatives in the field of religion and politics was not within their competence according to Zulu authorities, and disregard of that limitation had been strongly censured. A telling example is that already in 1873 Cetshwayo, on suspecting a particular missionary of having leaked information on the death of Mpande to the Natal press, had erupted in anger by calling missionaries "a nuisance and a plague and the most useless thing in the world" (Simensen 1986:138). When after a time of careful rapprochement from the side of the Zulus (e.g. the invitation to participate officially at Cetshwayo's coronation (Cetywayo 1980:18), Britain was seen to dilly-dally and then to side with the Boers on the issue of land claims, hostility towards it and whites in general became explicit; the "basis for fruitful transaction was breaking down" (Hernaes and Simensen 1985: 6ff). The "khonza" service that Christians through their missionaries had repeatedly asked to be allowed to perform (Simensen 1987:89) was subverted to cause dissension among the Christians (Hernaes and Simensen 1985:7;

Simensen 1986: 134f), and mission stations lived in virtual "quarantine" (Hutchinson 1957:62, Hernaes and Simensen 1985:6). After 35 years of work the Norwegian Mission Society could count only about 300 baptisms (Hale 1996:78, Simensen 1987:88).

While remembering that this way of looking at mission work is a model to facilitate analysis of some aspects of a phenomenon, it should not be taken as a definitive presupposition, and the author's granting the exception of instances where the gospel exerted its autonomous spiritual appeal bear that out. The model is unable to cover relationships where, to one of the partners, there is nothing to gain. Two examples will highlight this.

In spite of its strangeness, the presentation of the Christian faith had not been totally unconvincing; even the young Prince Cetshwayo was "struggling with the book" in earnest conversations with Oftebro, until his council intervened with the warning that this was incompatible with Zulu tradition and would cost him his chieftainship (Hernaes and Simensen 1985: 13; Binns 1963:78). Counting the cost, he withdrew. After his accession to the kingship in 1873 he allowed his people to attend religious services and listen to preaching, yet he forbade baptism on pain of severe punishment. Initially this strikes one as a balancing act between pandering to English sensibilities and retaining a hold over his age regiments, the transaction model; but on closer scrutiny one can also perceive the King's realistic recognition that he would lose his claim on the absolute loyalty of his warriors if they became Christians.

There was also the contradiction between the Zulu council forbidding conversion and there being no objection to Cetshwayo's frequent summoning of various missionaries not only to do masonry and to build a wagon, but to attend to the health needs of himself and his court. Again, transaction was the name of the game, concessions to the dependence of the missionaries on Cetshwayo's goodwill being made in return for Western scientific medicine. Yet there was more to it. Loyalty to the King and health care were not "secular" matters but integral to the holistic socio-economic-religious world view. Its cohesion was being undermined, healing was becoming linked to a religion that called into questions some elements of the traditional one. To some its claims could not be easily dismissed, making a confrontation inevitable. It came in seemingly insignificant forms, and one of them was Maqhamusela, one who had nothing to gain from being a Christian. (Oftebro 1869, Source 1; Jörgensen 1987:302), but remained faithful.

6.3 History in an African voice

In the face of the breakdown of relationships that would have allowed gainful transaction for would-be converts, Maqhamusela had requested permission to be baptized. He had approached his chief Gawozi already in 1873 (Kyllingstad 1873, Source 3), and later requested Rev Oftebro several times to plead his case directly with Cetshwayo (Oftebro, 1877, Source 7). Maqhamusela's outspoken Christian commitment became clear when, after some wavering, he became regular in his attendance of worship services and then baptismal classes; it also became

clear not only in his defiant words concerning the threat of death (Oftebro to Robertson 17.3.1877, Source 5), but also in his testimonies before chief Gawozi (Kyllingstad 1873, Source 3), in his rambling sermons and in his audible prayers in the bush (Gundersen 1874, Source 4).

However, Maqhamusela had remained a Zulu. As pointed out above he had not made the mission station his home; he had observed Zulu customs of family bereavement; he wore a shirt (but no trousers) over his Zulu apparel - a concession to the missionaries (Gundersen 1874, Source 4) - and had continued to socialize with his group by joining beer drinking parties (Oftebro 1873, Source 2). "He believes that he can be a Christian but remain a typical Zulu", (Gundersen 1874, Source 4).

Maqhamusela also had nothing to gain from being baptized into the Christian community in the sense of requiring a mask. No accusation of witchcraft was brought against him by his slayers, his mistake was his desire to be baptised, as Rev Oftebro gratefully pointed out (Oftebro 9.4.1877, Source 7). To the researcher Maqhamusela was an example of a person to whom the Christian faith was an "autonomous spiritual appeal in answering certain religious questions and intellectual needs better than local African religion" (Simensen 1987:86), a case of altruistic autonomous religious motivation, love of Christ. This had already been Oftebro's evaluation eight years before the death: "You know, of course that visitors are traders, patients and beggars; of those who come here to speak about God's Word and their heart condition there are none except Maqamusela" (Oftebro 1968, Source 1). It remains to be seen whether, in the community to which he belonged, this religious conviction became a factor in sustaining memory, an aspect of the communal interest that supplies memory with a space for retention.

Maqhamusela's loyalty to his invisible self-disclosing God may have been a puzzle to his community, but the interpretation they put on it clearly went beyond Maqhamusela being only the missionaries' man: he had displayed loyalty towards his own family and also towards people who were beyond the claims of lineage. His prayer in itself may not have been as convincing as the fact that, instead of cursing those who had planned to harm him, he had interceded. Maqhamusela's concern encompassed the well-being of his King and nation, if the prayer items reported in Fowler are taken as accurate (Fowler 1935:9, Source 11). He prayed "for us all" (Oftebro 9 April 1877, Source 7; Fowler MS 1935:13, Source 11) thereby creating a new community, the word "we" had become what Mandew called the "pronoun of solidarity around prototypical persons or events" (Mandew 1997, 120).

Another aspect that may have made Maqhamusela memorable was that the Christian message of a risen saviour living in his people may have been incomprehensible to his surroundings, but here was man who could face death without fear. He had deliberately aligned himself with a group where traditional Zulu burial rites to accomplish incorporation with the group of ancestors were known to be neglected. Clearly he expected life after death from another centre of belonging: the corporate unity with the Christ of faith, in continuity with the life-giving Spirit, and as member of the new kin group: the congregation (Häselbarth 1972:210ff).

Here was a counter-claim against the accusation that the Christian faith was not suited to the Zulus, as Chief Gawozi had stated when Maqhamusela had appeared before him and his councillors (Kyllingstad 1873, Source 3). In fact, that counter-claim had been metaphysically endorsed by the heavy thunderstorm, that followed on his death (Fowler MS 1935:11, Source 11), which in the cultural symbolism of the Zulus is a sign of divine intervention (Krige 1936:311) or anger of the Lord-of-the-Sky (Berglund 1976:38ff and 250). Christian faith as lived out by one who strained to remain a true Zulu had been vindicated by "*Nkulunkulu*" - "the Great Great One" (c.f. also interview 31#6 with Dean Mthembu).

The new inclusiveness of those who can claim to belong, the experience of crime not being held against one, the example of hope in continued life through unity with the Christ of faith, and that by a Zulu, must have been healing in a time of post-war degradation, chaos, expropriation and destitution (Laband 1995:375). It set up a sign of community, of granting the right to goodwill where that had been forfeited, and of positing hope in a world of violence, vengeance and senselessness; his story re-kindled hope, and was therefore something to hold on to, something to pass on. Here was another communal interest in the sign that Maqhamusela had set up in his Christian conviction; it made his memory something precious to those who remembered him. And more, in this setting Maqhamusela's story became history recounted "in an African voice" (Elphick 1992:16).

6.4 Church history moulded also in African hands

Having stopped long enough to hear that African voice in this particular segment of church history, the research document now turns to a portrayal of church history in which the contribution of African Christians in carrying out the missionary task is recognized.

Blacks engaged themselves as active agents in the history of Christianity much earlier than historians had previously realized or admitted. That agency had became operative not only when local churches gained structural independence from mission society control, nor when the first African Independent Church broke away from mainline churches, although neither of these are unimportant as milieu for active black agency in disseminating the gospel. Recent publications like "Trailblazers of the Gospel" have gathered, and critically processed, material from a wide range of sources to substantiate the claim implicit in the title of the book: "These (Black) co-workers were pioneers of the nineteenth century . . . establishment of the Church in South Africa" (Crafford 1991:vii). The reports that missionaries sent to their home boards, even when read with the necessary criticality towards report-backs of employees to employers unfamiliar with local conditions, supplied material on this score. They carried much biographic freight on the witness of black believers.

Some such biographies were taken up by Stavem in 1918 and then, most importantly, in the 8 sketches of black "Norwegian" Lutherans included in the 1944 *Incwadi yeJubilee*. Its editorial committee had consisted of one white and three black pastors. The reader cannot be deaf to the

underlying tone of pride in recounting that history. Some later histories of the Norwegian Mission Society written by whites, e.g. Igland's biography of Marit Rodseth, followed suit in recognizing the role of Black Christians in evangelizing and church planting.

Three groups have an interest here. For those whose efforts have hitherto remained unnamed in the narrative the desire to be included in the history of an institution with which they were intimately involved is not merely a question of prestige; it nourishes a strong sense of belonging. Secondly, for those who dominate a non-inclusive portrayal of history, the rediscovery of the contribution of other agents is a matter of truth, down-grading the missionaries from the role of sole agents to that of co-worker with others. In that sense the recogition of the contribution of blacks to the evangelistic task becomes one criterion for unbiased perspective on the part of the historian. and therefore of viable vision for the future.In the third instance, for the historian, recognition of the agency of those who had hitherto been relegated to the role of more or less compliant objects is the first step towards righting falsified history. The *Incwadi yeJubilee* was such a first step towards recognizing the African as co-worker. One can affirm that what was remembered orally about Maqhamusela is an example of history being moulded also by African hands.

Maqhamusela had witnessed to the Gospel in his own Zulu voice, and, according to 1 Cor 4:2, all that is required of a steward of truth is that he/she be faithful; not necessarily successful. Understandably, baptismal numbers did not soar immediately after his death. However the curve rose after the war for a number of reasons. The credibility of the Christian faith, to which Maqhamusela's death had testified, will be one of them, even if only in the area of Eshowe. "The blood of the martyrs is seed" had been the experience of Tertullian in the persecutions at the beginning of the third century (Tertullian: Apologetical Works and Minucius Felix, New York, 1950, 125).

7. Summary of possible reasons for Maquamusela being remembered

The argument can be drawn together. The reason for Maqhamusela being remembered in his community so vividly for sixty years in spite of there being no readily available inscription or regular and formally instituted acts of public commemoration was that there were communal interests: he had upheld Zulu values, and he had contributed to the history of the Christian faith significantly by his enculturated witness and by commanding a place for the African contribution in the History of Missions in south-east Africa. Maqhamusela's witness will have to resonate with some current communal interests of Christians in South Africa in future if today and tomorrow his story is not to be heard "like any other story" (Interview 29#3 with former Dean J Mthethwa) in years to come.

8. New communal interests

With the introduction of freedom of religion to Zululand under British rule the dilemma of being a Christian and remaining a Zulu did not fall away. The end of the Anglo-Zulu War brought much confusion about the shape of conflict with institutions and loyalty to them, and the former indicators for commitment to Christ, i.e. monogamy (Simensen 87:97) attire, non-payment of *lobolo*, difficulty to *khonza*, and social belonging became blurred. Everyone aspired to don European dress, for a time terms for paying *lobolo* was interfered with by the Natal Native Legal Code of 1891 (Samuelson RCA 1929:365), migrant labour and farm labour undermined the traditional *ukukhonza* requirements.

With growing independence of African theologizing and thinking the simplistic equation between living the Christian faith and conforming to Western civilisation (or Norwegian norms) came to be unmasked as colonial arrogance, thus allowing Zulu Christians to explore the inculturation of the faith into what had survived as the constants in their own worldview and way of life in the rapid social change of Westernization and industrialization. That exploration continues to this day. The bold stance of Maqhamusela to differentiate between clothing and committal to Christ, not as attack against missionary endeavour but as affirmation of his total being as a Zulu Christian, may emerge as one of the areas of common interest that could help Maqhamusela's witness to be remembered gratefully in our time.

Another communal interest may be that items from his story have become part of the cultural symbolism of Zulu "Norwegian" Lutherans. A later incident from the time of 1960 will illustrate this. The context of the 1960 merger of the five Lutheran mission churches has already been referred to, but this source is a different one. From the beginning of the negotiations the terms of the merger had been very controversial, and the outcome of the constituent assembly, held in KwaMondi/Eshowe, was by no means certain. "I remember that at the signing of the documents there was lightening and thunder, as there had been after Maqhamusela's death. We took it as an "amen" from God: we are doing the right thing" (Interview 31:6 with Dean LL Mthembu, one of the participants of that assembly)

As part of the communal interest in Maqhamusela in the present time the desire to be recognized as co-workers with the missionaries in bringing the good news to the Zulu people is strong both in academia, among the clergy and in lay circles. Where that desire is met with scientific integrity and not as a politically correct stance it fuels a sense of pride and belonging to the church of Christ (Interview 26#8 with Bishop SP Zulu). Therefore it is important to tell the story of Maqhamusela in the congregations and to celebrate the grace which he was given, and that in public commemoration.

9. By way of summary: Maqhamusela's obituary

If one accepts Gray's claim that to a hitherto unacknowledged extent "the growth, expansion and development of Christianity south of the Sahara has depended on, and been distinctly

molded by, African initiatives" (Gray 1990: 11), one must ask in which sense Maqhamusela's life and death could have been such an initiative or moulding force. In vindicating the Christian faith as being an offer of life to persons of all cultures he had done what no missionary could have achieved. He had also acquitted himself as a faithful co-worker. Maqhamusela had witnessed to the faith in an African voice. Rev Oftebro's report on his death was concluded by a quotation, unfortunately without mentioning the source: "He died keeping Sunday, it is said of him; he prayed for all of us and did not show the slightest fear" (Oftebro 9.April 1877; Hale 1996:87). Fowler placed that summary into the mouth of the death squad (Fowler MS 1935:13, Source 11 [Endnote 6].

Maqhamusela's prayer habits had earned him the nickname *Umuntu Wesonto* (the Sunday man, the man of prayer, (Gundersen 1874, Source 5) and, remembering that he had wept when taking leave of Simon, it was in prayer that he braced himself to face death "without showing the slightest fear". As has been stated earlier, in this he had championed the traditional value of courage, albeit out of love for Christ. Moreover, far from fearing total oblivion should the Zulu burial rites not be performed, he held the confident hope that God would receive him.

If one accepts Fowler's enumeration of Maqhamusela's prayer concerns as reliable, his prayer was a further witness to his faith since in it the cultural value of loyalty to the lineage shed its limitation. True to Christian teaching and Christ's example it embraced all people: friend and foe, believer and traditionalist, black and white, an inclusive community that could be named in the first person plural: "He prayed for all of us." In his prayer he had also lived out the new life of Christ.

Thus Maqhamusela had witnessed faithfully and relevantly to the Christian faith within the world-view of the Zulus and had upheld traditional Zulu values. Maqhamusela had the making of a hero, a person who valiantly upholds what is in the interest of the community (Concise Oxford Dictionary 1964:672). He was part of the orally transmitted history in which items imbued with particular meaning within the Zulu experience were retained, in spite of the fact that the master source had dropped them. Reasons for that selective presentation in the master source will be considered in the next chapter.

Chapter 6:

Remembering Maqhamusela: the title

> "Documents represent the social perception
> of facts and are subject so social pressures from the context in which they are obtained. Therefore, what we receive is the social meaning. (Thompson 1992:96)

1. The importance of burial rites in traditional Zulu culture

The previous chapter has shown up one factor operative towards Maqhamusela being remembered: he was a hero in a culture that routinely recounted its past (Samuelson 1949:253f; Krige 1936:272 footnote), and in which the deceased is still among us. An interview between the present researcher (MN) and former Bishop SP Zulu (SPZ) brings this out forcefully:

> MN: What was it that helped black Christians to remember Maqhamusela?
> SPZ: In a Zulu surrounding it would just happen that way. . . . . It is our way of looking at life after death, which is related to veneration of ancestors. A person who has passed away does not disappear, he or she exists somewhere, is still part of your life. . . . . The whole area had him in their minds" (Interview 26#10, 13 with Bishop SP Zulu).

Clarification of this general view can be found in Mbiti(1969:59f, 149-159, 163ff, 215f) and works that specifically focus on the Zulu world-view, e.g. Krige (1936:163-174) and Berglund (1976:35ff,78ff). According to these authors in the Zulu world-view the departed are present with the humanly living members of the lineage continually, and communication with them is possible through dreams, apparitions and the mediatorship of diviners, *inyangas*. There is "a close and intimate association within the lineage between the departed and their survivors", (Berglund 1976:29). RCA Samuelson and Bryant named this presence of the departed "spirit", and Eileen Krige "ancestor"; both terms are imprecise and have Western connotations. Therefore Mbiti coined the term "the living dead", Monika Wilson preferred "senior relatives, living and dead", while Berglund calls them "lineage shades" (Berglund 1976:29). In Zulu they are the *amadlozi*.

While a creator God (according to Krige the first man *Unkulunkulu*, as against Berglund: The Lord-of-the-Sky *uMvelingqangi*) was postulated, he was distant, did not disclose himself and therefore was unknown and inscrutable. Prayer to him was taken recourse to only in the utmost exigencies (Samuelson 1929:378; Krige 1936: 280f, Berglund 1976:33ff). The *amadlozi* were much closer, and prayer could be made to them since "they could more easily hear and sympathise" with the survivors (Samuelson 1929:378). They took an active interest in their progeny, protecting them, granting health and fertility, but, in turn, required that survivors sacrifice and remember them. In short,

> "All prosperity is ascribed to the favour of the ancestors, misfortune to their anger. But while the living are dependent for their welfare on the dead, the spirits in turn depend upon the living descendants to worship them and to sacrifice to them" (Krige, 1936:283).

All major changes in the lineage were reported to the *amadlozi*, births, lengthy journeys, the bringing in of the harvest. Each communication with the ancestor spirits was accompanied by a sacrifice of an animal or produce or a libation of beer, except in extreme cases of starvation. The *amadlozi* were invited to join festivities to the extent that food and drink for them were placed in designated areas - and consumed by survivors on the next day without embarrassment, since the *amadlozi* had had their fill. Failure to keep the *amadlozi* in memory and adequately supplied with meat and drink could result in their anger bringing misfortune on the lineage (Samuelson 1929: 347).

Recitation of the names and feats of one who had passed on, particularly those of a king but also of a household head, (women did not feature here as prominently), was an important part of his praisesong, his *isibongo*. These songs were skillfully composed and recited by bards on different occasions such as royal festivals and important lineage festivities. RCA Samuelson (1929:254) points out that in the pre-literate Zulu culture the annalists who committed to memory the most important events of their day and those who fashioned and declaimed the praise songs out of that material were the historians in this culture.

A hero's shades, his *amadlozi*, plural form of *indlozi*, were thus an important item in that person's identity; besides they were "dispensers of all good and evil" (Samuelson 1929:347). However, it did not come as a matter of course that the "spirit" of a departed would become a shade; for that "spirit" had to link up with the community of the "living dead" (Mbiti), the shades remembered by the living. Here the prime value of community is posited for the afterlife also. The shade of one who had died would have to be accompanied to that place (note the image of place for the after-life) by other shades, the living-dead and by survivors in their ritual, lest wizards (*abathakathi*) abduct it to enslave it to their anti-social intentions. In that case the wizards could subject it to being forgotten among the survivors, a horrendous prospect, as oblivion among the living was seen the ultimate destruction.

Annihilation of this kind (*ukubulala nya* to kill utterly, Berglund 1976:18) was a particular danger in the case of someone who had died an utimely, i.e. unnatural, death. There was reluc-

sorcery and because of its consequences (Berglund, 1976:80). Potentially the spirit of someone who had died unnaturally was already subjected to the *abathakathi* as can be seen from the timing of his death. Word-usage implying different causes of death is significant here. Berglund points out that a timely death, presupposing a number of children and grandchildren, was in the Zulu language of the late 1880ties expressed by such terms as *ukugoduka, ukudlula, ukuhamba* and *ukuqubeka*, all of which give notions of a passing on, a continuation; RCA Samuelson (1929:398) adds to these *usele* to leave behind. It was used of warriors fallen in battle; they were covered with their shields, not buried. Berglund holds that an untimely death is implied in word usage of *ukufa, ukubhuda and ukugqibuka* which imply a breaking off of life. (Berglund 1976:79, also Bryant, 1949:708)

In Zulu culture "Nothing is real which is not ritually experienced by the individual in his/her community" (Kudadjie 1996: 72; duToit 1996: 98). According to Krige (*) burial was the obvious rite in the case of a death, the cattle kraal being the most fitting place for interment. However further ritual remembering was required after this: first the *ihlabo* ceremony in which associates and personal effects of the deceased were cleansed, and then that of *ukubuyisa*, of bringing home the roving shade to the home. Both were conducted around the grave. Thus it was necessary for the relatives at least to know where the bones had been interred. Moreover the grave had to be guarded to prevent wizards from gaining possession of the shade of the departed and subverting its entry into the community of the "dead who are" (Berglund 1976:40f). Thus when in 1784 permission to bury Cetshwayo in the ancestral burial site in the Makhosini valley was not granted by the Resident Osborne, he was interred in the Nkandla Forest. That grave near Luhungu was tended and guarded by members of the Shezi homestead (Fuze 1979:119-21; Binns 1963:211-12, 225-9; Binns 1968:8, 13-17, 259-60; Laband 1995:367). Similarly, the locality of burial sites came up as a major concern in many Truth and Reconciliation hearings in our day.

Death without the funerary rites made passing over into the "world of the living dead" highly dangerous not only for the deceased. It was also perilous for the survivors. These persons as also all the possessions of the deceased could not be adequately cleansed from pollution and thereby returned to everyday life and use without those rituals; even after battle warriors had to undergo cleansing rituals according to Guy (1994:55). Since without burial a "shade" had not been incorporated into the community of the other shades, it could not be "brought home" (*ukubuyisa*) with a petition to bless the survivors. [Endnote 7]. A "shade" that had not been brought home would continue wandering away from the homestead instead of protecting and guiding the inmates; it would remain a "roaming spirit" (Samuelsen 1929:347, 379), likely to harm its kin and those against whom it held a grudge. Even long after the funerary rites ritual remembrance was the only manner in which the lineage could appease the anger of a disgruntled ancestor-shade which was bringing them misfortune (Mbiti 1969:149-165; Krige, 1936:163-170; Berglund 1976:106, Häselbarth, 1972:207-265).

Briefly then, without the sequence of burial rites the living kin was in danger since it could neither slaughter to ask for blessing nor appease the *indlozi* nor bring new members to be accepted into the lineage and be blessed with its life force, since that deceased had not become one of the living dead ritually.

In Maqhamusela's case the difficulty was that the corpse had never been found. Nor was there a burial site where death rituals could be performed, not even Christian burial. Both a white respondent who grew up among the Zulus and a Zulu respondent, both of them Christians, attributed the lack of Maqhamusela's public commemoration in the congregation to there being no grave (Interviews 17#2 with Ms Makeson and 1#1 with Dean Khuzwayo). In terms of Zulu religion Maqhamusela would hardly have become an *indlozi* - a presence among the survivors, remembered with respect and veneration. In fact, talk about his untimely death would be avoided (Berglund, 1976:80). - In spite of that he was remembered among the Zulus of Eshowe and the whites of the mission, and with pride.

2. Interpreting the loss of Maqhamusela's body

The information that the body had not been recovered had reached Stavanger and other interested parties before Oftebro wrote his report. Thus the first, admittedly uncorroborated, report of the execution given by headquarters to supporters in Norway through *Norsk Missions-Tidende* suggested that the executioners had thrown the body into the bushes. By the time Oftebro wrote his official report a month had elapsed, time enough for the different interpretations of the loss of the body to surface and be defended or dropped. In that report of 9 April 1977 Oftebro did not mention the fruitless search for the corpse and the impossibility to give it a Christian burial. The fact that this had featured in the uncorroborated report from headquarters and was not taken up by Oftebro either in his letter to Robertson nor in his official report to Stavanger is strange. One wonders whether Oftebro was trying to suffocate that item. In his official report he summed up Maqhamusela's death in these words: Maqhamusela was "the first person in our Zulu mission to have lost his life for the sake of his faith" (Oftebro 9.4.1977, Source 6). Incidentally a matter that awaits later examination, in that summary Oftebro used neither the Norwegian word for blood witness (*blod-vitne*) nor that for martyr (*martyr*) - word usage attested to in Letter 46 from Karl Solberg.

The silence of the missionary's report on the loss of the corpse could not preclude that circumstance from being interpreted by others. There is no contemporary documentary evidence on how the parishioners interpreted it. None of the early written sources (Robertson, Samuelson, Fröhling) mention the loss of the body, they were all dependent on Oftebro.

However, Robertson, reporting on the execution in "The Net", on 21 March 1877, barely a fortnight after the execution, evoked an established martyrological topos (Bonwetsch 1896 vol.

12:48) in closing the account with the words " . . . and his spirit ascended to heaven" (Robertson 1877, Source 8). In evoking the associations of a martyr Robertson had given Maqhamusela ranking among Biblical prophets and Christian leaders such as Moses and Stephen; the claim to his ascension perhaps made Maqhamusela become somewhat bigger than life. Fröhling applied the term "martyr" to Maqhamusela some months after the event (Fröhling 1877:208), but without any mention of the body disappearing.

Sixty years later the Anglican Fowler stated bluntly that when the faithful rang the church bell and went to the hilltop to bury the body.

> "It was not there. There was no sign of the body being dragged away by wild beasts, which the people of Eshowe - and particularly Simon - affirm had long left the neighbourhood. The Norwegian Christians of Eshowe firmly hold that the Lord buried Maqumasela [sic] as he buried Moses, (Fowler MS 1935:13, Source 11).

"The Norwegian Christians of Eshowe - and particularly Simon" seem not to refer to the missionaries as becomes clear when Fowler takes up the question what could have happened to the body two pages later.

> "Search was made for the body for nearly a week. As against the local conviction that there is a mystery in the disappearance of the Martyr's body, there were hyena as other wild beasts in the neighbourhood, but Simon denies this. On the mission station (researcher: there is) a small hill where Pastor Oftebro built huts, and people used to lie hidden to shoot hyenas, (Fowler MS 1935:15, Source 11).

It seems, then, that "the Norwegian Christians at Eshowe" refers to Zulu Christians from the Norwegian mission, and not to Oftebro and later to Rodseth who supplied evidence for the wild animal theory. In fact, the debate concerning Maqhamusela's corpse has not subsided till today, as can be seen from the opposing standpoints of former Dean Khuzwayo - burial by God - (Interview 1#1) and Ms Makeson, daughter of Rev Rodseth - being devoured by hyenas (Interview 17#2). The African Western divide in the interpretations is obvious.

The interpretation which Fowler stated to be favoured predominantly by blacks placed Maqhamusela alongside Biblical heroes and lent itself to glorifying him as a Christian martyr rather than merely as "a person . . . .(who had) lost his life for the sake of his faith" (Oftebro, report of 9.4,1877). On this point Fowler agreed with them.

3. Shoring up against what was seen as an unacceptable interpretation?

Oftebro's reticence on the loss of the body invites the question what might have motivated the omission. Contemporary literary criticism not only allows such questions, it emphasizes their importance for unmasking ideology in a text, whether it be political, philosophical or theological.

> Literature, one might argue, is the most revealing mode of experiential access to ideology that we possess. It is in literature, above all, that we observe in a peculiarly com-

> of lived experience of class societies.. . . Unlike science, literature appropriates the real as it is given in ideological forms, but does so in a way that creates the illusion of the spontaneously, unmediated real . . . The literary text thus appears as a "natural" object, typically denying the determinants of its productive process. The function of criticism is to refuse the spontaneous presence of the work - to deny that "naturalness" in order to make its real determinants appear" (Eagleton,T 1976:101).

This chapter will undertake to find such determinants, and will then venture the hypothesis that Oftebro's careful avoidance of the term "martyr" accounts for his omitting to mention that he and the men from the station did not find the corpse.

To grant Maqhamusela the title "martyr" may have aroused the fear in the missionary that, riding on the back of Zulu ancestor veneration, the presence of a martyr could invite veneration in the Eshowe congregation similar to that which Oftebro perceived among Anglicans and Roman Catholics. Against the latter there had been strongly expressed convictions by the body of students at the Stavanger Seminary where he had been trained (Simensen 1986, 35). On the other hand the term "martyr" seems not to have been offensive to the pietistic supporters of the Norwegian mission venture as a whole: within the same year an *Missions-Tidende* article on the slaying of a Christian in the Pacific Ocean area received a caption that can be translated as "A Martyr for Christ" (*Norsk Missions-Tidende* 1877/8:181).

It seems likely to the researcher that within the south-east African context Oftebro wanted Maqhamusela to be remembered as a fellow believer, and one filled with the grace of sacrificial dedication to God, but not as anything else. This hypothesis would also explain why Oftebro did not mention the storm which Maqhamusela had announced, a storm which he is likely to have heard about or even experienced personally, his house having been only about 3 kilometres from Mpondweni Hill. He may have refrained from mentioning the storm out of the desire to curb any tendencies for Maqhamusela's stature to grow into that of a prophet, or even for him to become a mediator and dispenser of divine grace and blessing to earthlings, as demonstrated by the fulfilment of his warning of the on-coming storm. To back this hypothesis a historical overview of aspects of the veneration of martyrs and saints is imperative.

4. Aspects of martyrdom in the history of Christianity

A full historical overview of the veneration of martyrs up to the time of the Reformation and an expansion of the theology and spirituality of Norwegian Lutheran missionaries would explode the limits of this research. However in this history some aspects that readily contribute to an insight into pervading attitudes to the commemoration of martyrdom in the early church, in the Lutheran church of the Reformation and, later, among the missionaries stand out.

According to Pobee (1986: 14ff) important early clarification on martyrdom had grown out of Jewish interpretation of Seleucid persecution, the post-Pascal understanding of the events of Jesus' life, death and resurrection, and New Testament theologizing on the suffering of Chris

tian leaders and congregations. Pobee (1986:106f) interprets Paul as viewing suffering for Christ from several perspectives: as indicator of zeal for the Lord, as encouragement and example, as imitation of Christ, and as part of the cosmic battle between God and Satan, but not as soteriologically efficacious. God gives a martyr or confessor power and by means of these witnesses God overcomes "the Adversary"; the tormentors are the latter's co-workers.

Further clarification came with theological reflection on martyrs in North Africa (Perpetua) and those of Lyon (177). Christ was seen as participating in the suffering of those who were being tortured, and the martyr's death was seen as analogous to Christ's (already in the stoning of Stephen in Acts 7:54ff). When in Asia-Minor Christians vainly endeavoured to procure the body of Polycarp (d. 155/161), the difference between the relation to Christ and to the martyr had to be defined:

> "This one (the Christ) we, on the one hand, worship as the Son of God, but the martyrs we love appropriately as disciples and imitators of the Lord because of their outstanding dedication to His own kingdom," (Bonwetsch 1896: vol. 7:554 and vol. 12:48).

As exemplified in the case of Perpetua (d. 202 in Carthage) martyrs had the prerogative to request revelations (Wilson-Kastner 1981:#4), and exercised the authority to restore peace among separated groups in the church (Wilson-Kastner 1981:# 13). They had the right of intercession for the *lapsi* before bishops and for the unbaptized before God (Wilson-Kastner 1981:##7+8). Such a perspective is in evidence already at the turn of the third century. In Tertulllian's time oblations were already being poured out at the tombs of North African martyrs and in Cyprian's time the expectation of special grace was linked to such commemorations (Bonwetsch 1869: vol 12:48). Soon the words and teaching of martyrs could not be challenged, and confessors (who had escaped death) rivalled the episcopacy for leadership, so that Cyprian took recourse to co-opting confessors by ordaining them into the priesthood (Salisbury 1997: 170).

Some of that power from God which had sustained the martyrs in their ordeal was thought still to be harboured in their physical remains, which was one reason for the importance of procuring Polycarp's body, (Bonwetsch 1896 vol. 7:554, vol. 12:48; Salisbury 1997:166). Private prayers and public worship, in which the story of the martyrdom was often read out, were conducted in shrines at their place of burial or in shrines hosting relics. Particularly if invoked in those places, martyrs and saints became intermediaries of special grace from God, and it is to these holy places that devotees brought their offerings.

One could summarize the pre-Reformation understanding of martyrs and saints by the term coined by Johnson "patronage model" over against a "companionship model" (1998:2ff). In the former martyrs were seen to be bigger than life, and able to channel the extraordinary grace which God had bestowed on them to supplicants, until the martyrs themselves became dispensers of divine grace, and were situated between God and humans. In the "companionship model" martyrs are seen as fellow believers, "the ideal here being solidarity in difference"

(Johnson, 1998: 2). On the one hand these co-travellers encourage and strengthen us who are still on the road; on the other hand they invite us to join them in the praise of God and of his Christ c.f. Rev 12:10-12.

The following portrayal of the stance on martyrs taken by Luther and his adherents draws on the research by Kolb (1987:16f). In the first place, Luther rejected the spirituality of the veneration of saints and martyrs as idolatrous in that it disclaims that there is only one mediator between God and humans, that is Christ; he therefore held that it tarnishes the honour in which believers hold God. Moreover he condemned practices related to it as endeavours to achieve salvation through works, thus undermining the doctrines of soteriology central to his teaching. In the second place Luther perceived it as forging a false dichotomy between the sacred and the profane, the holy and the secular life; holiness to him centred on living out one's calling (whatever that may be) in co-operation with God's care and concern for the world. In his view living under holy orders and vows is not more holy than responsible fulfilment of a "profane" vocation. The matter raised a third concern for Luther, and indeed for the historian Melanchthon, namely the understanding of history. They held that the proclamation of God's Word, which impacts either as judgment or mercy, propels events in human life at all times. They held that history is part of the continuing cosmic conflict between God and Satan.

Kolb summarizes the attack against what Luther called the "adoration of saints" as follows: "(Luther's) positions rested on fundamental convictions . . . . regarding the nature of salvation, the nature of God's word in history and the relationship of the sacred and the profane in the created order. Accordingly

> Those who had announced and pronounced God's saving in his Word throughout Christian history became the new heroes of the faith. What was really important to Luther was not the hero but the Word as it brought God's power to bear on human life"(Kolb 1987:16).

Such holy and heroic persons had not only been given to the People of God in Biblical times but beyond that, therefore men like Savonarola, Hus and Jerome of Prague held places of high honour among Lutherans.

Soon the negative stance taken by Lutheranism against the cult of saints and martyrs proved insufficient. In that the Lutheran church claimed to be the legitimate continuation of the "one" church of Christ, it was aware of its links with the history of Christ's church and thus took over from the liturgical heritage what could be justified according to the Lutheran understanding of the Scriptures (Nagel 1962 vol.III: 167). Soon (beginning in 1523) Lutherans also had to contend with the emergence of contemporary confessors and martyrs from among their own ranks, and offer an interpretative framework to their followers, who were still steeped in the old practices and in danger of intimidation by such events. Luther celebrated those who paid for their alignment with the Reformation with their lives; to him they stand in a long history of heirs of Christ's suffering and of faithful witnesses to the Gospel [Endnote 8].

Eventually, Article XXI of the *Confessio Augustana* formulated the Lutheran position regarding the cult of saints as follows: "It is also taught that saints should be kept in remembrance so that our faith may be strengthened when we see what grace they received and how

they were sustained by faith. Moreover, their good works are to be an example for us, each of us in his own calling" (Tappert 1959:46). Acknowledgement and remembrance of great women and men of God was accepted to be part of Lutheran observances, though what form this remembrance was to take was left open. Commemoration was to serve as an encouragement to the afflicted that God will sustain them, and the conduct of these women and men was to serve as an example to later generations. In spite of this no saints' days were actually celebrated in Lutheran congregations liturgically, with a few exceptions in Sweden (e.g. St Ansgar).

The above was the theological and liturgical position of Lutherans, also those in Norway, which was under Denmark when the Reformation was introduced by royal decree in 1536 . Understandably the Haugeian pietistic movement, which had coloured Norwegian spirituality indelibly in the early nineteenth century, had not resulted in any change in the observance of commemoration of saints. As in most other national churches of the Lutheran confession, though some liturgical feast days such as that of All Saints had been retained on the calender, they were not celebrated as such (Interview 43#4 with Mr C. Otte).

It follows that the spirituality of the Norwegian Mission Society and the liturgical tradition of the Norwegian Lutheran Church lacked a framework of customary liturgical observances into which to fit any public commemoration of Maqhamusela. Nor did the polity of the church provide for a forum or procedure for proclaiming a person a saint or martyr, as is found in the Roman Catholic Church. Rather there was what was considered the spectre of Roman Catholic practices and the seemingly treacherous undercurrent of the Zulu veneration of the living dead. These circumstances may have made it seem wiser to Rev Oftebro to peel down the story of Maqhamusela to those elements that would not offer a matrix for development into the "martyr-saint" image. Instead he propagated the story as encouragement and example only. Neither he nor Rev Schreuder (also a Norwegian Lutheran) used the appellation "martyr" for Maqhamusela. According to the material at the disposal of the researcher the epithet was applied to Maqhamusela among Norwegians only once and that in a poem by CK in *Norsk Missions-Tidende* 1877/8:282, and then not again until Stavem's booklet on the Norwegian Missionaries in South Africa (Stavem 1918:39, Source 10).

5. Persecution of Christians in the missiological strategy of Norwegians

In the decade of the 1870s two movements ran parallel in the interrelationship between the missionaries and Zulu authorities. The first concerned a change in the mission strategy of the Norwegian missionaries, the second a change in ideology, understood here not in the Marxist sense as theory legitimating elitist interests but as thought constructs motivating affiliation and action. For the sake of conceptual clarity the discussion will deal with the missiological strategy in this section, and with the change in action-motivating thought constructs in the next, although the interlocking is obvious. Both have a bearing on how Maqhamusela was seen.

The missionaries, fired by the zeal to serve the Lord by witnessing to the Zulus, had from the beginning known that in carrying out that task they were dependent on the goodwill of the reigning monarch, as proved by Schreuder leaving South Africa (temporarily) in 1842 when Mpande refused him permission to do mission work in Natal. The missiological strategy of the Norwegians had initially aimed for the Gospel to transform the Zulus into a Christian nation by means of widely flung itinerant preaching. This was in accord with the assimilationist, "Christian-humanitarian, theological-idealistic" view of the relationship of faith and culture, which was fostered at the Seminary in the first half of the nineteenth century (Simensen 1986:39; Etherington 1977:116). The missionary task was to preach the Word, which, upon being believed, would find or create fitting cultural forms among the believers. Warneck was a champion of this approach and Bosch (1992:298) cites Rufus Anderson as example.

For their converts the Norwegian Lutherans had, initially, not foreseen a situation of unresolved conflict of loyalty to the Christian God on the one hand and to the religiously underpinned Zulu state on the other, if only rather wide dispensation could be given for court and regiment activities that were religiously unacceptable to the Christian faith, as interpreted by the missionaries (Hernaes and Simensen 1985:2, 6; Simensen 1986:137). This had been the thrust of Schreuder's argument before Mpande (Simensen 1987:89). At the same time the assumption of Western cultural superiority was never questioned by them and seemed justified by its technology, medical science etc.

However, soon the missionaries found themselves marginalized, distrustful of Cetshwayo, in strong opposition to key aspects of Zulu culture (e.g. *lobolo* and the governance of powerful Zulus), and wincing at Zulu pride in their glorious past. In the preaching at kraals and at the residences of chiefs and the King the missionaries' message was dismissed as irrelevant by Zulus, self-confident in their military prowess and economic sufficiency (Hernaes and Simensen 1985:14). Even worse, the endeavours to form Christian communities were seen to be subversive.

> "There was widespread suspicion that missionary effort was deliberately directed towards the undermining of chiefly authority, that Bantu families moved to mission stations in order to organise political opposition to the chief, that missionaries were acting as informers for the Colonial Government as, indeed, they often did", (Hutchinson 1957:169).

To add to that the missionaries were frustrated by the complaint, made repeatedly, that Christians were not loyal Zulus, without their being given the opportunity to prove the opposite.

In Zululand Christians were at times arraigned by the despised name which colonists gave to Natal Zulus: "*kaffers*" (Etherington 1971:190f; Simensen 1986:75; Guy 1994:18, 224) [Endnote 9]. Conversions were few: after 25 years, in 1875, 245 members could be counted (du Plessis 1911:382), not quite 300 by 1879 on all Norwegian stations, including Umphumulo in English Natal (Stavem 1918:42; Hernaes and Simensen 1985:6; Hale 1996:78). Besides there being few conversions, there was also the disappointment to the missionaries that some Christians, and not only those that left the stations, lost all moral rooting (Hutchinson 1957:171f;

Simensen 87:95; Hale 1996:50), both because of the relaxing of the austere familial and tribal relationship sanctions over behaviour, and because of individualisation, which converts had no experience in handling (Hutchinson 1957:174). The relation between mission enterprise and indigenous culture came to be seen in a more pessimistic light and the missiological theory was repeatedly tested against missionary experience in south-east Africa in the 1870s, prompting a new mission strategy to be gradually adopted (Hale 1986:25; 1996:22).

The missionaries on their part encountered problems in translating the gospel message, in the sense in which Sanneh uses that word to characterize the evangelism of the early church as

> . . the resolve to relativise its . . . . roots (i.e. those of the faith), with the consequence that it (the process of translation) promoted significant aspects of those roots. (At the same time) . . . to destigmatize the culture (of the people being evangelized) and adopt that culture as a natural extension of the life of the newer religion. This action to destigmatize complemented the other action to relativize" (Sanneh 1991:1).

Instead, the Norwegian missionaries were overwhelmed by the distance between themselves and the local culture (Simensen 1986: 198), both as custom and as ethical and religious worldview. For example the missionaries often complained that the Zulu culture was materialistic and lacked the concept of sin (Hale 1996:58, 67; Simensen 1986:201; Simensen 1987:90) as personal, moral guilt. The latter is implicitly denied by Berglund (1976;313f, 320f. 323f, 348f [Endnote 10] and Mbiti 1969:210f). This was important since conviction of personal sin and guilt was the point of departure of the Norwegian mission approach (Simensen 1986:201, Hale 1996:152ff). The kingpin in the Zulu worldview, on the other hand, was power, community and affirmation of life.

> The spirituality and hope of the black poor is found in the power to say "no" to death and "yes" to life" (Ecumenical Association of Third World Theologians, quoted in du Toit 1996:87).

However, it seems that the doctrinal requirements and even the ethical demands of the Norwegian missionaries were not the great stumbling block to the conversion of Zulus. Etherington's research lead him to conclude that different missiological strategies hardly mattered in gaining converts. "The formative forces on missions were African needs and colonial government," (Etherington 1977:35). It is true not only of Zululand that missionaries generally had great difficulty in penetrating cohesive centralised precapitalist societies. Their operations tended to be more successful among communities that had been disrupted or were under strain (Hutchinson 1957: 164; Maylam 1986:85). The Norwegian missionaries concluded that the main stumbling block to Christianization was the "national pride" of the people . . .. "because of the glorious military past" (quoted in Hernaes and Simensen 1985:14). This nurtured an attitude of ambivalence among the missionaries towards the prospering of the Zulu state.

In the meanwhile the general approach to mission (here as in other parts of the world) was changing its orientation from Christianizing nations to converting individuals to Christ (Simensen 1985:39, Bosch 1985:30f, Hale 1986:91), from itinerant preaching to reaching out from the mission station as catalyst and alternative community. Freytag (Hermelink and Margull 1961:187) holds that the latter approach found its motivation in eschatology, the salvific impor

tance of the present moment in view of thousands of people dying each day and going to destruction without having heard the gospel (e.g. Hudson Taylor). In extreme cases of this eschatalogical missiological theory, such as that of the American Alliance Mission, urgency for the mission task was generated by the vision that evangelization of the world would hasten the second return of Christ, the setting up of the Kingdom of God (Hermelink and Margull 1961:187)

While Norwegian Lutheran Pietist missions were far removed from the last-named stance, the more negative appraisal of the relation between culture and gospel and the focus on individual conversion found ready entry among them. This strategy resembled the first Christian missions in the hostile world of Roman times but also hearkened back to the intertestamental period when the nexus between prophetic calling and being persecuted had been forged into the single term "blood witness, martyr" (Pobee 1985: 106f). In this Jewish tradition the enemies of the martyrs had been seen to be acting in consort with Satan (Pobee 1985:26ff). In the theology of Paul martyrdom was the testing of those fired with zeal for the Lord; it was endured in imitation of Christ and as part of the unfolding of God's plan for the world in his battle with Satan, (an eschatalogical perspective), an interpretation most shrilly orchestrated in the book of Revelations.

The above change in the theological assessment of culture and of missiological orientation from an idealistic to a more pessimistic "eschatalogical" view of history (Simensen 1986:38) had important implications missionary attitudes towards adversaries of the gospel (Bosch 1985:32). Those who thwarted the mission endeavour could have been stigmatized as anti-Christs. Translated into the situation in Zululand in the later 1870's a martyr-cult could have resulted in Cetshwayo being aligned with Satan. However, this is an equation that neither Oftebro nor the other Norwegian missionaries made, not even immediately after the executions. To them Cetshwayo remained a human, who had to be called to account for what had happened, and both Gundersen, Dr Oftebro and the Anglican Robertsen did that on their first encounter with the King after the event (Oftebro 3 May 1877, reported in *Norsk Missions-Tidende* (1877/7:262, Hale 1996:88-91) and by Samuelsen in *The Mission Field* 1877/10:469). The political impact of this possible linkage suggested in the martyr tradition may have been another reason that persuaded Oftebro consistently to refrain from applying the appellation of "martyr" to Maqhamusela.

6. Persecution of Christians seen in the political context of Zululand in 1877

The circumstance that Oftebro portrayed Maqhamusela as a person who died for his faith rather than calling him a martyr may have had reasons beyond the mission theology he

propagated, even if these can only be surmised by playing out what impact the opposite action might have had on the missionaries' relationship to Cetshwayo. Neville Hogan's insight (quoted in Marks 1986: 2) will be useful in the a nalysis,

> "Ideological ambiguities arise out of structural ambiguities and cannot be explained at the level of ideology alone. Ideology is not self-explanatory".

In the case of Cetshwayo and the Norwegian Mission Society the undefined nature of the missionaries' relative rights and obligations (structural ambivalence) made for increasing ambivalence in attitude, perception and tone of interaction (ideology) among the missionaries. The discussion of the transaction model in the previous chapter profiled the basic concerns of each side; these were to be served by the structure of the relationship. The coronation agreement between Natal and Zululand was taken by the missionaries as safeguarding basic rights for their work. On the other hand the political code required that in internal Zulu conflict missionaries remain neutral, that they do not build up a power base for themselves but act as intermediators, and that they do not spread information deleterious to the Zulu kingdom (Hernaes and Simensen 1985:5). This seemed to be in line with their initial purpose, so that all the Norwegian missionaries initially opposed British penetration of Zululand (Etherington 1977, 34f, Simensen 1986:264), although they were willing to supply Sir Theophilus Shepstone with information on remote districts and to act as diplomatic agents (Etherington 1977:369; Simensen 1986:142).

The missionaries were very unsure where they stood with regard to the disparity between the threats against the baptized by Zulu authorities, particularly stringent in the case of warriors, and implementation of these threats. Zulus considered baptism tantamount to defection from the King (Simensen 1986:110, Fynney MS 1877:100). Yet, for the years up to 1877 authorities seemed to "look the other way" (Oftebro 1877, in Hale 1996:85) when baptisms were undertaken, possibly because, as hinted above, converts tended to be people from the fringes of society and under moral opprobrium, as pointed out by Zulu authorities (Fynney to Osborn: 1877:47) and by colonists. A contributor to the "Natal Witness" held that a "Mission *kaffir* is often a synonym for drunkard and thief" (quoted in Meintjes 1985:3; Binns 1963:74). There were "unrepresentative collections of human flotsam and jetsam gathered on mission stations" (Etherington 1977:36; Hutchinson 1957:165f), and not worth risking a confrontation with useful persons.

In view of this laxness on the part of Zulu authorities in implementing their punishment against civilians, baptisms of old women and children, specially those who had been employed on the stations, seemed to have been undertaken freely by the Norwegians. However, they were careful enough to ask for permission when the person concerned was one of Cetshwayo's warriors, as we see in the repeated requests for Maqhamusela's baptism before various levels of Zulu authority, and in Oftebro reminding Cetshwayo that once he had been "given" him an old man whom he then baptised (Oftebro's letter to Robertson, Source 5).

In apprising the structural relationship from the point of view of Cetshwayo Hale's warning against historical reductionism is apposite :

> "Relations between the Zulu government and the Norwegian missionaries before the outbreak of the war cannot be expressed in any one succinct formula" (Hale 1996:78).

As has been outlined in the previous chapter, for Cetshwayo the core concern was retaining control over the centrifugal forces within the Zulu kingdom (Maylam 1986:72; Laband 1985, Cohesion:1; Guy 1994:21,39, Hale 1996:70), and Boer encroachment on land. When that core concern was threatened by the missionaries' demand or initiative Cetshwayo's latitude or even friendliness towards them turned sour.

From Cetshwayo's point of view the prohibition and the slackness in carrying it out were part of the bid for British political alliance. The annexation of Transvaal early in April 1877 and the High Commissioner Frere's withholding the findings of the Bulwer initiated Land Commission (Laband and Wright 1980:14) to adjudicate in the dispute between Cetshwayo and the Boers convinced Cetshwayo that British support for him, or even neutrality, had melted in favour of the Boers. The English saw the Boers as potential partners in the Carnarvon Confederation (Simensen 1986:153). The reason for this, again, must be sought in the change to a Liberal Government in Britain, and the growing rivalry of the industrial powers in Europe to cream off the potential of South Africa. National barriers and competencies, anything that impeded the flow of cheap labour, had to make way (Etherington 1977:85). Cetshwayo registered the swing in the pendulum and persecutions erupted in Zululand (Simensen 1986:153).

At the same time Cetshwayo was being pressurized by his own people. The regiments were restless for action. He repeatedly but unsuccessfully asked the British government to be allowed a raid against the Swazis so that they could at last wash their spears under his kingship. There were instances of insubordination to Cetshwayo by powerful individuals such as his commander-in-chief Dabulamanzi (Binns 1963:114) and Mbilini (Binns 1963:39). There was also intergenerational conflict between rival regiments (Laband: Fight us, 39-41; Webb and Wright 1978:78; Hale 1996:97f). When Gawozi openly denounced Maqhamusela as a warrior seeking baptism, the matter of conversion came to a head. The men executed in March 1877 at Injezane, Umlazi and Eshowe and the two threatened with death in Eshowe a few weeks later were all members of royal age regiments. "The murders were, thus, an exercise in military discipline" (Simensen 1985:153). In the situation in which Cetshwayo found himself, retaining that hold on his forces assumed priority over the disadvantage of alienating "English" public opinion and over preserving those aspects of the relationship with the missionaries that were still useful. Of the latter a sick Cetshwayo availed himself unashamedly a few days after the execution of Maqhamusela (Oftebro 9 April 1877; Hale 1996:88). The pendulum was swinging to and fro within the range of ambivalences.

In order to remain true to their calling the missionaries had to work through their frustration with the strange culture and their vocational disillusionment, but also their personal insecurity, lack of backing by Natal law enforcement agencies and the sense of impending crisis. This occa-

sioned a shift in reflected affiliation, in ideology, from the early 1870s onwards. A realistic acknowledgement of the incompatibility of freedom of religion with the Zulu culture, as it was lived then, occasioned a change in stance over against the Zulu state: missionaries from different societies working in Zululand called for a new political dispensation. The pride of this powerful kingdom and its harsh penalties were seen as one of the basic impediments to the spread of the gospel.

> "In the eyes of the humane it appears that this people can only be made submissive enough to learn to seek something higher by material and political humiliation. Their entire spiritual and political existence is so inclined that it will certainly not give way without serious blows" (Schreuder 1872:133ff, quoted in Hernaes and Simensen 1985:10).

Missionaries from every society, even Bishop Colenso supported British invasion of Zululand, though the ensuing dispensation was differently envisioned, i.e. as a protectorate (e.g. Schreuder) or as a total breaking up of their military organisation and indirect rule (e.g. Letter from Oftebro to Frere, 10.10.1878:14), which, in effect was tantamount to "crushing the Zulu state" (Simensen 1985: 150). Notwithstanding these differences, Lutheran missionaries now saw the British in the role of Luther's " kingdom to the left", the secular power, "the sword", whose God-given mandate it is to ensure conditions favourable to the spread of the gospel, i.e. to enforce freedom of religion in Zululand (Hernaes and Simensen 1985:8).

When, in the course of time, they saw their position whittled down to utter dependence on a King who, from their point of view, was whimsical or even unreliable, they and their followers fled their stations after March 1877, returned, and fled again before the outbreak of the War. But they wanted to return to continue their work, if need be under Cetshwayo. Here may lie another weighty reason deterring Oftebro from tarring Cetshwayo as "anti-Christian force", as aligned with Satan in putting to death a martyr. Oftebro naturally did not want to prejudice Cetshwayo's permission for him to return to Zululand, nor blight relationships with the people to whom he felt called to preach.

There had been precedents prior to 1877 when Cetshwayo had threatened expulsion. In 1872 it was only elaborate proof of his innocence that had rescued Leisegang, a Norwegian Mission Society worker, from expulsion for allegedly leaking information on Mpande's death to Natal. (See previous chapter). Threats of expulsion had also been made at the coronation, and, in the case of the Hermannsburg missionary Filter, they had been carried out (Simensen 1986:138). In view of this possibility and since Sir Henry Bulwer had cautioned the missionaries to avoid every cause of offence, a delegation of Norwegians missionaries had called on Cetshwayo officially to inform him that they were leaving temporarily for Natal. They did not want to infringe Zulu etiquette; they wanted to be able to return when the fray was over. It is probable that Oftebro's restraint in calling Maqhamusela a martyr, and thereby inviting the association that Cetshwayo was co-worker with Satan, may therefore also be seen as a deliberate tactic on the side of Oftebro to keep open the doors for mission work in the future.

7.Persecution of Christians and colonial war propaganda

A short replay of the chronology of Oftebro's scripts round the death of Maqhamusela will be helpful in sketching the contours of persecutions and colonial war propaganda. First reports on the execution (apart from notification to his co-workers including Schreuder, one presumes) took the form of letters to Robertson and Fröhling. These found their way into various mission publications in June and October 1877 (The Mission Field, the Net, *Hermannsburger Missionblatt).* On 9 April 1877 Oftebro penned his official report to Stavanger.

So as to involve colonial politicians, Schreuder had in the meanwhile on 17 and 20 March informed the Norwegian Consul, Mr Cato, of the executions and the exodus of Christians from Zululand to Natal. Cato had passed on the letter to the Acting Secretary for Native Affairs (Sir Theophilus Shepstone), indirectly asking for protection. Correspondence on details was exchanged between Shepstone and Schreuder; on Shepstone's request Osborn sent Fynney on a journey through Zululand so as to be able to assess missionary reports (Hughes Papers 1877/60, 1877/88). Shepstone then filed two reports to the Lieutenant Governor, Sir Henry Bulwer, on 3 April and 12 May (Hughes Papers, AB 2208, 1877), who, in turn wrote to the Earl of Carnarvon (Hughes Papers 1877/59).

Acting upon a decision of the Norwegian Mission Society Missionaries' conference Oftebro had on 18 May 1877 informed the Lieutenant Governor Bulwer of Natal of what had transpired and accused Cetshwayo of ordering the execution of Maqhamusela; significantly, there was a covering letter from Robertson to that dispatch, according to Bulwer's reply of 24 July 1877. The missionaries were taken aback by the final paragraph of Bulwer's reply that intervention by the Government of Natal would not change Cetshwayo's attitude towards missionaries who, in the King's opinion, were trying to subvert his political position and harbouring evildoers on their stations (Fynney's minute, Hughes Papers 1877/88). The English offering no form of protection to missionaries and their converts in Zululand, more and more black Christians and finally also the missionaries fled into Natal. Here, writing to the Cape Governor Sir Bartle Frere on 10 Oct 1878 on behalf of the missionaries of his society, Oftebro sketched the development of relations with the Zulu King, mentioned the incidents at Fröhling's Injezane and cases where so-called witches had been "smelled out" and killed. He averred that

> "In the course of two months we heard of no less than 9 *impis* sent to different stations" (Oftebro to Sir Bartle Frere: 10.10.1878:6).

Making submissions to all of these colonial authorities shows the determination of the missionaries and their supporters that the execution of these Christians be taken seriously in government circles; but the officials were not of one mind. The fact that a submission was made first to Bulwer and then to Frere shows up a decisive tension among British officials in their stance towards the Zulus, and also to the missionaries. Bulwer wanted to avert war, if at all possible (Binns 1963:99, 144; Laband and Wright 1980,14, Guy 1994:48f). His written response, as noted above, was interpreted by the missionaries as unwillingness to become involved in provid-

ing security just as personal representation by Schreuder had showed him to be critical of missionary concern over a few executions of Christians when so many others were also being killed (c.f. chapter 5).

On the other hand Frere was considered "a fine Christian gentleman" (Guy 1994;48 and Binns 1963:98). - He was also known to be a warmonger, and, according to Guy, he was imbued with

> "fanaticism and utter disregard for the lives of those who, he believed, were obstructing the ends he wanted to achieve. . . . His social evolutionism (enabled him to see the Boers as having) a far higher title than the Zulus could claim for all they acquired, by having a sincere belief in the Divine authority for what they did" (Guy 1994:48f).

He substantiated this by referring to a Biblical injunction to the exterminate Gentiles. - Clearly Frere was at odds with Bulwer who was at pains to avert war. For Frere the missionary reports on what they saw happening in Zululand provided "a pretext for war", backing for his policy "to commence hostilities (Hernaes and Simensen 1985:10; Simensen 1986:84).

Oftebro must have known that Frere would make political capital out of Zulu persecution of Christian converts (Binns 1963:98; Hernaes and Simensen 1985:10; Maylam 1986: 78) and use the information in his memorandum in his propaganda offensive to gain permission from the Colonial Office to start the war which, Frere thought, would pave the way for the Confederation. Simensen concludes that here the missionaries of the Norwegian Mission Society "functioned as a convenient and willing tool, now having a real opportunity to play an active political role", (Simensen 1985, 157). The same author states that Robertson and Oftebro were the most militant and uncompromising of the missionaries:

> "They gave alarmist reports on the persecution of Zulu Christians and gave exaggerated or unfounded accounts of the unrelieved terror of Cetshwayo's regime (Simensen 1985: 77).

Etherington goes a step further: they supported the war in the hope of "crippling the anti-Christian forces" (Etherington 1977: 37).

The last-named conclusion seems to be somewhat simplistic. Etherington's formulation "anti-Christian forces" is an unacknowledged quotation and has the ring of martyrology. The present researcher has not found formulations to this effect either in Oftebro's letter to Sir Bartle Frere, nor in available material in Norwegian Mission Society reports from 1877 up to the outbreak of the War; however it must be conceded that the phrase may have been used by Robertson.

Over against Etherington the present writer wonders whether Oftebro, in not exploiting the martyr-image, consciously strove to withhold religious fervour from the war rhetoric, while still feeling bound out of loyalty to the authorities of Luther's "Kingdom to the Left" to report on what he thought he knew to have happened. He, as all other missionaries, favoured British military intervention for the sake of having the political structures within which they did mission

work changed, but he was deeply attached to the Zulu people. His ambivalence on this matter is underlined in the letter quoted above which supplied such incriminating evidence against Cetshwayo:

> "It was hard for us, indeed, to leave a country and a people amongst whom we had endevered (sic) for so many years, and under so many difficulties, to do good" (Draft of letter from Oftebro to Frere, 10.10.1878:12).

It seems then, to the researcher, that while offering information on what he saw taking place in Zululand, Oftebro tried to strip this information of juicy headlines that could be used by the Governor General in a religiously undergirded hate campaign. Thus he did not employ the martyr topos for Maqhamusela.

Whether Oftebro's finely-tuned motivation became transparent to others is another question. Weighing the balance Bishop Colenso's words are probably accurate, "The Missionary (sic) statements have done much to prejudice many good people in England against Cetshwayo. My conviction is that the Missionaries (sic!) have done a great deal of mischief by their exaggerated statements, and have greatly helped on the war", (Letter from Colenso to Chesson, 27.4.1879:4).

8. Drawing together the argument of this chapter

In Zulu culture burial rites were important procedures in ritually establishing a benevolent relationship between survivors and a member of the lineage who had died. For Zulu Christians the Christian burial rites would therefore have been significant for their relationship to Maqhamusela; but his corpse had not been found, there was no grave, no burial ceremonies had been celebrated; there was a void. It could be that the erection of the first stone was conceived to take that up. Certainly the inscription on the stone theologizes on the death.

Oftebro seems to have consciously refrained from referring to Maqhamusela in language associated with the Christian martyr tradition. Some reasons can be found in his determination not to invite a cult which it would be difficult to control theologically, given the veneration of ancestors among Africans and of saints and martyrs as mediators among Catholics - both of which were unacceptable to him. Other reasons for withholding the title may lie in the eschatalogical understanding of the martyr saga which names opponents of the Gospel, in this case it would have been Cetshwayo, co-workers with Satan. The reason for Oftebro withholding the title martyr can be surmised to have been unwillingness to contribute anything that would have made the impending - and his view necessary - war with the Zulu kingdom into a religious crusade. On the other hand he was eager to give what he considered truthful information concerning his perception of the suffering of the Zulu nation to the British authorities. Furthermore he may have been loathe to vilify the Zulu state and alienate its authorities as he hoped to resume his work there in future.

Chapter 7

Factors that led to the

sparse and irregular public commemoration of Maqhamusela

> We talk of great literature being "timeless", and by this we do not really mean that it stands outside time. Instead, we mean that it can speak to human experience through many times. . . We use the memory of her (Perpetua's) actions and her words to enhance the meaning of our own lives. (Salisbury, 1997:179)

1. There was more remembering of Maqhamusela than was evident at first

When the researcher started her work the information at her disposal stood as follows: No public commemoration of Maqhamusela seemed to have taken place apart from two instances: the erection of a cross, presumably with a dedication service, and the naming of the Bible School after him. The event of his execution (1877) seemed to have been documented only in the initial Norwegian report by the incumbent missionary, Oftebro, in du Plessis' *A History of Christian Missions in South Africa* (1911:382) and in a biographical sketch in *Incwadi yeJubilee* (1944) in the Zulu language. Disparities between the latter and Oftebro's narrative puzzled her. Another question arose: how did Maqhamusela come to feature in the Church of the Province of South Africa's *Saints and Seasons* of 1993:72? She was assured by several persons that presently no public commemorations of Maqhamusela were celebrated on a regular schedule.

This lack of public commemoration among Zulu Lutherans in Eshowe stood in tension with the evident pride with which the two students, who had alerted her to Maqhamusela initially, responded to the mention of his name. She found the same identification with Maqhamusela among other Zulu Lutherans whom she contacted subsequently. She formulated her research problem as follows:

What are the factors that lead to the lack of liturgical commemoration of Maqhamusela

By the time she concluded her research she had found that Maqhamusela was indeed remembered and remembered devotionally if irregularly by the people living around Eshowe, and particularly by the Lutherans from the Norwegian tradition, black and white. He had the stature of a Zulu hero, making history as a member of the then sub-ordinate culture, praying for his people as a nation and individually, and facing death courageously. The memory of him which they kept alive went well beyond Oftebro's initial report. It included all the details presented in *Incwadi yeJubilee* and more: the disappearance of the body had led to the local tradition that, like Moses, he was buried by God. In the perception of Eshowe Christians Maqhamusela had therefore been ensconced in the Old Testament tradition of leader, prophet.

As the researcher followed the lead of Church of the Province of South Africa having included Maqhamusela in *Saints and Seasons,* the archivist of that church in the University of the Witwatersrand found Fowler's manuscript and letters of 1935, showing that research on Maqhamusela had been done in Eshowe, and that the process had promoted recall there. The findings of that research went beyond Oftebro's master story in important points, some of which are relevant to commemoration: it informed the biographical sketches in *Incwadi yeJubilee* (1944) and the brochure of the Bible School (1951), some informal commemorations of Maqhamusela among Eshowe students and Norwegian youth campers, and it flowed into the martyr legend in the 1993 the Church of the Province of South Africa "Saints and Seasons".

The researcher also found that before 1937 a stone with a Zulu inscription had been set up to mark the place of the execution. Although the erection of the second cross in 1981 to replace the ruined first cross fell outside the time parameters of her research the process of arriving at the erection of that monument shed light on past relationships.

As these pieces of the mosaic assembled the researcher found her problem formulation too narrow and therefore in need of correction as follows:

> What are the factors that led to the sparse and irregular public commemoration of Maqhamusela in the Lutheran church to which he belonged?

The assertion that there was a lack of commemoration was clearly incorrect, rather commemoration was sparse and irregular. The insistence on liturgical forms of commemoration was seen to be prescriptive. The focus had to be on commemoration in the Lutheran church, as research on how Maqhamusela came to feature as an African Lutheran martyr in the Church of the Province of South Africa would have over-extended the limits of a mini-thesis.

The findings can now be presented. Before enumerating rather tersely factors that contributed to the sparse and irregular commemoration, the flow and outcome of the discussion will be recapitulated chapter-wise. Then the factors can be bundled and listed, matters that require further investigation can be mentioned and the research brought to a close by rather a personal conclusion.

2. Discussion on the irregular commemoration of Maqhamusela

Scrutiny of the content and reliability of the available sources on the life and death of Maqhamusela were undertaken in Chapter 3. It encouraged the researcher to focus on differences between Oftebro's official report on the death of Maqhamusela (Source 6) and Fowler's manuscript (Source 11) and its edited version. All three were found to be reliable sources, Fowler's intention of making the story into a martyr's legend notwithstanding: it is honestly and openly stated. There are no important contradictions between these sources, however Oftebro's report omitted to mention items such as the storm and the fact that the body could not be found.

An examination of different modes of remembering Maqhamusela in Chapter 4 focussed on the return of Maqhamusela's family to Eshowe and their baptism there, living reminders of those events and bearers of a tradition that was alive sixty years later. However, during the war years and among whites, written remembrance of Maqhamusela and others who had lost their lives served the purpose of either supporting the war as a means of solving "the Zulu question", or of countering an image of Cetshwayo as a bloodthirsty tyrant. Among the non-Christian Zulus any remembrance of random killings was seen as having offered to the English welcome grounds for those open hostilities that had brought destruction on the Zulu nation. No public commemoration of Maqhamusela as a man who had been granted outstanding grace by God was possible within such co-ordinates.

Chapter 5 asked why people remembered him. In the decades after the war attention was riveted on material rebuilding and survival in the political and economic maelstrom, yet those years saw modestly increased attendances at services and higher baptismal figures. Reflection on the past was minimal and geared to comparison with the then present, with no room for commemoration of those Zulus who had witnessed faithfully. "(At that time) Khanyile was just one of the dead" (Interview 5#1 with Mr N Otte). For many Zulus their world view had been shaken, but the new had not taken root widely. The dressed stone with a Zulu inscription erected on the place of execution and incorporated into the base of a concrete cross in 1937 were public memorials to Maqhamusela. The memorial stone celebrated Maqhamusela within a different set of co-ordinates than those of Zulu reverence for ancestors.

The new century saw a revision in that Stavem's history (1918) recognized the contribution of Zulu Christians to the Lutheran mission enterprise. However his summary of Maqhamusela's life and death was out of step with Zulu attitudes towards a hero who is to be remembered or his life recited. Yet Maqhamusela was remembered well enough for Fowler to include complementary material in his martyr's legend in 1935. His document is much closer to the eulogy of Zulu praise songs. The same is true of the booklet *Incwadi yeJubilee"* (1944), which became the one resource for a knowledge of Maqhamusela in the Zulu congregation. This, and giving his name to a training institution for evangelists in 1951, were public memorials to him.

There were no physical remains, no burial site, no public commemorative ritual and performative practices to keep his life and death in memory. However, there was a common interest, and it is this that kept memory alive, even if only informally called up. One facet of this common interest was Maqhamusela's stature as a cultural hero: he had consistently lived out some of the values of the Zulu culture, notably courage in the face of death, affiliation with the community, and adult decision-making. Another was that Maqhamusela's wish to be baptized and the price he paid for it may have come across as altruistic autonomous religious motivation, setting up signs of new inclusive community, of forgiveness, of hope in a world of violence, vengeance and senselessness. His story was something precious to hold on to, history recounted in an African voice and history moulded also by Zulu Christians (Elphick 1992:16). As such his death gave a sense of belonging to the congregation, and pride in belonging to it. It is these aspects of communal interest that kept alive the memory of Maqhamusela.

Chapter 6 tries to make sense of the fact that Oftebro seems to have consciously refrained from referring to Maqhamusela in language associated with the Christian martyr tradition. Some reasons can be found in his determination not to invite a cult which it would be difficult to control theologically, given the veneration of ancestors among Africans and of saints and martyrs as mediators among Catholics - both of which were unacceptable to him. Other reasons may lie in the eschatalogical missiological paradigm that was in vogue at the time, within which the martyr saga necessitates naming opponents, in this case Cetshwayo, co-workers with Satan. Oftebro may have been unwilling to contribute anything that would have made the impending - and his view necessary - war between Britain and Zululand into a religious crusade, although he was eager to give what he considered truthful information concerning the suffering of the Zulu nation. Furthermore he was certainly loathe to vilify the Zulu state and alienate its authorities as he hoped to resume his work there in future.

All the above may have been reasons for Oftebro refraining from giving Maqhamusela the title martyr, which would have given him the Biblical status of leader, prophet, martyr. To join the ranks of the liturgically remembered Christians martyrs his case lacked martyr's relics while the master narrative, the martyr acts, were dry of heroics and in Norwegian.

The lack of commemorative practices in the Lutheran tradition also militated against Maqhamusela being regularly, formally and publicly remembered within the liturgical life of the Lutherans. He could neither be formally remembered as a member of the ancestral spirits (*amadlozi, amathongo)* in the Zulu tradition, as he had not undergone the necessary rite of being brought home (the *ukubuyisa* ceremony), nor was there even a grave at which Christians could meet. On top of that the factual non-eulogistic tone of Oftebro's narrative was foreign to Zulu praise-songs. Initially only the stone and its Zulu inscription served as public reminder.

3. The factors militating against regular public commemoration of Maqhamusela

The factors that led to the sparse and irregular public commemoration of Maqhamusela can be now be drawn together and enumerated.

1. In the Lutheran theology of Norwegian Mission Society missionaries there was no liturgical tradition of publicly commemorating great women and men of the Christian faith or, for that matter, important events except Reformation Day and St Olav's Day, the latter celebrating the introduction of the Reformation in Norway by King Olav.

2. Rev Oftebro, the missionary who had accompanied Maqhamusela's pilgrimage and who wrote the master narrative, had avoided assigning the epithet "martyr" to Maqhamusela. The theological reason for this can possibly be found in Luther's initial verdict, taken over unchanged by Pietists, that observances commemorating graced women and men publicly and regularly elevated them to be mistaken as intermediaries of God's grace. In addition, Norwegian Mission Society workers in South-eastern Africa in the 1870's would have feared that public commemoration of Maqhamusela would become confused with the ancestor cult of Zulu traditional religion and its cosmology.

3. There are probably also more elusive reasons for Oftebro and all Western Lutherans from the Norwegian tradition not prompting public and regular commemoration of Maqhamusela. On the one hand Oftebro had made no secret of his support for armed intervention by the colonial authorities as a way of humiliating the Zulus. It was a conviction shared by many missionaries, not only Norwegians, that it was the pride of the Zulu's that made them unresponsive to the call of the Gospel. Rev Oftebro's visits and letters to Sir Henry Bulwer and Sir Bartle Frere show that he thought it incumbent on missionaries to keep the authorities informed of events and movements in Zululand, since they had been divinely instituted to safeguard conditions for the preaching of the Word.

On the other hand Oftebro knew that information from him and other missionaries would be used to try to pressurize Britain to allow armed intervention against the Zulu Kingdom and to send reinforcements. Presenting Maqhamusela as a martyr would have implied - in the eschatalogical interpretation - that the Zulu authorities responsible for the executions and the harassment of Christians were co-workers of Satan. In refraining from this presentation Oftebro seems to have endeavoured to downplay religious pro-War fervour. It is also clear that in not vilifying the Zulu state he was trying to keep open the possibility of returning to his mission station once hostilities had ceased. Within the tension of that ambivalence Oftebro could hardly have initiated public commemoration of Maqhamusela, even if so convinced.

4. Oftebro's master report had been penned in Dano-Norwegian in 1877; no Zulu version written prior to 1944, has been found to date.

The report placed the execution of Maqhamusela into the flow of a long stream of happenings, which Oftebro interpreted in terms of Cetshwayo's flaunting the "Coronation Laws". Maqhamusela's execution therefore lost weight on its own account.

Oftebro's literary style showed some traces of personal involvement, but was generally factual and lacked those undertones of admiration and pride that would have elicited formal remembrance in the Zulu praise-poem tradition. Moreover, it omitted elements reminiscent of martyrs of the early church: warning of the storm as indicative that he forgave his slayers, the actual downpour of the storm which vindicated Maqhamusela's words and stance as prophetic, and the loss of his body.

Maqhamusela's executions did not signal an end to harassment and threats, so that Christians of all denominations, converts and missionaries, fled into Natal, where they found shelter in many different places. Although in the case of Maqhamusela's congregation some returned to Eshowe after the war, the community that could pass on its interpretation of the story of his death had been dispersed, in part permanently.

However, his immediate family returned to Eshowe and was baptized in 1881, living reminders of what had happened.

5. On the trickling return of some of the Eshowe congregation after 1880 survival under extremely difficult and threatening circumstances was the paramount concern. Until well after the Bambatha Rebellion (1906) there was endless social disruption and violence in Zululand. Besides, the years after the war saw extreme physical deprivation due to famine, drought, cattle losses through rinderpest (1897) and East Coast Fever (1903), locusts (Lugg, 1949, p. 72-73). The imposition of poll tax in 1905 forced young men into the wage-earning Western economy. Dinizulu granting land to the Boers and the Colony allowed white speculators to buy up land. All this brought a land-slide change in the economy of Zulu households. In such a situation of rapid social change there is little room for institutionalized celebration of elements of the past.

6. In view of the violence and counter-violence of both the uSuthu and the opponent factions (Mandlakhazi, Hamu and John Dunn) it would have been perilous for the congregation in Eshowe to take a public stance to honour one who could be seen as a deserter from the King's cause. Although Maqhamusela had been a soldier in one of Cetshwayo's regiments he had persisted in attending baptismal classes, thereby disobeying the King's express prohibition. In this way he had weakened the King's efforts to tighten discipline in the regiments in view of the seeming inevitability of war. To honour him publicly might have invited violence.

4. Still, "the whole area had him in their minds" (SP Zulu)

In the previous section the main factors that account for the scant commemoration of Maqhamusela in the church of which he was a member have been clustered and enumerated. The factors militating against such public commemoration were strong, but they could not erase the pride in their martyr among the local population, and it was this that kept his memory alive. There was remembrance and even commemoration, though irregular.

It was fuelled less by the written narratives than by the community: Maqhamusela's family through the second wife, the five baptized youths on the station on the night of the execution, four of whom feature again as members and leaders in the congregational register 25 years later; the sons of two of the executioners had been baptised. A dressed stone with a Zulu inscription was placed on the spot where the execution took place. Norwegian youth camps held devotions on the site. There was remembrance and irregular commemoration.

Among Zulus communal memory fed on oral history, in which remembrance was fired by Maqhamusela's stature as a hero who upheld values that were important in Zulu culture, and who lived out Christ's goodwill and forgiveness. There was pride in the fact that an African, who loved his people and their culture, occupies a place in the history of Christianity in the area. When Fowler's investigations called up and committed to writing that stored memory, sufficient ownership of the story was fanned into flame in the Lutheran church for a larger memorial to be set up in 1937, for a biographical sketch to be written in Zulu and a training institution for evangelists to be given his name. Almost one hundred years after his death Maqhamusela's story gave guidance in difficult decisions to leaders of his church.

In all probability the research on Maqhamusela which was initiated by the Church of the Province of South Africa was motivated by a desire to gain legends of African martyrs for liturgical commemoration. This emanated from a high-church spirituality different from that of pietistic Lutherans. In the more catholic tradition commemoration of a father or mother in the faith served not only as stimulus for thanking God, for gaining courage and for following his or her example of faithfulness - as had been the Lutheran response to its own martyrs and as drawn on in the case of Maqhamusela in *Incwadi yeJubilee* . The tradition in which Fowler celebrated commemoration understood it also as a call "to stand beside . . . (this martyr and those of past centuries) . . . evermore before the throne of the Majesty on High" (Fowler 1935:13). The call was to adoration "with all the angels and archangels and all the company of heaven" (Church of the Province of South Africa 1989: An Anglican Prayer Book), which includes the church of all times and places.

To the researcher the piece of history that has been examined, this gift from God, calls for more structured, regular commemoration within the liturgical life and theology of the Lutheran church. That would seem to be, for our time and perceptions, a fitting response to one whose obituary stated,

> "He died keeping Sunday; he prayed for all of us and did not show the slightest fear" (Hale 1996:87).

Issues calling for further investigation

1. Archival investigation

Probable source *Norsk Missions-Tidende* 1877ff, possibly also in congregational registers of Eshowe.

1.1 Were the missionaries aware of Maqhamusela's polygamous marital state, and if so, was it reported to the missionaries' conference and to the Home Board?

1.2 If it was, what arrangements were made about Maqhamusela's polygamy when he asked to be baptised? And who sanctioned them?

1.3 What happened to the blind wife after the execution?

1.4 What happened to her daughter? Did she flee with Umyembezi?

1.5 What dynamic was introduced into KwaMondi spirituality when Umyembezi and the children returned from Umpumulo?

1.6 Is there evidence of their baptisms in 1881 as claimed by Fowler?

1.7 When was the stone erected? By whom? Who formulated the inscription? Was it erected within a liturgical service?

2. Historical/missiological questions

2.1 In Oftebro's diary is there evidence of a conscious sifting process in what he remembered of 9 March 1899 and what eventually was written into the report to Norwegian Mission Society?

2.2 What criteria of selection become evident?

2.3 What place did these criteria have in Oftebro's missiological concept?

2.4 What place did these criteria have in Oftebro's understanding of Zulu culture?

2.5 What place did these criteria have in Oftebro's understanding of the political and military situation?

2.6 Where is the sermon which Bishop Henry Callaway allegedly preached on All Saints Day or on the Feast of the Scilly Martyrs in 1877 in which he is said to have mentioned Maqhamusela (see interview 41 with Dr Joan Millard)?

3. Anthropological investigation

3.1 Further investigation not the importance of having been in possession of the corpse and of knowing where it was buried for the transition of the deceased into the spirit world, and for his/her influence on the well-being of the survivors.

4 Theological investigation

4.1 The Lutheran Church in Germany *(Evangelisch-Lutherische Kirche in Deutschland)* has created liturgical rubrics for the commemoration of women and men whose contribution to the life of the church has been outstanding. What practical theological and anthropological considerations lead to this innovation?

4.2 What liturgical forms have been developed, and are they being made use of in congregations?

4.3 Is there regular liturgical commemoration of women and men in any of the other Lutheran churches in the Lutheran and Moravian family?

Endnotes

Chapter 2

1. page 13:

To give one example of a fruitful passing on of contacts: former Dean Khuzwayo, one of those who had, years back, told the research about Maqhamusela, mentioned that Mr Edwin Froise in Eshowe was the son of the missionary who was involved in the Maqhamusela Bible School (1951); he might have further information. Mr Froise pointed her to Mrs Ingeborg Gorven (daughter of Rev Rodseth, who together with Fr Fowler researched the execution in 1935) and she referred her to Mr Carl Solberg who got details on the erection of the first cross in 1944 from his brother in Norway, and translated most of the Danish Norwegian texts.

2. page 17:

Examples of sources found after the cut-off date are (in chronological order):

2.1. the first announcement of the execution of Maqhamusela by the Secretary of the Norwegian Mission Society (in *Norsk Missions-Tidende* June 1877:203,229),

2.2. the draft manuscript (complete with changes inserted by the same hand) of Rev Oftebro's report of 9 April 1977, which could hardly be deciphered by Mr Karl Solberg,

2.3. the report of the interview of Dean Shobede with Mrs A Mncwango, nee Mgungose.

Chapter 3:

3, page 19.

Neither the notes of interviews made by Pastor Oftebro on the days after Maqhamusela's death nor those conducted around 1935 by Pastor Rodseth with Isaac Mhlongo (step-son of Maqhamusela) and others connected to KwaMondi station, or by Fr. Fowler with Esrom Mtshali, son of one of the slayers, are not extant to the best knowledge of the present author and the relevant archivists.

4, page 35

For the different association of these words in Norwegian, see Source 28 App. 9, letter 46 from Karl Solberg.

Chapter 5

5, page 65

Krige states (1936:24): "An elder brother must always be treated with some respect, and is addressed in terms of his seniority". Samuelson LH notes (Zululand, its traditions, legends . . :228): *"Icimalilo,* a very bitter compound, is swallowed and the body sprinkled with it and then washed off as a purification so that "any evil effects upon the system which, according to native superstition may follow the killing of a human being, are counteracted". See also Krige 1936: 228 where murder is a criminal offence (an offence against the chief) and 276 - where a murderer is prone to sickness and insanity, so that certain procedures and medicines are called for.

6, page 74

Fowler (1935:13 Source 14, App. 4:13) states that the words were "the comment of the slayers", which - to the researcher - is too close to the martyriological topos to be accepted without some corroboration. The sentence quoted above follows after the statement "Nyamala Zondo, a man of kindly nature, warmly attached to the missionaries personally, who died a heathen, is probably responsible for the details of the actual Martyrdom" [sic].

Chapter 6:

7, page 77

An *ukubuyisa* prayer to petition the shade to deal with his progeny in benevolence has been preserved: "Hail ye our people (ye Spirits), eat that here beast of yours; come back (now addressed to the single Spirit of the last deceased) to your family and watch over your children" (Samuelson 1929:290).

8, page 82

Luther hailed the two fellow Augustinians, Heinrich Voes and Johannes Esch, burned in Brussels in 1523 for propagating the Lutheran witness, as standing in a long history of heirs of Christ's suffering, and composed his first hymn on that occasion: "*Ein neues Lied wir heben an zu loben Gott den Herren*" (We commence a new song to praise the Lord God). The tone of Luther's text and melody were joyous, they breathed affirmation of the cause of the Gospel and defiance against the enemies of God's truth, those "servants of the arch-fiend" (Kolb 1987, 21; Müller 1936,93).

Bibliography

1. Primary sources

Archives of the Church of the Province of South Africa (CPSA),
WM Cullen Library, University of the Witwatersrand

Cyril of Uganda 7.10.1936. *Letter to Fr Bull.* CPSA: AB 799/Ca11
Fowler AJ n.d. *Letter to Fr Victor.* CPSA: AB 264f
Fowler AJ 16.2.1935. *Letter to Fr Victor.* CPSA: AB 264f
Fowler AJ 21.2.1935. *Letter to Fr Bull.* CPSA: AB 799/Ca 10
Fowler AJ n.d. *The Zulu martyr Maqumusela Kanyile.* Handwritten manuscript. CPSA: AB 264f
Fowler AJ n.d. *The Zulu martyr Maqumusela.* Type-written, edited version of the above. CPSA: AB 264f
Lee AW 12.3.1935. *Letter to Father Bull.* CPSA: AB 799/Ca11

Archives of the SE Diocese of the Evangelical Lutheran Church of South Africa, Umphumulo, Kwa-Zulu Natal(ELCSA). In April 1999 much of the material here was as yet unclassified.

Prospectus of the Maqhamusela Bible School 1951
Register of church dues for 1922-24, Kwa Mondi Parish. ELCSA
USAWOTI. 11/ May 1972:7. ELCSA

Campbell Collection, University of Natal, Durban (KCC).

Colenso J 27.4.1887. *Letter to Mr Chesson.* KCC: Coleso Papers File 27, KCM 49969 Z8
Colenso JW 1879: *Sermon preached in the cathederal church of St Peter's, Pietermaritzburg,on Wednesday, March 12, 1879. . . . What doth the Lord require of us?* Col 252.6
Landmark N 1892. *The Norwegian Missionary Society, (1842-1892).* transl. by Karl Solberg 1994, bound typescript. Killie Campbell Collection KC 266.4 LAN

Hughes Papers (HP), Dept of Historical Papers, University of the Witwatersrand Library

Fynney FB 5 August 1877. *Minute to His Excellency the Lieutenant Governor (H.Bulwer).* Handwritten MS, HP: AB 2208:1877/88
Oftebro OC 17 March 1877. *Letter to Rev R Robertson.* HP: AB 220:1877/34

Missionsselskapets Arkiv Soer Afrika (Archives of the Norwegian Mission Society), Misjonshoegskolen, Misjonsveien 34, 4024 Stavanger, Norway (A-NMS)

Astrup J 5.7.1944. *Ijubilee li ka Mankankanana 1844-1944.* boks 203, legg 4
Bulwer H 24.7.1877. *Letter to the Right Reverend Bishop Schreuder, the Reverend Dr Oftebro.* A-NMS: boks 1B, legg 15
Joint Bible School Committee - NMS and ALM - 8.6.1955. *Minutes.* A-NMS: boks 201, legg 7
Oftebro O 10.10.1878. *Letter to Sir Bartle Frere.* A-NMS: boks 2A, legg 6b

Register of marriages solemnized at Eshowe, 2.7.1967-5.12.1894. A-NMS: boks 36, legg 12
Rodseth PA Nov 1934, Jan 1935 and March 1935. *Extracts from his diary.* A-NMS: boks nr 87, legg nr -)
Norsk Missions-Tidende (NM-t), (no copy of NM-t in RSA!)
C.K. *Umakamuzela* NM-t 32de Aarg., 8.1877:281. A-NMS
Gundersen G & Oftebro OC 1877. Fra Zululandet, *NM-t* 32de Aarg., 11.1877:403f. A-NMS
Gundersen G 1874. Fra Zululandet, *NM-t* 29de Aarg., 11.1874:402f. A-NMS
Knudsen C 1877. Om Forholdene i Zululandet, *NM-t* 32de Aarg., 6.1877:203. A-NMS
Knudson C 1876. 35te Aartsberetning (1876-1877) - Annual Report, supplement to *NM-t* 12.1877. A-NMS
Kyllingstad J 1873. Fra Zululandet, *NM-t* 28de Aarg., 10.1873:454f. A-NMS
Oftebro OC 1869. Fra Zululandet, *NM-t* 24de Aarg., 1.1869:6. A-NMS
Oftebro OC 1873. Fra Zululandet, *NM-t* 28de Aarg., 1.1873:8. A-NMS
Oftebro OC 1877. Fra Zululandet, *NM-t* 32de Aarg., 6.1877: 229. A-NMS
Oftebro OC 1877. Fra Zululandet, *NM-t* 32de Aarg., 7.1877:262. A-NMS
Oftebro OC 1877. Fra Zululandet, *NM-t* 32de Aarg., 8.1877:304. A-NMS
Oftebro OC 1877. Fra Zululandet, *NM-t* 32de Aarg., 9.1877:338. A-NMS
Oftebro OC 1877. Fra Zululandet, *NM-t* 32de Aarg., 10.1877:382. A-NMS

Natal Archives, Pietermaritz Street, Pietermaritzburg (N.A.)

Bulwer H 27.11.1877. *Despatch to the Earl of Carnarvon.* N.A.: 1877/59
"E." 28.12.1877. *Letter to the editor of the Natal Colonist,* N.A.: 1877/84
Fynney FB 4.7.1877. *Report to Osborn on a journey undertaken at the request of T. Shepstone.* N.A.: 1877/60
Fynney FB 5.8.1877. *Minute to His Excellency the Lieutenant Governor.* N.A.: 1877/88
Oftebro OC 17.3.1877. *Letter to Rev R Robertson.* N.A. Colenso Collection: 1877/34
Robertson R 4.7.1877. *Letter to Sir HE Bulwer.* N.A.: 1877/85
ShepstoneT 3.4.1877. *Report of the Acting Secretary for Native Affairz* [sic] *on two letterz* [sic] *from Bishop Schreuder . . . reporting the putting to death of two Mission Natives .. . .* N.A.: 1877/83
Shepstone T 12.5.1877. *Report on the State of affairs in the Zulu Country affecting Christian Missions . . .* N.A.: 1877/86
WW Capetown (West Jones, W) 27.7.1877. *Letter to Rev R.Robertson.* N.A.: 1877/75
Cetywayo kaMpande: *Statements made by Cestwayo kaMpande on the history and customs of his people,* Pietermaritzburg, University of Natal Press, Cetywayo's Story reprinted from *Macmillan's Magazine,* February 1880, pp. 273-295

2. Theses and unpublished works

Cubbin T 1998. *Maqhamusela Khanyile: first Christian martyr of the Norwegian Mission Society.* Photocopied. Ngoye: University of Zululand
Etherington NA 1971. *The rise of the Kholwa in Southeast Africa: African Christian communities in Natal, Pondoland and Zululand, 1835 -1880.* D.Ph. diss, micro-film. Michigan: Ann Arbor
Guest WR 1962. *The Langalibalele Rebellion and its consequences, 1873-74.* Unpublished essay. Pietermaritzburg: University of Natal: 61-85
Hale F 1986. *The History of Norwegian Missionaries and Immigrants in South Africa.* DLitt et Phil.thesis. Pretoria: UNISA: 95-96; 83-92; 78-79
Joergensen T 1987. *Contact and conflict: Norwegian missionaries, the Zulu kingdom and the gospel 1850-1973.* Ph.D. diss, Oslo: University of Oslo
Mandew MA 1997. *War, memory and salvation: the Bullhoek Massacre and the construction of a contextual soteriology.* D.Ph, diss, Pietermaritzburg: University of Natal/P

Scriba Georg 1997. *The Growth of Lutheran Churches in Southern Africa.* Photocopied doc. Pietermaritzburg: Luthos Publications
Smith WA 1997. *Motivations for and obstacles to rebellion in Mapumulo during the 1906s.* Hons. diss, Pietermaritzburg: Department of Historical Studies, University of Natal

3. General secondary works

Anonymous 1977. *Augsburg sermons - lesser festivals.* Minneapolis: Augsburg
Ballard C 1985. The "Ideal Colony": colonial economics and imperial relations in Natal 1843-1896. In *Conference on the history of Natal and Zululand Natal.* Pietermaritzburg: University of Natal
Ballard C 1986: From Sovereignty to subjection: the political economy of Zululand 1820-1906. In Simensen, J. (ed) *Norwegian missions in African History.* Vol 1 South Africa 1845-1906, Olso: Norwegian University Press
Bediako K 1995. *Christianity in Africa: the renewal of a non-Western religion.* Edinburgh, Orbis
Binns CT 1963. *The last Zulu king: the life and death of Cetshwayo.* Cape Town: Longmans
Binns CT 1968. *Dinizulu, the death of the house of Shaka.* London: Longmans
Bloch-Hoell NE 1982. The Norwegian Mission to South Africa 1880-1920: colonialistic confrontation or apostolic approach, in *Missionalia,* 10/ 2, Aug 1982: 54 - 62.
Bosch D 1985. *Witness to the world. Atlanta: John Knox*
Bosch D 1992. *Transforming Mission: paradigm shifts in theology of mission.* Maryknoll, Orbis
Brookes E and C de B. Webb 1965. *A history of Natal.* Pietermaritzburg: University of Natal
Brookes EH 1936. *A century of missions in Natal and Zululand.* Durban: EH Brookes
Brooks C and RP Warren 1949. *Modern Rhetoric,.* New York: Harcourt, Brace and World
Bryant AT 1920. The Religion of the Zulus. *Native Teachers' Journal* 1920: 44-50
Bryant AT 1965. *Olden Times in Zululand.* Cape Town, Struik
Bulpin TV 1961. The White Whirlwind. Johannesburg, Thomas Nelson
Church of the Province of South Africa (ed) 1993. *Saints and seasons.* London: Harper Collins
Colenso FE 1885. Zululand after the war, in *Contemporary Review,* 41, n.d.: 54 - 71
Congreve G 1890. The church and the child races. In series *Manuals for the Millions.* London: Mowbray
Connerton P 1989. *How societies remember.* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press
Cousins EH 1985. Preface to the Series, in McGinn B and J Meyendorff (edd). *Christian spirituality: origins to the twelfth century.* Vol 1 New York: Crossroad
Crafford D (ed) 1991. *Trailblazers of the Gospel.* Pretoria: Institute for Missiological Research
Davenport TRH 1991. *South Africa: a modern history.* 4th ed. Toronto: University of Toronto Press
Davenport TRH and R Elphick, 1997. *Christianity in South Africa: a political, social and cultural history.* Oxford: Curry
du Plessis J 1965. *A history of Christian missions in South Africa.* Cape Town: Struik
du Toit CW 1996. The poverty of Western religious experience and the contact with African spirituality. In CW du Toit 1996. *Spirituality in religions, profiles and perspectives.* Pretoria: UNISA, 83-108.
Eagleton T 1976. *Criticism and Ideology: a study in Marxist literary theory,.* London: Verso
Ecumenical Association of Third World Theologians (ed) 1994: *Spirituality of the Third World: a cry for life: Papers and reflections from the Third General Assembly of the Ecumenical Association of Third World Theologians.* Maryknoll, Orbis
Elphick R 1995. Writing religion into history: the case of SA Christianity. In *Studia Historiae Ecclesiasticae.* XXI, 1, June 1995: 1-21
Etherington N 1977. Social theory and the study of Christian missions in Africa: a South African case study. In *Africa,* 47/1: 31-39
Etherington N. 1978 *Preachers, peasants and politics in Southeast Africa, 1835-1880: African Christian communities in Natal, Pondoland and Zululand.* London: Royal Historical Society
Filter H.(comp) 1986. *Paulina Dlamini, servant of two kings.* Transl. and ed. by S Bourquin. Durban: Killie Campbell Africana Library.

Florin HW 1967. *Lutherans in South Africa.* Revised Report, Durban, Lutheran Publishing House
Follesoe NM, MJ Mpanza and JP Mtiyane 1944. *Incwadi yeJubilee: 1844-1944.* Eshowe.
Foxe J n.d.: *Christian Martyrs of the World.* Chicago, Moody
Fröhling, F 1877. Der 4.März auf Enyezane oder der erste entsetzliche Mord eines getauften im Zululande. In *Hermannsburger Missionsblatt.* Jahrg. 24 10.1877:201 f.sort
Froise G 1998: *The Christian gospel never ceases,* typebound script, Brevitas CC, Howick:84
Fuze MM 1979. *The black people and where they came from.* transl. by Lugg, HC Cope AT (ed). Pietermaritzburg: University of Natal Press
Gluckman M 1940. The Kingdom of the Zulu in South Africa. In Fortes, M and EE Evans-Prichard (edd). *African political systems.* London: 35-36
Gray R 1978. Christianity and religious change in Africa. In *African Affairs.* 77/ 306, Jan 1978
Guest BL (WR) 1997. Long-term socio-economic trends in the Kwa-Zulu-Natal region. In Edgecombe, DR 1997. *Settlement, conflict and development in Natal, Natal History Workshop.* Pietermaritzburg: University of Natal, 1-7
Guy J 1994. *The destruction of the Zulu kingdom, the civil war in Zululand, 1879-1884.* Pietermaritzburg: University of Natal Press
Guy J 1996. *Mandlakazi and Usuthu: the civil war in Zululand from 1880 to 1884 and the reaction of the Brtish officials,* Pietermaritzburg, University of Natal Press
Haccius G 1911. *Hannoversche Missionsgesichte.* Hermannsburg: Verlag der Hermannsburger MissionsBuchhandlung
Hale F 1982. Olav Guttorm Myklebust and the historiography of Norwegian missions in Southern Africa. In *South African Historical Journal.* XlV (Nov 1982): 95-144.
Hale F (ed) 1996. *Norwegian Missions in Natal and Zululand, selected correspondence 1844-1900.* Cape Town: van Riebeeck Society
Hammond-Tooke WD (ed) 1937. *The Bantu-speaking peoples of southern Africa.* 2nd ed. London:Routledge and Kegan Paul
Hasselhorn F 1988. *Bauernmission in Südafrika: die Hermannsburger Mission im Spanungsfeld der Kolonialpolitik 1880-1939.* Erlangen: Verlag der Evangelischen Kirche.
Heese, M and R Lawton n.d.: *The Owl Critic - an introduction to literary criticism.* Cape Town: Nasionale Opvoedkundige Uitgewery
Heninge, D 1982: *Oral Historiography.* London, Longman
Herd, N 1976. *The bent pine (the trial of Chief Langalibalele).* Johannesburg: Ravan
Hermelink J and Margull HJ (ed) 1961: *Walter Freytag, Reden und Aufsätze,* 1. und 2. Teil, München Kaiser
Hernaes P 1986: The Zulu kingdom, Norwegian missionaries, and British imperialism, 1845-1879. In Simensen, J (ed) 1986: *Norwegian mIssions in African history.* 1: South Africa 1845-1906. Oslo: Norwegian University Press: 102-186.
Hernaes P 1985. The Zulu Kingdom and Norwegian Missionaries 1845-1880. In *Conference on the History of Natal and Zululand.* Durban: University of Natal/Durban
Hewitt M 1994. The Redemptive Power of Memory, in *Journal of feminist studies in religion.* 10/1, Spring 1994: 73-89.
Horton PB and CL Hunt 1964. *Sociology.* Tokyo: McGraw-Hill Kogakusha
Hutchinson B 1957. Some social consequences of 19th century missionary activity among the South African Bantu. *Africa.* 27/2: 160-177.
Igland AK 1977. *Tante Marit, zulumisjonaer mor for 13.* Stavanger, Luther Forlag. Transl. by Ingeborg Gorven 1987: Marit Rodseth, type-written, available from Karl Solberg, 310 Poinsettia Park, Amanzimtoti, 4126.
Ikenga-Metuh 1987. The shattered microcosm: a critical survey of explanations of conversion in Africa. In Petersen KH (ed) 1987. *Religion, development and African identity.* Uppsala: Scandinavia Institute of African Studies: 6
Johnson E 1998. *Friends of God and Prophets.* New York, Continuum
Keto Tsehloane 1976. Race relations, land and the changing missionary role in South Africa: a case study of the Zulu mission, 1850-1910. In *The international journal of African historical studies.* 10/4:600-627
Kolb R 1987. *For all the saints: changing perceptions of martyrdom and sainthood in the Lutheran Reformation.* Marcon/Georgia: Mercer University Press

Kudadjie JN 1996. African Spirituality. In CW du Toit 1996. *Spirituality in religions, profiles and perspectives.* Pretoria: UNISA: 62-81
Laband J 1985. *Fight us in the open: the Anglo-Zulu War through Zulu eyes.* Pietermaritzburg: Shuter and Shooter
Laband J 1985. The Cohesion of the Zulu polity under the impact of the Anglo-Zulu War. In *Conference on the history of Natal and Zululand.* Durban: University of Natal/Durban: 1-28
Laband J 1995. *Rope of sand: the rise and fall of the Zulu kingdom in the nineteenth century.* Johannesburg: Jonathan Ball
Laband J and J Wright 1980. *King Cetshwayo ka Mpande (c. 1832-1884).* Pietermaritzburg: Shuter and Shooter
Lambert J 1995. *Betrayed trust: Africans and the state in colonial Natal.* Pietermaritzburg: University of Natal Press.
Lestrade GP 1937. Traditional literature. In Schapera I 1962. *The Bantu-speaking tribes* of South Africa: an ethnographical survey. Cape Town, Maskew Miller.
Lugg HC 1949. *Historic Natal and Zululand.* Pietermaritzburg: Shuter and Shooter
Lutheran Publishing House 1970. *Incwadi Yokuhlabelele yeBandla lamaLuthere,* Durban, (Hymnal of the Lutheran Congregations). Durban: Lutheran Publishing House
Majeke N 1952: The role of the missionaries in conquest. In *Unity Movement History Series.* Cumberwood, APDUSA
Marks S 1966. The Natalians, the Zulus and their history. In *Journal of African History.* 1966*
Marks S 1986. *Ambiguities of dependence.* Johnnesburg: Ravan
Marks S 1986. Class, ideology and the Bambatha Rebellion. In *Banditry, rebellion and social protest in Africa,.* (ed.) D. Crummey. London: Currey: 356
Maylam P 1986. *A history of the African people of South Africa from the early iron age to the 1970s..* Cape Town: John Philip
Meintjes S 1985. The ambiguities of ideological change: the impact of settler hegemony on the Amakholwa in the 1880s and 1890s. In *Conference on the history of Natal and Zululand.* Durban: University of Natal/Durban: 1-29
Morrell R (ed) 1996. *Political economy and identities in KwaZulu Natal: historical and social perspectives.* Durban: UND Indicator Press, pp 7-96
Morris D 1966. *The washing of the spears.* London: Cardinal
Moyo A 1987. African Church History in a New Key. In Petersen, KH (ed) 1987. *Religion, development and African identity.* Uppsala: SIAS and Nordic Institute of Missionary Research
Müller C 1936. *Luthers Lieder: theologische Auslegung.* Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht
Myklebust OG 1949. *Det Norske Misjonsselskaps historie.* Vol lll. Sör-Afrika. Stavanger: Det Norske Misjonsselskap: 80-89
Nürnberger K 1975. The Sotho notion of the Supreme Being and the impact of the Chrisitian proclamation, in *Journal of Religion in Africa* Vol Vll, fasc.3:173-199.
Pato LL 1996. Being fully human: a traditional African culture and religion perspective. In CW du Toit 1996. *Spirituality in religions, profiles and perspectives,* Pretoria: UNISA: 109-121
Pobee John S 1985. Persecution and Martyrdom in the theology of Paul. In *Journal for the study of the New Testament.* Suppl. series
Robertson R 1877.*The Mission Field.* Oct 1,1877: 462-71f
Saayman W 1991. Christian Missions in South Africa, in Prozesky, M (ed) *Christianity in South Africa*: achievemnts, failures and the future. Bergvlei: Southern Book Publishers: 28-36
Saayman W 1991. *Christian missions in South Africa, political and ecumenical.* Pretoria: UNISA
Salisbury JE 1997. *Perpetua's Passion: the death and memory of a young Roman woman.* New York: Routledge
Samuelson LH n.d. *Zululand: its traditions,legends and folk-lore,* Durban, Marianhill
Samuelson RCA 1929: *Long, long ago.* Durban: Knox
Samuelson S 1877. Report in *The Net.* June 1,1877: 95 and 161-163.
Sanneh L 1990. *Translating the message: the missionary impact on culture.* Maryknoll: Orbis
Schlyter H 1953. *The history of the Co-operating Lutheran Missions in Natal,* 1912-1951. Durban: Lutheran Publishing House
Schneiders S 1989. Spirituality in the academy. In *Theological Studies* 50/4 Dec 1989: 677-697

Schneiders S 1998. The study of Christian spirituality: contours and dynamics of a discipline. In *Christian Spirituality Bulletin,* 6 (Spring 1998):1,3-12
Sheldrake P 1991. *Spirituality and history.* London: SPCK
Simensen J 1987. Religious change as transaction: the Norwegian Mission to Zululand, South Africa 1850-1906, in Petersen, KH (ed) *Religion, development and African identity.* Uppsala: SIAS and Nordic Institute of Missionary Research: 85-102
Simensen J et al 1986. Christian missions and socio-cultural change in Zululand 1850-1906, Norwegian strategy and African response, in Simensen, J (ed) 1985. *Norwegian Missions in African History,*. 1. South Africa, Oslo: University Press: 187-275.
Stavem O 1918. *The Norwegian Mission Society: a short review of its work among the Zulus.* Stavanger: Norwegian Mission Society
Strayer R 1976. Mission history in Africa: new perspectives on an encounter, *The African Studies Review.* 19/1, (April 1976): 1-15
Stuart JA 1913. *Zulu rebellion in 1906 and Dinizulu's arrest, trial and expatriation.* London: Macmillan
Sundkler B 1987. African Church History in a New Key. In Petersen, KH (ed) 1987. *Religion, development and African identity* . Uppsala: SIAS and Nordic Institute of Missionary Research: ch 3.
Tappert TG 1959. *The book of concord: the confessions of the Evangelical Lutheran Church.* Philadelphia Fortress
Thompson L 1969. The subjection of the African chiefdoms,1870-1898, in Wilson, M and L. Thompson (edd) 1969: *The Oxford history of South Africa.* ll: 261 - 267
Thompson P 1988. *The Voice of the Past - oral history.* Oxford: Oxford University Press
Tonkin E 1992. *Narrating our past, the social construction of oral history.* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press
Vilakazi A 1962. *Zulu transformation: a study of the dynamics of social change.* Pietmermaritzburg: UN Press.
Webb C de B and Wright JB 1987. *A Zulu King speaks: statement made by Cetshwayo kaMapande on the history and customs of his people.* Pietermaritzburg: University of Natal Press
Wilson-Kastner P et al 1981. *A lost tradition: women writers of the early church.* New York: University Press of America
Wright J and C Hamilton 1985. Olden times and beyond: conceptualizing the pre-documentary history of Zululand. In *Conference on the History of Natal and Zululand.* Durban: University of Natal.
Zimmermann G 1965. *Leitbilder des Glaubens.* Wuppertal: Aussaat

4. Bibliographies, Registers, Dictionaries

Danbolt E 1948. *Det Norske misjonsselskaps misjonaerer 1842-1949.* Stavanger: Det Norske Misjonsselskap
Hofmeyr JW and KE Cross 1986. *History of the Church in Southern Africa., a select bibliography of published material to 1980.* 1 Pretoria: University of South Africa
Lewis C and GE Edwards 1934. *Historical records of the Church of the Province of South Africa.* London: SPCK

Appendix 1: Sources and other Material, Interviews

Source 1: Report by Rev O Oftebro of 30.9.1868

You know, of course, that visitors are traders, patients and beggars; of those who come here to speak about God's Word and their heart's condition, there are none, except for Maqhamusela. He continues to come and speak about his heart's (innermost) feelings, how the Word is precious and how he is convinced of its truth, but he has not got beyond this. He is waiting for the Lord to open the way to the Kingdom, which is not clear to him yet. I have seen reference to him in *NM-t** as being a chief. This he has never been. He is just an *umfokazana*, i.e. a poor man. The fact that he is referred to as a chief is probably my fault. I have referred to him in the same sentence when I reported about his chief and relative Unjejane which could be taken to refer to Maqhamusela.

* NM-t: Norsk Missions-Tidende

(In: Norsk Missions-Tidende Jan 1869/1:6
translated by Karl Solberg)

Source 2: Report by Rev O Oftebro of 3.10.1872

I have often taken opportunity, and now again after several years, to report about Maqhamusela as one on whom the Word of God appears to have had a great influence. It is now nearly two years since he came to me and told me that he had almost decided to go to Cetshwayo and say, "*Ngi bulale!*", "Kill me". If the Prince should then asked why he should kill him, he would answer "Because the Word of God has come to the land, the teachers preach with the King's permission, and we are forbidden to listen to them. But then God's Word enters the heart, and one realizes and feels that it is the truth, and begins to pray and believe it. It is then known that one is guilt of death. God's Word has already conquered my heart, so I trust and pray. - Give me permission to become a believer or kill me."

I waited with great expectation to see if he would carry out his resolve, but then he came and told me that he would postpone it. It was clear that the Prince must kill him as a warning to others. He would reason, "If I allow one of my old soldiers to go over to the teachers unhindered, others will follow." He (Maqhamusela) would wait and see if God would open another way for him.

He continues to attend services regularly, and attends some morning meetings. However, I suspect that lately he is not so eager to become a Christian. It appears that he has settled with the thought that he believes God's Word, and the fact that he cannot be baptized is not his fault as long as he is an *ikolwa* (believer). He is still bound by much of the old traditions - goes to beer parties etc. Yet he is not afraid to proclaim that God's Word is the Truth, and that the nation is going in the wrong direction.

(In: Norsk Missions-Tidende 1873/1:8
translated by Karl Solberg)

Source 3: Report by Mr J Kyllingstad of 2.10.1873

Maqhamusela is an older man who lives near Eshowe Station, and has been mentioned in previous reports. We often refer to him as the "Sunday Man" as he is the most regular church

attender of all the heathen Zulus in the district. Early in June he came to me, whilst I was working on our house. He asked to me write to the Bishop (Schreuder) and ask him to go to Prince Cetshwayo and say that he wanted to be a Christian, but that he would continue to be the King's subject and serve him as before. I agreed to do this and soon after he came again and asked me to write. I suggest that he come with me in person to see the Bishop at Entumeni, and he agreed that this would be better. At these instances he expressed his faith as follows: "I am a sinner but Jesus died for my sins. God has been calling me with His Word. Now I have to obey and come. It will be good for me to die for my faith. Jesus was killed for me. It is not too much for me to die for him, etc."

In the meantime the Bishop had received the letter and in his answer he suggested that we go to Entumeni, as he wanted to help.

On 18 June several of the believers joined in a meeting at the (Entumeni) school, and Maqhamusela gave his testimony in considerable detail with clarity and simplicity. It may not have been scholarly but it showed how God's Word had shone into his heart. We rejoiced at his testimony and the Bishop sent a message at once to Prince Cetshwayo to inform him: 1. that Shepstone was coming to Zululand to install the Prince as King, and 2. that Maqhamusela wanted to become a Christian but to remain loyal to the King and his government.

In terms of protocol the case of Maqhamusela must first be referred to his chief, Uganze. He (Uganze) replied that on no account could it go to the Prince, until it had been dealt with by him and the sub-chief Umnjajani, who was Maqhamusela's immediate head. As the sub-chief was away at the time, the case would have to wait. Maqhamusela was not a little disappointed at this delay. The sub-chief duly returned and asked me (Kyllingstad) to arrange for Rev Gundersen and me to visit him and explain the case. We went the next day, and it appeared that the people in the homestead were very surprised with our message. In their opinion this constituted a disaster as Maqhamusela was of their flesh and blood, and now wanted to become a Christian. To become a Christian was in their eyes the same as joining the white people.

The sub-chief in turn was grateful for the information and promised to take the case to Chief Uganze and inform him that the teachers had brought the case to him. It was rumoured that Maqhamusela had previously told Uganze his wishes, but this he denied. A message came asking us to come to the chief with Maqhamusela, and we agreed to come the next day. I duly paid a visit to Entumeni to consult the Bishop.

Early in the morning of 12 July (the day the African Christians met for conference in Eshowe) I left Entumeni, while Gundersen and Maqhamusela left Eshowe, the three of us meeting half way. We arrived during the morning at the chief's home and had to wait as he was bathing at the river. To our great surprise he at first refused to see us, claiming that he had not asked us to come and that the sub-chief had not informed him of the case; possibly he had forgotten it. (Later we heard that he was intoxicated when the sub-chief had visited him).

With the chief displaying this attitude it was not surprising that the assembled council, sitting there as hungry wolves ready to consume the rent lamb (Maqhamusela), should show any interest in (sympathy towards) him. As we had not come to negotiate but to inform, the purpose of the meeting was best served my Maqhamusela testifying about his faith in God and in his Christ, about his experiences after becoming a Christian and his intention of being a loyal servant of the King. In keeping with the Bishop's advice we suggested to the Chief that we let matters rest until after the Prince had been crowned.

From Uganze we again heard the repeated claim that the Christian faith was not for them or their nation, despite which it is acceptable for them to honour Sunday and to hear God's Word. The Zulus are in this respect little different from the Nationalists in the civilized world, who recommend Christianity as a means of keeping the mob in check, and like some who consider the faith to be suitable for women. In one way it was good to hear Maqhamusela confess to the counsellors that God was in his heart and that they were welcome to kill him, because then he would be with is Lord in heaven. But on the other hand it was a little mis-placed, under the circumstances, as Chief Uganze took exception to this as an accusation against the Zulu government, who up till that time had not killed anyone for their faith. It also transpired that he was not altogether correct in saying that he would continue to be loyal to the King, as he could not escape the fact that he had for some time been trying to relinquish his position in the King's service.

We remained in the Chief's homestead longer than expected awaiting the Bishop, but he had to attend the conference (in Eshowe). We then left without having finished the case. Maqhamusela followed later, having been occupied with some fruitless discussion. . . . .

He (Maqhamusela) arrived later in the day, and it appeared that much fruitless talk had taken place after we left. Soon after, Maqhamusela expressed desire for teaching after he had finished his work at the cattle kraal. He nevertheless had time to talk to Isaac, whose influence on him has hardly been for the best. When the crowning festivities were over, and everything returned to normality, he actually came to learn; but after a few days that incident happened that his eldest son, driving goats from Umnjajani, froze to death in bad weather, 7 kms from here, and several days passed before he was missed .

Then a week passed before we saw him; but the other day he came to tell us about his sorrow and asked that the teacher should pray for his son, that God would graciously open heaven for him who had been killed by Satan. I let him have his say, and then explained to him that God's Word does not teach us to pray for the dead, a prayer that would be vain; rather it mattered for him to pray that belief would be a greater matter of the heart to him than his son's death. The same day he was again present for the baptismal class. May the Lord lead him forward in admitting the truth unto salvation.

(Norsk Missions-Tidende 12/1873:455, transl. K. Solberg)

Source 4: A report by Rev G Gundersen of 9.7.1874 from Eshowe

A.

(At the beginning of May two confirmation class members accompanied Pastor Kyllingstad to Imfule; so, as Pastor Gunderson wrote, there were only two class members remaining, Umankone, the station attendant and the much spoken of "Sunday Man" Maqhamusela. Concerning the latter, Pastor Gundersen writes:) He has in recent times not been attending classes, and gives as reason that there have been deaths at home, and the Zulu custom demands that the members of the family remain at home under such circumstances; furthermore his herd of cattle is not well as he needed to attend to the cattle.

He is finding it very difficult to learn for confirmation; but if he has the opportunity, and is not restricted, he gives long sermons which sound spiritual but are not to the point, and the theme is rather strange. I fear very much that a backslidden Isaac with whom he boards has had a very harmful influence upon him.

B.

You should know that he (Maqhamusela) wants to become a believer as a true Zulu, with a ring on his head and native dress, and serve the king with his body, as all other Zulus, while giving his heart to God, thus showing that Christianity does not lie in clothing and that it does not rob people from the King. Thus was his speech and intention last year. But no royal service has materialized, even while scores of boys and men have been executed for not turning up promptly for such service. He is now safe under our protection and calls himself "our man" and considers himself freed from royal service. Poor man. May the Lord be allowed to keep alive in his heart the bit of truth that he knows to speak about, then it would soon show true seriousness. We pray for his salvation! He still keeps coming from time to time and always speaks about seeking his soul's salvation.

(In Norsk Missions-Tidende, 1874/11:402, translation: # A by Edwin Froise; # B by Edwin Froise and Karl Solberg; partly in: Simensen 1986: 270, footnote 99).

Source 5: From Rev OC Oftebro to Rev R Robertson

Eshowe, 17th March 1877

My dear Mr Robertson

I had wished to write you about what is going on down here, but got no time to do it. Yesterday I got your letter of 13th, which I now will answer as well as I can. - Yes it is going from bad to worse, and a crisis seems to draw nigh. Joseph was smelt out and killed just as bad as any Zulu. Mr Fröhling says that the matter is this: . . . . . .

This was Sunday morning, the 7th inst. The second case is this:- On Friday morning, the 9th Maqhamusela was here as usual at morning prayer, he went home to his kraal, and at noon he went over to Uminyegana's kraal, but was taken on the road and killed **because he** *kolwa* [author's emphasis] (was a Christian) - for nothing else. This man has for many years wished to become a Christian, and when I was at home (Norway), some of the missionaries went to Gans and *bika* (reported him. Ugans only *sola* (scolded) him, because he would give him trouble. When I came back the man continually begged me to take him to the king. Last winter, when I went up to Ematabalini [sic], I would call and speak with Gans first, and then see if I could mention him to the king. As I did not see Gans, so would not *bika* (report) Maqhamusela, and when I came back and told him this, he was very sorry. He said, "I am not afraid of death; if they kill me because I believe *Kute! Kute, ukubulawa ngenza jokukulwa* [sic] ("It will be well if I am killed for being a Christian."

When I came back from the king, I saw Gans, and told him that I had wished to see him before I went to the king, for I wanted to talk with him about Maqhamusela, who wished to be baptized. Gans only complained about Maqhamusela and his *ukukinga* (bad conduct) without answering anything plain to my questions. When I now last time went to the king, the man entreated me to *bika*(report) him. "If they will kill me because I believe, they may do so; the Lord will receive me; has not Christ died for me? *Po, nysabelani?* (Well, why should I fear?). I said that I would do so if circumstances would allow it. Now I went to our Committee Meeting, and my brethren thought that if we found the king in good humour, I should try. The king was very friendly, and we had a long and interesting talk with him. We proposed to him that he should allow the *amakolwa ukutelwa* [sic] (Christians to pay a tax) but he said their *ukukanza* [sic] (service) should be to come when he called them to build houses for him, they could sit quiet till he called them.

I now told him about a man I begged from him in former days and whom he had given me, this man had now died as a Christian. I would now ask him for another old man again, whom I wished to baptize, because God's words had entered his heart. The man would not leave his kraal, but would be what and where he was, he was not able to *kanza/konza* [sic] (serve) and therefore he was now eaten up, and had not a single head of cattle. He answered, when he had heard his name, that he would say nothing. Gans and Uminyegana and Mxubane not being there. When I came back and told Maqhamusela this he was glad, and said [sic] "If they will kill me now, it is all right," and killed he was. He asked the *impi* (troop) why they came to kill him, and when he heard that it was for his *ukukolwa* (Christianity) and nothing else, he was glad, and said again, "*Kute ngi ja xabula ukubangi bulawelwa izwi lenkosi*". ("Well, I rejoice to die for the word of the Lord.") He begged leave to kneel down and pray, which they allowed him. When he had prayed, he said "Kill me now!"

Next day all the people of the Station were frightened. Zulus that worked here, left, and all the women and children came in our house, and stayed there the whole night, while the men were on the alert to watch.It was said that an *impi* was gathered in Umsulu's kraal, and they feared it was to kill here on the Station. Sunday morning dawned, however, without anything happening. But my people are very much afraid. They have heard that the King thinks all the Stations full of *abatakati* [sic] (witches) and I am afraid that we shall soon have more bloodshed.

And what do you think we missionaries ought to do now? What becomes of Shepstone? I wish he had been here now. But we know now that the Zulus do not care a bit for what restrictions the Natal Government tries to put upon their old habits of killing people, and they never will as long as the Government of Natal only speaks, and allows the Zulus to scoff at all their agreements entered into. I say again what are we to do at present? If all missionaries went together by their representatives and asked for explanation from the king, we know almost certain-

ly what he would say. If we complain of his doings and killing he will tell us that we can go out of the country if we do not like the way it is. And is it time now to turn back? Would our trekking hasten on the crisis? What would the Natal or English Government say and do if we did so? Nothing, I suppose. Or shall we sit still, and wait, and wait for better times as we have done for 20-30 years? After this we shall most likely not get anyone to work for us. They will be afraid, and nobody will venture to become a Christian here, if they wish that they must go to Natal.

I will conclude now, I wish to hear what you think about the matter. May our gracious Lord guide us all and help us to overcome all through him.

Yours faithfully,
(signed) OC Oftebro

(Archivist's note: Note on back of page says: Strictly private RR).

(In: Natal Archives, Colenso Collection 34)

Source 6: Rev OC Oftebro: 9.4.1877, in Mission Society annual report 1877

We are approaching a crisis . . . we expect it in the hope that . . . . (it will remove) hindrances in the form of the people's customs and the governance of the country. (Researcher: In spite of these external hindrances) we have nevertheless lived quite securely in this country and have been able to witness to everyone about the truth without often having met with obvious enmity on the part of the heathens.

The king, the chiefs and the people have looked the other way when individuals have joined us and been baptised. . . . . When no fewer than twelve natives were receiving baptismal instruction here at the station last year, I heard that some of our neighbours were hinting that the king would be indignant when he learnt that so many of his people were leaving him and that soon he would surely chase the missionaries out of the country. Especially one of the king's servants who lives near us was grumbling and making threats because of this scandal, namely that so many Zulus were becoming *amakolwa* (i.e. converts). "What wrong have you been done," he asked them, "that you are leaving the king and your home and going to the whites? You shall see that we shall soon take your trousers off." Moreover, our believers often heard people speak enviously about their - the believers' - fields, abundant food, and (other) great advantages gained by *khonza abelungu*(i.e. going over to the whites). Finally, there were rumours after the royal festival that all who had not attended it would be "eaten up" or killed, and that was to apply to the Christians at the stations. The chiefs of every regiment were thus ordered to punish their respective soldiers who had not attended the festival", e.g. Samuel at Mfule being fined (not killed), as a favour to Gundersen.

Therefore at the missionaries' committee meeting at Mahlabatini, it was decided to show the king how "unsatisfactory it was . . . . that the king did not give them (i.e. converts) the opportunity to serve him in one way or another. . . . . He said they could rest quietly until he summoned them to build a house for them (him?). He did not give me permission to baptise Maqhamusela, as I had wished and hoped, but even though it seemed that he did not want to reply to my request, he did not let any opposition become apparent, saying only that he could not give a definite answer, because the man's closest chiefs were not present."

(Researcher: Oftebro retells Rev. Fröhling's experience of the killing on the martyrdom of Joseph at Inyezane on 4 March 1877. The executioners said they had been sent by the king to murder Joseph and the king's orders had to be carried out, and continues "This case could not but scare the (other) Christians, because if the king had begun to allow people to be sought out, killed and robbed at the stations, then there was no safety for Christians' lives in this country. .

Five days passed and then a servant came running to tell us that Maqhamusela had just been killed! Maqhamusela was not (had not been) at home when I returned from Mahlabatini. He had gone to see his family and one of his brothers-in-law, who had been killed. On the day before his death he had come back and received baptismal instruction as usual. I spoke with him and told him about my request to the king to be allowed to baptise him. He thanked me profusely, because I had told the king that he loved the Word of God, "If he now has me killed, I will rejoice in it. I am not afraid. Is it not good to die for Christ's name? Did he not die for me? He will give me a little place in his kingdom up there."

The next morning he attended devotions as usual; he was almost never absent, even though he had a long way to go. I saw him for the last time. At dinner-time he wanted to go over to Chief Umujejane's kraal. On the way he met the executioners, who immediately laid their hands on him in order to bind him. When he asked why they were going to kill him, they told him it was because he believed and wanted to be baptised. He was happy and thanked God without showing fear. It is said that he asked for time to pray and they gave it to him. He knelt down and prayed, stood up and said, "Now I am ready; kill me!" They hesitated, not wanting to shoot him. It seemed strange to them to kill a man who had done nothing more evil than to believe the Word of God which he had heard. They were afraid that something would happen to them. One of them finally aimed. The rifle misfired, and he said that he did not wish to try again. Finally a young boy shot and the victim fell. "He died keeping Sunday, it is said of him; he prayed for all of us and did not show the slightest fear." Maqhamusela is thus the first person in our Zulu mission to have lost his life for the sake of his faith.

We were happy that no other guilt was ascribed to him. He had not abandoned his chief, king, kraal, or Zulu costume. He wore only a shirt which many Zulus are no longer afraid to do. His only fault was that he took to heart and believed the message he had heard about sin and grace. . . . .

As far as Maqhamusela is concerned, the Lord has no doubt found a place for him amongst those that are saved and not allowed the hope which he expressed to me on the day before his death to go unfulfilled. His wife was able to hide, so the executioners did not find her. The executioners also looked for a son who works for brother Nilsen and was getting baptismal instruction, but he and his mother fled to Natal. Under these circumstances it is hardly surprising that our Christians feel uneasy. On the following day - a Saturday - a group of men from the chief's kraal came to search for his (Maqhamusela's) wife; they said they were not going to kill her but only to remove her. It was said that a whole army had assembled in a chief's kraal nearby. One chap who walked past here had asked suspicious questions of some Zulu boys who worked for us, and fear gained the upper hand. The Zulu boys who worked at the station fled in haste and the catechumens fled in haste, too. In the evening all the women and children streamed into our house and filled the kitchen, the girls' bedroom and our lounge. All in all there were more than thirty people. Men and boys gathered to keep watch. They were afraid that the army, which they had heard had gathered at the chief's kraal, would raid the station.
We ourselves were quite at ease and thought they had been scared without reason. The next morning passed peacefully and everyone did his normal work until we assembled in the chapel for worship.

(In: Hale, 1996: 84ff).

Source 7: Oftebro report 4.6.1877

On 18.4.1877 executioners came to kill Johannes (a believer in Eshowe) but did not find him at home, whereupon they took his cattle and plundered his home. Our believers are now looking towards fleeing into Natal; but it is not so easy for them to leave their source of food, cattle and all, and to risk being killed en route. Johannes' wife and children moved into our house yesterday, and whilst I write this I know that armed men are lying there amongst the trees in our garden in order to get hold of Johannes' children and take them away. I hope that they will not come into my house. Johannes' only guilt is that he has become a believer, has had a few of his brothers with him, and that a brother-in-law has escaped to Natal, all of which makes up the case for killing him.

Just before this Doctor Oftebro had been to see the King (ed.: who had been reported to be ill) who was friendly, and had suggested that the King could be served by the believers delivering the medicine boxes to the royal residence. The threat to Johannes forestalled this.

(In: Norsk Missions-Tidende June, 1877:229
translated by Karl Solberg)

Source 8: Robertson published June 1877

Kwamagwasa,
March 21,1877.

The king is ill and there is a great deal of excitement about it. In a few hours I shall be on my way to see him. A Christian has been killed on a charge of witchcraft at a German station, because he wished to become a Christian. This is the beginning of troubles. Why should we fear? God's cause must prevail. The second died most nobly. Thank God for it. He begged for time to pray, which was granted to him. He prayed for himself and his unhappy country, and then said, "*I Dubulaka*" [sic] "Shoot now," and his spirit ascended to heaven.

March 24, Ondine, the King's Kraal. - . . . . I have not had an interview with him (the King) yet. . . . . Yesterday I met the Prime Minister and two other great Councillors, and the topic coming forward naturally, I told them most plainly that I did not lament for the poor victims, neither did I cry for the surrounding Missionaries, I cried only for them, who, I said, were acting like men who might try to destroy a mighty rock with their hands, they might hurt themselves, but never injure the rock. That I thanked God for what had taken place, because I knew certainly that the blood which had been shed was a seed from which other Christians would spring.

(In *The Net* June 1877:95f)

Source 9: Samuelsen S (Samuelson) n.d., published 1.10.1877

An article in the *Natal Colonist* on the state of the Zulu country gives details which make it plain that these are no isolated acts of violence, but parts of a deliberate course of conduct directed to destroy Mission-work, and drive out the Missionaries. There have been at least nine distinct attacks made by permission, if not by command, of Cetywayo upon native Christians, in three of which life was taken. After long hesitation, and many hopes that Cetywayo would take the right side after all, he has at length, as it appears, chosen evil instead of good:-

Among the cases was that of a native killed at the station of the Rev. Mr. Fröhling. . . . . . .

Another case also referred to in our previous article was that of a man named MAQHAMUSELA (author's capitals), particulars of which, derived from eye-witnesses, we have received from different sources. On Friday, 9th March, he attended morning service at Itshoi Mission Station as usual, went home, went home to his kraal, and at noon started to go over to the kraal of Uminyegana, but was seized on the road and killed because he was a Christian *kolwa*. For many years he had wished to become a Christian, and this at his own desire was reported to Ugans, his immediate chief, who scolded him, saying it would occasion him (Ugans) trouble. The earnest and repeated solicitation of Maqhamusela was that the Missionary would take him to the king to obtain his permission to profess Christianity. Last winter the Missionary consented to mention it to the king, but failing to see Ugans first, deemed it imprudent to do so at the time.

Maqhamusela was greatly grieved at this, saying, "I am not afraid of death. It will be well if I am killed for being a Christian." When an opportunity occurred of speaking to Ugans of Maqhamusela's wish to be baptized, he would give no direct answer, but complained of his bad conduct. Maqhamusela, however, persisted in his entreaties that his case should be reported (*bika*) to the king. "If they kill me because I believe, they may do so: the Lord will receive me. Has not Christ died for me? why [sic] should I fear? (*ngi sabelani?*)". A favourable opportunity of naming the matter to the king presented itself some time after. Cetshwayo appeared very friendly, and proposed that the Christians should pay a tax (*amakolwa ukutelwa*), but said their services should be building houses for him when called; otherwise they might remain in peace. Maqhamusela was then mentioned as being desirous of becoming a Christian. He was an old man who could not leave his kraal, and could not come up to serve. He had therefore been eaten up and had not now a single head of cattle. On his name being mentioned the king said that he could not say anything, Uganz, Uminyegana, and Uxubane not being there. Maqhamusela was glad when he heard what had been done, and said, "If they kill me now, it is all right." A week later his time came. An *induna* named Ujubane sent for him, and on his return from Ujubane's

an *impi* (troop) came to him saying they had orders to kill him. He asked for what reasons, and being told that it was because he was a Christian (*ukukolwa*), and for nothing else, he said again, "Well, I rejoice to die for the word of the Lord." He begged leave to kneel down and pray, which he was allowed to do. After praying he said, "Kill me now". They had never seen any man act in this manner before when about to be killed, and seemed afraid to touch him. After a long pause, however, a young lad took a gun and shot him, and they all ran away. On the following day the people of the station were much alarmed. . . . . An *impi* was said to be gathered at Umzulu's kraal, not far off, and an attack was apprehended. However, the following morning, Sunday, dawned without anything of the kind. It is however currently reported and believed throughout the country, that the king says the Mission stations are full of *abatawaki* - witches, and that more bloodshed is imminent. . . . "

These cases are chiefly, if not exclusively, cases of Christian converts. But the whole country is in a more or less unsettled state. . . . .

The belief in and abject terror of witchcraft is extending among the people. All disease - everything untoward, is set down to this cause. From one end of the country to another, people

are constantly being killed for this alleged crime. It is impossible to form a correct estimate of the numbers killed; but not a sun rises or sets without the charge of witchcraft being brought against some victim."

(In *The Mission Field* Oct.1, 1877:467ff)

Source 10: Stavem, 1918

During the 7th decade of the nineteenth century there was such a warlike spirit among the masses of the Zulus that Cetshwayo could have commanded his regiments to do whatever he liked. His soldiers were daily boasting of what they expected to perform and what pleasure they would feel in massacring their enemies, white and black.

Under the influence of such excitement an attack upon our small congregations of native Christians was just what one might expect. To all of us missionaries and our people at the stations the situation was like living on a sleeping volcano.

A young native staying at the Imfule mission station was the first Christian whose life was endangered. The officers of his regiment demanded that he should be killed, though neither his family nor anyone else had objected to his conversion. It was only by the earnest intercession of the Rev. G. Gundersen, the missionary in charge of the Mahlabatini station, that the man's life by the kings [sic] order was spared.

The next case ended tragically. A native Christian of the German mission station Inyezane was savagely murdered one Sunday morning . . . . .

The best known martyr was Maqamuzela. Even the heathens admitted that he was an innocent man. He was an elderly native and had for many years listened to the gospel preached by the Rev. O.C. Oftebro. At last - in 1876 - he asked to be baptized. As soon as his application for baptism had been reported to Cetshwayo some men were dispatched to kill him. The executioners not finding him at home decided to watch for him in the field. After a while he appeared walking towards his kraal. He was surrounded at once, and the men told him that they had been ordered to take his life. "Let me pray", he replied. To this request they uttered no objection. At the close of his prayer he said: "*Se ngi qedile.*" (I have finished). Then one of the company rose to shoot him. But he missed fire and would not try a second time. A doubt arose: Was it safe to kill a man belonging to *Nkulunkulu* - the Great-Greatone - and moreover a man who was not suspected of being an *umtakati* (witch or criminal). Why would not the gun go off? After some hesitation another man fired his gun, and Maqamuzela was no more. This occurred the 9th March 1877.

Two other Christians of the Eshowe station had been condemned to death, a short time after the execution of Maqamuzela, but not being found at home they escaped. Spies were continually sneaking about the station asking what time the men, they wanted, would return. . . . . .

At length all the Christian natives who had been gathered at our mission stations in Zululand realized that they were not longer safe, and they made up their minds to leave the country.

In 1878 unfounded charges were once more made against two of our missionaries . . . .

(Stavem, O, 1918: The Mission Society: a short review of its work among the Zulus, Stavanger, Mission Society, 38f)

Source 11: 4 letters and Fowler's Manuscript, 1935

(Researcher's note: Both in the manuscript and in the letters the spelling of the name changes, e.g. in the MS from Maqumusela in the first pages to Maqamusela on p 7, and Maqumasela on p 13.)

Letter 1: From A.J. Fowler, SSM to Fr Victor, n.d.

St Augustine's Priory,
Modderpoort, O.F.S.

Dear Fr Victor

Herewith the full dress and final account of the Martyr Maqamusela. Mr Rodseth has gathered all the information to be had a Eshowe, specially from Simon Mhlongo. I gathered a little more from Esrom Mtshali son of one of the slayers. Mr Rodseth read over the narrative as I wrote it to Simon who accepted it as true, save for the statement of reward to the Chief Gawozi, which he flatly contradicts.

The only printed account I have not used - I could not get hold if it - is Fr Congreves in *The Church and the Child Races.*

I think it is worth getting typed. If you think it needed, I will write a note on sources.

If you get it typed, may I venture to ask you to send copies to:

The Bishop of Pretoria, The Bishop of Kimberley, Archdeacon Lee of Zululand, Fr Beckett, CR, Sister Marion at Leriba, Rev P.A. Rodseth, The Mission, Eshowe.

There is nothing more to be gathered except by personal investigation on the spot, and I doubt that any further facts can be obtained. But (underlined) the Christian son of Nyamalala Zondo is working at Durban, and if a Zulu speaking priest cold get into touch with him, a full account of what his father told him might possibly be got. (Insert: It would be good to get his account first, and the to go over my narrative for his additions + corrections)

It might be possible for someone who knows Zululand and Eshowe to put local colour into the narrative. which, being based on carefully ascertained facts may be regarded as the only exact and accurate account.

Mr Rodseth is endeavouring to get some photographs taken.

Probably a copy of the typed MS would be valuable to Esrom Mtshali

P.O. Box Hosesetjane School, Potgietersrus.

Yours always
(signed) A.J. Fowler, SSM

Source 14, Letter 2: From A.J.F. to Fr Victor, 16.2.1935

Feb. 16.1935
St Augustine's Priory,

Dear Fr Victor

I put in a page from an earlier transcript. Enclosed the right page. The narrative as I have written it tends to be tedious; I wanted to state the facts as fully as I could gather them. There they are.

IF [sic] Nyamalala Zondo's account can be got, it had better go into an appendix, for it would be too vivid to be wasted by more embodiment.

Yours always
(signed) A.J.F.

Source 14, Letter 3: From AJ Fowler to Fr Bull

St Augustine's Priory,
Modderpoort.
21st Feb. 1935

Dear Fr Bull,

Herewith a tedious and lengthy narration of the facts concerning the martyr Maqumusela Kanyile: still the facts.

You will find a great deal of what was previously not known in it, derived from Pastor Rodseth's careful enquiries made at Eshowe, especially from Simon Mhlongo, Maqumusela's stepson, and by me from Esrom Mtshali, son of one of the slayers. There is no possibility, I find, of getting more, except I can get Nyamalala Zondo's son's evidence.

The whole was read over to Simon, who accepts it, save for the statement about Gawozi's and Hwayimbane's reward. Simon remembers now that when Maqumusela said, "I am going", he said also "I am called".

Maqumusela locally *Umuntu Wesonto* - Man of the Church. The blind heathen wife's name was Macusana.

Yours sincerely,
(signed) A.J. Fowler S.S.M.

P.S. There is nothing about the herd boy in any (underlined) of the Eshowe accounts. "At last one of them (this may be Hwayimbane) took aim etc." is what Pastor Oftebro wrote in *Missionstidiende* [sic] 1877: p. 303-305)

Source 14, Letter 4: From Archdeacon Lee to Father Bull, 12.3.1935

Ven. Archdeacon Lee

St Augustine's,
Zululand.
March 12th, 1935

My dear Father Bull,

Thank you for allowing me to see the account of the martyrdom of Maqumusela Kanyile. I have some recollection of having supplied Fr Fowler with details about it fairly recently, but I am not now sure whether it was to him I sent them or to someone else.

The account of his martyrdom which I have always heard was that the soldiers were so afraid to kill him that they forced a herd-boy who was an onlooker to shoot him with a gun they lent him for the purpose. But the two accounts are not necessarily contradictory, for the young man who is in this account said to be the actual slayer might easily have been young enough to rank as an *udibi* i.e. a mat-bearer to his father or his elder brother. Such boys often accompanied their elders especially upon the kind of errand on which those men were sent. He would be called *umfana owalusayo,* a herd-boy, by older men.

The story that the family of Gawozi, the local chief who reported Maqumusela to Cetshwayo, died out within two decades is not history. Gawozi's son, Mbango, ruled over Mpungose tribe until recent years, and now his son, Sikewu, is chief.

I do not think that there is anything else I can usefully add. It is a moving story and one well worth reproducing in print.

Yours sincerely,
AWLee

Source 14, Manuscript by Fowler, 1935

The Zulu Martyr
MAQUMUSELA KANYILE
March 9TH, 1877

Feast of the Forty Martyrs of Sebaste
circa a.d. 320

Page 1 Shortly after his succession to the mild and peaceful Mpande, Cetshwayo King of Zululand summoned the Christian missionaries, , German, English, to meet him at the royal kraal Ondini (Footnote 1: or Dhlangubo or Kwandhlangubo. Mpande's son Umkungu (baptized by Bishop Colenso) lived and died there in later years) He told them that, as Mpande had allowed them to enter Zululand and establish Mission [sic] stations, he did not intend turning them out of the country. He wished them however to understand clearly that he was a man of war like his predecessors 'Tchaka [sic] and Dingane, and wanted his soldiers to be not men of books and of prayers but men of war like himself.

He told them that they could teach old men and women, little boys and girls, but that he would put to death any soldier of his

Page 2 who became a Christian.

There was a feeling in the country that a man who had accepted Christianity was lost to King and nation, and was little better than a rebel. This idea still prevents Zulu men from becoming Christians. . . . . .

For some time a visitor would have fond only a few little children and some old men and women at the mission stations, under instruction, or baptized, but no young or middle-aged men. The hidden leaven nevertheless was working.

Page 3 About the year 1876, the Missionary, Pastor C.O. Oftebro, had a class at Eshowe, attended by a few old people and some little ones.

The church door was always open, and if anyone chose to come in and listen, he was welcome. Some who were not members of the class used to drop in casually and drift out again. One man differed from the rest in that he did not hurry away, but came regularly and always stayed till the end.

This was an elderly warrior (Footnote 2: There seems some doubt about the spelling of the name. Maqumusela ("u" underlined by author) or Maqamusela ("a" underlined by author). There are two possible derivations. (a) from *qamuse* to press forward (cf the motto of St Cyril's College, Modderpoort *surge et insta*, (b) from *qamuzile* or *qamusela* = to hatch as chickens, which may refer to some event at his birth:. Maqumusela Kanyile of the Kanyile clan, who belonged to the Hlaba regiment (whose insignia were two ostrich plumes, a black and a white, worn in the hair, and black oxhide shields) Like all heathen Zulus he was a polygamist, but, being poor, he had only two wives (the "Great Wife" Macasana was blind. She died, still heathen in 1879, during the Zulu war, leaving one daughter who died later on at Elaleni)

The second wife was Umyembezi, who had been married to Sifo Mkwanazi, and after his death to Ndodayendhlu Langeni of the Langeni clan who was murdered because of is wealth by his Headman. She bore his posthumous child Mhlongo shortly after her marriage to Maqumusela who regarded the boy as his own, with great affection, and had a son, baptized Gideon (insert: about 1881) by Maqumusela some years after).

The old warrior, who was about seventy, became diligent in his attendance. It is remembered of him that he never was absent from the morning prayers at dawn, never missed a class, tramping in from his kraal Siqwanjana a hill about half and hour's walk from Eshowe, in all weathers.

He soon got the name *Umuntu Wesonto* (= the Man of the Church). He was a mighty man of prayer, praying aloud at all times, and when on the road going into bushes by the wayside to pray. On one occasion a Zulu (who afterwards became a policeman) on his way back from the subchief

Page 4 Umyeyane's kraal, heard someone speaking in the bushes praying to Unknown Powers. He ran away frightened and told people that some witchcraft was at work.

Public opinion was disturbed at hearing a soldier praying and by the knowledge that he wanted to become a Christina. Rumours began to come to Cetshwayo that three of his warriors

had become or desired to become Christians and leave their regiments, and that Maqamusela intended to remove his headring. (Footnote 3: The symbol that a warrior was permitted to marry. It had come to be regarded as a peculiar mark of heathenism by the Christian Zulus.

In 1876, after some members of his class had been baptized, Maqumusela came to Pastor Oftebro and said "You baptized so-and-so, and so-and-so. Why did you not baptize me?"

Pastor Oftebro asked him whether he did not know of the King's order that any soldier who became a Christian should be put to death. He advised him not to be in a hurry, but to think it out and pray it out. Maqumusela

Page 5 went away and pondered long.

Finally he came back to the missionary and said that he believed that JESUS CHRIST desired that he should be baptized, so he asked for Baptism. He had counted the cost, he knew what his decision would involve, but he had made up his mind.

There is no memory at Eshowe of any Voice or Vision having been vouchsafed to him which brought about his decision; but these gifts of God come so often to African seekers after the Truth, that it may be taken for granted that God's will was shown to him in Dream or Vision or by Voice.

Pastor Oftebro put him in the Catechumens' Class, without recording his name as he was a soldier. He then went to Cetshwayo's court and told him of Maqumusela's desire to be baptized. Cetshwayo showed no displeasure, but gave no definite answer.

It would seem that Chief Gawozi Mpungose formally denounced Maqumusela, and orders were given by Cetshwayo to "put Maqumusela away".

Persecution began. A warrior who had been baptized Joseph, was killed at Pastor Fröhlings station Inyezane. The local Chief Sikonyana arrested another soldier belonging to Mpande's old

Page 6 Nkandempewu regiment, Ngema Mngadi of the Ngadini clan, on a charge of disobedience to the King's command that no solders should listen to the new teaching.

As Ngema refused to cease listening to Christian teaching, after being tied to a post the whole day in the sun, he was taken to a crocodile haunted pool of the Inyezane River (16 miles below Eshowe) and hung over it head downwards. He was either torn to pieces, or died of exhaustion.

These two murders naturally alarmed the Christians, who realized that, when the King approved of men being "smelt out" and "robbed or killed for their faith", there was no security for their lives. Some Christians who had been sent to the local chef's kraal, heard people outside the hut in which they were, talking about the King's order to Chief Gawozi to put Maqumusela away. They went back and told Maqumusela what they had heard, and advised him to flee to Natal. Knowing full well what he did, he refused. Next day Pastor Oftebro on his return from Mahlabatini Mission Station was informed of what was impending. He went at once to see

Page 7 Maqamusela whom he found had gone to visit the family of one of his brothers-in-law, who had just been killed. Next morning he was in his place in church as usual. Pastor Oftebro saw him after service and told him of the result of is interview with the King. Maqamusela thanked him deeply because he had reported him to Cetshwayo as one who loved the Word of God. "If he cause me to be killed now I shall rejoice. I am not afraid. It is a privilege to die for the sake of the Name of JESUS. Surely he will give me a little lace in his Kingdom on high."

On Friday, March 9,1877 morning he was in his customary place with Mhlongo, that lace which he never missed in any weather. Pastor Oftebro never saw him again on earth. Outside the church Maqamusela clasped the hands of Mhlongo, wept over him, kissed him and said, "Farewell, my child.I am going. I am called." - "He did not say where he was going," says Simon (the name by which Mhlongo was baptized in 1881).

Shortly before noon, Maqamusela made up his mind to go to the kraal of his relative, the sub-chief Umyetane Kanyile. Shortly after his departure, the sub-chief came to his kraal with a small body of warriors

Page 8 some of whose names have been remembered:- Mncelu, Jubane, Nymalala (=to disappear) Zondo, and Hwayimbane. Esrom Mtshali of Eshowe says that his father Umbulawa had been sent with them by Cetshwayo to witness the execution. They failed to find Maqamusela at his kraal, nor could they find Gideon nor Umyembezi whom they had been ordered to slay, nor Simon whom they had been ordered to take to the King. Gideon was out of the way, working for the Missionary Rev P.D. Nielsen. Umyembezi and Simon had hidden themselves.

They sent a messenger to tell Maqamusela that he was wanted on the hill Mpondweni some distance to the East of his home, for a cot case, as he was leading people astray by his Christianity. On his way up through a valley full of trees to the bare hill top where the slayers were awaiting him, he turned into a bush and began to pray. Passers by heard the voice of one praying. Then he went on, and on the hill side was surrounded

Page 9 by the slayers who wanted to bind him to prevent his escape. There was no trial. They brought him to the hill top and told him that they had been sent to kill him. He asked them calmly whether he was regarded as a wizard, or whether he had committed any crime for which he had deserved death. They told him that he was to be killed because he wanted to be baptized, and for no other reason. "Well," said the Martyr, "I rejoice to die for the Word of the Lord, and I thank HIM, but first let me go and be baptized!" "No" [sic] they answered [sic] "Your way does not lie yonder any more." The Martyr said, "At least you must give me time to pray; I am quite prepared to die."

He knelt down. The slayers sat round him to prevent his escape, talking and taking snuff. Maqamusela began his last and greatest Prayer, long and fervent.

He prayed for himself, that God would have mercy upon him, and though he was not baptized receive him into His Kingdom. He prayer for his Missionary, Pastor Oftebro, for his own wives and children, for King Cetshwayo

Page 10 who had ordered him to be put to death, for his murderers, and for many Zulus by name. Finally he prayed that Zululand might become a Christian land.

"*Se ngi qedile*," (I have finished) he said as he rose to his feet. "I am ready. Kill me now."

They hesitated. They had never seen a man condemned act like this. As it was, they had come disliking their duty. While he was raying, they had begun to look and listen more and more intently. It seemed uncanny. They had no desire to slay a man who had done no other evil than to believe in the word of God. They feared that some evil would fall upon them. No one moved. "As soon as you have killed me," said the Martyr, "you must run away as fast as you can to your homes as there will be thunder and lighting [sic] and rain. Do not look back," as he saw a storm coming.They dared not go back to the King until that had been done which they had been sent to do.

Two of the slayers possessed old fashioned muzzle loaders purchased from

Page 11 John Dunn of unhappy memory (probably of the "Brown Bess" pattern, which had seen service at Waterloo or in the Crimea.) Nymalala Zondo, a relative of Maqamusela aimed and drew trigger. The gun misfired. "You, my kinsman, must not slay me," said the Martyr. Nyamalala refused to shoot again. The slayers began to talk excitedly. Why would not the gun go off? Was it safe to kill a man who belonged to *Nkulunkulu* - the Great Great One - and was not suspected of being a wizard. Some evil might come upon them.

Then the young man Hwayimbana, (who died afterwards in battle with the English at Wambane in 1879) shot Maqamusela in the head.

A terrible storm broke immediately, the slayers fled for shelter. No one dared to go out in that storm. Umbulawa ran to the desolate home of the Martyr, as the blind wife was his half-sister. He said nothing of what had happened until he was going away next morning. One of Pastor Oftebro's day brought the news to the Mission Station. Pastor Oftebro rang the Church Bell, and with a little company of the faithful went to the hilltop to bury

Page 13 (no page 12 in MS) the Martyr's body.

It was not there. There was no sign of the body having being dragged away by wild beasts, which the people of Eshowe - and particularly Simon - affirm had long left the neighbourhood. The Christians of Eshowe firmly hold that the Lord buried Maqumasela (sic) as He buried Moses. Nyamalala Zondo, a man of kindly nature, warmly attached to the missionaries personally, who died a heathen , is probably responsible for the details of the actual Martyrdom. "He died holding service, praying for all of us, and without the least fear" was the comment of the slayers.

You will look in vain for the Church in which Maqamusela found his King and Master, the parsonage in which his teacher lived. They were burnt during the siege of Eshowe. The two huts rotted away. The few cattle possessed by the Martyr were seized on the King's behalf, one ox being given to the slayers.

But the warrior Maqumasela stands with Joseph and Ngema beside the Forty soldier Martyrs of Sebaste evermore before the Throne of the Majesty on High.

Page 14 The memory of Maqumasela that abides at Eshowe is of his humility, a contrast with the usual fierce pride of the Zulu warrior, and of his love of little children, in whose play he was interested. Plainness and straightforwardness marked him in all things. He was deeply respected by the s who knew him.

Maqumusela is probably derived from *qamuse* = to press forward.

Umyembezi and Mhlongo fled by way of Untunjambili to Umpumulo, the oldest station of the Missionary Society where they attended classes.If probably took them three days though straight across the country the distance could be covered by a quick walker in one day. The younger son joined them in their flight. Mhlongo had been working for Mr Kyllingstad one of the missionaries, and, like the Martyr, had taken to wearing a shirt in addition to his ordinary Zulu dress. Mhlongo and his mother returned in 1881 to Eshowe where they were baptized soon after as Simon and Rebecca. Rebecca died at Eshowe in old age. Simon is still alive at the age of about 75.

Gideon joined Colonel Mansell's

Page 15 "*Nonqayi*" (Mounted Police) and during the troubles with Cetshwayo's brother Dabulamanzi was attacked by Zulu warriors and shot, while collecting hut-Tax at Fort Yolland. Pastor Oftebro was with him when he died. He had married a Christian girl . . . . . who bore a son Juda after Gideon's death, She remarried and is still living at Eshowe.

The blind wife had one daughter who died in later years at Elaleneni. Juda died young at Durban, so apparently the family is extinct. Search was made for the body for nearly a week. As against the local conviction that there is a mystery in the disappearance of the Martyr's body, there were hyenas and other wild beasts in the neighbourhood, but Simon denies this. On the Mission station is a small hill where Pastor Oftebro built huts and people used to lie hidden to shoot hyenas.

Esrom Mtshali states that Cetshwayo have chief Gawoze twenty of the cattle, an thirty to Hwayimbane as reward for his courage.Simon denies this, and it is contrary to previous custom, by which the cattle and the children used to be brought to the King.

Page 16 Gawoze's relatives soon died. He lost half his tribe. His land was divided between other chiefs and his "ward" encroached upon after the Zulu War. His son Mjojeni (=impale him!) committed suicide about 1900.

Simon remembers Maqumusela as very old; about 70?

Another derivation for the Martyr's name is *qamuzile* or *qamusela* (= to hatch like chickens) which may refer to some incident at his birth. The Martyr was not "smelt out" as a wizard *(umtakati)* or he would have died the horrible death of impalement.

There were five Christian lads living near by who were spared as they were not soldiers, Elias Dube, Isaako Ntuli, Paul Ntuli, Martin Luther Zibane, and Josiase Zungu.

(In Church of the Province of South Africa Archives, Cullen Library, University of the Witwatersrand, AB 264F and AB 799 Ca 10f)

Source 12:*Incwadi yeJubilee*

The story of Maqhamusela is unique in KwaZulu. He is the one who died for Christ (a martyr) in the Zulu country. The seed of his blood is not in vain.

He was born of non-Christian parents. His home was at Eshowe. He was a neighbour to Rev OC Oftebro (uMondi). Maqhamusela often came to Rev Oftebro's morning prayers and liked to listen to these wonderful stories told by the pastor. At last he was won by this good news, and he decided to join the baptismal class. Then the missionary dressed him in a long white shirt.

The news was heard by Cetshwayo's *induna* (headman) by the name of Jabulani Mpungose. He then reported the offence to the chief that Maqhamusela is now a Christian. Cetshwayo sent a message to Maqhamusela, warning him not to become a Christian, and if he did not leave this he would be killed. But the Christian hero did not want to give up his Christianity and his Redeemer, whom he already loved.

Then they begged him to forsake his Christianity, even his relatives begged him, but he did not agree. So King Cetshwayo decreed that he must be killed. So the headman (*induna*) who was in charge of the district, Jabulani Mpungose, was obliged to fulfil the chief's command.

In the morning of the day when Maqhamusela was to be killed, a message was sent that called him to the grandmother's house which was at the *induna's kraal* (homestead of the headman). He came out of his last morning prayer with the missionary. He went to say goodbye to his child Ntshingwayo, who was staying with Rev Kielland at KwaMondi School. He came and kissed his child and cried. Saying that he was called to the grandmother's place, they parted.

When Maqhamusela arrived there he found the *induna* with his brother, Mngcelu, and another man who was often at the place and was a Swazi, Hwayimbana. These three told him that the chief had said that he was to be killed if he did not give up being a Christian. They begged him to give up believing, but he could not agree to their request, he said he was going to be baptized. Then they told him to go back home. But they were just talking; they were planning to kill him. So they followed him, taking another path, and met him at the hill called Impondweni, where he died.

They said to him, "We are going to kill you now." Then he said, "Wait, so that I can pray to God." They allowed him to do so. After praying he said, "I have finished. I am ready."He continued by saying, "Afterwards, go home quickly, for there is going to be thunder and heavy rain."

Then the four of them started their dirty work, Jabulani, Mngcelu, Hwayimbane and Nyamalala Zondo. Nyamalala took the gun. Maqhamusela stopped him, saying, "Stop, Nyamalala, you are my relative!" Then he left it (i.e. the gun). Mngcelu took the gun and pointed it at him; he tried to shoot but the gun did not fire. They talked among themselves in surprise saying, "But it is not working. Is it right to kill those who believe in God, the Christians?" As they were still talking Hwayimbana took the gun, pointed it at Maqhamusela and it went off. He died instantly, the first Christian witness and martyr in KwaZulu, on March 9, 1877.

As soon as they had killed him the weather changed: there was thunder with heavy rain. Hwayimbana and his friends ran to their homes.

This sad story was heard by Pastor Oftebro (uMondi), and he went out with some Christians to take the body of Maqhamusela home so that they could bury it. But when they arrived there they could not find it; all was in vain. So they went back. Even today it is not known what happened to his corpse. It just disappeared.

Then the members of his family with his three children fled to Maphumulo to hide themselves at their relatives' homes. Finally they all converted to Christianity. His two boys and the girl lived a Christian life till they died in the mercy of God.

We are grateful for Maqhamusela Khanyile, for his wonderful gift of witnessing to the strength and love of Jesus Christ, our Redeemer.

(In Follesoe NM, Mpanza MJ and Mtiyane JP
1944; translated by Ms Virginia Ntuli).

Selected Interviews

on the commemoration of Maqhamusela Khanyile

1. Interview with Dean Lawrence Khuzwayo (LK) conducted by M. Nürnberger (MN), about February 1999

1.1 MN: Is there some form of commemoration of Maqhamusela in Eshowe, such as remembering him in thanksgiving to God on the day of his martyrdom, or pilgrimages, or regularly telling his story to children and confirmands?

LK: No services, no fixed remembrance on a special date, not necessarily even on All Saints' Day. Your thinking may make us rethink it. Rev Ngubane of the Nazarene Church said we should not only remember martyrs of old. (Speaking to whites has made us fail to come together with people of other churches, e.g. at Rev Mkhize's installation representatives of all churches even the Zionists were present, but whites always discredited the Zionists. We should encourage the spirit of ecumenism.) To talk about Father of the faith with blacks you have to be careful, they are not ancestors and cannot help us. But we want to remember and follow their example: this happened because of Maqhamusela's faith. Zionists depend on ancestors, so be careful with them, they can't help us. But we should not just be afraid but discuss how to do it.

MN: It was black students who first told me about Khanyile, and they were proud of him. Would public commemoration of such a father of the faith not help Lutherans to feel glad that this is their church, that it is a church for blacks; would it not strengthen their feeling of identity?

LK: There was pride but it never found public commemoration. Like the death of Moses and Elijah, Khanyile's grave is unknown. That is the oral tradition.

MN: There may be two reasons for his grave being unknown. Either someone buried him under cover of darkness because it would have been too dangerous to be caught doing so in daylight, and on the other hand that person did not want to leave him unburied. Or, as some believe, his body was taken up to heaven.

LK: Yes, his grave is not known. . . . .

1.2. MN: Is the Bible School that operated until recently just a new name for the catechism school, or was a new institution founded? When did this happen?

LK: I do not know. The Bible School was built and given his name before 1954 when I came to teach there. The reason was that they wanted to honour him. No other festivals were held in Khanyile's honour. . . .

4. Interview with Prof A-I Berglund (AB), conducted by M. Nürnberger (MN) 18. 5. 1999

4.1. MN: Does the Norwegian Lutheran Church have a tradition of commemorating seminal events in its church history?

AB: Norwegians and Norwegian churches do have traditions of commemorating important people in their history, e.g. King Olav, the patron saint of Stavanger; in Reformation times political and religious protest overlapped so you have "secular" figures being remembered also in the church. Then, of course, there is the festival on the national day. But no post-reformation figures are commemorated.

4.2. MN: Could one of the reasons for the lack of commemoration of Maqhamusela be fear that it would indirectly bolster "ancestor worship"?

AB: In the ancestor cult one must differentiate between founding heroes, ancestors, shades, survivors. Yes, surely that was a deterrent.
MN: Could another reason be that the war and its aftermath cause such disruption of church life that one could think of little else than survival and then reconstruction?
AB: The disruption of church life theory is correct. John Dunn was not easy to live under; commemoration could have been denounced as rallying one of the groups. . . .

5. Interview with Mr Nils Astrup Otte (NA) conducted by M. Nürnberger (MN) 14. 5. 1999

5.1. MN: Has Khanyile virtually been forgotten?
NO: Khanyile was not forgotten; the memorial is there. . . . Khanyile had disobeyed the King, and this may be the reason for his not being remembered publicly. - After the confusion and the disturbances of the Anglo-Zulu War, the settlement and the return of Cetshwayo, Khanyile was just one of the dead.

5.2 MN: He must have been more than "just one of the dead" if people nowadays remember him with pride, and if 70 years after his death they erected the cross and gave the Bible School his name.
NO: That was succeeding generations: they venerated him as a Christian hero - not as a saint. But closer to the event, nothing happened.
. . .

5.3 MN: It seems probable to me that among Christians there was ambivalence towards Khanyile, a fellow believer, but man who had failed to honour the King by disobeying him, and had therefore been implicated in the destruction of the Zulu kingdom.
NO: The point about the possible ambivalence of the *Christians* over against Khanyile does not sound right to me, at least it doesn't sound right from my knowledge of the Zulus. In this area there were no supporters of Cetshwayo, and if there were, they kept quiet. Not all Zulus respected Cetshwayo, there was even division among his brothers (Zibhebhu and Hamu).

7. Interview with Dean JG Shobede (JS), No 1, conducted by M. Nürnberger (MN) 23. 5.99

7.1. MN: What do you know about public commemoration of Maqhamusela?
JS: The execution happened under the NMS (Norwegian Mission Society), so it was in their hands. They put up a stone at the place of shooting before 1960, it was destroyed. Maqhamusela's name was on it, nothing more.
. . . Christians sometimes met there; these meetings were interracial when I was in Dean, they were organised by me and much appreciated. The NMS suggested the cross and the naming of the Bible School.

10. Interview with Ingeborg Gorven (IG), No 1 (daughter of Rev PA Rodseth) conducted by M. Nürnberger (MN) 11.6.1999

10.1. . . . .

10.2. MN: Was Maqhamusela ever remembered by the missionaries?
IG: Oh yes. I was in Eshowe from 5 - 17 years of age (I was born in 1938). My mother organised youth camps for the Norwegian off-spring at the
school in KwaMondi. First they were held in Norwegian, then in English. Later they were held in Umphmulo. We sometimes held devotions at the cross. I have a photo of youth campers on Mpondweni Hill, and will see whether it is dated and whether a cross had already been erected. (The photo was sent for the to the interviewer to see; the cross is clearly visible. The camps were started in 1928, the photo was taken in 1937)

17. Interview with Ms Margarete (" Gigi") Makeson (MM) No 1, (daughter of Rev PA Rodseth), conducted by M. Nürnberger (MN), 17.6.1999

17.1. MN: Please tell me what you remember about Maqhamusela
MM: We visited the hillside quite often. The story was told on informal occasions. It was common knowledge, also among the Zulus.
MN: What was the story that was told?
MM: The story that was told was about his death, the storm, and the fact that the body was gone. I think it was wild animals, wild dogs.

17.2. MN: It is strange that there was never any commemoration of him.
MM: There was no grave. Also, the missionaries were very poor. . .

26. **Interview with Bishop S.P. Zulu (SPZ) conducted by M. Nürnberger (MN)**, and Prof. K. Nürnberger (KN)18.7.1999

26.1. . . . .

26.2 There was much talk of Maqhamusela at that merger synod in KwaMondi at Eshowe. For example there was a loud clap of thunder during the meeting and delegates said that it reminded them of the storm after Maqhamusela's death and what he died for. "Here we were disagreeing, while he had died for his faith".
The issue that made a merger between the other mission churches difficult was the office of the bishop, on which the Church of Sweden delegation insisted. Then Superintendent Krause (Berlin Mission) said, "Let us lie on the wound so that we can agree". The wound was a reference to Maqhamusela's wounds. Then Rev MJ Mpanza responded, "Maqhamusela died for what we Christians at present are failing to do." Then the merger was agreed to.

26.3. MN: Was there ever public commemoration or remembrance of Maqhamusela on special days or occasions?
SPZ: No, there was nothing in the liturgy or the liturgical calendar. We (blacks) were not a part of the making of our liturgies, they were just presented to us (by the missionaries). . .

26.5. MN: But ELCSA has agreed to changes that the missionaries did not suggest, like the blessing of tombstones.
SPZ: Yes, it's part of finding ourselves.
MN: Was this change prompted by a desire from among the people, or did it come as a response to criticism from outside that ELCSA has remained a Western church?
SPZ: It came from both.

26.6. KN: Is there a hesitation to remember Christians who have passed away out of fear that it could turn into idolatry like the worship of saints sometimes is? In the Lutheran tradition there is no veneration of saints.
SPZ: Yes, there is that fear, that anti-R.C. attitude.
MN: Could one add the fear that veneration of a father in the faith could lead Christians back into ancestor worship?
SPZ: Yes, Zulu Christians had to move away from dependence on ancestors - The issue comes up continually, in remembering any person who has passed away. . . . They held that even wearing traditional Zulu attire is connected with the forefathers.

26.7. KN: Were there theological reasons for the missionaries being against ancestor worship?
SPZ: It is about something real, it's not just an idea. You can't cheat them (i.e. the ancestors), consequences will follow. Zulus depended on ancestors. Since there is only one mediator, Jesus Christ, *worshipping* ancestors would draw Zulu Christians away from Christ. But it depends on your intention: you can make the same place in which you *venerated* ancestors

(like outside the house, the cattle kraal) the place where you *venerate* Christ. If there is dependence on ancestors it is not compatible with faith in Christ. But it is possible to baptise into the faith in Christ what was an aid for blacks to come closer to the object of their belief.

26.8 So was Maqhamusela grappling with the same problem as that man in Bethal, and also Tiyo Soga: how to be both a Christian and a Zulu? And was this a question which was embarrassing to the missionaries, who equated their culture with Christianity?
SPZ: Yes, that was a problem, and still is. None of us could or can succeed in living as Zulu Christians one hundred percent, there are some issues in loyalty to the Zulu king which would interfere with loyalty to Christ, and vice versa. . . .

26.10. MN: If there was no public commemoration, what was it that helped black Christians to remember Maqhamusela?
SPZ: It is our way of looking at life after death, which is related to veneration of ancestors. A person who has passed away does not disappear, he or she exists somewhere, is still part of your life.
KN: Theologians in S.A. are discussing the relation of people to their ancestors a great deal, and some want to incorporate veneration of ancestors . . . . into the Christian life. Others oppose that vehemently

26.11. KN: The fact that all Zulu culture was religiously underpinned is the real cause of the problem.
SPZ: Yes. And the problem with taking veneration of ancestors into the Christian faith is that an ancestor's spirit could order a person not to become a Christian.
MN: That is the sort of situation for which the NT states that the Holy Spirit always testifies to Christ. Witness to Christ is the Christian criterion for discerning whether the spirits are from the Holy Spirit or not. Is there a difference between being dependent on ancestors in the traditional way and honouring a father in the faith by thanking God for his life in public commemorations?
SPZ: Yes, that must be possible. That is not dependence on the martyr, but to strengthen ourselves by his example: God gives power to believers even when they are crying. We are not looking at the person of the martyr but at his testimony. . . . . But the point is very difficult; we must work on it theologically and preach on it clearly, and not leave it to any and all interpretations. On the other hand, unless we take the risk, a vacuum will develop. The church has so many figures, and one may become the focus for Christians. We need a list of martyrs. Things like this are aids in faith, which in itself is very abstract, but people are real. As the book Revelation was important in its time, so being encouraged by martyrs is important now. . .

26.12. MN: Would remembrance of African martyrs close to our time also give people in the congregations a feeling of belonging to their church, of pride in it?
SPZ: Yes, certainly. . . . He is an example of Christian courage for the faith not only long ago in NT times but today. But in the meanwhile the memory is fading, and he will be forgotten.
MN: Yes, and in remembering people like Maqhamusela together before God we seek to open ourselves to the grace that God gave him, that He can work that same grace in us.

26.13. SPZ: Maqhamusela was much talked about at the Bible School. For example, we held rallies for students where we went to the cross (on the spot of the martyrdom). But also in the congregation. He would certainly be mentioned in confirmation class and in the Prayer Women's guild: the whole area had him in their minds.
MN: How was that possible without public commemoration?.
SPZ: In a Zulu surrounding it would just happen that way. . . .

29. Interview with Dean J Mthethwa (JM) conducted by M. Nürnberger (MN), observer Mr J. Mpanza (JMp) 29.7.99

29.1. . . . . .

29.3. MN: Have people forgotten Maqhamusela?
JM: No. Only amongst us blacks we hear it like any other story, it is not taken seriously. So there is no commemoration of Maqhamusela as a martyr.
JMp: But in Newcastle Parish we commemorate him on the third Sunday in March. I initiated the idea, and Pastor Mashiyana introduced it; Rev Welcome Khumalo also supported it. We also observed it at the Teachers' Training College, and everyone came, blacks and whites.
JM: Once the Anglicans marched to Mpondweni Hill; they said that they wanted to build a church there. But the Lutheran congregation do not know about Maqhamusela; the story has not been well written up. And those young ones who know it do not take it seriously. . . .

26.7. MN: Was Maqhamusela ever mentioned in sermons, confirmation class or sunday school?
JM: No.

30. Interview Rev Ernest Nsibande (EN) conducted by M Nürnberger (MN) 29.7.99

30.1. . . . . .

30.3. MN: In order to accomplish the Merger (of the Lutheran mission/regional churches) you had to cope with the problem of the Swedes insisting on the episcopal office. I have been told that Krause overcame resistance to the episcopacy at the assembly of the SA Regional Church in Eshowe by saying, "Let us lie on the wound". . . .

30.5. MN: Please say something more about Krause quoting that Zulu idiom: "Let us lie on the wound".
EN: Krause was very mature, he had a deep knowledge of the African people. He said that because he was trying to console those who did not want a bishop. It means, we accept the pain in order to achieve unity.

31. Interview with Dean LL Mthembu (LM) conducted by M. Nürnberger (MN) 29.7.99

1. MN: You come from the Norwegian tradition. Were there ever days of remembrance of Maqhamusela there, or subsequently in ELCSA? Or was the story told to children, in Sunday School, in Bible studies, in sermons?
LM: It is our treasure. - I was in KwaMondi from 1977-1987. In 1977 there was a big gathering, however not initiated by the Lutherans but by the Anglicans. Erecting the new cross was also suggested by them. We used to invite others to attend the gathering, but the Lutherans were not the leaders.

31.2. MN: What was the reason for that?
LM: Our black people have a tendency of neglecting the treasures of the church. That saint was a strong man, he chose death. I do not know the cause for our not remembering him. Specially in later years the Eshowe congregation chose the "spiritual path" (a charismatic group) and in that there was no room for remembering any dead person.

31. 3. MN: But in the meanwhile ELCSA has changed its stance. We now have a liturgy for the unveiling of the tombstone.
LM: The unveiling of the tombstone was not acceptable to most of the Eshowe congregation, or at Empangeni. . . .

31.4. MN: So you never taught about Maqhamusela?
LM: Sometimes we did. The congregation has that pride (that he died as a member of our church). But sometimes when the pastor spoke about it (him?) the congregation was just waiting for him to get finished. They want the charismatic spirit, zeal. . . .

31.6. MN: Was the memory of Maqhamusela strong in the constituent assembly of S-E. Reg. Ch. in 1960?
LM: The first thing I can say is that the whole area had him in their minds.
MN: How was that possible without public commemoration?.
LM: In a Zulu surrounding it would just happen that way.I remember that at the signing of the documents there was lightening and thunder, as after Maqhamusela's death. We took it as an "amen" from God: we are doing the right thing. Secondly the sentence "Here we are fighting over details, while we forget what Maqhamusela died for" was definitely said. Thirdly Krause's words "Let us lie on the wound": Rev Tiane and other leaders had criticised the missionaries because they did not respect the black pastors. I think that Krause's words were an answer to that; but they could also have been said with regard to the issue of having a bishop. It was a continuation of the "Missionary go home" campaign. . . .

33. Interview with Dean J (JS) and Mrs Shodede (Sh), Miss J. Masuku (JMs) conducted by M. Nürnberger (MN) 28.7.1999

33.1. MN: Do you know of a great grandson of Maqhamusela's called Patrick Khanyile? Do you know of descendants of the 5 Christian lads at KwaMondi during the execution of Maqhamusela: Elias Dube, Isaako Ntuli, Paul Ntuli, Martin Luther Zibane, Josiase Zungu?
Dean: None of them are known except Martin Luther Zibane; he became the first induna of KwaMondi after the 1879 settlement. His grandchildren are still here; his son was Alpheus Zibane, who became a pastor. . . .

33.2. The Bible School had Maqhamusela's name from the start. The decision came from missionaries' conference, presented to pastors' convention and then brought before synod. . . .

33.3. MN: Were there any objections to the name among missionaries or Zulus?
Dean: (Black) people so happy about the name: Maqhamusela was a man from among them, they all knew what had happened, perhaps not the non-Christians. Even among the missionaries there were no objections. . . . .

33.4. MN: Who initiated the placing of the first cross?
Dean: That was not the first pubic monument to Maqhamusela; that was a stone. After the murder Rev Oftebro called the murderers and asked them to point out the spot of the murder, and there the Christians placed a huge stone.
MN: Did it have Maqhamusela's name on it?
JM: No. It was removed when the concrete cross was erected in the 1930ties. The best information could be obtained from Andrina, nee Mpungose; but she is away at present. . . .

33. Interview with Dean and Ms Shobete, Miss J. Masuku, Inkosi and Ms Ndlela and Dean L and Ms Khuzwayo (LK) conducted by M. Nürnberger (MN) 28.7.1999

35.1. - 35.6 . . . . .

35.6 . . . .
LK: The difficulty with planning the commemorative services is that the RC's have a liturgy for that sort of occasion and wanted us to use it. We said that we had to ask our superiors first, and thought that they'd come back to us. We agreed that they could do it in their own way, but

we would do it in ours. - Instead they gave out that we had refused -

MN: It is clear that Maqhamusela does not belong to us Lutherans; he belongs to all Christians.

40 Interview with Mr Hugh Lee (HL) conducted by M. Nürnberger (MN) 1.8.1999
Mr Lee is the grandson of Archdeacon Lee of Source 11 letter 4.

40.1. MN: Where did the idea of restoring the cross originate (Lutherans, Anglicans?). Who paid for it?

HL: An interdenominational group called Neighbours was formed in the Apartheid years for communication and building bridges across racial divides in the community. . . . .

40.2. MN: How did that group come to erect the iron cross?

HL: We thought that commemorating the centenary of Maqhamusela's execution and repairing the cross would be a good focus for what we were doing. The concrete cross had broken down. So we went out and had an iron cross built into a concrete base. No fence was put up, it would have been stolen. The original stone was incorporated. . . .

40.4. MN: Who were the Lutherans involved in the group? . . .

HL: They were strongly divided: charismatic Evangelicals and traditional Lutherans. . . . . .

40.5. HL: The dedication was very impressive. . . . . There was good co-operation between the churches. . . .

40.6. MN: Were there services in subsequent years?

HL: No, only the one commemoration in 1977 or early 1978. That is a pity, commemorating a martyr is important.

42. Interview with Mr J Mpanza (JMp) conducted by M. Nürnberger (MN), 18.8.1999.
Mr Mpanza is the son of Rev MJ Mpanza, a co-editor of *Incwadi yeJubilee*

42.1. MN: Please tell me about the commemoration of Maqhamusela in Newcastle parish.

JM: I was instrumental in getting that going. I had been in Vryheid where the (high church) Swedish influence is strong, and they celebrate All Saints. Then I was relocated to Newcastle with a Berlin (Mission) background and placed on the roster of lay preachers. In 1974 around 9.March I preached about Maqhamusela in the Teachers' Training College, and my colleagues encouraged me to suggest to the circuit that this be recognized in our liturgical calendar. Rev Hallendorf (Swedish background) backed me and it was accepted, specially as such feasts as the Annunciation and St Michael were already mentioned in the old hymnbook in the section of page 173.

After the Merger (1975) the liturgical committee of ELCSA accepted these feasts and others, e.g. All Saints; they were printed in the Almanac. Now they have also included the Day of the Martyr (St Stephen's Day, 26. December)

MN: Is 26 December that day when you commemorated Maqhamusela?

JM: No, but on or around 9 March. .

2. MN: Do you know of other parishes where Maqhamusela is commemorated?

JM: No . . . .

44. Interview with Mr Karl Solberg (KS) conducted by M. Nürnberger 27.8.1999

44.1 . . . . .

44.5. KS: My brother has just phoned from Norway. I asked him about that stone cross. He said that our father made a grand design for a monument before he left on furlough for Norway in 1939; they were trapped by the war and returned only 6 years later. In the meanwhile the mission Society had very little money and so they did not erect the cross according to our father's design but set up the stone (cement) cross on the photo. It was built by Rev Kjelvei who was stationed at KwaMondi in 1944. At that time Rev Rodseth was already living in Eshowe (retired?).

MN: Thank you for that very valuable information.

45. Written response by Mr J Mpanza (JMp) to questions posed by M. Nürnberger (MN); the letter is dated 24.8.1999

45.1. MN: What were your thoughts and feelings about Maqhamusela that induced you to suggest that a. he should be publicly commemorated in a worship service . . .

JMp: a. It was through studying a little bit of Church history about martyrs and persecution of Christians.

45.2. MN: In which year was commemoration of Maqhamusela and others accepted in your congregation, and what is the name of the congregation?

JMp: It was 1985 - The name of the parish is Newcastle Parish. . . . Today it is known as KwaUnomusa.

45.3. MN: In which years has it taken place since then?

JMp: At this congregation this day is observed even if the Pastor is not there. Other congregations did not worry since the day is and was not in the church calendar.

45.4. MN: Was it part of the service or a special service? If it was the latter, roughly how many people attended?

JMp: It was part of the service, and included in the intercessory prayers. - Every other (year, researcher) there's a telling the story - just as we always do on Reformation Sunday. . . . There was no special structure (order, liturgy) . . . . .

46 Letter from Mr K Solberg (KS) to M. Nürnberger (MN) dated 27.11 1999.
Mr Solberg grew up on KwaMondi-Eshowe mission station. He translated most of the Dano-Norwegian sources made us of in this research.

. . . . . The question of M. being a martyr was probably not envisaged at the time (of his execution). As youngsters we spoke of *martyr-doed* - i.e. suffered a death which was similar to that of martyrs. We, and I think this was common outlook, considered that the term was used as a historical term for "martyrs" after some time had passed. . . . .

I checked my English-Norwegian dictionary. There the English word "martyr" translates to *martyr, blod-vitne*. . . . The dictionary translates martyrdom as *martyrium. The impi* did not make him a martyr - that would be done by a church process.

The term "witness" the dictionary translates as a witness in secular terms and expressions of faith, especially in words. The term *blod-vitne* would be appropriate for M. *Martyr* is not often used and Oftebro understandingly did not use *it*.. . . .

47. Interview Dean J Shobede (JS) conducted by M. Nürnberger (MN) 1.1.2000

47.1. . . . .

47.2. JS: Ms Mncwango is a born Mpungose, that is the family of Gawoze who was Maqhamusela's chief. She did not grow up in KwaMondi parish but in another part. When she married in the 1920s she came to KwaMondi and found the stone already in place. She asked people about it, and they told her the story of Maqhamusela.

MN: Does she know who erected it?

JS: She says it was a man Mhlongo, but not Simon.

MN: In *Incwadi yeJubilee* Simon Mhlongo is said to have had the Zulu name was Ntshingwayo. Perhaps Ms Mncwango knew Simon Mhlongo by that name?

JS: No, I don't think so. She didn't know that Mhlongo's first name . . . . .

47.3. MN: Are there any people as old as Ms Mncwango who grew up in KwaMondi who may know when the stone was put in place?

JS: I have asked everybody I know. They are all younger. The missionary's wife who might have known (Ms Froise) has now passed away.

Appendix 3 : Sources made available to the researcher after submission of the thesis

Source 1a: Letter from BZ Canane to an (unnamed) missionary, 14.3 (5?).1926. Original in Zulu

Native Church
134 Moore Rd
Durban 14.3(5?).26

To the Missionary (Umfundisi),

My beloved teacher. I will be very happy if you receive this letter which I am writing and the message in it. I am ashamed to tell you that the money is 5/9. I will carry the expenses (envelope, postage, editor) and I will not take any money. The big discussion among the people stated that they don't want to hear this matter because to the people (Africans, editor) doing a thing like that does not sound important. It seems as if you are wasting money. From the time we told them this story there was no response. It's like talking to the antelopes, and we got this money only after hard persuasion. The money which is approximately 7/6 we gave to P Lamula, and we believe that he has already sent it to you.
Yours
BZ Canane.

(In: Misjonskapets archiv SA, boks nr. 2A legg nr. 8/1, transl. by R. Ntshangase).

Source 2a: Letter from Mr T.Borgen to Rev Rodseth of 23.7.1926

Greenwood Park
23 July 1929

Dear Rev Rodseth

I have thought more about the monument as requested and it is possible that I have an idea which can be used. . . . . Five long, large pieces of rock, which we saw down in the valley, to be brought up to the open place in front of the church . . .

The reason for suggested several rocks is that unless a stone monument is large and tall the effect will be that contemptible memories are created. Such groups of rocks erected in memory of the dead in the past create deference even today. The rocks are too hard for an inscription to be made, but this problem can be overcome. Buy a marble plate here in Durban and erect it against the central stone. On this the chosen inscription can be cut. I suggest a plate of 2 feet by 3 feet. . . .

(In: Misjonskapets archiv SA, boks nr.2A legg nr. 8/2, transl. by K. Solberg)

Source 3a: Letter from Rev Rodseth to Rev Kjelvei of 3.7.39

3. 7. 1939

Dear Kjelvei,

Ms Solberg gave me these Maqamusela [sic] papers.

The inscribed wording is accepted. But the thought then was to erect the monument by the church. If we decide to erect it at Empondweni, then the word "lapa" should be crossed out or "kona lapa" be used instead. . . . .
We have had many (underlined) plans. . . . . I have 11-15-00 English pounds here now.
Many of us have been working on this project for 12-13 years, without result.
P.W.D. will give us the same kind of stone (if available) as was used for the statue by the cemetery. The marble plate must be bought in Durban, and the monument built in conformity with that.

P.A. Rodseth

(In: Misjonskapets archiv SA, boks nr. 2A legg nr. 8/6, transl. by K. Solberg)

RHODES UNIVERSITY LIBRARY